Communication for Development in Peacebuilding

Participatory media for conflict transformation and reconciliation after civil violence

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

APT – Amani People's Theatre

A-STEP - Africa Sports Talents Empowerment Programme

C4D – Communication for Development

C4P – Communication for Peace

CAFOD – Catholic Agency for Overseas Development

CSC – Communication for Social Change

DFID – Department for International Development (United Kingdom)

IMCFSC – Integrated Model for Communication for Social Change

MC – Mercy Corps

MSC – Most Significant Change

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

PBEA - Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme

PEV – Post-Election Violence

PGRF – Post-Graduate Research Fund

PP – Participatory Photography

PT – Participatory Theatre

PV – Participatory Video

UNESCO – United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF – United Nations Children Fund

Thesis abstract

This research aims to ascertain the impact of communication for development interventions in contexts of peacebuilding. The study specifically focuses on the use of participatory media in initiating processes of conflict transformation and reconciliation in communities affected by violence.

Two projects were analysed – a participatory video and a participatory theatre initiative implemented in Kenya in the aftermath of the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence – to evaluate the role that communication for development can play in conflict-affected communities. Findings demonstrate that a participatory approach to communication and media content production has contributed in generating positive changes in the interaction between (former) enemy tribes.

An impact evaluation of the projects' activities was conducted to assess their effectiveness. The inquiry was based on interviews held with both project participants and media production audiences. The 'theory of change' method applied to the data analysis was useful in identifying and discussing the changes that the two initiatives brought about in the communities involved.

The theories of change model developed in this study addresses change both at a personal and at a relational level, which is the aim both of conflict transformation approaches and of reconciliation theories, and at a social level. The findings demonstrate how these types of media outputs are effective in changing individuals' perceptions of the violent events that occurred during the conflict, re-establishing relationships, and consequently opening up a path towards social change.

This research contributes knowledge towards creating a better understanding of ways in which participatory media tools can be used in transforming conflicts and reconciling communities. At the same time, it lays the academic foundations for further studies that aim to create more targeted designs for communication for development interventions in peacebuilding programming.

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Statement of original authorship

The work embodied in this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Undertaking this thesis has involved human intervention, for which I received approval from the Macquarie University Ethics Committee (reference no. 5201200034).

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(42279070)

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Signed

Awards and publications

Parts of this work have been published elsewhere:

Journal articles

Baú, V. (2014) Building Peace through Social Change Communication. Participatory video in conflict-affected communities, *Community Development Journal*, doi: 10.1093/cdj/bsu025

Baú, V. (2014) Telling Stories of War through the Screen. Participatory video approaches and practice to bring peace in conflict-affected contexts, *Conflict & Communication Online*, Vol. 13, No. 1

Baú, V. (2013) Stories in Reconciliation: reflections on community participation for restoring relationships and transforming conflict, *Peace Studies Journal*, Vol.6, No.2, pp.42-57

Book chapters

Baú, V. (2014) Video Technology and Participatory Approaches to Peace – From technological determinism to self-empowerment and social change. An experience from Kenya, pp.243-258 in Servaes, J. (Eds.) T*echnological Determinism and Social Change: communication in a tech-mad world*, Lexington Books (Rowman & Littlefield), Lanham

Baú, V. (2014) Communities and Media in the Aftermath of Conflict: participatory productions for reconciliation and peace, pp.266-282 in Ware, H., Jenkins, B., Branagan, M. & Subedi, D. (Eds.) *Cultivating Peace: contexts, practices and multidimensional models*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne

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Introduction

Mass violence often leads to the disintegration of a society's social fabric. As a result, interventions aimed at rebuilding must focus their efforts on establishing new structures and relationships among the population (Fletcher and Weinstein, 2002). Despite the existence of a number of projects that use the media as communication channels to achieve peace and reconciliation after a conflict, their lack of documentation has not allowed for an accurate assessment of such activities. Only a few scholars have begun to shed light on the relationship between development communication and peace studies, and how community involvement in the media has seen the creation of important peace initiatives in conflict-affected areas (see Rodriguez, 2000, 2011). Yet, the impact that these projects can have if strategically applied to peacebuilding interventions calls now for a new examination of communication for development (C4D) and its linkage with conflict transformation theory.

This study aims to explore the potential that communication for development has in post-conflict countries to foster conflict transformation and reconciliation. It addresses development from a peacebuilding perspective, utilising participatory methodologies for media production to allow communities to re-establish peace and relationships in the aftermath of civil war or communal violence. Rather than focusing on the wider national scale and considering issues of democracy and governance that need to be addressed in all fragile contexts, the focus is placed on local communities.

One of the main features of contemporary conflicts is the suffering that the civil population endures as a result of the dramatic events that it experiences; not only does this have an impact on people's physical and mental sides, but it also damages the social and cultural dimensions. While those institutions that are designed to support citizens collapse, a sense of uncertainty destabilises social relations. In the words of Richters et al. (2005), 'social bonds are ruptured, group identities destroyed, the sense of community undermined, and cultural orientation is disrupted. Communities are turned against communities, neighbours against neighbours, friends against friends, [...] resulting in a social fabric that is frayed by distrust and betrayal' (p.203). Also Fletcher and Weinstein (2002) recognise as a common denominator of modern fighting the suffering that takes place at the communal level.

This has led to a reconsideration of peacebuilding tactics and to the introduction of new approaches focusing on the community, as the capacity to adequately respond to the tensions that remain as a legacy of the violence can lay the basis for restoring relationships (Richters

et al., 2008). In this context, communication for development is important to help people make sense of their realities and engage in a dialogue, both within their social network and with other communities, to share their experiences of grief and to understand the impact the conflict has had on everyone's lives.

Participatory media can offer a platform to make this possible. By directly involving people in the production process, individuals are given the opportunity to tell their stories and express their feelings. At the same time, those who are exposed to these productions can gain understanding and strength from others' experiences. All these elements enable individuals not only to begin healing, but also to reflect upon the events and the different perspectives of the conflict, and ultimately initiate a process of transformation.

At the end of 2012 I spent three months in Kenya interviewing victims and perpetrators of the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence (PEV), who had taken part in participatory media projects. Through the information gathered from the interviews that were conducted on a participatory video (PV) and a participatory theatre (PT) activity implemented in the Rift Valley, an analysis and discussion are presented on how both the production processes and the viewings of their media outputs have opened dialogue between different groups and contributed to change in those communities.

'Change' here refers to the transformations in attitude, behaviour, knowledge and interaction that take place within (former) enemy groups from the end of the fighting; these are crucial changes that open up the path towards sustainable peace and development by addressing the underlying conflict that still remains, and they will be articulated further in this study. C4D represents the main theoretical framework around which an analysis has been built, with particular focus on participatory notions of development and models of social change through the media.

This section illustrates the objectives and structure of this research project, as well as offering some introductory concepts that will be useful in the understanding of this work as it unfolds throughout these pages.

My encounter with C4D

While my academic background was initially focused mostly on media and communication for public relations and campaigning purposes, I became interested in the use of communication in development thanks to my first fieldwork experience in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2006.

In that year, I was given the opportunity to contribute to the work of the Department for Cooperation and Development of the Italian Embassy in Mozambique. During that time, I collaborated in a Theatre for Development project that aimed to spread messages of HIV&AIDS prevention and to combat the stigma and discrimination associated with this condition through the role models offered by the actors. This experience made me realise the importance of 'communicating' in developing contexts, while considering how different types of media channels can be employed in accordance with a country's reality as well as with its social and cultural environment.

Mozambique was also my first encounter with a reality that was fragmented by civil war. An internal conflict had ravaged the country from 1977 to 1992, when the ruling party Front for Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) was violently opposed by the Mozambique Resistance Movement (RENAMO) – endorsed by South Africa.

While peace had long been restored, when I arrived in the capital Maputo, stories of war were regularly told during the many conversations I had with the locals. It was then that I began to reflect on the role that war plays when its incidence is embedded in someone's existence, and when a substantial part of an individual's life memories cannot be detached from it.

After that, I decided to further my education to become familiar with notions of international development, and undertook a second master's degree that gave me specific knowledge of the relatively new discipline of Communication for Development. My passion for this academic field was accompanied, at the practical level, by the work that I was carrying out for the international non-governmental organisation (NGO) *Panos*, which is one of the leading organisations implementing projects on media and communication in development.

After more than three years of NGO work in London, I was given the chance to live in another part of Africa. Employed by the United Nations as a Communications Analyst, I took on the

challenge to experience the conditions offered by one of the countries with the lowest human development index scores in the world: Angola.

The curse of Angola, like that of most African countries, is that of being rich in natural resources. Oil and diamonds are the underlying causes of a 30-year long civil war that ended in 2002 and which killed thousands of people, leading the country to complete devastation. Again, the conflict was fought between political groups, mainly the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), endorsed by the Russians, and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), who were backed by the United States.

Through this experience, I came into contact once again with a post-conflict reality. While the capital Luanda was not significantly exposed to the fighting during the years of the armed struggle, the rural areas still carry visible signs of the war. Mine fields remain a major problem, making hundreds of hectares of land completely inaccessible. Small villages are spread across a territory larger than the combined area of Italy, France, Germany and the United Kingdom[1]. While they all lack basic services, none of them fails to display – even at this point in time – the flag of the political group that they vehemently supported during the war.

Saddened but at the same time fascinated by these complex realities of conflict, I began to think of the role that development communication could play in creating an understanding between these groups that have remained divided since the end of the violence. This research project arises from those experiences and from the interest I have developed in this area; it also stems from my passion for communication for development and my belief in the crucial function it plays in improving the life conditions of people living in poverty.

Research aims

The aim of this research is to offer an analysis and evaluation of both theoretical and empirical evidence, to ascertain the impact that communication for development interventions in contexts of peacebuilding can have in conflict transformation and reconciliation. Specific focus is placed on the potential

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[1] This is indicated by one of the main non-fiction writers on Angola and its civil war, Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuscinski, in his famous book *Another Day of Life*, published by Vintage in 2001.

effects that the use of participatory media can have to initiate social change in communities affected by violence.

By linking development communication to conflict transformation theory, this thesis aims to offer a framework of analysis that highlights the use of C4D in post-conflict settings through the use of participatory media. It seeks to establish academic understanding of the use of participatory media as tools for transforming conflicts and reconciling communities, and the ways that these types of productions can contribute to re-establishing relationships and creating a shared understanding of the conflict, while building a vision of an interconnected future among opposing groups. In so doing, this research contributes towards the design of more effective communication for development interventions in this area. This is particularly important at a time when new information and communication technologies are introducing a new way of working with the media.

The main questions addressed in this study (expanded and explained in the Methodology chapter) are the following:

- To what extent do participatory media create an understanding between former enemy groups?
- What impact do they have on those who participate in the production process?
- What impact do they have on the audience?
- How do they contribute to positive social change?
- How does C4D, through the use of participatory media, contribute to sustainable peace?

Theoretical framework

Peacebuilding is a concept that appears to have taken on various denotations depending on its area of practice. Its meaning changes from a mere set of activities that see their commencement at the end of a war; to a relational and psychological process; and to a new development approach that places a stronger emphasis on peace (Iyer, 2011). In this thesis, I adopt the definition given by Smith and Webb (2011), who describe peacebuilding as

> [...] a long-term engagement in the promotion of reconciliation, reintegration, leadership, and civil society development to contribute toward sustained social, political and economic stability in a society and to prevent a relapse into violent conflict (p.68).

At the beginning of this journey, I had to undergo the difficult process of narrowing down the overwhelming amount of literature that can be linked to this subject. Through the readings I conducted over the first few months of my candidature, I realised the importance of moving from mere conflict theories to actual peace studies. While the first are more concerned with the formation and structure of a dispute, the latter focus on the actual ways to end violence and initiate a process of dialogue. Johan Galtung (1996) is the author who has extensively analysed the field of peace studies.

Among the different models offered by peace studies, I felt that 'conflict transformation' - whose greatest advocate is the academic Jean Paul Lederach (1999a) - was the one that best reconciled with my vision of using the media to create a common ground among hostile communities. This differs from approaches such as conflict resolution (where third-parties work with the parties in conflict to identify creative solutions without compromising on fundamental needs) and conflict management (whose theorists see conflict exacerbated by ineradicable causes given by differences in values between communities; such disputes cannot be solved but only managed and contained). In talking about conflict transformation, Miall (2004) suggests that the real structure of the causes of a conflictual relationship can originate from a pattern of differences that pre-exist the conflict itself. Thus, the main task is to transform those relationships from which violence stems in the first place.

Moreover, when looking at this set of theories, it is important to identify and isolate the literature that refers to conflict as 'armed fight'. In the academic area that revolves around the word 'conflict', the work of many authors is focused on the use of this term as a mere disagreement between two (or more) people or groups, which can take place in a wide range of contexts (see for example Pruitt and Rubin, 1986).

Conversely, for the scope of this research, the conflict I refer to must be viewed as an *intra-state* fight between enemy groups, which is also referred to either as 'civil conflict' or '(inter-)communal violence', depending on its dynamics. When exploring the literature related to war and peace, the use of the term conflict intended as international / *inter-state* fight is often predominant. The focus of this thesis, however, is on violent conflicts that are fought within a country's boundaries, when 'the monopoly of violence formerly held by the state is [...] partially taken over by rebels, local warlords, organised criminal groups or private

militias' (Beall et al., 2013, p.3069). The term 'civil violence', used in the title of this thesis, encompasses these types of armed fights.

There appears to be a great deal of literature on the causes (especially economic ones) of civil conflict, among which the most renowned is perhaps the work of Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (1998, 2002, 2004). However, this branch of the literature does not offer any suggestions on how to deal with the situation that arises once the official conflict ends, and when the fighting or resentment among communities is generally still present.

As the title of this thesis makes clear, 'reconciliation' is also a key word in this research. In its legal connotation, reconciliation is a rather new element in post-conflict mechanisms. The growing importance placed on establishing accountability in post-conflict scenarios (particularly in proceedings aimed at dealing with mass harm) has led to an increased focus on reconciliation. The current usage appears to be one that looks at this process as both a legal element of post-conflict accountability and a more general restorative appeal at the end of a conflict (Balint, 2009).

One of the criticisms is that reconciliation has replaced, on many occasions, the enforcement of legal means to pursue accountability (Balint, 2009). While this may be true in some cases, there is a tendency from legal scholars to overemphasise the therapeutic effects that criminal trials can have on survivors. Fletcher and Weinstein (2002) argue that even though trauma literature does suggest that recounting a violent experience can bring the victim to closure, the performative aspects of courtroom testimony may not have the same healing effect. Truly, such effect is also a product of the way in which individual cultures attribute meanings to the occurrence of catastrophic events. This, in turn, allows the past to be shaped by both individual and collective interpretations (ibid.). In addition, criminal trials can only assign guilt to limited numbers of individuals and are therefore unable to present multiple paths to social repair (Fletcher and Weinstein, 2002).

In the context of this work, however, reconciliation is seen as a process of re-establishing relationships, starting from the grassroots and progressively leading the way towards a country-wide dialogue. Here, the community has a say and decides whether or not to forgive.

The theoretical framework for this research is therefore located in the intersection of theories related to conflict transformation and reconciliation on the one hand, and communication for

development, participatory communication and participatory media on the other. Social change (defined in later chapters) is also an important concept in this work, and its relevance will become clear from the data analysis.

Finally, I believe it is important to define the target group of this project, indicated previously as 'community'. Due to the often difficult political contexts, most people in African countries do not easily identify themselves as citizens of a nation, but see each other as members of their communities (Opubor, 2000). In the context of this research, the term 'community' is used to refer to a social network of individuals who reside within the same geographical location. When looking at communities, it important to not underestimate the diversity of experiences, age, gender and, most of all, ethnicities that co-exist. This is especially crucial when planning community media interventions. Opubor (2000) adds that '[a]mong other things, a human community is built on the exchange of initiatives, information and meanings in the process of defining, creating and maintaining a group identity and interests for survival [...]' (pp.12-13). Hence, media programmes should be created on the basis of the community's communication system (ibid.). In this thesis, the terms 'communities' and 'groups' will at times be used interchangeably.

Research methods and design

This research consists of an exploratory study carried out using a qualitative methodology. The fieldwork was conducted in Kenya. The choice of this country was made in consideration of the severe internal turmoil and inter-communal violence that took place following the 2007 presidential elections, which goes under the name of Kenya Post-Election Violence (PEV). A further reason for this choice was the work carried out by two NGOs in the aftermath of the electoral violence, which included projects that were in line with the sample selection requirements. The projects had to be either at the final stage of execution or completed, and had to be based on a participatory process. The projects selected for this research are, therefore, a participatory video and a participatory theatre initiative that were implemented shortly after the PEV.

The research was carried out in the form of an *impact evaluation* of two participatory media projects implemented in the Kenyan Rift Valley in the aftermath of the violence. The first project involved the use of participatory video with young people in the slum areas of Eldoret, the main urban centre of the Valley. Here, the international NGO *Mercy Corps* made use of

participatory video to gather the story of violence and positive change among its programmes' beneficiaries. The second project utilised the method of participatory theatre to address the inter-tribal disputes caused by the PEV on the Sotik/Borabu border, a rural area of the Rift Valley. This initiative was established by the *Amani People's Theatre* (APT), a small Kenyan NGO.

The empirical part of this research involves two levels of analysis. The first one is the analysis of the *semi-structured interviews* that were held with the participatory media projects' participants to find out about:

- their reasons for wanting to share their story or views in a media production;
- their feelings towards being part of a participatory media process;
- their perspective on the use of participatory media productions to reconcile groups after a conflict.

The second level of analysis was carried out on the *in-depth interviews* conducted with members of the audience of the participatory media productions. Interviewees were selected using a *stratified sampling* based on characteristics such as age, gender and ethnicity. This aimed to find out the significant changes that had occurred in the audience's perceptions of the conflict and of the rival tribe after watching the production.

A focus group was conducted with the participatory video project coaches, who were also members of the local communities where the project was implemented.

Through the support of both organisations in my data collection, I conducted 10 interviews with project participants for each of the two media activities, and five interviews with both groups of audience members, gathering a total of 30 interviews. These were analysed in the light of the Theory of Change (ToC) table that I built prior to collecting my data.

The ToC method is used extensively in international development and is particularly useful in evaluating peacebuilding programmes. In order to design appropriate ToCs in my work, I have found to be helpful Arsenault et al. (2011, p.20) theories of change for the evaluations of media interventions in conflict countries. For the purpose of this study, I have replaced the authors' third theory on 'public attitudes' with one on 'social change':

Individual change theory	Media promotes peace by affecting the knowledge, attitudes and behaviours of a critical mass of people
Healthy relationship and connections theory	The introduction or improvement of media sources promotes peace by providing an information conduit between dissenting groups, thus reducing prejudice and stereotypes between groups
Social change theory	Violence and conflict disintegrate a society's structure and alienate its people. The media can help articulate and initiate the change needed to re-build the social fabric.

As will become clear, these theories of change are interrelated with the changes that are involved in conflict transformation.

Summary of research findings

The findings of this study demonstrate the impact that communication for development has in the context of peacebuilding interventions, particularly through the use of participatory communication and participatory media. The effects of participatory media productions, both on their participants and on their audience, show a solid connection with processes of conflict transformation as well as reconciliation between individuals and groups.

The project activities were successful in achieving the individual and relational changes that are essential components for conflict transformation to occur. At the same time, they have begun to lay the basis for wider social change. In particular, participatory media appear to have contributed to the achievement, within and among communities, of elements such as:

- *empowerment*
- *behaviour change*
- *healing*
- *unity*
- *interaction*
- *inter-group discussion*
- *peaceful co-existence*

Besides addressing the specific aims of this research, I believe that this study's findings convey as a rule the importance of communication for development designs in post-conflict

scenarios; most importantly, they remind us of the significance of the human aspect of communication, which cannot be replaced by any other development or peacebuilding methodology.

Structure of this thesis

Since this work intersects with a number of academic disciplines, Chapter 1 lays the basis for an understanding of the relevance of my topic in relation to the areas of conflict transformation, reconciliation and storytelling, with specific focus on the African context.

Chapter 2 delves into the main theoretical field of this study, reviewing the literature on Communication for Development and linking it to recent approaches to participation in the media; methodologies involving video and theatre are specifically analysed to provide the research findings with a solid theoretical background.

With the objective of providing the reader with the contextual information needed in order to comprehend the empirical part of this work, Chapter 3 gives an overview of the historical events that led to the Kenya Post-Election Violence. It reviews the relationship between tribes in the country, with particular focus on the Rift Valley, and introduces the two participatory media projects that are evaluated here.

The Methodology applied to this research is extensively discussed in Chapter 4, where the nature of this enquiry and subsequent choice of methods are presented. This section also offers details of my fieldwork, illustrating the planning, the personal reflections and the obstacles found as a researcher in a field where complex dynamics are in place.

In Chapter 5, the analysis of the interviews I carried out with projects' participants puts forward the first findings of this study. The themes that arise from the conversations with my interviewees reflect the main components of the theories of change that were defined previously, providing evidence to the claims advanced here.

Chapter 6 completes the analysis section with the introduction of the findings from the audience interviews. Through the application of a new type of narrative enquiry that I have

developed, these interviews are presented to the reader as short stories and examined in the light of their semantic structures.

Finally, Chapter 7 returns to the theories discussed in the first chapters and links them to concepts that have emerged from the data analysis. This section also offers additional reflections on the lessons from the two participatory media projects. Most importantly, it clarifies the relationship between C4D and peace, and positions this study in the newly-emerged field of 'Communication for Development in Peacebuilding'. This arises from the work initiated by international organisations in the years that follow the commencement of this PhD project in March 2011.

On the whole, this thesis advances knowledge in the field through a process of linking theories of communication for development with conflict transformation and reconciliation. The evaluation conducted through the empirical part of this work provides evidence that demonstrates how participatory media created in the aftermath of conflict have a positive impact on re-uniting and reconciling groups divided by violence. The study also shows how participatory communication and its application to media content production have the potential to transform conflict by facilitating a process of social change.

CHAPTER 1
Background Theories and Concepts

Prior to beginning a discussion on the use of communication in development contexts and on the application of participatory media processes in post-conflict settings, I felt it was important for the reader to visualise where the claims of this thesis are originally found. The theories presented here are a preamble to the main subject and will be linked back throughout the progression of this work.

This chapter provides the necessary background for the subsequent introduction of this thesis' main topic. The theoretical frameworks reviewed here on the concepts of conflict-transformation, reconciliation and storytelling, are linked to the arguments and data presented in the Methodology, Analysis and Discussion sections. Notions of war trauma, victimhood and social healing are also discussed; however, these are mostly used to offer an understanding of post-conflict realities, and will not be addressed specifically in the analysis. Perspectives on transitional and restorative justice are set forth to clarify the cultural relevance of the activities examined here.

In the aftermath of civil war

Societies emerging from conflict acknowledge the fact that despite the war having come to an end, the path to peace – particularly towards a sustainable one – is still very long. Factors such as extreme poverty, ongoing ethnic, political or religious fighting, armed violence, and the absence of a stable government and basic infrastructure, are all potential causes for a setback (Anderlini and El-Bushra, 2004).

Hartwell (2001) describes an early post-conflict society as 'one in which enemy groups have ceased fighting each other in direct combat on the ground and have moved the fight to an institutional forum. Violence is common during this period as the intensity of street fighting slows, transforming itself into punishment beatings and other forms of intimidation, used to settle old scores' (p.7).

Following this definition, what appears to gain in importance is the planning of recovery initiatives that are designed to overcome the culture of violence. Even though the institutional conflict is over and a peace agreement has been signed, the issues linked to

power, interest and identity between the warring parties have not disappeared. In reality, civil violence is still present at the lower levels of society and continues to be an instrument of revenge in certain areas, where hostility strongly emerges between communities. External assistance should be offered that focuses on the creation of tools which allow for a non-violent resolution of the conflict. Besides working on the structural causes of conflict, development programmes must therefore be built on the objectives of renewing social relations, fostering dialogue and building confidence (Fisher, 2004).

Healing as a social process

As emphasised in the previous section, the impact of war on civilians extends well beyond the period of active warfare, with its effects usually lasting for years after the fighting ceases (Ghobarah et al., 2004). Krippner and McIntyre (2003) explain that the expression *war trauma* refers to

> [...] the effects of war as an extreme stressor that threatens human existence, acting upon a human being or a group of people. At an individual level, this may entail physical or psychosocial consequences, such as the inability to talk or relate to other human beings. At a collective level, war trauma is meant to include all the health, social, economic, cultural and political consequences of war stress. War stress shutters the individual and his or her network, assaulting the integrity of their world. Irreparable material and kin losses, as well as the loss of everyday routines, values, and important rituals, render collective healing more difficult (p.7).

Also Fisher (2004) highlights that one of the most serious legacies of a civil conflict is the trauma experienced both by individuals and by their communities. According to community trauma theorists, the latter does not simplistically indicate that each individual belonging to a particular community is traumatised, but rather that the community itself, intended as a collective unit, has undergone trauma (Burstow, 2003). As Somasundaram (2004) explains, terror at the community level can be encountered not only in the social processes and structures relevant to that group, but also in the coping strategies that the community has put in place according to their culture. In particular, the author underlines how strategies that have proven effective during the war can, at the same time, represent obstacles to peace reconstruction.

In addressing the collective aspect of the trauma caused by mass violence, Fisher (2004), again, stresses that the physical re-construction of housing, infrastructure and health systems should be accompanied by a social renewal that is primarily concerned with re-establishing a structure within civil society. In this context, the psychosocial dimension gains particular relevance, especially through the involvement of interventions that aim to achieve reconciliation, both at the individual and inter-group level (ibid.). Hence, by encouraging a cooperative relationship between different local groups, the changes that can be achieved may produce benefits that will spill over into the larger quarrel (Ross, 2000).

However, Negowetti (2003) clarifies that in order for transformation to occur, the approaches to contemporary intra-state conflicts must take into account the experiences of both victims and perpetrators. This is also emphasised by Ross (2000), who recognises that both parties should be enabled to gain an understanding of the other's standpoint and believe that the creation of a productive dialogue is possible. The author clarifies that mourning is the normal process that follows a person's real or threatened loss. Yet, when losses occur on a large scale, the grieving that leads to the acceptance of that loss is often impeded, so that 'in the case of a large group the inability to mourn may become a political force' (Volkan, 1990, quoted in Ross, 2000, p.1015). Group mourning is crucial in contexts where the degree of anger does not allow for a normal mourning and expression of loss to take place. Being unable to mourn a significant loss makes groups unwilling to re-think about their position and establish a relationship with the former adversaries (Ross, 2000).

According to Gobodo-Madikizela (2008), when groups are involved in conflicts of a political nature, the human rights violations inflicted on the victims – whether they be torture, physical harm or death – create a vicious cycle of violence and loathing whose methods used against members of the perpetrator group are more and more brutal. This produces a culture of blame through which culpability goes unacknowledged by both sides and revenge-based violence continues over generations. Scholars have shown how past traumas are passed on intergenerationally and hold the same emotional power they were filled with years before.

The author (ibid.) brings three levels to this argument. Firstly, the psychological injuries caused by the experience of trauma have a long-standing impact on the life and identity of the survivors in ways that are still not fully explained; symptoms appear both as grief, and in the re-enactment of acts of violence against those individuals or groups that are historically associated with the original cause of hatred. This repetition of symbolic acts as a constant manifestation of trauma stands for what is seen as *unfinished business*. When trauma is the

collective condition of a group, the situation becomes more complex. Secondly, long-lasting hateful behaviour and violence against groups have what the author refers to as 'intrapsychic' dimension of trauma. This dimension of grief and the inability to mourn traumatic losses must be addressed at an individual level in order for meaningful intergroup reconciliation to occur. Thirdly, establishing dialogue to repair the rupture caused by past traumas is a key stage in coming to terms with the feelings that have maintained enduring resentment and violence between groups over the years.

Thus, individual and collective healings cannot be looked at as entirely distinct and they appear to be in a 'dialectical' relationship with each other. However, while the process of individual healing from trauma deals primarily with the needs and interests of the individual and how they relate to their community, it is difficult to identify a specific practice that traumatised groups should undertake in order to heal themselves. This is due to the fact that a reaction to a traumatic experience manifests itself differently, depending on the cultural context in which the event takes place (Brendel, 2006). As Krippner and McIntyre (2003) emphasise, the kinds of challenges faced in treating large civilian populations affected by psychological war trauma are often unique and cannot always be traced in the therapeutic literature or conventional clinical practice. Where the situation allows, it may be useful to engage the community of victims and that of perpetrators in a dialogue, in which they both have an opportunity to meet one another by sharing stories, expressing feelings, apologising and forgiving. An example of the latter is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that took place in the 1990s in South Africa following the dismantling of the apartheid system (Brendel, 2006). This process is further discussed later in this chapter.

At the same time, it is important to note that even when the prime aim is to heal the community as a whole, such as in the case of the TRC, it is also crucial to address the needs and welfare of individual participants. It is sensible to ensure that the victimised individuals who are encouraged to participate are only those who would find substantial help in describing and re-living their trauma and who would not incur any further harm. Here, the dialectical reasoning previously mentioned reminds us of the importance of integrating both individual and collective concerns (Brendel, 2006).

Conflict transformation

In his work on conflict and reconciliation, Lederach (1999a) encourages scholars to look for an approach to social conflict resolution that encompasses multiple theories and takes into

account the different meanings and interpretations that people give to actions and events on the basis of their knowledge and culture.

In the same way, Galtung (1996) points out the connection between peace studies and health studies, highlighting how the application of the diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle is valuable to both fields. The scholar (ibid.) illustrates how conflict is a triadic construct made up by the sum of *A+B+C*, where A is the manifest side of the phenomenon – that is *behaviour* – and B and C are the latent aspects of it, identified in *attitude* and *contradiction*. This is clarified in Figure 1.
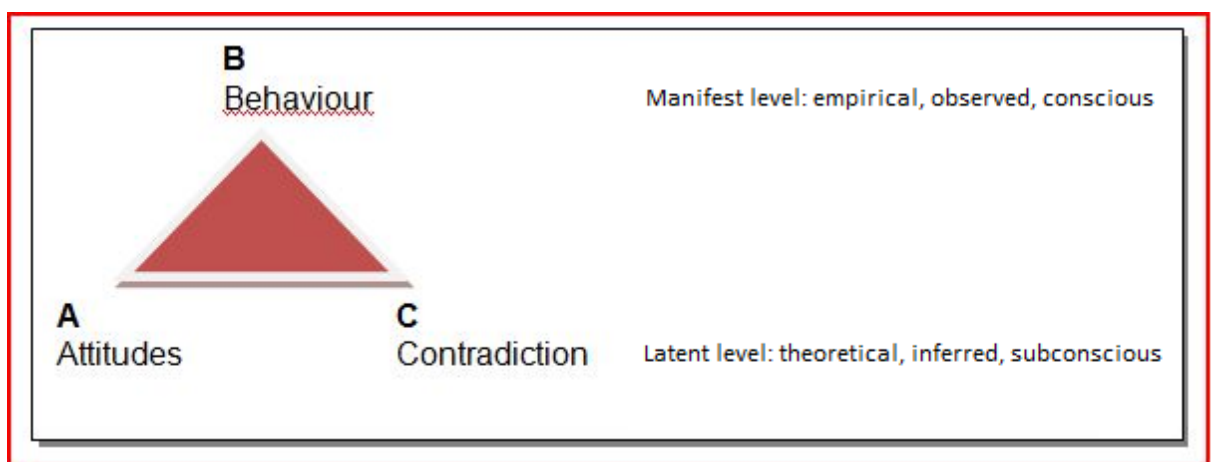
Figure 1. Galtung's conflict triangle

Galtung (ibid.) provides further distinctions when talking about the concept of violence. In particular, he refers to *direct* violence when the sender intends the consequences of his/her actions, and *structural* violence when those consequences are indirect. This type of indirect violence is generated within the social structure and it results in two currents of structural violence: those of repression and exploitation. C*ultural* violence, in turn, involves the use of religion, ideology, language, art, science, law, media and education to create the legitimate bases of structural violence. As the author states, 'direct violence is an *event*; structural violence is a *process* with ups and downs; cultural violence is an *invariant*, a '*permanent*', remaining essentially the same for long periods, given the slow transformations of basic culture' (p.199).

Miall (2004) reformulates the Conflict Triangle framework elaborated by Galtung by shifting the concept of 'contradiction' to 'context'; 'attitudes' to 'memory' and 'behaviour' to

'relationships' (see Figure 2). This recognises that the meaning of a conflict depends largely on the context out of which it arises. The attitudes that parties have towards one another are shaped by previous relationships. The behaviour they adopt is not purely reactive but is based on their memory of what has happened in the past.
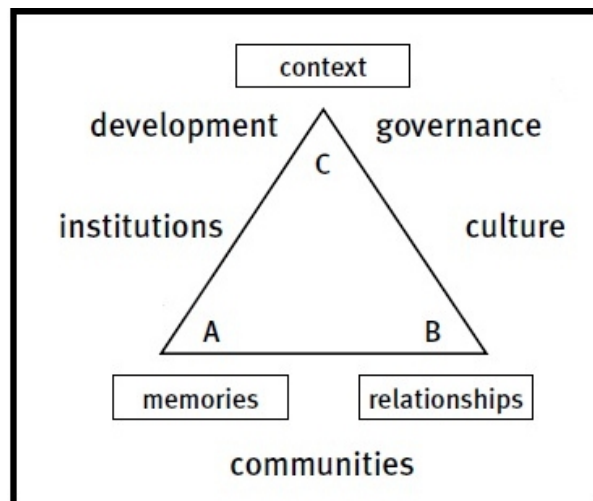
Figure 2. Miall's adaptation of Galtung's Conflict Triangle

The author (ibid.) goes on to give details of what each component of the triangle constitutes. What we mean by *context* in a conflict is the society involved in the conflict itself, as well as the wider international and regional issues. Besides traditional culture, the background of a society is comprised of factors such as governance arrangements, institutions, social roles, norms, and its progress in development. *Relationships* are formed by interactions taking place within the society where the conflict occurs, and with other networks of individuals. Miall (2004) here makes reference to the work of Lederach (1997), who stresses the importance of these relational aspects of conflict: if poor relationships between groups are not dealt with, they become an obstacle to peacebuilding also once direct violence is over, and they are likely to be a trigger for new strife. Finally, m*emories* represent the socially constructed understanding that each party has of the situation; these, again, are built around culture, discourse and beliefs. The author emphasises the role that memories play in the construction of the past and, as a result, on the mobilisation of conflict; they are therefore a critical issue to tackle when working towards culture and reconciliation (Miall, 2004).

Context, relationship and memories are strictly related to the contradictions, attitudes and behaviours that influence the formation of a conflict (Miall, 2004). The erroneous interpretation of one of these factors leads to what Galtung (2004) indicates as the *norm of*

reciprocity; this is a vicious cycle that requires the equalisation of harm on both sides and into which both perpetrators and victims fall.

Here, the role of 'memory initiatives' deserves a mention. The Dutch research organisation *Impunity Watch*, through a 2011 publication on the role of these initiatives in communities left to cope with unpunished human rights violations, provides some useful notions. In its report, the organisation explains how memory takes shape through the recollection of events that occurred in the past, their interpretation, and their re-connection to the present situation; such a mechanism of remembrance models both past and future. At the same time, it is necessary to distinguish between two types of memory: the individual and the collective (Impunity Watch, 2011).

Memory initiatives implemented in the aftermath of a conflict are designed to impact on collective memory, which can be regarded as a social construct created through the process of negotiation; these interventions target the subconscious and conscious understanding of events by means of examples and illustrations, with the aim of reaching a positive collective outcome. This is particularly important as, while reflecting on their past, people tend to justify acts of violence either due to their need of lessening guilt or to evade their responsibilities. This attitude can also favour the development of a process of victimisation. These dynamics took place in Rwanda, where the collective memory produced after the genocide contributed both to the reinforcement of an authoritarian ideology based on a narrative of victimhood and to the argument of mass participation that led to the criminalisation of the entire Hutu ethnicity (Impunity Watch, 2011).

By recognising the fundamental role of the media in this context, the work of Kansteiner (2002) advocates the need to reconcile collective memory theory with media studies. The author asserts that 'the media, their structure, and the rituals of consumption [individuals] underwrite might represent the most important shared component of people's historical consciousness [...]' (p.195).

Shapiro (2006) stresses how attempts to put an end to violence require engagement with processes of change. The complexity of such processes lies in the identification of the factors that need to be changed, what they should become, where this should begin and when it should be concluded. The answers to these questions drive the strategy to conflict interventions (ibid.). At the same time, Miall (2004) affirms that while it is not easy to

determine at a macro level the impact that peacebuilding has in tackling problems of historical memories and reconciliation, its achievements in personal and group transformations are remarkable. The author defines *conflict transformation* as:

> [...] a process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourse and the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violence. This suggests a wide-ranging approach emphasising support for groups within the society in conflict rather than for the mediation of outsiders, for a long-term process of peace-building (Miall, 2004, p.4).

The foundation of this new approach - largely advocated by Lederach (1999a) through his work *Preparing for Peace: conflict transformation across cultures* - lies in the belief that the potential for peacebuilding is already present in the community where the intervention is taking place (Reimann, 2004).

It is interesting to make a connection with the *theory of change* brought up by Shapiro (2006). The author explains how this theory refers to the way practitioners look at individual, intergroup and social change, and how acting at these three levels can generate positive results. By considering different stages of analysis, Shapiro (2006) looks at what needs to be targeted in conflict interventions in order to form theories of change:

- **Changing individuals**. This encompasses shifts in attitudes, perceptions, feelings, behaviours and motivations of the beneficiaries of an intervention. Such shifts may involve:
    - *Cognitive change* – the objective of this type of change is to transform the perception that one party has of the other. The hostility and prejudice that are felt can be changed by learning about the other, fostering self-reflection and critically analysing social norms.
    - *Affective change* recognises how emotional states such as fear, rage, shame and grief can represent an obstacle in the resolution of a conflict. Empathy, hope and compassion must be developed, and some interventions can play an important role through the promotion of emotional literacy practices and self-awareness.
    - *Behavioural change*. Programmes focusing on this type of change try to create a new set of rules and norms for people to interact with each other; at the same time, they offer behavioural models that lead to positive change and a

safer environment. The construction of 'pioneer' or 'leader' characters is often used to push participants towards the adoption of a specific idea or behaviour.

An approach to this level of change adopted in post-conflict situations can be found, for example, in the use of radio drama. During the transition phase from fighting to peace, and at times even for prolonged phases, media production companies, researchers and (typically) NGOs join forces to create dramas to be broadcast either on community or national radio stations, to address issues deriving from the conflict. Both the storylines and the characters involved attempt to offer a re-creation of the situation that people face in the aftermath of violence, where the lack of understanding of some of the causes of the conflict, the rumours being spread, and the anger and suffering contribute to maintaining hostility.

An example of this type of work that merges education with entertainment while providing tools for psychological recovery from mass violence is carried out by Dutch organisation *La Benevolencija*. La Benevolencija produces and broadcasts radio dramas in countries such as Rwanda, Congo and Burundi. The goals are to open paths for its audiences to learn how to cope with their traumatic experiences; to shed clarity on the origins of violence as well as its impact; and to promote violence prevention strategies and reconciliation among the population (Staub et al., 2007). Such strategies become clear through the behaviour adopted by the characters during the unfolding of the drama.

- **Changing relationships**. Change at this level occurs when interventions are designed to create collaborative and meaningful interaction between members of the (formerly) warring parties, which results in the improvement of inter-group relations. Shapiro (2006) states that 'the processes of learning about the "out-group", changing behaviours toward out-group members, developing cross-group friendships and, at times, [...] establishing a new, common in-group identity facilitate inter-group cooperation' (p.6).

From a communication perspective, such change can be achieved, for example, when people participate in the production of a media story that allows them both to reflect upon and become aware of their situation, and to create an understanding and share their experience among other groups. This idea is crucial to the development of this research.

As Lederach (2003) emphasises, the role that relationships play is central to conflict transformation. According to the scholar, four modalities exist in which conflict impacts on situations and hence brings about change: a) personal, b) relational, c) structural, and d) cultural. For the context of this research, I believe it is relevant to focus on the personal and relational dimensions of conflict identified by Lederach:

- The **personal dimension** relates to ways in which an individual modifies his / her human experience in terms of perceptions, emotions and cognition throughout the conflict. Hence, transformation here is targeted on minimising the destructive impact of the conflict and on maximising the potential growth that can occur in an individual at the emotional and cognitive level

- The **relational dimension** refers to the emotions, power, and interdependence of the adversaries. Here, the communication and interaction occurring during the conflict are key. From a descriptive approach, transformation is shaped by the patterns of communication and interaction that affect relationships throughout the conflict. Prescriptively, transformation is regarded as the deliberate attempt to increase mutual understanding between parties (ibid, p.n/a).

In his paper, Lederach (2003) also offers a comprehensive model called 'Map for Conflict Transformation', which provides an accurate guidance on how to analyse a conflict, respond to the different needs and generate change. However, as clarified in the introduction of this thesis, this research does not address "change" from the beginning of the conflict to its end, but rather from the end of the overt violence to the start of a reconciliation process between communities. The causes related to the type of conflict examined in this study, are therefore not wholly related to the initial causes of the fighting, but rather to the injustice and losses of which communities have been victims during the warfare: these lead in turn to the rise of both an *inter-* and *intra-* community type of conflict, which hinders the achievement of peace.

Assefa (1993) reminds us that peace cannot be viewed as a mere state of general calmness or an order imposed from the top to soothe friction; on the contrary, peace is formed by a network of relationships characterised by harmony and connectedness among people. Interventions that aim at resolving conflict and making peace must therefore focus on the restructuring of those relationships. This idea is important for introducing the next section of this chapter, which offers a theoretical review of the concept of reconciliation.

Reconciliation

Reconciliation can be seen as the process of producing a social space where the parties who were involved in the conflict can share their grief, the trauma caused by their losses and the painful memories of the injustice they have experienced. One of the key steps for the creation of such space is the acknowledgement of the other's story, which initiates the process of restoration of individuals and their relationships. According to Negowetti (2003) reconciling means therefore identifying the events that have occurred (truth), striving to repair the wrongdoings (justice), and forgiving those who have done harm (mercy). The main aspect of reconciliation is that it works on mechanisms that encourage former adversaries to engage with one another as human. It is a process that aims to help both sides of the conflict to address the past, confront their pain and plan a shared future (ibid.).

Assefa (1993) defines reconciliation as

> [...] the act by which people who have been apart and split-off from one another begin to stroll or march together again. Essentially, reconciliation means the restoration of broken relationships or the coming together of those who have been alienated and separated from each other by conflict to create a community again. Reconciliation is conflict resolution, but [...] it has greater dimensions and more profound implications (p.9).

In *The Journey toward Reconciliation*, Lederach (1999b) compares the different approaches that can be taken in order to undergo this journey. In the context of the setting up of a Truth Commission, the author highlights how the first step to social reconciliation is based largely on the identification of the injustices that were committed, who was responsible for them and who suffered as a result. This is a prerequisite to the re-establishment of relationships and the beginning of healing.

Fischer (2011) underlines that Truth Commissions help to neutralise a culture of denial and to redress the historical distortion that had been enforced during the conflict. Particularly in situations of ethnic or religious disputes, where groups characterised by different identities will continue to live as neighbours, it is crucial to prevent extremists' attempts to attribute responsibilities of past crimes and abuses to the adversaries. Hence, engaging society in a (often painful) national dialogue contributes to countering those tendencies.

However, through the elaboration of a conflict transformation framework, Lederach (1999b) also underlines how engaging the two sides in a discussion about the past could be less effective than initiating a conversation concerning the future. When talking about the future, the author deems that the two parties may find out about shared commonalities and slowly diminish that sense of antagonism that is often perceived when remembering the wrong. While focusing on the past may still generate a defensive response, an open reflection on what lies ahead can lead the way to a constructive interaction (ibid.).

> When people have been victimised through repression and violence as in war, or through deep psychological violence as in sexual harassment [...] their deepest concern seems to be oriented towards two things. First, they need acknowledgment of the wrong done to them. Second, they are driven by the desire that it never happens to anyone else. It is the intense weight of responsibility for preventing future victimisation that motivates a person to engage in the vulnerable journey of confronting the injustice and the enemy. Otherwise, they would prefer to move away from the suffering and forget it (Lederach, 1999b, p.77).

Becker (2005) explains that reconciliation processes are always part of the traumatic history of the victims. Truth commissions, procedural justice etc. are not processes that take place after the trauma, but rather represent part of the trauma itself. They therefore have a direct impact on the state of the victims. They can deepen their pain or they can facilitate victims' reintegration in society. Depending on the way they are carried out, these activities will either contribute to victims' empowerment, or repeat their disempowerment.

Wallace (1998) states that

> [...] the impact of reconciliation initiatives is hard to assess. The critical question is whether there has been a permanent change in attitude towards people previously regarded as enemies. One sure sign of reconciliation is when someone allows their livelihood to become closely tied up with the livelihood of their traditional enemy (p.n/a).

Reconciliation thus aims at offering an opportunity to the opposing sides to meet together at various levels, make sense of their past and reflect on an interdependent future (Lederach, 1997). In harmony with the ideas discussed above, a further definition is provided by Santa-Barbara (2007), who sees reconciliation as

> [...] the restoration of a state of peace to the relationship, where the entities are at least not harming each other, and can begin to be trusted not to do so in the future, which means that revenge is foregone as an option (p.174).

Moreover, reconciliation will take place more smoothly in contexts where the local culture recognises forgiveness as an important value; this may also be attached to religious beliefs. Correspondingly, what could stand as an obstacle to this process is the suppression of painful memories as a cultural practice (Santa-Barbara, 2007). Israeli scholar Dan Bar-On (2000) offers as an example the differences in the approach to reconciliation between Islam and Judaism. For Jewish followers, reconciliation can only take place once the perpetrators themselves have personally apologised and asked the victim for forgiveness.

However, Ryan (1995) argues that while the implementation of reconciliation initiatives that have as main features the recognition of mutual wrongs, internal change, forgiveness and the acceptance of new relationships has had an important impact on a number of individuals in situations of inter-communal conflicts, not everyone appears to have benefited from them. The main criticism of this approach refers to its focus on interpersonal relationships and individual change as the way to resolve intergroup conflicts. Inter-communal disputes, on the other hand, are not simply a personal matter but revolve around the concept of social identity, which is the individual's aspect that psychologists deem the strongest. Intergroup hostility can be found in the psychological factors that relate to collective social motivation. This in turn suggests – once again - that if reconciliation is to be achieved, interaction should occur also at an intergroup level and not merely at an interpersonal one (ibid.).

The identification of the main elements related to the process of reconciliation, as well as of some of the aspects connected to social healing and illustrated in previous pages, bring us to the next section of this chapter. Here, dialogue is looked at as an exchange of stories that leads to the creation of a shared narrative of war in which all groups can find their answers.

Restoring relationships, bringing justice and telling stories in Africa

In post-conflict situations there appears to be a common desire for public acknowledgement of past events among all groups. However, it is each country's culture, as well as individual

history, that will give shape to the reconciliation process that is needed if sustainable peace is to be achieved (Hartwell, 2001).

This section focuses on the use of storytelling as a healing tool. Yet, prior to addressing this topic, two of the major experiences of reconciliation that have taken place over the past century in the African continent will be briefly reviewed. For both, particular attention will be paid to the role attributed to communities and their perception and understanding of justice in the process. It is important to clarify that this discussion is not aimed at assessing their impact, but rather at highlighting the reasons that have led to the communities' involvement as well as the various degrees to which this has occurred.

Botman (1997) explains that whilst the goal of reconciliation is not to circumvent justice, its task should not even be to fulfil justice's legal requirements. The main feature of reconciliation is its underpinning of the principle of commonality, which allows justice to be achieved through an open and receptive environment where a common future is at stake. As the author makes clear, 'reconciliation replaces the culture of revenge, not the culture of justice' (p.17).

Justice plays a crucial role in the peacebuilding effort in post-conflict areas; the needs in these contexts go from the end of violence to the re-establishment of the rule of law, along with the prosecution of perpetrators of war crimes and human rights abuses. As a result, justice is also a complex concept that carries different meanings. Lambourne (2004) makes a distinction between:

- *Retributive justice* – settling an issue through punishment or revenge;
- *Restitutive justice* – recovery of losses or compensation to repair the wrongdoing;
- *Restorative justice* – re-establishing relationships between parties in conflict.

The *South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)* is considered to be a ground-breaking experience of restorative justice and nation-building by way of reconciliation, and it has been regarded by many as an international model to be applied in comparable situations in other countries (Adam and Adam, 2000). Gobodo-Madikizela's (2008) work on the South African experience stresses that the creation of both a space for dialogue and an opportunity for the two parties to analyse the consequences of their conduct through reflective dialogue has been a critical element for intergroup reconciliation.

Yet, as Boraine (2000) reminds us, the TRC has also been heavily criticised for its large use of amnesty. Nonetheless, the author illustrates how the South African absolution of many of the perpetrators of racial violence was different from the historical blanket amnesties that have been granted; this was thanks to the TRC's special mechanism based on individual applications. Those who chose to apply for amnesty had to provide accurate information on the human rights violations they had committed in a prescribed form. In most cases, applicants were also required to make a full public disclosure of their actions before the Amnesty Committee and the general audience. Through this new approach, amnesty was granted in exchange for truth.

Within this context, Lewin (1998) writes that

> the TRC process changed the whole nature of story-telling. By giving this open, front-of-the-lights platform to the people (not the leaders, not the preachers, not the politicians), the real people with their own stories, in their own time, place and language – by giving them that opportunity we have changed the nature of story-telling and how we report it (p.41).

Hartwell (2001), on the other hand, questions the effectiveness of the TRC, indicating as one of its main weaknesses the forced reconciliation promoted by the government, which indirectly gave directions on the way participants were to react to revelations. The author states that 'the emotionally charged Human Rights Violation hearings promoted an exclusively Christian view that invoked notions of confession, forgiveness, sacrifice, redemption and truth-telling' (p.4). This, however, does not necessarily lead to social healing and reconciliation. What public truth telling (both at a formal and informal level) can bring in post-conflict situations is the creation of a public forum that allows people to acknowledge the pain of the losses and represents a shared platform for dignity and respect (ibid.).

Another criticism of the work of the Commission is that its strongly restorative focus has overshadowed the legal need for retributive and punitive justice. According to the South African Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, however, 'retributive justice is largely Western. The African understanding is far more restorative – not so much to punish as to redress or restore a balance that has been knocked askew. The justice we hope for is restorative of the dignity of people' (quoted in Richters et al., 2005, p.207).

Similarly, while acknowledging the significance of justice in rebuilding society, the Rwandan government realised that the regular secular judicial system was unable to address all of the issues facing the country in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide. After extensive consultations over the country's future held at a national level, a decision was made in the late 1990s on the implementation of a uniquely Rwandan model, consisting of the adaptation of the practice of state justice in the form of *gacaca tribunals*. Gacaca is an innovative model of participatory justice through which the information to be used in the trials is collected within and by the community. In addition to that, participatory forms of judgment and punishment were facilitated. These tribunals, functioning alongside other justice mechanisms, were proposed in an attempt both to uncover the truth of the events that had taken place and to encourage co-operative relationships (Richters et al., 2005).

The reasons that lead state-sponsored truth-seeking mechanisms to play such a key role in post-conflict settings are to be found in the belief that individual victims and their families endure a perpetual suffering because of their inability to find out what really happened and what caused certain events to occur. At the same time, they feel that their pain is not acknowledged. Once facts are made public by the state, victims are liberated from the past they had become trapped in and that had made them unable to move on with their lives (Fletcher and Weinstein, 2002).

Nevertheless, while these public *fora* represented by truth commissions and war crimes tribunals were created to achieve healing in many post-conflict contexts around the world, in a few countries a choice was made by governments to keep emotions out of the public domain. Following the war in Nigeria, for example, the main approach was that of a social healing of post-war trauma, whose practice had to take place at the community level. Nigeria never moved in the direction of setting up a war crimes tribunal, and the truth of what happened to Biafran civilians (the defeated party) comes from the interpretation of oral history and literature (Richters et al., 2005).

A similar experience took place in post-conflict Mozambique, where communities were left to reconcile among themselves. This approach can be considered as having a greater impact than the application of international and national laws by their institutions, as the processes followed by the latter do not necessarily take into account the social and psychological aspects that guide the way individuals form attachments in groups and communities. In order for these connections to truly reproduce, justice should be grounded in local traditions and practices, and should be accompanied by other processes of social reconstruction

(Richters et al., 2005). As clarified by Lambourne (2004), 'approaches to reconciliation are affected by cultural differences often underpinned by religious beliefs' (p.n/a). Hence, part of the answer lies in the identification of local structures or concepts that provide greater relevance for community acceptance.

This is also exemplified by the *barza intercommunautaire* adopted in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which offer a space recognised by the community where offenders and victims can express their views. Such tools aim at uncovering the true story behind the offence and achieving reconciliation between the two parties. This is explained by Villa-Vicencio et al. (2005) in a review of some of the transitional justice mechanisms put in place by countries in the African Great Lakes region to face the challenge of recovering from war trauma. In particular, the process followed by each *barza* has both a flexible component, which adapts to the needs and traditions of a particular community, and a common element, consisting of an open dialogue between the disputants and usually taking place under a tree while consuming a meal. Here, once again, the focus is on restoration rather than retribution, with the final goal that of forgiving. So while the execution of formal initiatives such as the TRC are ultimately in the hands of the government, *barza* are owned by communities themselves (ibid.).

Stark (2006) explains how community interventions in the aftermath of a conflict can be recognised in two paradigms. The first one is based on the Western conception of trauma and healing and the subsequent 'medicalization of suffering'; this approach gives importance to treatment at the individual level. The second paradigm recognises the cultural dimension of grief and looks at local coping strategies; this approach acknowledges the African traditional concept of health as the stable presence of a network of relationships among individuals, with their environment and their ancestors.

When considering the role of narrative within the context of culture, Copeland and Miskelly (2010, p.195) remind us – by quoting the work of Erstad and Wertsch (2008) - that in order to make sense of how our lives change over time, we employ 'cultural tools'. Mediated action can be fundamentally altered as a result of the transformations embedded in the development of cultural tools. Within this context, one outcome of sharing stories is that the sense of community itself can be strengthened. By discussing in particular the use of digital storytelling, Copeland and Miskelly (2010) agree that after the story development cycle has been completed, the stories produced serve as objects which mediate relationships.

Narratives are the rationale behind community thinking. Since cultural narratives encompass the knowledge that is shared by a group, they can be adapted and employed as tools to create a critical framework and persuade people on specific aspects of social life. Stories are both an instrument for socialisation and for education. In addition, telling and understanding stories is a central inborn capacity of human beings (Senehi, 2002). As Kayser (1999) explains:

> Stories are one of the most revealing tools for exploring the question of how people define their identities, how they see and wish to place themselves in the world. Stories are a reservoir of collective memory, individual experience and action and can complement the more 'rational' approaches to conflict resolution (p.36).

Senehi (2002) tells us how - like language - storytelling encodes the culture of a particular community; this refers to the common perception of what identities, power, history and values are for that group. It can also be key in resolving conflict and encouraging peacebuilding, as it motivates people to undergo transformation. As the author states, 'storytelling is a resource even when stripped of all possessions and in the face of overwhelming power' (p.45).

This concept is emphasised by Chaitin (2004), who explains how the recounting of personal stories in situations that aim to reduce intergroup conflicts and enhance peacebuilding and reconciliation between adversaries, has been used within the last decade in a number of contexts around the world. The author discusses some practical examples of projects that have employed storytelling as a tool for dialogue between hostile communities and groups, such as *To Reflect and Trust[2]*. TRT is an international dialogue group between descendants of Nazi perpetrators and of Jewish Holocaust survivors. Individuals from the two groups met together in a self-supporting atmosphere to tell one another their life stories in order to attempt to better work through their pasts, as a result of their parents' experiences during WWII (Chaitin, 2004).

Another example worth citing is *InterAction Belfast[3]*, a programme of re-integration for ex-combatants in Northern Ireland, which created spaces for dialogue between former militants and the general community.

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[2] See: www.toreflectandtrust.org
[3] See: www.peacewall.org

Chaitin (2004) also gives mention to *PRIME*, a non-governmental organisation that designs projects to explore crucial psychosocial and educational aspects of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and use the findings for peacebuilding work. Some of the activities involve the creation and sharing of narrated, video-taped testimonies, to allow both parties to become aware of the many aspects of their joint history as well as the suffering of the other.

When dealing with intense social trauma, storytelling has demonstrated having an important effect on the lives of individuals. While survivors' recounting of their traumatic events does not guarantee the initiation of a healing process, it will ultimately re-open those channels of thoughts, feelings and communication that the trauma had shut down (Chaitin, 2004). Also Schmidt (2000) places emphasis on the potential that storytelling has in bringing about reconciliation, particularly when it is employed as a form of a cross-border dialogue: crossing frontiers and overcoming enmity is possible by listening and asking questions to the other and by putting oneself in the other's position.

Shifting the focus back to the African experience and looking again at Rwanda, some observers have argued that *gacaca* placed too much importance on identifying and punishing those responsible for the crimes within the local community and did not adequately tackle the necessity of reconciling the different communities. In spite of its possible weaknesses as an approach, Richter et al. (2005) underline that gacaca's potential to promote peace and reconciliation is mostly to be attributed to its truth-telling and testimonial component. The issue at stake, here, is rather about whose stories are (allowed to be) told and whose are not (Richter et al., 2005).

In South Africa, the main distinctive feature of the Commission was its inclusion of not only victims' hearings, but also of the testimonies of the perpetrators, which – unlike commissions in countries such as Argentina, Chile and El Salvador - were not held behind closed doors. A crucial decision was made to allow cameras after consultations that led to the conclusion that 'the stories the victims were going to tell were stories that the whole of South Africa needed to hear' (Boraine, 2000, p.271).

Lewin (1998) explains that every Sunday night, the TV programme *Special Report* would broadcast part of the testimonies given by members of various communities across the country at public TRC hearings. At the same time, the radio broadcast of these testimonies

reached the most remote areas of the country, so that those who could not attend the hearings in person were still able to feel they were part of the process (Boraine, 2000). The remaining testimonies were listened to by the Human Rights Violation Committee, for a final number of 20,300 voices (Lewin, 1998).

> The truth that emerged in the stories told by the victims and perpetrators challenged the myths, the lies, and the half-truths conveyed and distributed at every level by the former regime. [...] Through the telling of their own stories, both victims and perpetrators have given meaning to their multi-layered experiences of their South African story. Through the media, these personal truths have been communicated to the broader public. Oral tradition has been a central feature [...] (Boraine, 2000, pp.288-289).

This historical evidence of the use of stories and their impact on reconciliation should be considered, more generally, under the light of the role of storytelling in Africa and its traditional value within communities. Africans' roots in oral culture have made storytelling a strong custom by which stories are not only composed but also transmitted from generation to generation. Often, stories are performed for the community through dance and music. Storytelling in Africa is a 'communal participatory experience'; in traditional African societies, participation in formal and informal storytelling is an essential component of life within a community (Agatucci, 2010). This emphasises the importance of focusing on people's stories and on those from the communities they belong to.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has shed light on the theories revolving around social healing, post-conflict transformation, reconciliation and storytelling for peacebuilding. It has shown the complexity of post-conflict environments, both in relation to their legacy of devastation and to the impact of mass violence on the population. The concept of community trauma is introduced, which clarifies the importance of creating interventions aimed not only at individual healing, but also at repairing relationships and re-unifying groups.

It has also pointed out, in brief, how the media can be introduced in these contexts, as well as the role that they have played in processes of truth telling. From the discussion arising from these pages, it becomes undeniably clear how needed are instruments that can fill the communication gap between parties who are unable to find a common ground for dialogue.

Such instruments should offer the same space for expression to each group and should provide a channel through which communities can reconnect with each other by peaceful means and transform the conflicts that subjugate them.

In African cultures – as discussed in the last section of this chapter - repairing relationships between individuals appears to play a more important role than the mere punishment of those who are guilty of crimes by the state. This, however, becomes complex when the recovery process sees the involvement of entire communities. The claim advanced in this research is a response to this issue. At the same time, not only does the tool offered through this work aim to find a method to heal the broader community through a restorative process, but it can ultimately lead to the achievement of a more sustainable peace among communities living in countries that have been ravaged by violence.

CHAPTER 2
Literature Review

The literature on communication for development has today come to be a vast field. From its initial approaches, a large number of authors have taken on the challenge of exploring this discipline and attempted to test hypotheses, draw conclusions and disseminate findings and new ideas on the importance of communication in development processes.

In spite of the existence and implementation of several projects within it, however, there appears to be an area that has been mainly left in the dark by the academic sphere. This area comprises the theoretical analysis of the role that communication for development can play in post-violence and fragile contexts. More specifically, while a discussion has taken place on how communication in post-conflict countries can contribute to rebuilding democracy and good governance – largely analysed in the work of Fortune and Bloh (2008) as well as von Kaltenborn-Stachau (2008) – not much attention has been paid to the ways communication for development can help communities move on from the effects of violent events they have been affected and recreate the social structure that is needed for peace to thrive.

Development communication projects implemented at a practical level have shown how, by reversing the audience-producer dichotomy in media practice, people can look at their lives and the lives of those around them from another perspective, and regain control of their situation. This can have great potential when applied to contexts of communities who have experienced civil violence, as the divergences that have outlasted the fighting can be transformed in the light of a new agenda that includes conflict transformation and reconciliation.

This chapter offers an historical review of the different approaches that have evolved from the rise of Communication for Development as an academic discipline, placing such progress and current applications within the context of this research topic.

The first section critically engages in a discussion on the literature of development communication from a Modernisation paradigm to a People-Centred approach, presenting some observations also over the important aspect of 'communicating' democracy and good governance. The notion of participation in development is then analysed within the

framework of the literature on participatory communication, which leads the path to the introduction of the Communication for Social Change model.

From there, the concept of participatory media is defined through the application of Merino Utreras' (1988, cited in Krohling Peruzzo, 1996, p.173) participation ladder in community productions. This channels the discussion towards an assessment of the literature on the participatory methods analysed in this research, which include video and theatre.

The last section of the chapter looks at the work carried out by other scholars on the use of media in peacebuilding and reconciliation. While a presentation of the various theories and approaches in this field is brought forward, this review highlights a gap in the study of media productions created through a participatory model and their impact on transforming conflict and leading the path towards reconciliation in post-conflict settings.

Origins and progress of development communication

According to the definition developed by the 1996 United Nations General Assembly, the aim of Communication for Development is

> [...] to support two-way communication systems that enable dialogue and that allow communities to speak out, express their aspirations and concerns and participate in the decisions that relate to their development. [4]

The path to such designation has been marked by a number of different practices and theoretical perspectives that have followed an evolution over the past few decades, occurring alongside the various approaches to development theory.

Starting in the 1970s with authors such as Quebral (1971), Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) and Schramm and Lerner (1976), most of the literature on communication for development has focused strongly on rural development and agricultural extension. In the following decade, authors such as Van den Ban and Hawkins (1988) were influential in advocating the need of implementing tailored communication interventions for agricultural development.

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[4] United Nations General Assembly Resolution 51/172, December 1996

This body of work was rooted, in particular, in Rogers' (1962) *Diffusion of Innovation* model, which draws from mass communication theory and is linked to the Modernisation paradigm that characterises those years. According to Modernisation scholars, development is a process whose aim is to strive for the achievement of the Western notion of progress, associated with elements of economic growth, free trade, urbanisation and individualism (Porras and Steeves, 2009).

Whilst a drive towards further exploring this field - by authors such as Agunga (1997) and Colle (2007) - is still present, more recent academic discussions on development communication have expanded to include a broader range of issues among which health has been most prominent, with HIV/AIDS as a highly recurring subject. Airhihenbuwa and Obregon (2000) have effectively compiled an overview of the different approaches to communication and health in their paper *A Critical Assessment of Theories/Models used in Health Communication for HIV/AIDS*.

Drawing from a Social Marketing perspective - developed by Kotler and Zaltam (1971) in a Modernisation framework, and followed by Novelli (1990) - these interventions have now started to pursue the line of a more "bottom-up" approach, distancing themselves from Lasswell's (1948) 'transmission of information model' that most communication theories had, until then, adhered to.

A planned use of mass media such as radio and television to promote positive 'behaviour change' was another step forward into the application of communication as a tool for development education with a wider scope. This practice gave birth to a discipline known by many as 'edutainment', for its particular feature of educating an audience while entertaining. While Bandura in 1986 had already recognised that people tend to acquire knowledge and behaviour through modelling and imitation of the media[5], an extensive literature has come to characterise the field of edutainment; from authors such as Singhal and, again, Rogers (1999), who reflected upon and identified the strengths of using the media to provide people with models they can identify themselves with; to more recent works produced through the evaluation of successful projects, chief amongst others that of Soul City in South Africa (see for example Usdin et al., 2005, but also the work of Sharan and Valente, 2002, on the assessment of an education radio serial in Nepal).

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[5] Bandura started to develop this concept through the formulation of his Social Learning Theory in 1977.

While some may argue that entertainment education can still be considered as a top-down infusion of the information model developed by Western practitioners, more and more organisations are incorporating a strong research component in their edutainment programming, where the goal is to understand and integrate communities' traditions and values in the creation of their programmes' content (see for example the work of NGOs such as Search for Common Grounds and Equal Access).

Communication and media for development

It is necessary to acknowledge that the media are among the main channels through which people gain their perception of a nation as well as the elements that bring them together, such as culture, economy and other organisational aspects (Rennie, 2006).

Panos London, an organisation that advocated the fundamental role that communication plays in development, has made a case through a paper titled *The Case for Communication* (by Warnock et al., 2007) on how the media can reflect the different voices that make up society, the different issues that concern it and the clash of opinions within it. The authors emphasise that the media are platforms for political and cultural expression, as well as self-realisation of individuals and groups; as a result, they have the potential to play a role in social cohesion by enabling debate on social and cultural issues as societies deal with change.

Also the World Bank – particularly through its CommGAP programme (2007, 2008, 2009) - has analysed the important role that communication plays in strengthening good governance and has released a series of reports that emphasise how elements such as free media and access to information allow for the creation of informed public opinion. This is achieved mainly by creating a link between citizens, media and government, and by facilitating the establishment of a vibrant civil society. Another avenue includes the area of 'media development', where activities such as media professionals' training, improvement of journalism schools, support for independent news organisations and professional associations, as well as the creation of appropriate legal and regulatory environments that protect press freedom (Moehler, 2013) allow the media sector to thrive.

Hanley at al. (2008) clarify that good governance entails an inclusive public sphere that offers a space for dialogue between different people, institutions and decision-makers. The

distinction with the concept of good government is its element of participation (ibid.). Here, communication clearly plays an important role. It is through its use that communities can recognise and articulate their needs; citizens can become aware of their rights and give rise to a public dialogue; information about government performance can be circulated and accountability can be instated (Coffey International Development, 2007).

Tehranian (1996) has approached this issue through the formulation of a 'communitarian strategy', which advocates the existence of a strong link between communication, peace, democracy and development. In *Communication in Development*, Casmir (1991) raises an important point by defining communication 'as a process without which human interaction cannot be planned or carried out' (p.5). The author adds that 'of course, human interaction can also be hindered or destroyed by communication' (ibid.).

Participation in communication

Another important move in the growth of the discipline of communication for development has been the acknowledgement of the flaws of theories of Dependency and Modernisation and the shift towards a People-Centred Development approach from the 1980s, particularly through the work of Robert Chambers (1983).

Huesca (2003) explains how, initially, development interventions focused on the individual and failed to take into account the social, political and economic context. Similarly accompanied by a lack of structural analysis, the role of communication in development was simply considered as a process of persuasion aimed at the adoption of new behaviours or technologies by communities in developing areas of the world (ibid.). Today, however, scholars have begun to recognise the limitations of uni-directional approaches based on knowledge-transfer, and the attention has shifted towards ways that give voice to those at the grassroots and that de-link them from the slant that had seen them as passive recipients of information (Ramirez, 1998).

Thus, a new perspective has begun to gain ground through the consolidation of the idea, among development planners, that the establishment of a dialogue with projects' beneficiaries is needed in order to conceive, carry out and evaluate activities effectively. At the same time, practitioners have recognised that the only way for beneficiaries to take

ownership of the projects is by having a say in the decisions that are being made (Gumucio Dagron, 2001).

As Melkote and Steeves (2001) summarise:

> Development communication was initially guided by the organising principles of the approach that saw economic growth as the main route to development. Later, as disenchantment with this notion grew, people-oriented development variables were included under the umbrella of the paradigm. The emphasis changed from viewing communication as an input toward greater economic growth to visualising communication more holistically and as a support for people's self-determination, especially those at the grassroots (p.349).

Waisbord (2008) articulated three key dimensions of participation in development programmes: the first one acknowledges that the course of action to take in the face of problems should be decided by the community through processes of dialogue and critical problem-solving, rather than by external agents; the second one recognises that decisions taken by agencies and programme professionals cause a disconnection with the community's motivations; the third one specifies that community members must take part in all the programmes' activities, embarking on a journey towards empowerment.

Critically assessing this shift in the approach to the use of communication in development during the past 20 years, Quarry and Ramirez (2008) explain that while mainstream communication focuses on *telling*, a new view that applies the concept of participation in communication emphasises *listening*. In the same way, while conventional communication simply promotes the desired development outcome, participatory communication can shape the very nature of development.

Along the same lines, Agunga (1997) argues that rather than information transmission, communication needs to be looked at as a process aimed at creating and stimulating an understanding that forms the basis of development. A communication model that is more in harmony with this new line of thought can thus be found in the 'convergence model' elaborated by Kincaid (1979), who considered achieving mutual understanding to be a primary goal of communication.

Through their work, Servaes et al. (1996) stress how a participatory approach incorporates the concepts that highlight the importance of cultural identity, as well as democratisation and participation at all levels. Hence, as Gumucio Dagron and Rodriguez (2006) also emphasise, people and communities are at the centre of development and participatory communication allows their local knowledge and perspectives to come to the surface and thus influence the development process.

I argue, however, that a limitation of the literature on participatory communication appears to be its strong focus on the interaction between the development communication practitioner and the rural community/ies in which a project is being implemented; such literature seems to lack an appropriate analysis of the discussion that is initiated both within and among communities themselves.

This is also pointed out by Ramirez in a chapter published in the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) report *The First Mile of Connectivity*. Here, Ramirez (1998) presents a classification developed by Röling (1994) of the roles that communication for development can play in natural resource management. Among others, one of the tasks indicated is that of 'facilitating platform processes' (p. n/a) – that is, providing a platform that different stakeholders can use to engage in negotiation processes. Ramirez (ibid.) states that '[this] role constitutes the less explored and more promising dimension of communication in the context of sustainable development' (p. n/a).

Communication for Social Change

The different perspectives discussed above on the application of participatory methodologies in communication for development have led to the rise of a new field that aims to take further the individual behaviour change communication approach that we have seen in previous sections. The field goes under the name of Communication for Social Change (CFSC) and can be defined as:

> [...] a process of public and private dialogue through which people themselves define who they are, what they need and how to get what they need in order to improve their own lives. It utilises dialogue that leads to collective problem identification, decision-making and community-based implementation of solutions to development issues (Byrne et al., 2005, p.1).

This area is being extensively researched and analysed by a number of scholars and practitioners, particularly through the establishment of the *CFSC Consortium[6]*. In one of the key publications released by the group, Figueroa et al. (2002) base their discussion on Kincaid's convergence model[7] to explain the importance of dialogue as a process in which each party tries to understand not only what others believe, but also their own beliefs. This represents a form of collective action, where both parties undergo the experience of shaping and re-shaping their convictions. The authors point out how this very process can be regarded as particularly complex when the parties involved have a long history of conflict.

Grauenkæer Jensen and Grøndal Hansen (2011) write that applying a Communication for Social Change approach will give rise to a process that helps people to have a voice, and thus strives for the creation of a strong civil society; networks and relationships among groups are built and individuals feel empowered as they become part of a collective action that challenges the existing state of affairs. Community-based groups organise in a structure that allows for a more effective mobilisation of resources and have an impact on decision-making processes at various levels. At the same time, however, the authors point out how community dialogue sessions remain in some instances shaped by those social structures that development interventions aim at redefining.

Waisbord (2008) states that 'social change is a political rather than a technical process through which power relations change, priorities are reshuffled, and resources are redistributed' (p.516). Participatory communication fits easily within this context, as it makes visible the conflicts between rural communities and urban elites, the problem of women's oppression, youth's lack of voice over the decisions of elders, the marginalisation of specific religious and ethnic groups (ibid.).

While authors such as Wilkins (2000), Gumucio Dagron and Tufte (2006) and Servaes (2008) have brought together a large body of work on the use of Communication for Social Change, I believe that, by primarily discussing and analysing the use of participatory communication in development projects, this literature fails to address the actual process of social change that is set in motion by a communication or media intervention. Most of the literature that purports to explore the CFSC field, in other words, appears only to offer accounts of how a

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[6] See their website: http://www.communicationforsocialchange.org
[7] *Supra*, p.40

participatory communication approach has been implemented in a community, without contributing much insight on the social change initiated by those activities.

On the other hand, some scholars have recognised the potential harm that can be done when carrying out participatory programmes. This brings us to the next section of this chapter, which looks at some of the criticism that has been levelled against the concept of participation in development.

Some considerations on the dangers of participation

In his review of strategies and methodologies in development communication, Waisbord (2001) explains that participation theories redefine communication as an organised set of channels and techniques aimed at increasing people's participation in development as well as at motivating and training people at the grassroots. At the same time, the author draws attention to the dangers that participation may also generate, such as promoting division, confusion and disruption, as well as privileging more active or powerful members of the community at the expense of others.

Cook and Kothari (2001) have shed light on the dangers that participatory approaches may entail through their book *Participation: the new tyranny?*. Kothari (2001), in particular, argues that these methods disregard the complex nature of power and unwillingly reaffirm social control by specific characters. The author states that:

> [...] participatory development can encourage a reassertion of control over power by dominant individuals and groups, that it can lead to a reification of social norms through self-surveillance and consensus-building, and that it 'purifies' knowledge and the spaces of participation through the codification, classification and control of information, and its analysis and representation (p.142).

Gumucio Dagron and Rodriguez (2006), however, underline how social change can only be achieved through a 'process of horizontal and respectful cultural exchanges', and how the dialogue that arises from such a process must be formed on the issues of power and culture that belong to that particular community.

Within this context, Kothari (2001), again, highlights how the social and cultural norms that a community may adhere to can have their origins in processes of domination and therefore represent social control in that particular group. What can be interpreted as 'local culture' may at the same time be an embodiment of those negative power relations that have gained recognition through time and from which it becomes difficult to extrapolate expressions of inequality.

In a chapter published in the same book, Cleaver (2001) tells that one of the myths created by participation is that of the 'solidarity' model of community. The author explains that - although acknowledged – processes taking place in a community and involving dynamics of conflict, negotiation, inclusion and exclusion are not given adequate attention and analysis. Similarly, Williams (2004) asserts that the tendency to 'homogenise' the differences that exist within communities and the importance placed on the local dimension with a lack of a critical analysis, do not allow us to address the repressive structures that govern that microcosm. Gender, class, caste and ethnicity are all elements that provide a frame to the development problems of a community.

Through a discussion on the use of participatory approaches in Vietnam, Braden (1998) interestingly points out how, due to both the Confucian philosophy that strengthens patrilineal kinship and the Marxist ideology influencing the country, the concept of participation appears to silently include the participation of the government. What therefore needs to be questioned is the impact that such participation may have on projects in which the main participants should be the community members.

According to Leal (2007), a real definition of participation has never been provided and the term has always remained politically ambiguous. These characteristics have allowed for a manipulation of its use, which the author identifies in the preservation of the hegemony of the *status quo*.

Waisbord (2001) asserts that participation can be a positive method for long-term strategies, but might not be suitable for short-term and urgent issues. Along these lines, Bessette (2004) states that participation is not 'a panacea or a magic wand' (p.n/a); as a method, participation is time-consuming, can lead to frustration and might not be a viable solution at all times. However, in his final claim this author (ibid.) shares my view that what needs to be kept in mind is that participation is an essential component for achieving sustainable development.

Reversing the audience

With the rise of this new view of communication, accompanied by the establishment of the CFSC School in later years, more indigenous forms of communication started to gain attention, and were considered as valid tools for stimulating dialogue and critical awareness. These were instruments such as music, theatre, dance, but also video and radio, which offered a channel to give voice to marginalised groups (Waters, 2000).

In 1998, Norrish already pointed out how the revolution in technology that had taken place over the previous two decades had brought a more accessible use of both video and audio instruments, which are available in smaller and less expensive formats. The simultaneous shift that occurred in the role of the media in communication for development has been towards a new view of the media as channels of participation for rural and urban communities in decision-making on issues affecting their lives (ibid.).

Thus, even though the term 'participatory communication' encompasses a whole spectrum of different purposes that communication can be planned for - such as, for example, health and education - the discourse around community media is also to be found within this field of study (Rennie, 2006).

In a review of several communication for development projects employing different media methodologies, Gumucio Dagron (2001) identifies as the main attribute of participatory communication its ability to adopt different forms according to people's needs. The author argues that all the dynamics comprising the process of social struggle are made of different communication components and are therefore subject to the same positive and negative influences. Thus a lack of dialogue among stakeholders in a development process calls for the rise of community media, where people are given the means for self-expression and succeed in identifying problems and solutions through debate.

White and Patel (1994) offer a clear explanation of these concepts when stating that:

> Participation in its most developed form is 'self/management'. This principle implies the right to participate in the planning and production of media content. [...] When people participate in developing messages intended to enhance their ability to make a living

or solve problems which affect the quality of their lives, they are more
likely to seek out and apply indigenous and expert information (p.361)

The goal of participatory activities offered by development communication is to facilitate *conscientization*[8] of marginalised people and help them perceive their needs, identify the obstacles to address those needs and prepare them to overcome problems. Through his ground-breaking work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970) illustrated the idea of development as a process of emancipatory dialogue, which had as its goals the identification of both the source of oppression and that of power on society by the people themselves. In this view, communication channels can be used to generate dialogue between individuals to help them understand each other and identify their common difficulties. Communication is thus a vehicle for liberation from the mental and psychological constraints that keep people confined in processes of oppression. Only when seen from this lens is communication performing its true function of 'building commonness among the members of a group or community striving to change their present situation' (Melkote and Steeves, 2001, p.339).

Howley (2002) – one of the major scholars in this field – explains how grassroots initiatives of community media were initially born from a sense of discontent elicited by the mainstream media. In developing countries, in particular, these initiatives have been viewed as a vehicle for education on various subjects. At the same time, Criticos (1989) points out how community media are often wrongly seen as 'media about community'. This incorrect assumption fails to recognise the most important aspect of these types of media, which is their focus on the process of production rather than the content. The author, therefore, encourages consideration of the concept of 'community *in* media', which is the real idea behind this work, where the community is prioritised over the media themselves.

These media outlets, run by way of a participatory type of management, do not follow market trends and are primarily aimed at fostering healthy community relations and at preserving local cultural autonomy through democratic forms of communication (Howley, 2005). These forms of media are based on 'the development of collective production methods and collective creativity' (Criticos, 1989, p.36). Pink (2007) points out how people's production of images is not only guided by the influence of their own cultural framework, but it derives

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[8] Coined by Paulo Freire, the term 'conscientization' refers to the process of identifying and overcoming the influence exerted by the dominant consciousness; a process of discovering your own thoughts and values, not accepting the oppressive beliefs of the dominant consciousness.

from a combination of this with the film or camera industry they have been exposed to. The result is thus a creative composition that takes its reference from conventional iconographies while simultaneously drawing from personal and cultural visual knowledge.

Ayedun-Aluma (2010) highlights how the concept of community media has become embedded, with time, in specific constructions around the meanings of democracy and development. In particular, such media has been attached to a liberationist view that looks at democracy as a space for reconciliation and consensus-building, which reinforces community ownership and the similarities among its members. In relation to development, the focus is placed on the achievement of social transformation where people, rather than the elites, are the drivers of change (ibid.). In a publication released by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on *Promoting Community Media in Africa*, Muthoni Wanyeki (2000) highlights how ownership and management patterns differ between various community outlets. Yet, while their goals may be different, the pursuit of community development remains a common element.

Merino Utreras (1988, cited in Krohling Peruzzo, 1996, p.173) provides a useful distinction of the levels of participation that people can have in community media:

- *Production level* – participation begins at the production stage and people are involved in shaping messages and programmes. It also includes the use of technologies and production resources;
- *Decision-making level* – the community manages the medium and decides on its programming (schedule, timeline, etc.) with control over finance and administration;
- *Planning level* – this encompasses a wider range of responsibilities related to the management of a media outlet, such as the formulation of plans, policies, objectives and funding, as well as regional and national communication strategies (p.173).

This classification offers an important lead towards a definition of *participatory media*, a concept that is pivotal to the development of this study. It also helps to clarify its position in relation to the wider notion of community media:

> We can refer to 'participatory media' as those media outputs whose creation has seen the direct involvement of community members in the production process, both at a technical and technological level and as

> sole informants of the editorial content. Participatory media are a sub-set of community media, where the level of involvement of community members varies and can at times be simply related to management and planning[9].

While analysing the concept and the different forms of *Alternative Media*, Atton (2002) makes some observations about those types of media that privilege processes through which people are directly involved in the production. Here, the author claims that by positioning themselves on an alternative stream of communication from the dominant one, people can use their own means of production as a tool to create social change. In addition, there is no need for transformation to occur at the national or international level; change can take place locally or even within the individual (ibid.).

At the same time, by reminding that participation is a notion that has been heavily contested within the political-ideological debate of development (also discussed in the previous section), Carpentier (2007) emphasises that the role played by media productions created through participatory processes cannot be delinked from these discussions. In relation to this, Rønning (2009) highlights the importance of 'local ownership of issues'. He talks about the significance that this factor has in the creation of community media; at the same time - he points out - development itself is a long-term project that builds on the experience and knowledge gathered from different groups and subjects.

Under a cultural anthropological lens, Ginsburg (1991) recognises how, in the context of indigenous communities, these types of media can become instruments for the reproduction and transformation of cultural identity, particularly among those groups who have been affected by political, economic or geographical disruption. Thanks to their ability to go beyond boundaries of time, space and language, the media can rebuild social ruptures and help redefine identities by reconnecting past and present.

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[9] It can be pointed out that authors such as Criticos (1989) and Bessette (2004) consider, in some of their work, a distinction between the concept of 'community media', such as a rural radio broadcasting, and that of 'group media', such as video and photography. The authors distinguish the two categories as, for the latter, only the involvement of a limited number of people from the community is required. I argue, however, that despite the fact that access to the media production cannot be guaranteed to everyone, the final product can be one that addresses the concerns of the whole community. In addition, watching friends, family members or neighbours on a screen instils a sense of ownership that is extended to the whole community.

In her book *Fissures in the Mediascape*, Rodriguez (2001) offers analysis and evidence to demonstrate the potential of participatory media[10] in facilitating processes of social change. By reconciling her thought with that of earlier scholar Paulo Freire (1970), the author emphasises throughout her work the power that participatory media can have in helping people out of their oppressed situation.

According to Rodriguez (2000), participatory media can give a voice to the voiceless: 'by gaining access to the media, previously silenced communities can break the culture of silence and regain their own voices' (p.147). Through participatory processes, the media can also foster empowerment: 'social structures of inequality and injustice result in entire communities feeling disempowered and paralysed. Involvement in citizens' media projects strengthens people's sense of self and their confidence in their own potential to act in the world' (ibid.). In addition, participatory media can connect isolated communities: 'facilitating alternative communication networks, citizens' media link communities and people who have much to gain from joining forces in projects for collective action' (ibid.). Finally, conscientisation is encouraged, as participatory media participants progressively encompass their own realities in their own terms (ibid.).

Harris (2010) strengthens Rodriguez's ideas by placing emphasis on the communication process that takes place when a community engages in a media production, where different groups come together and team up to create a programme that addresses the issues faced by the community. This aspect is particularly relevant when attention is paid to the typologies of participatory media that this study focuses on. An analysis of each one is presented in the next sections.

Participatory video

With the reduced cost of technology and its improved user-friendliness, the application of video as a means of communication has come within reach of a wider population. In particular, its use in countries of the Global South has increased, with a special focus on activities related to education, cultural identity, organisation and political representation. Projects designed around video involve creativity and flexible activities that can adapt to the different social and cultural environments (Gumucio Dagron, 2001).

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[10] In her work, Rodriguez coins the term *citizens' media* to refer to all types of participatory, community and alternative media (as indicated in Rodriguez, 2000, p.157). In this thesis, the term *participatory media* replaces Rodriguez's expression when citing her work.

As explained in the previous section of this chapter, the new dialogical form of education that Freire (1970) presented in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, has come to inspire today's relationship between active audience and active producer that participatory media are based upon (Medrado, 2007). Following this logic, video has come to be seen as an alternative medium to mass channels and as a tool to bring about democracy and social change; moreover, its potential for transforming cultural values and initiate conscientisation has started to be recognised (White and Patel, 1994).

In her work on participatory media, Rodriguez (1994) is one of the scholars who has largely focused on the use of video. She defines a participatory video production

> [...] as one in which a communicator and a community engage in video production. That is, the whole process of producing a video message (planning, script writing, shooting, viewing, editing, and showing) is shared by both, the "communication expert" and the community (p.150).

White and Patel (1994) have also extensively analysed this practice with the development of a 'Message Development Model' for video-making. The authors place emphasis on one of the main characteristics of these productions, which is their adoption of a horizontal rather than vertical use of video. These activities can initiate an exchange of communication at the individual level, and from group to group or village to village. The messages created by way of the video camera can be taken from one place to the other and shared directly with the people, without the need to negotiate with a gatekeeper. Direct communication can take place between groups without the involvement of an institutional third party that has control over the process.

Another important aspect of video is that people do not have to be able to read and write in order to use it. The barriers of traditional literacy are removed in relation to video, as it can be easily used and controlled. White and Patel (1994), again, stress that video represents an individual's instrument for learning in the context of group activities. In addition, it can be used as a mirror to look at and understand someone's own actions and behaviour. Braden (1999) emphasises that video offers a way to record discussions and actions without the need of being verbally literate. This way, poor and marginalised people are given a means to communicate which does not depend on their ability to read and write. Since participants are

both the object and subject of production in participatory video processes, the self-discovery of their 'filmic lexicon' allows us to gain knowledge of their worldview (Odutola, 2003).

In relation to this, Wheeler (2011) also coins the expression 'extended language' to refer to the ability of video to record not only words, but also people's expressions and emotions. Thus, the viewer is exposed to both verbal and non-verbal communication forms that pass on a greater amount of information (ibid.).

These considerations are particularly important when we observe the fact that most rural people are highly unlikely to see themselves on a screen throughout their lifetime. Video, however, can make this experience possible. This powerful event can influence a person's perspective causing them to reconsider and adjust their frame of reference in accordance with the environment they live in. As White and Patel (1994) put it, '[video] allows us to objectify ourselves in relation to others' (p.366). The authors also explain how video enables participation from below, allowing people to share their experience in their own way. As a result, it becomes a powerful instrument for social change (ibid.).

While participatory video has also been analysed in literatures such as those of media anthropology (Pink, 2007; Zoettl, 2012, 2013) and geography (Kindon, 2003; Richardson-Ngwenya, 2012), this review mainly focuses on the body of work that has looked at the communication aspect of this tool, with an eye on development.

Within this field, one of the main publications is White's (2003) book *Participatory Video: images that transform and empower*. Here, the author recognises, among some of the effects of PV, those of 'catalysing conversation' among individuals who would normally not interact with each other; 'increasing individuals' observation of events', as people tend to observe and listen more carefully to what surrounds them during the process of selecting images to record; and 'instilling a sense of responsibility for relevance', as the film-maker wants to show a particular story or fact (p.98).

More recently, Milne et al. (2012) have produced a *Handbook on Participatory Video*. This is a compendium of articles by some of the main authors as well as PV practitioners on their experience with this medium. In a discussion on her PV work with young people in a South African township published in this book, Walsh (2012) recognises how this tool allows groups to engage in a collective analysis of the issues that affect them. She asserts that participatory

video fosters the practice of storytelling, through which individuals attribute meanings to the reality that surround them.

While both White's (2003) and Milne et al.'s (2012) edited publications are central to the PV literature, the latter presents more case-specific illustrations and lessons, as each chapter focuses on a different project. The former, on the other hand, offers broader notions on PV that I find more useful in relating to different types of activities in this field.

Through her work on the use of PV in violent contexts, Wheeler (2011) highlights how participatory video is a process that involves the creation of knowledge from those who participate. The message that has to be conveyed, therefore, is not pre-established, but it arises from the process that brings it to its articulation: 'participatory video can facilitate continually expanding boundaries of knowledge, from the self to the group to the community, to beyond; between different perspectives expressed, reconciled or shed through the process' (p.53).

Shaw (2007) emphasises this by stating that

> Participatory video can contribute to changing the balance of power both within a group and wider society. It can give space for groups to generate their own knowledge and to facilitate communication with other groups and institutions (p.190)

Presenting a community-based project to raise awareness of and help prevent sexual and gender-based violence in conflict areas, Molony et al. (2007) explain how video activities can create engagement and establish a platform for dialogue on issues that are locally relevant. These can include sensitive matters. The entire process is driven by community members, from its initial idea, to production and final public screening, and topics are introduced in harmony with cultural values. In addition, those who were not directly involved in the production gain a sense of empowerment by viewing their community members on screen. As a tool, video is highly effective for peer-to-peer outreach (ibid.). These concepts go in line with High's (2010) definition of PV, in which this method is regarded as

> [a] collaborative approach to working with a group or community in shaping and creating their own film, in order to open spaces for

learning and communication and to enable positive change and transformation (p.n/a).

Talking about her experience of conducting participatory video activities with women in Colombia, Rodriguez (2001) highlights the shift in self-perception that occurred when participants took the camera for the first time and looked at their reality through the lens. The mediation between themselves and their world that the camera offered, allowed women to look at themselves, their friends, their houses and their neighbourhood from a distance. As the author asserts, 'it was like looking in a mirror for the first time' (p.118).

Rodriguez (2001) also explains the perspective that has been offered by a number of scholars, who have viewed this phenomenon as a process of knowledge acquisition that occurs when someone distances themselves from an object to be able to gain a full perception of it and then re-express it. She clarifies that added to this idea there is an element of 'identity deconstruction and reconstitution' (p.118) that develops from the point of view and images offered by the camera's viewfinder. From an anthropological perspective, through her work of ethnographic filmmaking with minority groups, Ginsburg (1991) also has shown how the production process represents a chance for identity construction, particularly for those minorities whose traumatic past urges them to re-assert their position in contemporary life.

Another crucial aspect of participatory video uncovered by Rodriguez (2001) is related to the process of profound self-investigation that a group inevitably undertakes when faced with the task of creating an image of themselves that will be presented to others. As the author states:

> Because these groups have to create an image of their own selves to tell their story, they have to search for, and gather the pieces of, a fragmented reality in order to compose the final product; during this process, groups articulate aspects of their lives [...] that they had never before contemplated (p.120).

At the same time, Bery (2003) recognises the importance of the roles of both the producers and the viewers. The author highlights how participatory video is effective at engaging also its audience in the process. While the producer gains power by being in charge, identifying issues and shaping the story, the viewer is able to internalise the content, reformulating concepts and challenging stereotypes (ibid.).

People's points of view are shaped by the reality they belong to and their cultural context. Differences in age, culture, education and social status provide various frames of references from which individuals look at the world. Through processes of self-definition and identification, participatory video brings to light people's specific realities, which often go unseen in the larger community context (ibid.).

Bery (2003) emphasises how the videotapes produced through the PV activity become instruments for sharing experiences, and how viewers can reflect upon others' stories and apply them as new frames of reference to look at their own realities. The viewing experience gives the audience the opportunity to examine their situation and that of their community, and to think about how to take control of their lives. In addition, 'video can be used in iterative cycles of shooting and screening to tell stories and create dialogue that unfold over time in response to the changes that occur' (p.113).

Participatory theatre

The origins of the use of theatre in development can be traced back to the colonial education system. Notions of conventional western drama were taught to the natives in schools and colleges; at the same time, performances were used with the missionary aim of shifting what colonisers considered 'uncivil habits' and 'pagan behaviour' into an approach that was closer to the European mores. In essence, 'drama was being used for teaching something other than drama itself' (Kamlongera, 2005, p.436).

The instrument that emerged from this approach is known today as Theatre for Development and it has been implemented by both aid workers and researchers in different areas ranging from awareness-raising on specific issues, finding out information, mobilising people and involving a community in decision-making processes (ibid.).

An important distinction in the implementation of Theatre for Development programmes is highlighted by Kidd (1992), whose work I have found key in shaping my ideas on this topic. The author distinguishes between *centrally-initiated information/education campaigns*, such as those set up by the government which hires professional groups of actors to tour the country and promote national development policies and programmes, and *change-oriented theatre*, which is not linked to government operations and follows a more unconventional approach to development.

The messages conveyed through these information campaigns are prepared by experts and disseminated across the country to a passive audience. The objective is to encourage the adoption of a specific solution in line with people's needs, as identified by the programme implementers. There is no community participation in the message design process and no response is sought in the audience, which is considered as an aggregate of individuals rather than a group in which people interact with each other (Kidd, 1992).

Sheriff (2008) refers to such campaigns as *agit-prop theatre[11]*. He claims that the use of this rather limiting method is dictated by donors and commissioning agents. These activities are carried out in a top-down fashion on a 'project-by-project basis', and focus on very specific issues. They are not normally part of wider development interventions and lack any community participation or follow-up plans, hence they do not deliver any long-term benefit:

> What we have is a one-way traffic situation in which the funding agencies provide funds to theatre workers with specific instructions as to the structure, content and process, and these workers in turn develop their plays [...] and pass them on to target communities without any contribution from the latter (ibid., p.n/a).

In her analysis of Theatre for Development as a process rather than a product, Okagbu (1998) highlights how these programmes are grounded in the 'diffusion of innovation' paradigm, previously discussed in our review of the origins of development communication. Through this approach, theatre is merely used – once again - as a one-way channel to pass on recommendations to a community from external experts.

With the change-oriented approach, on the other hand, the drama presented is left open for discussion and for critical analysis of the problems for which a solution is required. The aim here is not to impose a particular take on issues, but rather to encourage people to raise their own questions about their situation (Kidd, 1992).

Following on from the philosophy of change-oriented theatre, Prentki (1998) identified two roots in the present execution of Theatre for Development projects:

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[11] Name deriving from the political campaigns run by the *Department for Agitation and Propaganda* during the Soviet regime in the USSR.

- *Critical pedagogy* → this approach comes from Paulo Freire's experience of adult literacy campaigns in South America, where the scholar developed a pedagogy of liberation built on a dialogical model. According to this framework, a transformative process takes place in which both the community (learners) and the external facilitator (educator) engage. Through this process, the community is provided with the skills to reflect critically on their situation and consider the steps that need to be taken in order to achieve social change.

- *Participatory theatre* → this is an adaptation of Freire's approach made by writer and artist Augusto Boal, where theatre is used to pursue specific development objectives. Through his 'theatre for the oppressed' model, also known as 'popular theatre' or 'forum theatre', Boal introduced the technique of encouraging the audience to intervene in the play initiated by the actors, in order to offer a more accurate representation of their life experience, as well as providing different solutions to the issues tackled in the story. With this method, as Prentki (1998) explains, 'it may [...] be possible for some of the spectators to replace the actors in the scene and try out the alternative. Where this occurs, it can be a tremendously empowering moment for the individual concerned who crosses an invisible barrier from powerlessness and silence to the discovery of an authentic voice to which others are listening' (p.424).

Okagbu (1998) states that 'Boal's theatre of the oppressed is [...] informed and predicated upon Freire's pedagogy [of liberation]' (p.24). The author explains how this becomes clear when one recognises the aesthetic re-formulation of the 'teacher-student' participatory collaboration applied by Freire in his adult education work, which Boal performs through the medium of theatre.

Also Sheriff (2008) stresses the effectiveness of Boal's theatre. Building on his experience in Theatre for Development in Sierra Leone, the author concludes that an agit-prop method can be useful when communicating specific information or seeking a change in behaviour – such as in HIV & AIDS or family planning campaigns. However, a more participatory approach to theatre is needed when the aim is to identify problems and stimulate debates around them[12].

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[12] The distinction between agit-prop and participatory theatre was earlier provided in the noted work on Theatre for Development from Mda (1993) *When People Play People.*

In its compendium of Communication for Social Change stories, Gumucio Dagron (2001) emphasises that the main advantage that theatre has in participatory communication is the power to initiate a dialogue within the community, which can evolve into a learning process. Theatre also has the capacity to preserve and reinforce traditional values; at the same time, sensitive or difficult messages can be passed on effectively to the audience through an entertaining type of communication.

Kidd (1992) highlights how, in a community development initiative, the performing arts – such as theatre – can be regarded as participatory media, as they offer a participation channel and a forum both for an analysis of the local problems and for collective decision-making. In the same way, Prentki (1998) argues that theatre is the most appropriate medium to address grassroots self-development thanks to its ability to stimulate participation, its subtraction from literacy and technology skills and its capacity to adapt to indigenous forms.

Boeren (1992), however, puts forward some criticism on the limitations of this medium in development work. The author stresses the fact that even though theatre can be regarded as a form of indigenous communication, when applied to development, its structure remains as an external intervention that can only be useful in illustrating problems rather than solving them. In response to these observations, it is pertinent to bring into this discussion the work of Mills (2009). From a case study analysis of the *Jana Sanskriti Theatre of the Oppressed* group, active in the Indian state of West Bengal , the author concludes that

> Theatre cannot provide instant transformations, but it is within its parameters to enable people to view things critically, build awareness on various issues, and practice alternatives to negative behaviours in safe spaces before carrying them out in real life. It can produce collective knowledge, collective critical analysis, make connections between personal and structural problems, and link reflections and evaluation to action (p.558).

In her article *Theatre for Transformation and Empowerment*, Mills (ibid.) explains how the Jana Sanskriti theatre group came together as a response to the 'rigid framework of traditional values and moral doctrines that Indian society must operate within' (p.551). The strong inequalities based on caste, gender and education have led to both social and political exclusion of certain groups, who need to re-gain their own voice. The Jana Sanskriti group offers a public forum that is reachable also by those with little education and no access to information. People can have their say through the plays and the subsequent debates

generated by the theatre performances, and a dialogue is established both within the community and between the community and the state (ibid.).

From this particular image of community forum, it is interesting to look at Kidd's notion of 'drama-that-never-finishes', developed in 1984 and brought into this discussion by Okagbu (1998), which she defines as:

> [...] a very apt description of this kind of theatre, a theatre in which every interruption by a spectator reveals new dimensions to and thus new insights for the participating group into the issue being explored. The key thing here is that everyone is free to interrupt the action, in fact their interruption is actively encouraged. It is this same idea which is the philosophy underpinning Boal's forum sessions in which the 'spect-actors' continually intervene to interrogate and change the course or direction of the action of the drama once it is not to their liking until a democratically agreed solution to the problem being explored is reached, whatever that is! (p.40).

The role of drama can thus be that of initiating a dialogue that leads the audience to resolve the issues that arise. Drawing from Kidd's (1992) analysis, it also becomes clear that drama has the particular strength of being able to portray conflict, as it not only mirrors the immediate reality, but also offers a presentation of the wider socio-political system where that reality is located. It therefore allows people to engage in a rationalistic review of the relationships and structure underlying their situation.

Abah et al. (2009) emphasise how contrasting as well as emotive views can come to the surface on stage and how drama can be helpful in addressing these peacefully and constructively. When people are given the opportunity to change the ending of a play whose story has its roots in an aspect of conflict, they are simultaneously thinking about an alternative to violence. In addition, Prentki and Lacey (2004) point out that since Theatre for Development has the ability to turn private, individual stories into public, collective drama, it can become a therapeutic tool to help people deal with war trauma.

Thompson et al. (2009) are among the main scholars who have examined the use of theatre for reconciliation in contexts of trauma as a consequence of conflict. The authors explain how, in these particular settings, theatre is useful in order to create links between communities who had opposed each other during the conflict; this medium lends itself appropriately to

addressing the social, political, emotional and cultural issues that emerge when people find themselves sharing a space with others who are considered responsible for perpetrating acts of violence.

In earlier work, Thompson (2005) also underlines how the creation and circulation of stories in fragile settings can offer a more meaningful perception of a situation that arises from a scenario characterised by complex dynamics. Prentki (1998) makes this concept clearer when asserting that theatre is 'an instrument in the struggle to help [...] people become the subjects, and cease to be the objects, of their own histories' (p.419).

Participatory media for reconciliation and peace

As analysed in Chapter 1, healing results from all those processes that help the individual to understand painful events they have experienced, assimilate and process grief, and deal with the feeling of anger. Although these processes mainly occur at a personal level, it is necessary to recognise that in instances such as those of conflict, not only isolated beings but entire communities share the same painful experience in a socially mediated way (Boyden, 2001).

One of the primary consequences that mass violence leaves behind is a deep sense of powerlessness within a community. This calls for a stronger focus on developing mechanisms that will enable local communities to create and execute practical responses that address their need for social repair. Further to that, making community members feel that they are active participants of the rebuilding process may itself be a means to improve their condition. By reinstating people's perception of self-efficacy, these interventions can have a positive outcome as they encourage individuals to deal with critical elements such as loss as well as participation in violence (Fletcher and Weinstein, 2002).

In addition to the above, conflicts are increasingly being fought among a large number of different groups and factions, thus media projects aimed at peace need to be designed with the intent of reaching all sides of the populations involved. Hieber (2001) recognises how hostilities last far beyond the end of the fighting; thus the media can play an important role in addressing these tensions. Projects intending to be sustainable need to consider the divisions within a society, and plan to overcome the particular divergences that have caused the conflict (ibid.).

In a statement released by UNESCO (2009) on the occasion of World Press Freedom Day 2009, the agency declares that:

> The media have a demonstrated ability in fostering mutual understanding by communicating across divides, thus bringing competing narratives together into a shared story (p.1).

A lot has been written by media academics on the role of the media in a conflict environment. Through the Rwandan example, Thompson (2007) looked at the different ways in which the media manipulate the masses. Others have analysed the issue from a journalistic perspective and considered the role that media reporting plays in the escalation – or conclusion – of a conflict (see Allen and Seaton, 1999; Terzis, 2003; Frère, 2007; Terzis and Vassiliadou, 2008; Baú, 2010). As a response to this critical issue, a new area more recently began to gain ground, known by the name of *peace journalism*. This refers to the choices that editors and reporters make '[...] of what stories to report, and how to report them - which create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict' (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005, p.5). Alongside Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) other authors such as Hackett (2006), Keeble et al. (2010) and Tehranian (2002) have engaged in the debate surrounding this new branch of journalism. The latter author, in particular, discusses media ethics with an emphasis on pluralism, tolerance and human rights.

In an extensive study aimed at *Examining Peace-Oriented Media in Areas of Violent Conflict*, Bratić (2008, p.492) refers to the work of Gerbner (1986) in order to discuss the role that the media play in creating a 'symbolic sphere of our existence'. The author concludes that if the symbolic environment is characterised by peace-oriented messages through the use of the media, the same media environment can lead to a cultural transformation of violence.

Rodriguez (2004) identifies two forms of media intervention in peacebuilding contexts: the *epidemiology* approach and the *social fabric* one. While the first is based on unidirectional edutainment initiatives, the second one recognises the complexity of the factors that make up violence. Such factors – including poverty, corruption, weak government and criminal activity – corrode the fabric that holds society together and create a culture based on individuality, lack of trust, fear and isolation. Hence, communication initiatives must be designed to re-compose the social fabric that has been damaged.

Interestingly, Rodriguez (2000), again, illustrates the similarities between the field of communication for development and that of peace studies. The author points out how the unfolding of the literature on development communication shows a growing mistrust in the use of mass media for processes of social change, and how this is accompanied by an increasing disbelief in the role of the media in conflict resolution by peace studies scholars. She declares that both areas of work verify that 'only when citizens take destiny in their own hands and shape it using their own cultures and strengths will peace and social change be viable' (p.149).

Drawing from this work, in a chapter titled *Facing Violence and Conflict with Communication*, Tufte (2012) emphasises that linking the practice of storytelling to entertainment education can contribute to the creation of communication environments that are apt to mediate conflict and prevent violence.

More recently, Fernández Viso (2014) has offered a theoretical introduction to the areas of intersection between communication for development and conflict resolution studies. While this author's work is the first to highlight the important role that C4D, and particularly Communication for Social Change, can play in conflict affected contexts, it still lacks the solid empirical examination that links theory to practice.

At the same time, while the academic fields that have been discussed above continue to grow - as also highlighted in the introduction of this chapter - not many communication for development or media scholars have analysed the role that media productions which have created through a participatory method, can have in helping individuals and communities to come to terms with the experience of individual suffering and social division brought about by a situation of prolonged violence.

In relation to this concept, it is interesting to observe how, in the 1960s, Marshall McLuhan (1964, cited in Bratić, 2006) had already touched upon the principles of participation through his idea of "the medium is the message" (p.6). This implies in fact that the primary aspect of a medium results mainly from its form rather than its content. As Bratić (2006) emphasises, transferring this principle to a conflict environment leads us to the conclusion that the form of a medium in a process of reconciliation can be more significant than the actual message. Thus, as this author stresses, it seems right to argue that it is in media

institutions that the healing from conflict should begin, since the existence of a medium that is available to all parties can be more important than the particular story it offers. The effectiveness or appropriateness of any one method depends on the purpose for which it is employed.

At the same time, Boyden (2001) explains how a growing number of agencies are attempting to move away from psychosocial interventions at the individual level and are creating programmes that focus on social reconciliation. Replacing or accompanying individual therapy with this type of approach can allow for more effective healing, greater sustainability and cultural adaptation. However, these interventions are often carried out with a lack of information on the society that has been affected by violence. This leads practitioners to turn to stereotyped views of universal social norms, values and power structures (ibid.).

Following on from the thoughts of both Bratić (2006) and Boyden (2001), it is sound to state that media productions created through a participatory methodology can be effective tools for dealing with the hostility and grief inherited in post-conflict settings, as they are provided with those ethnographic insights that are needed for effective interventions aimed at community healing.

Rodriguez (2000, pp.152-156) is one of the few scholars to have offered an illustration of the benefits that participatory media can have in post-conflict settings:

- Participatory media are regarded as *alternative sources of information* to the mainstream news system, and can help communities understand their social reality

- They can also be seen as *seekers of peace initiatives*, since they have a great potential to bring peace initiatives, conflict resolution and reconciliation through dialogue at the heart of civil society

- They are identifiable as *architects of peace genres*, as they can distance themselves from the traditional focus that ordinary media have on conflicts and opposition, which are considered newsworthy subjects and more attractive to audiences, and work on different narratives that address peace

- As *catalysts of forgiveness*, participatory media offer a space for the humanisation of and the dialogue between survivors and victimisers. This develops a new perspective on the events that have occurred and encourages forgiveness.

> In communities at war people from opposite camps commonly share the same human experience of loss, displacement and pain. Media projects should focus on these commonalities that opposing parties experience as they endure war, as an important component of the lived experience of war revolves around feelings of empathy and understanding for the pain experienced by self and others. While the mainstream media systematically overlook all this favouring one side and making the other lifeless, [participatory] media can play an important role in humanising the enemy (Rodriguez, 2000, p.155)

In other words, while the mainstream media can often initiate conflict by focusing on differences and reinforcing polarisation, participatory media productions can put emphasis on what opposing parties share during war, such as the pain and loss that affect everyone

- Finally, they can be *sites to reclaim the experience of violence*. While the trauma caused by the war tends to drive the survivor towards silence and isolation, participatory media can help translate the experience of violence into human language.

Along with Rodriguez, another author who has made a connection, in her work, to the healing effect of communication for development in post-conflict situations is Harris (2010). In her analysis of an ethnographic case study of a participatory video workshop with rural women in post-conflict Fiji, Harris (2010) highlights the need for participatory practices in conjunction with community-based reconciliation efforts to encourage dialogue between alienated groups. Through an exploration of the idea of participatory media as a dialogic tool, the author shows how this methodology can help bring to light the connections rather than the disconnections between people.

Harris (2010) tells how, through a re-codification of traditional customs and social networks, community productions open a space for new interactions, resetting in motion relationships that had withered. This occurs both within and among communities. At the same time, referring again to post-conflict contexts, the author highlights how 'the process [...] of content development become[s] a dynamic site for community building and reconciliation' (p.162-

163). Here, reconciliation is not enforced from the top down, but is rather initiated by the social cohesion that is created through the production of local content (ibid.).

This can be linked to some of the concepts from Senehi (2002)'s work on storytelling as a peace process. The author emphasises the importance, in the context of long-lasting inter-communal conflicts, of developing a shared narrative that strengthens the sense of a common identity. This is also needed in view of the silence and lack of awareness that surround some of the issues related to the conflict; establishing community-based knowledge can help restore a sense of power to address problems that were left unsolved (ibid.). Waisbord (2001) reinforces these concepts by underlining the fact that participatory media are not simply instruments of transmission, but their primary aim is that of *creating* communications; this entails involving different members and exchanging views.

From an oral history perspective, Field (2006) points out how disseminating stories through multi-media productions can enable marginalised people to make connections with others who share the same types of memories. This is particularly relevant in the case of trauma survivors, who often isolate themselves in the belief that they are the only individuals experiencing that situation. The author explains how this process is important 'to identify the social interconnectedness of past experiences and current memories' (p.40).

At the same time, drawing on an analysis of both a participatory video and a participatory theatre project in violent contexts, McGee (2009) highlights how these methods can also allow for the perpetrator's perspective to be heard, rather than simply assumed. This, in turn, could reveal power dynamics that show the perpetrator in the light of another victim. The author explains, again, how such activities enable the expression of different perspectives; when opposing views are listened to, they can be deliberated and at times reconciled (ibid.):

> Through fostering dialogue about aspects of identity, or introducing generative symbols of metaphors, these projects [...] dislodged fixed behaviours and views among presumed perpetrators and victims. Conflicting perspectives can be interrogated, and messages sent across formerly unbridgeable divides. Participants have re-focused; critical consciousness has been developed; those formerly stuck in the roles of 'victims' and 'perpetrators' have acquired a new degree of ownership or control over their outlooks and behaviours (McGee, 2009, p.111).

The concepts discussed here are crucial in understanding where this study is positioned. The use of the media to reconnect former enemies, victims and perpetrators, within a framework of participatory communication and participatory content development processes, represents the structure of this work. Besides offering an historical review of C4D alongside an illustration of the present state of literature within the area of media and participatory communication in conflict, the process of literature review shows how, when applied to post-conflict settings, these ideas can be useful to inform the design of C4D projects aimed at achieving peace. The following chapters will illustrate the empirical work that has been carried out in order to provide evidence to these claims.

CHAPTER 3

The Origins of Kenya's
2007/2008 Post-Election Violence

Prior to engaging in a discussion on the methodology applied to this study, followed by the analysis of the data collected during my field research, this chapter seeks to contextualise the Kenyan 2007 / 2008 conflict that occurred in the aftermath of the presidential elections through an illustration of the issues that led to the violence.

After a general introduction to the events that took place at that time, three main causes of the conflict are identified and discussed. Although this research is not intended to examine and assess the reasons that brought the country to the verge of civil war, it is not possible to de-

Image 1. Map of Kenya (source: www.maps-guide.net)

link its findings from the motives that abruptly drove hundreds of people to take up weapons against their neighbours. The question of identity, tribe and ethnic belonging will also be briefly discussed, along with the role played by certain media outlets in fomenting hate. Special attention has been paid to the situation of the Rift Valley, where the projects examined in this study were implemented.

Overall, the analysis presented here sheds light on the main roots of the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence, creating the basis for an understanding of the considerations on inter-tribal dynamics and social cohesion that are made in later chapters.

The 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence

The 2007 Kenyan presidential election saw a controversial contest for votes between President Mwai Kibaki, from the Party of National Unity (PNU), and the opposition leader from the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Raila Odinga. Kibaki was announced to have

won the presidential poll by a very small margin, with Odinga having already been successful in the parliamentary vote (Branch and Cheeseman, 2008).

Kenyan ethnic composition consists of more than 40 different groups. While none of them represents a majority, the Kikuyu are the largest population (22%), followed by the Luhya (14%). Other significant groups include Luo (13%), Kalenjin (12%), and Kisii (6%). Somalis, Maasai, and Turkana are smaller indigenous tribes (RefWorld, 2003).

With the election results, widespread civil violence got under way. This manifested itself mostly in two different forms: the first one was a general protest against the contentious outcome of the vote across the country, particularly in urban centres, where intense backlashes occurred between police and the militia groups that had materalised as a demonstration of dissent. The second one was violence fought along ethnic lines, which took place mainly in the Rift Valley. Here, the Kalenjin youths – supporting the Luo candidate Odinga - turned against the Kikuyus, Kibaki's tribesmen (ibid.).

The wave of violence that hit the country took everyone by surprise, as Kenya watchers always portrayed the country as being one of the most successful democracies in East Africa since its transition to a multi-party system in 2002. Along with neighbouring Tanzania, it was the only country in the region not to have experienced a civil conflict (Maupeu, 2008).

Yet, over a thousand people lost their lives and hundreds became displaced during the course of the violence, which lasted from December 2007 to February 2008. An end to the fighting was achieved through the mediation of former United Nations General Secretary Kofi Annan, who led the Kenyan government towards a shared power agreement between the re-elected President Kibaki and the newly introduced figure of Prime Minster, found in Odinga (Branch and Cheeseman, 2008). Below, Figure 3 offers some facts in relation to the casualties of the conflict, while Figure 4 gives a snapshot of the main causes of death. The choice of weapons shows how the fighting was the result of an improvised and disorganised uprising, driven by feelings of deep anger and frustration.

Rift Valley	744
Nyanza	134
Central	5
Western	98
Coast	27
Nairobi	125
TOTAL	**1,133**

Figure 3. Summary of death per province (Waki, 2008, p.308)
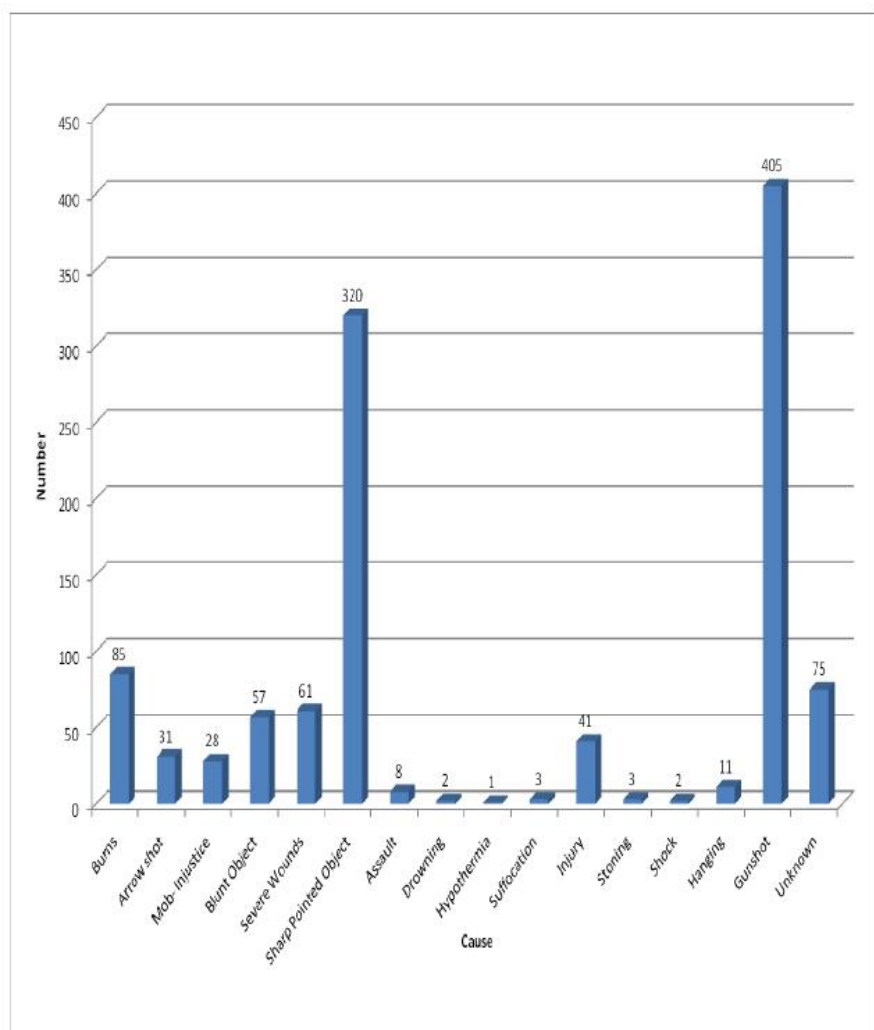
Figure 4. Causes of death (Waki, 2008, p.312)

The discontent that arose from the elections in a large part of the population was also the result of the unkept promises that Kibaki had made at the beginning of his presidential mandate. Kenya has experienced two consecutive authoritarian regimes under the rule of

Jomo Kenyatta from 1963 to 1978 and Daniel Moi from 1978 to 2002. In 2002, the party that had been in power since independence – the Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) – was defeated by the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), which was born from an alliance of the country's major tribes. Its leader Kibaki succeeded in gaining the trust of the voters on the basis of his predicaments of engaging in a fight against corruption, ensuring equal access to power amongst the various tribes, and setting limits to the (until then) almost unconstrained executive power through a change in the constitution, also with the introduction of the position of Prime Minister (Roberts, 2009).

After climbing onto the presidential podium, however, Kibaki did not keep up to his promises and proceeded to appoint government officials along ethnic lines. The NARC disintegrated shortly after the elections and citizens were left angered and disappointed. This is an additional factor that contributed to the 2007 events. As Roberts (2009) explains:

> Political parties in Kenya typically fall under tribal lines, valuing ethnicity above political ideology and policy. This is due to the perception that the party offers the best hope for one within the tribe to assume power and then share resources with tribal members. The result of this view has historically been tribalism or prejudice across tribes, and favouritism within the tribe (p.n/a).

Since independence, presidential power has spiralled up by way of a number of laws that have been regularly ratified to broaden the executive authority. In order to do so, the Kenyan Constitution was amended 32 times between 1991 and 2008. Citizens have thus come to distrust government institutions, which are perceived as not being integral and autonomous (Waki, 2008). As Mueller (2008) writes, 'institutions outside the presidency normally associated with vetting a contested election were not viewed as being sufficiently neutral to do so and did not' (p.186). Within this context, it is no longer surprising that the 2007 elections were seen as biased and that members of the public chose to engage in a violent response.

A breakdown of the main causes

Through the readings I have conducted on the subject of the Kenya Post-Election Violence, as well as through my visits to the country, I have recognised three significant reasons that led to the conflict. These are by no means the only causes of the fighting, for which a range of

different elements collide and often overlap at the same time. Yet, I believe that in the ones analysed below it is possible to understand the roots from which hatred and violence had begun to grow.

The processes of elite fragmentation, political liberalisation and state informalisation

Branch and Cheeseman (2008) analyse the interwoven process of elite fragmentation, political liberalisation and state informalisation that took place in Kenya from the beginning of the Moi regime. The authors explain that since the achievement of independence, the country's political system had been dominated by a 'bureaucratic-executive' type of state where the power was concentrated in the hands of the president, who exerted control through the vertical structure of the provincial administration.

Scholars who have looked at ethnicity from a class perspective have argued that 'ethnicity in Africa emerged and persisted [...] as an instrument for ensuring a facile and more effective domination and exploitation of the colonised' (Nnoli, 1978, cited in Agbiboa, 2014, p.5). This makes ethnicity not only a contextual and fluid concept, but also 'a tool used by individuals, groups or elites to obtain some larger, typically material end' (Agbiboa, 2014, p.5). With the end of the colonial era the objective realities providing the basis for that structure did not dissolve, and were simply transferred on to the new governing power.

Also in Kenya, the functioning of the administrative system was based on the interaction of a series of elite groups, who strived to maintain the safety and prosperity of their wealthy post-colonial settlements. Yet, the situation began to change with the election of Arap Moi to the presidency in 1978, who favoured a more exclusionary government policy. Under this new regime, elite groups saw their economic situation worsen and their access to political resources being reduced. As a result, the alliance they had created began to disintegrate (ibid.).

The loss of the elite consensus and its fragmentation weakened the capacity of the elected government to counteract the opposition. This progressively led to the death of the one-party state and the beginning of political liberalisation, which saw numerous political leaders turn away from the ruling party (ibid.).

In answer to the process that was taking place, Moi adopted a policy a state informalisation. Along with the looting of the Kenyan state, this policy involved the transformation of the gangs that had recently emerged as a consequence of urbanisation and unemployment into ethnic militias that helped him assert his control through the use of violence (ibid.).

Gangs and militias rapidly gained political importance, since their recruitment by various political actors as a guarantee for protection during election time became more and more frequent. This meant that such armed groups could now rely on stable sources of funding provided by rival elite factions (ibid.).

The presidential elections that took place both in 1992 and 1997 were handled through the employment of this institutionalised form of violence, which saw the beating and killing of many of those who were identified as potential supporters of the opposition. In the Rift Valley in particular, Moi hired several gangs to intimidate mostly Kikuyu, Luo, Luyha and Kamba and prevent them from voting. Despite the destruction and displacement caused by this political strategy, no one was ever tried and found guilty; hence, the culture of impunity that arose from these events has undermined the role of presidential elections among the Kenyan population (Waki, 2008).

Youths & gangs

For the reasons illustrated above, militia groups consisting mostly of young men played a crucial role also during the 2007/2008 conflict, particularly in urban areas. In a major document redacted at the end of the conflict and known as the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence* (Waki, 2008), militias and organised gangs are recognised to be a significant problem for the stability of the country.

These groups are not only being recruited by politicians in a fight against their opponents, but they are also becoming "area authorities" in the slums surrounding the urban centres. The result is that of frequent clashes with the state police and a progressive failure of the security apparatus, whose ability to control violence is being overhauled by an increasing number of gang members and a stronger militia (Waki, 2008).

If one looks carefully at Kenyan society, one of the causes of this phenomenon can also be found in the situation of the country's youth. The precarious condition of young people, often

unemployed and with little education, raised within a weak family structure and marked by deep discontent, makes them suitable targets for recruitment by gangs and militia groups, who guarantee not only a salary but - at times - even the land and jobs of those they are hired to attack. This is accompanied by the possibility of upward mobility in the gangs' hierarchical scale, with the hope of becoming one day a leader (ibid.).

Some authors have argued that, by joining gang fighting during the Kenyan crisis, young men found a channel to release their economic frustrations (Maupeu, 2008). At the same time, from a cultural perspective, a dynamic that can be seen as having intensified this problem lies in the fact that African culture places more value on the role and opinions of the elders, rather than on those of the youths (Roberts, 2009).

Control over land

With the beginning of colonialism, long-lasting traditions of communal land ownership and access-for-all rights were disrupted. Colonists decided that the land was owned only by those who were able to show the existence of legal evidence towards their property. Since this was not possible in the majority of cases, the new government seized approximately seven million acres of arable land and placed it under the control of Europeans for cultivation. These territories became known as *white highlands*, and all the indigenous populations that used to inhabit them were displaced in marginal reserves. Shortly afterwards, however, the overcrowding of such territories forced a large number of ethnic communities including Luo, Kisii, Luhya and Kikuyu to migrate to the *white highlands* of the Rift Valley to live as squatters who provided labour for the settlers (Kimenyi and Ndung'u, 2005).

The system set up by colonists through the creation of the *white highlands* deprived most of the native population of rights over their land. At the same time, it led to increased migration to those areas, which caused a drastic expansion of the Kikuyu settlement outside of their traditional territories of the Central province. Establishing new land rights was also hardly ever possible under colonial rule, hence once independence was gained, one of the main problems was that of addressing issues of private property. This proved to be such a complex matter that in order to accelerate the transfer of power, all Kenyan tribes withdrew their claims to have their pre-colonial land returned to them and left Europeans to sell this to willing buyers. Thus most migrants ended up settling down in areas other than their ancestral ones, particularly in the province of the Rift Valley, where the land was more fertile (ibid.).

Both the settlement scheme devised during colonial times and the subsequent purchase programme attached the land question to the aspect of ethnic rivalry, building the basis for the political conflict that was exacerbated through the 2007 elections (Kanyinga, 2009).

Mitchell (1970) explains that a way of defining 'tribe' is by linking it to the concept of culture, as the term can refer to a group of people with common cultural traits. The notion of 'tribalism', on the other hand, gains its political significance from the social meaning that is attached to this cultural differentiation. From this idea arises the aspect of 'tribal' loyalty, which is an important component of both political and personal relationships: ethnic differentiation becomes interrelated to economic and social differences, and ethnic divisions start to be based on economic and social characteristics. The sentiment of tribal belonging begins to influence all social relationships, and the tendency to identify rights and obligations according to common cultural origins perpetuates the clustering of social characteristics (ibid.).

The Rift Valley is now home to a number of ethnic groups. The largest is that of the Kalenjin (approximately half of the population), who have formed a strong alliance with the Luyha and Luo; the second major tribe is the Kikuyu (over 19% of the population); Kisii and Maasai form smaller groups. Here, the structure of inequality in land ownership continues to instigate the political tension that can turn into violent conflict.

From the reconstruction of historical events illustrated above, it becomes clear how a strong inter-ethnic animosity has arisen between the Kalenjin – who, along with the Maasai, hold territorial claims over the former *white highlands* of the Rift Valley as their ancestral land – and the Kikuyu, who migrated there in search of work and subsequently purchased some of those lands (ibid.). As is clarified in the CPEV Report (Waki, 2008), this state of affairs '...has created the notion of "insiders", who are native to a place and "outsiders" who have migrated there, a notion that has been tapped by aspiring politicians' (p.31).

Some reflections on *identity*

Contemporary armed conflicts are more frequently being fought along ethnic, religious, and regional lines, and no longer follow ideological or class affiliations. At the same time, however, Lederach (1997) highlights how control and domination are elements whose dynamics are set

in motion by underlying forces such as class and ideology: it is these forces that leaders from conflicting sides seek to manipulate to enhance their positions. The uncertainties that characterise sub-group identities are used and reinforced by leaders as a means to strengthen their position as well as the group's internal structure that will support them.

The author (2003) indicates *identity* and *relationship* as the two main causes of social conflict. Identity can be regarded as the dynamic through which we relate to others and whose definition changes constantly. Such a process does not involve negotiation or shared understanding on a practical issue, but rather is concerned with the protection of a sense of self and the survival of the group. Despite a lack of explicit reference to it, identity is always present and influences the orientation of a conflict. It can be found within individuals' narratives but also in their relationships with other beings.

Ross (2000) explains that people who share an identity also consistently identify with what the author refers to as 'targets of externalisation', that is common enemies. Group differences are attached to a strong emotional ethos and gain more importance by means of symbolic and ritual behaviours that emphasise individuals' belonging to their own group.

I have chosen not to include the element of *identity* as one of the main reasons for the Kenyan conflict in my discussion, as the thoughts and impressions I have developed during my travels in the country have told me that *identity* is an issue that is not easy to locate within the wide landscape of the causes of violence. In an interview on the Kenya Post-Election Violence conducted by Oliver Wils from the Berghof Foundation, conflict transformation expert Dekha Ibrahim Abdi (2008) gives a vivid illustration of this concept when she states that:

> When there is a political crisis or a contestation of a political crisis, but underneath there are other issues, for example when a group excludes a certain other social group from a geographical space, from services, from national political power, then all of a sudden it's like, "Oh, why, we have been left out. Is it because we are this tribe, we are that geographic space?" Then they start asserting their identity. That identity could be a social identity, a religious identity. They go on to gather numbers and numbers of people to assert that identity. Having asserted that identity, it's linked to a certain geographical space: "This is our country. This is our constituency. This is our district. This is our street". So identity is linked to the land. When people claim land, it's not land as an economic drive but land as a bargaining chip for that identity (p.5).

Yet, during my stay in the country, after my conversations with local people and interviews with my research informants, I was frequently left with the impression that the issue of identity mostly arose from the three causes that were listed and elucidated previously in this chapter (including access to land) and that it was not, in most cases, an underlying matter. I felt that identity was used to justify claims over fertile land rather than exercised as an authentic assertion of community belonging.

The section of the CIPEV Report (Waki, 2008) reproduced below expresses another possible view:

> In discussions of post-election violence, many Kalenjins argue that it is a product of longstanding anger over land distribution following independence. They argue that land was alienated by the colonial government and then unfairly parceled out to the Kikuyus and other groups whom they view as outsiders. Many Kalenjins believe that issues relating to land were reasons for [...] the post-election violence after the December 2007 elections. Others [...] dismiss this explanation pointing out that individuals from different groups lived side by side for many years until the advent of multi-party democracy when violence was used to kill and displace opposition party voters to keep them from voting. Hence, [it is argued] that even though the promise of getting land from those who were displaced was used to entice youth into violence, the desire for political power and not land hunger was the causal factor (p.32).

This statement is key in order to understand the real situation of the Rift Valley and to seek ways to address it. Also Mitchell (2002) emphasises how – after a more careful assessment - many of what have been defined as ethnic conflicts can be recognised to be mostly social, political and economic conflicts between groups who choose to identify themselves and their adversaries along ethnic lines. The author stresses how what appear to be at times unsolvable ethnic clashes are, in fact, conflicts that are only remotely related to expressions of ethnic identity. At the same time, disputes that are more connected to ethnicity and its manifestations are more easily solvable through the achievement of a mutually acceptable way forward, especially when ethnic survival is recognised not to be at stake.

As I have also come to appreciate through my time in Kenya, the element of *identity* – particularly in its ethnic dimension – begins to play a key role when other significant inequalities are present within a society, including control over land and access to political

opportunities. The unnatural amplification of the importance of ethnicity is typically a consequence of decisions taken in institutional and political contexts, and it is rarely the cause of the discord (Branch and Cheeseman, 2008). In her work on the political economy of Kenya's crisis, Mueller (2008) makes reference to the argument of Collier (2007, cited in Mueller, 2008, p.193), who maintains that the motivating factor in a conflict is greed rather than grievance, which is also connected to the opportunity to move upwardly in the hierarchy of organised gangs.

Whether or not identity was the main issue, it certainly became a strong component of the hate speech crusade many local media outlets embarked on, using ethnic language, and physical as well as traditional connotations of each tribe as lethal weapons. The international organisation Internews conducted a comprehensive literature review (Oriare Mbeke, 2009) on the impact of the Kenyan media in the Post-Election Violence. Here is an excerpt of their report, which clarifies the role played particularly by radio in instigating violence in the Rift Valley area:

> While mainstream media were much more cautious, FM radio stations especially those broadcasting in ethnic languages fuelled ethnic hatred and animosity through the use of hate and unsavoury language. [...] Some ethnic radio stations broadcasting to Kalenjins in the Rift Valley used to call their Kikuyu neighbours Kenyambi (weeds), while a popular Kikuyu radio station often referred to Luos as fishermen. In the lead up to the December 2007 elections, some FM stations in the Rift Valley would broadcast messages bordering on incitement against the Kikuyu in the region. One presenter would be heard saying "let's uproot Kenyambi" (weeds for Kikuyus in the Rift Valley). They described Kenyambi as a stubborn weed which does not go away easily, even under hostile conditions. Kenyambi, the presenter said, spread slowly throughout the garden with devastating effect. The presenter said to remove it becomes a litmus test during the elections. By doing so, the presenters were merely advocating for the eviction of the Kikuyus from the Rift Valley. On the other hand, some Kikuyu stations ridiculed Luos as simple-minded fishermen that are never satisfied with anything and should be left to do "fishing" (Luos are traditionally a fishing community). [...] Some FM stations broadcasting in ethnic languages gave explicit suggestions to voters on how to deal with members of communities that were perceived to have stolen votes. "Ka ngato okwalo dheri to itime nade?" (What do you do to a thief that has stolen your cow? Do you negotiate with him or you teach him a lesson?) (p.13).

The report also underlines how international media such as CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera portrayed the Post-Election Violence within the frame of a war that saw Luos and Kalenjins

as contending tribes. This was in strong contrast with the approach taken by the local mainstream media, who avoided mentioning the communities' names. This type of reporting only galvanised and reinforced ethnic hostility between the two groups (ibid.).

Key points

This first section of Chapter 3 described the events that evolved prior to and during the 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya. Some of the root causes of the conflict were analysed and broken down into three main factors:

- The process of elite fragmentation, political liberalisation and state informalisation that took place in the country from the Moi regime
- The problems of youths and the solutions sold to them of joining gangs
- The conflict over land – transpiring especially in the Rift Valley – between the Kalenjin, traditional inhabitants of the area, and the Kikuyu, who arrived during colonisation with the establishment of the *white highlands* and never returned to their ancestral territories.

The delicate issue of land that still dominates the co-existence of different tribes in the Valley finds its origins in dynamics of exclusion that took shape from policies enforced through the strategies adopted by both the colonial and post-colonial systems (Maupeu, 2008). Following the violence that erupted after the last presidential elections, the CIPEV report (Waki, 2008) recognised that:

> There is a land issue which needs to be addressed, particularly in parts of the country which are not ethnically homogenous. Even now, this mentality and the fear that accompanies it have led to a type of quasi residential apartheid as Kenyans move into more ethnically homogenous areas even within urban centres and towns (p.32).

Claims of identity and ethnic survival have been made throughout the violence. The views of some authors in relation to this issue were introduced to provide a brief theoretical context. There is no space here to engage in a complete discussion over the broad concept of identity, which has been widely reviewed in literatures such as, for example, that of anthropology. Yet, a question that I believe should be asked here is whether the issue at stake is really that of identity or rather that of land everyone is interested in.

The role of the local FM stations broadcasting in the various vernaculars has also been briefly addressed. These small broadcasters have extensively fomented the element of ethnic belonging in order to stir feelings of animosity and resentment towards other tribes. While this is an example of one of the many roles that the media can play in conflict, this discussion does not drift into a greater exploration of such an area in the PEV.

The second part of this chapter provides both background and technical details of the two participatory media projects that are examined in this thesis, and which took place in response to the tensions between tribes that were left as a legacy of the conflict.

Introducing the projects

This illustration of the causes and consequences of the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence sets the scene for a description of the two participatory media projects that comprise the sample of this study. Such description sheds light on the objectives and activities of both the participatory video and participatory theatre initiatives analysed here, introducing their implementing organisations, their design, as well as the characteristics of their participants. The paragraphs that follow also provide more information on the situation that was created in local communities in the aftermath of the violence.

The table below offers a snapshot of the two projects, which will be explained in greater length in the following pages:

NGO name	*Mercy Corps (MC)*
Description	Large and established American NGO that works almost exclusively in high-risk conflict and post-conflict environments. The organisation has programmes in approximately 40 countries in the world and its aim is that of helping people to find ways to break the cycle of violence and promote peaceful change. Its work is characterised by what MC calls a holistic approach and is carried out through the lens of various technical sectors in the peacebuilding sphere[13]. In Kenya, Mercy Corps began to work with youth in the aftermath of the post-election violence to address the heart of the conflict and the issues that caused it.

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[13] See: www.mercycorps.org.

Participatory media activity	MC engaged in **participatory video**-making with the youths for the evaluation of one of his peacebuilding programmes aimed at bringing reconciliation between tribes after the violence.
NGO name	*Amani People's Theatre (APT)*
Description	Nairobi-based organisation with extensive experience in the performing arts and in training on conflict transformation, organisational development and child rehabilitation with grassroots communities all over Africa[14]. APT employs a variety of participatory methodologies with a particular focus on participatory theatre. Its approach finds its roots in African traditional models of communication, as well as in the works of Augusto Boal and Paulo Freire.
Participatory media activity	The organisation conducted a series of **participatory theatre** workshops, family visits and community dialogues to restore a culture of peace in different areas of Kenya that were affected by the post-election violence.

Project 1: Participatory Video

After the violence that erupted as a result of the 2007 presidential election, conflict specialist NGO Mercy Corps set up a *Local Empowerment for Peace* (LEAP) Programme to address the inter-tribal tensions that had remained as a legacy of the fighting. Mercy Corps LEAP Programme incorporated a 'Sports for Peace' component that was implemented in the Uasin Gishu district of the Kenyan Rift Valley, a largely rural area with less than a third of the population living in the main urban centre of Eldoret. This component involved the implementation of sports activities to bring together youths from different tribes, who took part in conflict management and peace dialogue processes. *LEAP Sport* took the form of a programme in itself, which combined conflict management skills development with transformative opportunities to employ those skills through inter-tribal sports, cash-for-work and income generating activities.

The programme deliberately targeted the full range of tribes in the region: Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kisii, Kamba and others. It also included both victims and perpetrators of the post-election violence. About two thirds of the teams that were formed through the LEAP Sport from the slum areas of Eldoret were ethnically mixed (in a district in which approximately 85 per cent of the population is of a Kalenjin background). For teams from

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[14] See: www.aptkenya.org.

more rural, homogeneous areas (which are not ethnically mixed) the programme used rural/urban tournaments to ensure that they could meet with teams from other areas.

Specific objectives of the programme were[15]:

1. Address the root causes of post-election violence – Kikuyus were viewed as intruders coming to steal Kalenjins' resources and getting rich at their expense. These definitions had to be broken down and new ones needed to be created, hence the programme ensured that members of other ethnic groups would be seen as fully-fledged Kenyans deserving space to make a livelihood.
2. Promote peacebuilding dialogues – political disagreements would be defined as differences of opinion, rather than existential threats to particular communities.
3. Reduce inter-tribal conflict – youths would believe in a shared future free from violence.

The strategy to achieve these shifts in definitions involved bringing together different ethnic groups under the banner of sports and economic opportunity. This created a space for the youths to share experiences, goals and identity; that space was also used by programme staff to deliver messages of unity and peace. Gradually, members of different tribes had the chance to realise how much they had in common with each other: poor members of a tribe recognised that they had more in common with poor members of other tribes than with rich and powerful members of their own group. Sports teams created an overarching identity that bridged the tribal ones. In addition, during the various activities, captains and coaches delivered a *peace curriculum* that strengthened these shifts through modules that addressed collaboration, negotiation, reconciliation, trust and forgiveness.

In order to evaluate the LEAP Sport programme, Mercy Corps decided to make use of the innovative method of *PV&MSC* (*Participatory Video and Most Significant Change*). In May 2010, two participatory video facilitators from Oxford-based organisation InsightShare travelled to Eldoret to put into action this pioneering practice that adds the elements of video and community participation to the stories of change collected through the MSC process.

In the words of Hovland (2005):

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[15] *Making the Case - LEAP evaluation* (2010) by Mercy Corps Kenya, Eldoret

> MSC is a form of participatory monitoring and evaluation. [...] Essentially, the process involves the collection of significant change (SC) stories emanating from the field level, and the systematic selection of the most significant of these stories by panels of designated stakeholders or staff. The designated staff and stakeholders are initially involved by 'searching' for project impact. Once changes have been captured, selected groups of people sit down together, read the stories aloud and have regular and often in-depth discussions about the value of these reported changes, and which they think is most significant of all. When the technique is implemented successfully, whole teams of people begin to focus their attention on program impact (p.50)

In essence, the MSC makes use of the stories told by beneficiaries of their involvement in a particular programme, to illustrate the impact – that is, the significant change – that the activities have had on their lives. Since the first stage of this process sees the collection of a large number of stories carried out by field staff, the subsequent phases involve listening to and filtering down those narrations through a process of discussion in which programme workers identify the different areas of impact – referred to as 'domains of change' – and select the stories that are most representative of the changes achieved by the activities that were implemented.

The MSC process used for Mercy Corps evaluation added the elements of people's participation and of participatory video to the story collection. By way of this exercise, groups of beneficiaries were gathered to tell their stories of change; this was particularly related to their shift in inter-tribal perceptions following their participation in the LEAP Sport programme, as well as the new conflict management skills they had gained. In order to identify the significant changes, people began by talking about their situation prior to the sports activities, hence recounting their personal story of the conflict. They then explained how the programme had changed their perception of the events which occurred during the violence and why they had decided to embrace peace.

At the same time, both the story collection and the story selection processes were carried out by the programme beneficiaries themselves, rather than by the NGO workers, who simply provided assistance throughout the course of this exercise. Through the story collection process, participants learned about one another and started to notice the differences as well as the similarities in their experience of the violence, which allowed them to create a mutual understanding, also between tribes. The twelve stories that were selected to be the most representative of the programme's impact were told, acted and filmed by the youths that had participated in the LEAP Sport.

The Video-Making Process

In Eldoret, the PV facilitators recruited a group of nine youths within the periphery of the programme and trained them to become video coaches. The group worked together for a period of one week, learning video skills as well as the process of the MSC method. They also selected what they thought would be the best three domains for the evaluation. These were centred on three concepts: a) inter-tribal perceptions, b) skills to handle conflict, and c) opportunities for the future.

Following the training, InsightShare facilitators, Mercy Corps staff and the video coaches gathered groups of beneficiaries from the LEAP Sport who told their stories to each other. Out of all the stories told, twelve were selected for filming through a voting process facilitated by the coaches. This activity saw the video coaches splitting into two groups: one arranged to film the interview with the selected storyteller and the other helped the group to collectively create their storyboard. As Isabelle Lemaire, one of InsightShare facilitators, explains in her final project report[16]:

> Once the interview was finished, the group took the storyboard out with them into the streets, and everyone was able to take part, either filming, recording sound or acting out the different scenes. This worked well since despite not being selected as the storytellers, the whole group could come together around one story, helping build cohesion in the group. During this process - because the project focused on reconciliation after the 2007 post-election violence - the storyboard often included re-enactments of the conflict. This meant that most of the participants were performing as actors in scenes that they had either participated in or witnessed in real life.

The video coaches also received training in basic video-editing and worked with the facilitators to prepare the final films of the twelve stories that had been selected and filmed during the workshops. The editing was guided by the storyboards that had been previously developed by the participants. After finalising the videos, the team organised two screenings: the first one was for community members to watch all the films that had been produced and choose which one was most relevant to them for each of the three domains. The second screening was organised for local decision-makers, partner NGO staff and government

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[16] *Pixels for Transformation - A participatory video and most significant change project to evaluate the impact of a sport for peace programme in Eldoret, Kenya* (2010) by Isabelle Lemaire, InsightShare, Oxford

officials. Here, the goal was to identify one out of the three stories already selected by the community as the most significant. This activity aimed at creating a space for debate on the important issues to address in the peacebuilding process activities and was facilitated mainly by the video coaches.

Relevance to this study

Through the story collection process, participants learned about one another and started to notice the differences as well as the similarities in their experience of the violence, which allowed them to create a mutual understanding, also between tribes. For the storyboarding and filming process, moreover, people had to work together with a common goal. The screening was also an important phase, particularly due to the scenes in which violence was re-enacted. As Isabelle Lemaire[17], again, illustrates:

> During the screening back, [...] the youth were completely silent, reflecting on what they were seeing on screen. It was powerful for many of them to see themselves act violently and offered some time for reflection of what these acts implied.

The participatory videos developed through Mercy Corps work were not conceived by the organisation as peacebuilding materials, but simply as instruments to assess the impact of the NGO's sport programme on the local youth. Yet, I believe that the activities used in this exercise can be analysed under a reconciliation lens to determine whether or not these media productions have in reality also served as tools for reuniting communities affected by the conflict.

The importance of these activities lies also in the fact that they were mostly targeted at young people. As previously discussed, it was recognised that youth groups, manipulated by powerful politicians, were the main perpetrators of violence during the 2007/2008 PEV. This was especially true in the Uasin Gishu district, where youths organised themselves in groups to carry out the looting and killing of rival tribes.

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[17] *Supra*, p.83

Hence, for the purpose of this PhD study, the field research that was conducted has focused on determining the contribution that the PV productions have made in relation to conflict transformation and reconciliation in Eldoret.

Project 2: Participatory Theatre

This project was carried out in the provinces of Nyanza and Rift Valley, along with some of the Nairobi slums that were most affected by the violence. To narrow down the scale of an evaluation that would have been too large to carry out within the space of my fieldwork, I decided to focus my effort in understanding the impact that this project has had in an area of the South Rift Valley that is commonly known by the locals as the *Sotik/Borabu border*.

The Sotik/Borabu border is a line that was drawn by the white colonists to separate the province of the Rift Valley from that of Nyanza. That same line, which is found on the hills behind the town of Sotik and is only visible to the eyes of those who have inhabited this area for generations, delineates now the division between the land of the *Kipsigis* – a Kalenjin sub-tribe living on the Rift Valley side – and the *Abagusi* – a *Bantu* sub-tribe most commonly known as *Kisii* – on the Borabu district side. Below is one of the shots I took of the border, which, at times, follows a tree line:

Image 2. View of the Sotik/Borabu border from Tembwo, Sotik District

Despite speaking different dialects, engaging with different traditions and cultural ceremonies, and facing historical disputes related to cattle rustling, Kipsigis and Kisiis had lived in harmony since the achievement of Kenyan independence, when the land of the *shambas* was sold to willing buyers. Some Kisiis had managed to purchase land on the

Kipsigis side, but this had not carried any consequences until the eruption of the Post-Election Violence at the end of 2007.

The violence came, as in the rest of the country, with the contested announcement of Mwai Kibaki as President for yet one more mandate. Kipsigis' anger arose from their lost hopes of having their living conditions somehow improved through the election of Raila Odinga, their favoured candidate, as was promised to them by ODM politicians endorsing Odinga. Their fury was immediately directed against the neighbouring Kisiis, whose houses and crops on Kipsigis land were burned and destroyed, but also on the other side of the border. Inter-tribal fighting began in which properties were looted and many lives were lost; this was mostly due to the fact that the Kisiis had given their support to Kibaki during the elections.

In response, again, to the ethnic tensions that remained after the events that followed the elections, APT - which specialises in conflict transformation through theatre - organised and coordinated a number of participatory theatre activities through a peacebuilding programme funded by the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD) between 2010 and 2011.

The theatre workshops/performances were aimed at nurturing a spirit of non-violence among Kenyans and at offering a space for communities to heal. Through a participatory process, project beneficiaries became involved in a series of theatre plays aimed at promoting and sustaining peace, which at the same time made them the actors of their own stories.

The overall goal of the project, which went under the name of *Building Sustainable Structures for Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding amongst Communities in Kenya*, was:

> to inculcate and nurture a spirit of non-violence activism in the people of Kenya as they seek to address challenges and injustices they experience[18].

Among its objectives, the project wanted:
- to provide the space for individuals and communities to share and speak out against injustice;
- to provide the space for healing for members of the community.

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[18] *Final Report. Program title: Building Sustainable Structures for Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding amongst Communities in Kenya* (2011) by Amani People's Theatre (APT), Nairobi

APT came in initially with peace dialogues, through which communities were brought together to discuss why they had collided and what was the way forward. Families were also visited individually by the facilitators, who talked to them to get their stories of the violence. After that, drama was used to make people realise how others felt and how everyone saw the causes of the conflict.

The activities implemented APT experienced APT facilitators involved:

1) *Dialogue forums* – utilising all different techniques from the 'theatre of the oppressed' method;
2) *Forum theatre clinics* – to reach younger groups in schools
3) *Family visits* – during these visits APT employed techniques of playback theatre, psychodrama and drama therapy within the household.

The project targeted mostly youth groups, church leaders and local administrations, due to the key role that these actors play in the acquisition and dissemination of information in the wider community.

Image 3. Rift Valley with highlighted research sites – Eldoret and Sotik (edited from: www.maps-guide.net)

CHAPTER 4
Methodology

This chapter offers a critical reflection on the methods that were employed in the primary data collection of this study and on the processes that unfolded. Given the exploratory character of this research and the nature of its subject, a *qualitative methodology* has been chosen.

In the first part of this chapter, I will clarify the research question by breaking it down into more specific areas of impact that participatory media productions can have. Following that, I will introduce the sample from which both primary and secondary data were collected, and will discuss the reason for their inclusion in this study. Next, I will deliberate on the methods used, the rationale behind their application and how this application worked out in practice. In the final section, I will share some personal reflections on the data collection, including the constraints of this research and the obstacles encountered.

Research question and context description

The question that this research is addressing is <u>whether participatory media productions created by communities that have been affected by civil violence have any effect on processes of conflict transformation and reconciliation between former enemy groups – subsequently leading up to processes of 'social change' - and the ways in which such productions contribute to sustainable peace</u>.

More specifically, this study aims to determine:

- the extent to which participatory media productions are helpful in creating an understanding (mutual realisation of causes and suffering) between former enemy groups by enabling them to share their experience of violence and initiating social healing;
- the impact that such productions can have on those who have taken direct part in their creation (hereinafter referred to as *storytellers* for Project 1, and *actors* for Project 2) in relation to their contribution towards conflict transformation and/or reconciliation;

- the impact that such productions can have on those who watch them (hereinafter referred to as the *audience* or *audience members*) in relation to their contribution towards conflict transformation and/or reconciliation;
  - as a result of the three points listed above, the impact that such productions can have on social change within the wider context they have been created and/or used; and
- the way in which communication for development, through the use of participatory media productions, is helpful in creating an enabling environment for sustainable peace and development after a conflict.

As previously mentioned, a qualitative methodology has been used in order to gather evidence in support of the argument of this thesis. Qualitative research is situated within the epistemological framework of interpretivism that differentiates it from quantitative research. What makes the qualitative approach different from the scientific model of quantitative research is its focus on discovering aspects of the social world through the analysis of the interpretations of those who live in it.

Hence, the emphasis in qualitative research is on narratives rather than quantitative data (Bryman, 2004). This approach fits with the idea of constructivism, as it posits that knowledge is constructed on the basis of an individual's beliefs and the meanings that people assign to the external world they live in: it follows that the understanding of our social reality derives from the subjective interpretation, values and judgments of the individual in the specific context he/she lives in (Prowse, 2007).

Qualitative research contrasts with the positivist school that predicates the effectiveness of quantitative research, and which attempts to uncover universal "laws" that are able to offer an explanation of the social world. Positivists believe that such laws can be deduced from an empirical generalisation of a systematic repetition of two or more phenomena, which occurs independently from space and time and carries a neutral value (Prowse, 2007).

Since the purpose of this study is to assess the impact of participatory media productions on conflict transformation and reconciliation between communities – and, as a result, to offer wider recommendations on the use of Communication for Development in Peacebuilding – qualitative research appears to be the most suitable methodology. The variables that this investigation is considering are not easily quantifiable and require an in-depth understanding

of participants' lives and experiences, which cannot be collected in the form of standardised closed answers.

Also Byrne (2008) suggests that the application of experimental or quasi-experimental methods is only useful in the presence of precise and measurable objectives, which cannot be identified in complex and unpredictable contexts such as those of social development and social change.

The location in which the empirical part of this research was conducted is Kenya. As comprehensively illustrated in the previous chapter, the disputed political elections that took place in the country in December 2007 triggered a violent clash between the different ethnic groups supporting the two presidential candidates. This led to the death of approximately one thousand people, most of whom were killed through the use of machetes or other types of improvised weapons, and the displacement of a further 600,000. Following the strife, which continued over the course of three months, a number of NGOs and other international organisations developed and implemented several programmes to reconnect those groups that had been divided by the violence along ethnic lines. The Rift Valley – where this study was carried out - was one of the areas most affected by the fighting, and is where various ethnic groups co-exist. A more detailed explanation of Kenya's ethnic landscape was provided, again, in Chapter 3.

Evaluation research and social change

The original understanding of the practice of *evaluation*, which dates back to the 1960s, was essentially that of assessing a programme's effectiveness. Both within the social and natural sciences, the ruling paradigm for this type of research was that of randomised controlled experiments. While a considerable amount of these large-scale field studies had been already initiated by the 1970s, the realisation that not all investigations could be conducted correctly by use of this method began to arise in later years. This was due both to the impossibility, in some cases, of gathering a completely random sample, and to the lengthy process that was needed in order to carry out these types of studies (Miller and Salkind, 2002). Authors such as Campbell and Stanley (1966, cited in Miller and Salkind, 2002, p.89) attempted to offer a solution to this problem with the introduction of quasi-experimental designs to evaluation, which are not based on randomisation for the composition of their control groups. The authors did not neglect to highlight that the data generated through this method would be

less valid and indicated some criteria that could have been helpful in drawing valid causal inferences in these studies. Yet, it can be recognised that most of the evaluations conducted over the decades have undeniably been quasi-experiments rather than randomised ones, particularly because of the difficulties involved in carrying out the latter in real world settings (Miller and Salkind, 2002). Rossi and Wright (1984), on the other hand, had begun to talk about the progressive expansion of a new form of evaluation that the authors describe as comprehensive, whose goal is not only that of assessing *if* a programme has led to a change, but also to determine *why* it has done so.

In international development, evaluation is used to determine the extent to which social or economic programmes (or projects) funded by multilateral or bilateral donors and implemented by international or local non-governmental organisations in developing countries have reached their intended objectives and achieved changes in the target population (Bamberger, 2000).

Schwandt (2003) states that the main contributions that evaluation offers through its inspection of programme planning and programme development practice are those of 'explaining causal relationships; establishing empirical generalisations between variables; and marshalling [...] evidence in support of claims about effectiveness, efficiency and outcomes' (p.353). Rossi and Freeman (1993, p.5, quoted in Clarke and Dawson, 1999, p.2) provide a useful definition of evaluation research as:

> [...] the systematic application of social research procedures
> for assessing the conceptualisation, design, implementation,
> and utility of social intervention programs.

Clarke and Dawson (1999) maintain that evaluation research is a form of applied social research whose aim is that of establishing the effectiveness of existing knowledge, rather than discovering new knowledge. Its action-oriented approach is one of the distinctive traits of this branch of inquiry, along with the practical design of its execution.

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Gujit (2007) defines social change as a 'collective process of conscious efforts to reduce poverty and oppression by changing underlying unequal power relationships' (p.4). In a

discussion over the evaluation of these types of efforts, the author recognises different features of social change that do not lend themselves to being studied by means of mainstream methods; one of these features is related to the fact that the process of transforming power relations does not follow a linear development, making it difficult to foresee a clear impact that these changes can bring. Another trait concerns the involvement of a number of groups on various fronts. In addition, acknowledging a timeframe for change is helpful in clarifying expectations. The visual below (Figure 5) clarifies the complexity involved in social change processes:
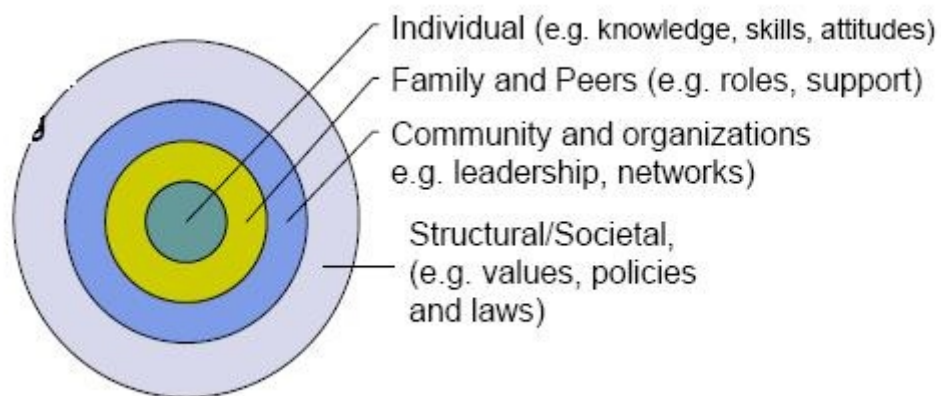
Figure 5. Layers of social change (adapted from Byrne, 2008, p.8)

A combination of frameworks, concepts and methods is necessary in order to build a suitable structure for evaluating an intervention addressing social change. Yet, it is not imperative to employ broad and complex methods, as even one case study can offer enough insights to begin reflecting upon and articulating important conclusions (Gujit, 2007). The research presented here makes use of two participatory media projects implemented in the aftermath of violence to evaluate their impact on reconciliation and conflict transformation, and their contribution to social change. The projects will be analysed as a single experience that brings together evidence on the general use of participatory media.

A participatory framework in Communication for Development is what Mefalopulos (2007) refers to as 'dialogic communication', a concept already explored in Chapter 2 when discussing the Communication for Social Change approach. This concept is linked to the involvement of local stakeholders in the definition and implementation of specific activities aimed at development: 'dialogue is needed in order to build trust, ensure mutual understanding, explore different perspectives and identify the best course of action to successfully address a situation that needs to be changed' (ibid., p.n/a).

Mefalopulos (2007) identifies three ways of determining the impact of participatory communication:

- o *anecdotic evidence* – evidence that supports the crucial role that communication has in solving problems and overcoming obstacles is well-defined;
- o *the costs of non-communication evidence* – a lack of dialogue with stakeholders is the clear cause of problems or failures of a project;
- o *impressionistic evidence* – the success of a project is measured by its beneficiaries, who are given the means to express their opinion regarding the activities (p.n/a).

The approach that most schools of thought adopt when evaluating social change efforts, is one that aims both at identifying the causes of injustice and power inequities and at tackling them through participants' engagement. As identified, again, by Gujit (ibid.), this involves perspectives such as action research and appreciative enquiry; organisational learning; popular education; feminist evaluation; participatory and empowerment evaluation, and other similar methods.

While these types of evaluation could be built into a participatory media project ahead of its implementation, I felt that my study did not lend itself to such practices. The aim of my investigation is namely to determine whether or not these activities have had any impact on transforming conflict and reconciling former enemy groups, and whether or not they could be useful tools if applied to a wider peacebuilding intervention. After establishing these facts, I believe it will be possible to consider the use of other methods that include a more action / participatory –oriented type of research that allows for more space to hear beneficiaries' voices.

Within this context, I find that the collection of *impressionistic evidence* – as defined by Mefalopulos (2007) - by means of interviews with project participants is a useful way to analyse the role of participatory media projects in the aftermath of violence, as well as their impact on reconciliation between former enemy groups. Beneficiaries here are asked to discuss their views on how participatory video and theatre have contributed to conflict transformation and development in their communities at various levels, and to offer suggestions on their future use.

The aim of this research is not that of generating new theory, but rather of providing evidence for theory-testing. In particular, as the data analysis of this study (discussed in the next chapter) will make use of *theories of change (ToC)*, the impact of the projects will be evaluated against those theories. The next section offers an introduction to this method.

Theories of Change as a method of analysis

Clarke and Dawson (1999) highlight the crucial role that theory plays in evaluation. The authors clarify the distinction between *evaluation theory*, which is 'theory as it is applied to the actual practice of evaluation' (p.36), and *theory in evaluation*, which refers to the way a programme is meant to operate.

In connection to the latter, a 'theory-based evaluation' is an assessment exercise designed around the theory or philosophy according to which a programme functions. The theory underpinning a programme is often not articulated in an explicit way by those who have designed its activities; hence, it is the task of the evaluator to recognise the beliefs and assumptions on which a particular intervention was built (ibid).

An aspect that is critical when following the methodology of Theory of Change is the clear articulation of those postulations that are understood to drive social change in a particular context. Gujit (2007) asserts that a 'theory of change' needs to be 'philosophical, historical, political, psychological and experiential, i.e. ideological' (p.5). This is because in order to measure an intervention aimed at social change, it is crucial to build an understanding of the environment in which different actors and strategies operate, so as to challenge power inequities (ibid.).

Gujit (2007, p.26) has identified 'lenses' that can help to focus on specific aspects of the social change process. The ones that I deem as being particularly relevant to this research are the following:

- **Peace and conflict resolution contexts** – context-specific challenges of extreme dynamics and non-linearity of change are present. These must be taken into account when evaluating and learning;
- **Innovation** – most social change processes involve an innovation of some kind. This could include new relationships, new actors, but also new working settings;

- **Dialogue** – this is needed to foster relationships and come to a consensus that permits mutual advancement.

These lenses are also helpful in identifying appropriate ToC. Figure 6 shows the connection that ToC forms between activities and results.
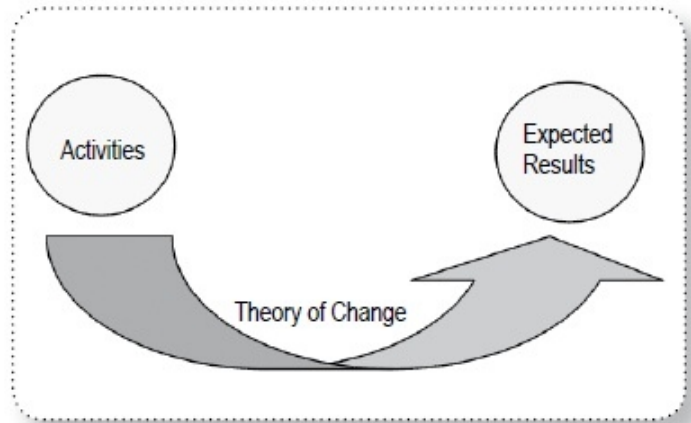
Figure 6. Theory of Change (from Lederach et al, 2007, p.27)

Upon the formulation of such theories, the data collected in this research through the qualitative methods presented in later sections will be analysed in the light of those statements. The two participatory media projects will be assessed and their impacts evaluated against the 'theories of change' that drive this study, and which will be comprehensively discussed in the next chapter.

Design and methods

In order to answer an evaluation question, a combination of tools is generally needed. This set of research methods should remain homogenous both in its data collection form and in the analysis of information (EuropeAid, 2006).

Two participatory media projects conducted in the aftermath of violence were researched and identified as the sample of this investigation. The methods chosen to examine the sample involved:

1) research and analysis of project documents and reports
2) discussions with NGO staff that contributed to the projects planning, carried out under the form of a focus group

3) two different types of qualitative interviewing on two different groups of stakeholders for each project.

After setting apart the two projects that were to be the subjects of this examination, research participants were selected by means of two different sampling techniques:

- for interviews with storytellers and actors – *non-probability* sampling. Interviewees were selected from among those who had taken part in the media productions by using a *convenience* sampling;
- for interviews with audience members – these were identified through a more *random* sampling taking into account factors such as gender and ethnic background;
- for focus groups with facilitators – again, participants were recruited through a *convenience* sampling due to the small number of people belonging to this group.

The diagram below (Figure 7) illustrates the design of this study:
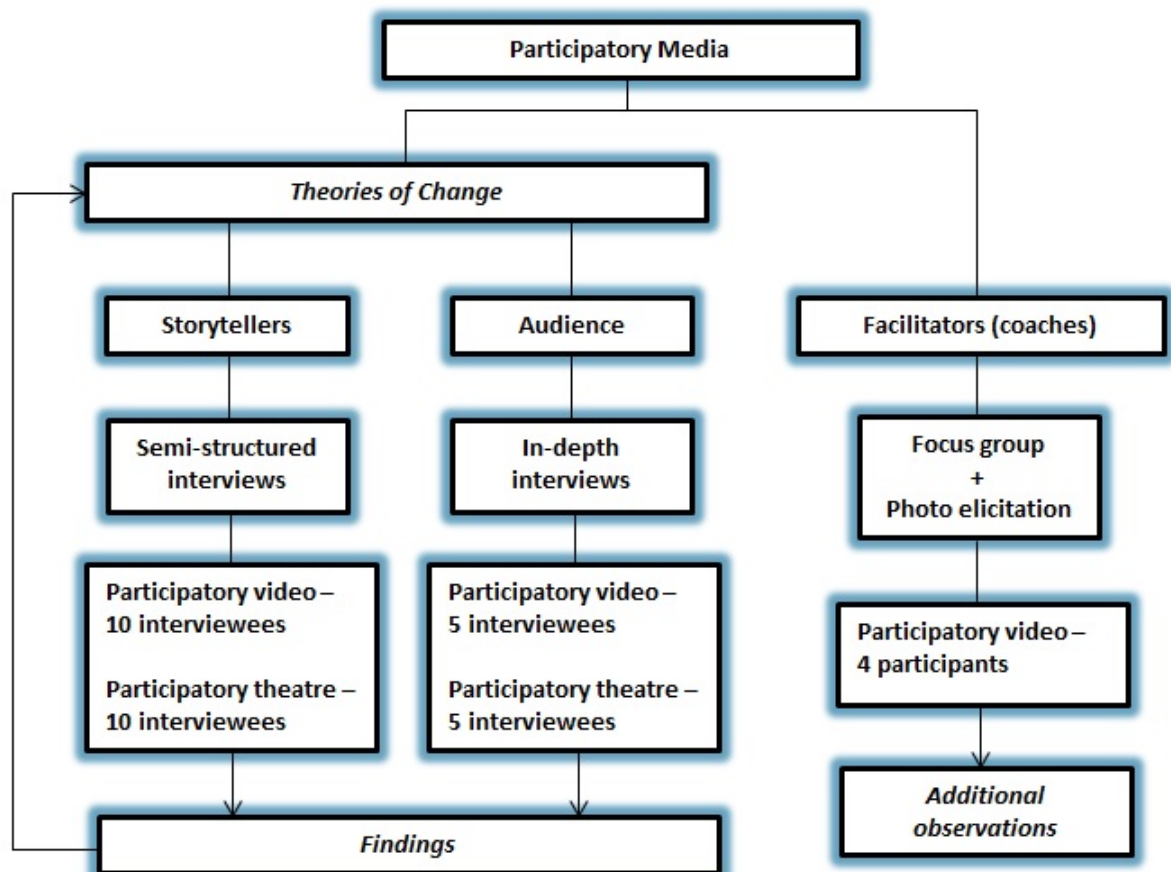
Figure 7. Research design

Method1: semi-structured interviews

This type of interview is mostly employed when the evaluator, after having been able to access an acceptable amount of information on a project, has already developed the main evaluation questions. Here, an interview guideline is prepared that can be modified by the evaluators throughout the course of the interview with the aim of expanding to other useful areas of investigation (EuropeAid, 2006). As Bryman (2004) states, 'the formulation of the research question(s) should not be so specific that alternative avenues of enquiries that might arise during the collection of fieldwork data are closed off' (p.324). Another factor that plays an important role in the conduct of semi-structured interviews, as highlighted by Drever (1995), is the use of prompts and probes that can help fill those gaps the interviewer may be confronted with in the interview structure. These encourage the participants to widen the coverage of the content of their answer and offer a broader perspective.

The semi-structured interviews I carried out with my participants freely addressed the following questions:

➢ What was the impact of the post-election violence for the community you live/ed in?
  Can you tell me briefly what happened?
➢ What types of media are a part of your life generally?
  Prompts:
  Newspapers? Magazines? TV? Radio? Facebook? Community theatre?
  Could you give some examples?
➢ You chose to tell something very personal about yourself and your feelings in relation to the post-election violence in a video. What made you decide to share these personal story and feelings in a [video/performance] that you knew would have been watched by different people, including members of your own community and members of other tribes?
➢ How did this process of being directly involved in a media production and creating a media product with your own story make you feel?
  Probes:
  What did you like in particular?
  Anything you did not like or did not make you feel comfortable?
➢ When you had to tell your story [for the video/through the drama], you had to think back at the events of your life during and after the post-election violence. Has this process of thinking about your own story made you realise new things about yourself that you didn't know?
➢ What did you think about the participatory process that was implemented to create the [video/drama]?
  Probes:
  Can you remember anything in particular about the process?
  What part of it you liked the most?

- Did you get any feedback about your [video story/performance] from members of your tribe?
  What about from members of other rival tribes?
- What do you think could be the effect of the use of [video stories like yours/drama] in contexts of reconciliation?
- How have you been looking at the future of Kenya since your participation in the project? Have members of your community and the neighbouring ones improved their relationships?
- Do you have any other thought / comment about your experience of being part of a participatory media production?
- Do you have any suggestions / recommendation in relation to the [video/theatre] activities?

Method 2: in-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with five members of the audience for each project; these were individuals who watched either the participatory videos or the drama performances without having any direct involvement in their production. What these interviews sought to find out was

- What was the most significant change that took place in their view of the conflict after watching the participatory media production

As Patton (1987) explains, in-depth interviews offer the evaluator the possibility to gain an inner perspective of someone's outward behaviour. Through this type of discussions we can grasp the meaning that participants attribute to a project's activities and, most importantly, we can discover details that we are unable to observe. These may include feelings, reflections and people's intentions, while we are also given the opportunity to find out about events which happened in the past. In essence, 'interviewing allows the evaluator to enter another person's world, to understand that person's perspective' (ibid., p.109).

In order to find out about the changes that had taken place in the audience in relation to their perception of the conflict, the in-depth interviews took the form of short life stories that addressed the following point:

- Your life (where and how did you grow up? which ethnic group you belong to? what are your traditions? what about your family?)

- ➢ Your life in relation to other tribes (what was your relationship with other tribes prior to the post-election violence events? how did you interact with other tribes? what were the main reasons for interaction?)
- ➢ The events of the post-election violence (can you recount what happened to you? to your family? To the community you lived in?)
- ➢ Your feelings and perception about rival tribes after the post-election violence events (what changed in your feelings? what about in your attitude and behaviour towards them? why?)
- ➢ Your thoughts in relation to the participatory media production you watched (how did you come to be part of that meeting? what were your initial thoughts when you arrived there? what were your thoughts while and after watching the video?)
- ➢ Has anything changed in you since that particular moment? [perception of rival tribes; feelings towards the future of Kenya]

Life stories are completely atheoretical and cannot be looked at under a scientific lens but only under an interpretative one (Atkinson, 2007). Atkinson (2004) states that 'a life story is the story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived as completely and honestly as possible, what the person remembers of it, and what he or she wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another' (p.2). As the author explains, a life story helps both the teller and the listener to bring order to what is being told; in addition, it can be useful to learn how an individual evolves over the course of his or her life and what meanings they attribute to different events, both culturally and historically. It is also helpful in identifying someone's place within society as well as their experience from a moral, ethical and social standpoint. In essence, the aim of this type of interview is to interpret one's experience keeping subjectivity at the centre of the storytelling process (ibid).

For the purpose of my work, in order to identify the change that had taken place in someone's view and perception of the conflict as a result of watching a participatory media production, I needed to accompany my interviewee throughout a journey of remembering that started from their life prior to the violent events. I wanted them to picture in their mind the place where they were born, the people who raised them, the friends they grew up with and how they used to spend their time. After that, I encouraged them to talk about the family they had now formed, with a husband or wife and their children, to remember how they felt when the violence erupted and all their certainties were questioned and their loved ones' lives threatened. I wanted them to tell me what their relationship with other tribes used to be before the violence; what activity, business or even friendship brought them together. I asked them to describe their feelings towards the rival group once the terrible 2007/2008 events had occurred and the suffering they had to endure.

An effective way to make sense of a life story is to grasp the meaning that arises from it. The value of this interview technique is that it brings to the surface the themes, values, issues and struggles that different people share, together with the differences that divide them (Atkinson, 2004). In my research, it was the process of remembering the events of the post-election violence that allowed my participants to reconnect with the day of the screening or theatre performance, and with what they felt and thought while watching the participatory production. This is also what allowed me to briefly step into their world and get to know people, places and feelings I had no other means to uncover. Moreover, as Clausen (1998) explains, for events that occurred in the past (such as the participatory media activities in this enquiry) interviewees must be given the opportunity to recapture those moments and the feelings that came with them.

Atkinson (2007) also maintains that a life story can be used and analysed in two different ways: from an individual perspective (*ideographic*) and from a collective perspective (*nomothetic*). Through the latter, mostly adopted by sociologists, a persons' story can help us understand the social reality that story comes from, including a definition of the roles and relationships within a community, as well as the shared understanding of specific events. This is another factor that led to the choice of this interview format, which I adapted to the context and to the background of the participants and the time limitations.

A number of additional questions were asked with the aim of gathering information for future project recommendations:

➢ What was the reaction of the rest of the audience?
➢ What do you think happens when someone from a tribe watches this type of story about someone from a rival tribe?
➢ What do you think about the use of these video stories in the context of reconciliation?
➢ Do you have any suggestion in relation to their use?
➢ Anything else you would like to share?

Method 3: focus groups + photo elicitation

In an evaluation context, a focus group is frequently arranged to collect information from those who have had some form of involvement in a project – typically the intermediary stakeholders - to gather their opinions, judgments and expectations of the said intervention. The structure of a focus group, in which the interaction between participants generates a

variety of points of view, permits an understanding of the project that would not arise from a traditional interview (EuropAid, 2006).

The diagram below (Figure 8) offers an illustration of how a focus group can be useful when conducting an evaluation:
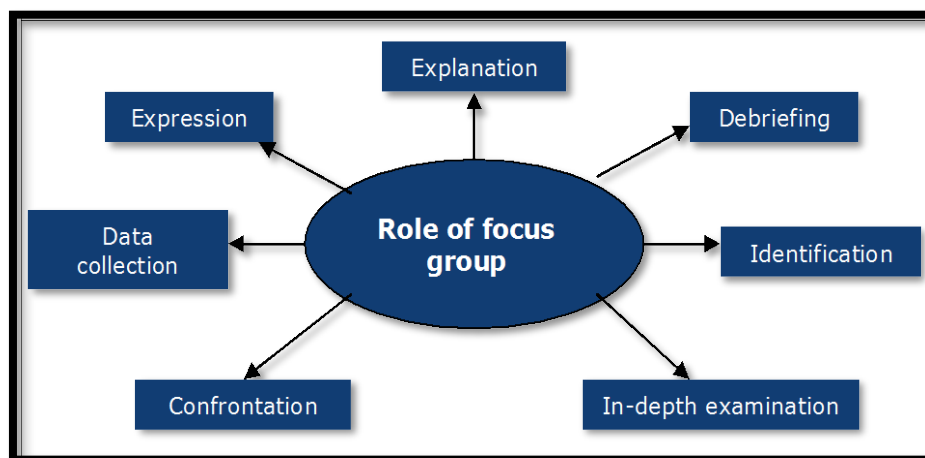
Figure 8. Focus group's role in evaluation (EuropeAid, 2006, p.54)

I organised and carried out one focus group with the PV coaches that facilitated Mercy Corps' video activities with the youths [despite my numerous attempts, the participatory theatre facilitators would not participate in a focus group to discuss their project]. The strength of this group was coming from their social homogeneity, as all participants belonged to the same socio-professional category and were similarly able to express thoughts and comments on an experience that they had so closely shared.

The discussions revolved around the following questions:

- ➢ What are your general thoughts about the participation of community members in a media production? Is there any community medium that you can recall or that has played any role in your life somehow?
- ➢ How did you feel about facilitating the community involvement in a media production that addressed issues of violence and ethnic rivalry?
- ➢ Have you noticed any change in people throughout the process of production of the media output?

After these initial questions, photo elicitation was used as an interview method to encourage participants to recount episodes and impressions of their video facilitation that arose from photographs of the activities taken at the time of implementation.

Photo elicitation is a technique that involves the use of photographs during an interview. Harper (2002) explains how the difference between an interview that is purely based on words and one that includes images can be found in the ways we react in front of symbolic representations such as photographs. The author emphasises that images are able to elicit more details from the human consciousness than a simple question based on words can do; this is the main reason why discussions based on photo elicitation not only produce a larger quantity of information, but also information of a different kind. This can be attributed both to a specific photograph itself, and to the capacity that images have in enhancing a process of remembering. As Harper (ibid) states, 'photographs appear to capture the impossible: a person gone, an event past. That extraordinary sense of seeming to retrieve something that has disappeared belongs alone to the photograph, and it leads to deep and interesting talk' (p.23).

Also Jenkings et al. (2008) endorse this view when highlighting how photo elicitation can be an answer to the limitations of social research interviewing. In their recall of certain events or intentions, participants may be inaccurate or may simply overlook important aspects. The recount they engage with may be shortened or provide minimal details, and the memories evoked by photographs can help to moderate this. For this reason, looking at photo elicitation as the simple process of adding images to an interview can prevent us from understanding its complexities. The authors (ibid) maintain that there are important factors to consider when conducting photo elicitation interviews:

- not only is the interviewee the source of the data, but he/she also becomes the resource for the analysis;
- the process of generating data cannot be detached by the production of their analysis, which takes the form of a collaborative effort;
- as also noted by Collier and Collier (1986, quoted in Jenkings et al., 2008, p.n/a) images can create bridges that facilitate communication between strangers or between people with different backgrounds.

During the focus group discussion I conducted with the PV coaches that facilitated the video activities, the photographs filled that gap between my position as an external researcher and

the participants' strong knowledge of the Kenyan context, culture, and also of the situation of the Rift Valley in the aftermath of the post-election violence. This is thanks to the fact that the photos gave us a common scenario to work on. In addition, each person's perspectives on the images represented an inside contribution to the analysis of the project activities.

Snapshot of research design

The table below shows a breakdown of the research activities and objectives:

Objectives	Method	Questions	Variables
To find out people's attitudes towards the opportunity to tell / share their experience of violence through participatory media	Semi-structured interviews with projects' participants / media producers (video storytellers and theatre actors)	What is people's approach to the media? What encouraged them to take part? How did they feel about creating a media product with their personal stories of the violence (or with those from others like them)? In what way has this helped them?	• confidence with media tools • reasons for and feelings about being "in the media" • level of comfort • impressions about the participatory process • re-establishing interpersonal and/or inter-communal relations • generating a new view of the country's future
To assess the difference that watching/seeing a participatory media production has made in people's lives	In-depth interviews with audience members	What was the most significant change that took place in people's views of the conflict? [in reference to any contribution made towards reconciliation]	**Domains of Change** • impressions from others' stories • acknowledgement of shared grief • re-definition of victims and perpetrators • change in being able to forgive • re-establishing interpersonal and/or inter-communal relations • generating a new view of the country's future
To uncover the change in participants' attitudes that were perceived throughout the participatory media production process	Focus group + photo elicitation with PV coaches	General thoughts about the participation of community members in a media production. Feelings and difficulties facilitating the community involvement in a media production that addressed issues of violence and ethnicity. Any noticeable change in people throughout the process of production of the media output?	**Variables** • confidence with media tools • participants' feelings about being "in the media" • impressions on participants' level of comfort • problems encountered • re-establishing interpersonal and/or inter-communal relations

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Data collection

In order to undertake primary data collection for my PhD project, I travelled to Kenya on two different occasions to organise and carry out my interviews. I was in Kenya for the first time during August 2012: this preliminary visit allowed me to gain an initial understanding of the situation in the Rift Valley province in relation to the PEV. I also had the opportunity to familiarise myself with the towns of Eldoret and Sotik - my research sites - and meet face to face with the NGOs I was going to collaborate with. I was also able to make a rapid assessment of my needs in terms of fieldwork equipment and to arrange safe accommodation for the subsequent journey.

I took my second and final trip to Kenya to conduct my fieldwork in October 2012 and remained in the country for two months. I spent almost five weeks in Eldoret and the rest in Sotik.

Below is an illustration of my data collection process for each case study, along with some personal reflections on the problems encountered. Despite being within the same Kenyan province, the two research sites I visited were totally different from one another. Eldoret is the main urban centre of the Rift Valley, with a higher level of education and formal employment, where people from different tribes live together, mostly in slums. The Sotik/Borabu border is a rural area characterised by a higher illiteracy rate; people engage mostly in farming and other types of informal business. As explained previously, each tribe there has its own territory, clearly demarcated. Hence, some of the situations and difficulties that I encountered during my fieldwork are specific to each location.

Project 1: Participatory Video

To collect data on the PV project, Mercy Corps connected me with their partner organisation A-Step (Africa Sports Talents Empowerment Programme). A-Step is a well-established local organisation in the Uasin Gishu district, which is widely known by the youth and whose projects revolve mostly around sports activities and peacebuilding. It was engaged by MC to carry out their LEAP Sports programme, because of its penetration in the various peri-urban areas around Eldoret town and the trust it has gained over the years among young people.

To organise and carry out my interviews I worked closely with Andrew Makhanu, A-Step Sports Coordinator. Andrew was able to re-establish the contacts that had been lost with most of the PV participants since 2010 and to mobilise them to attend my interviews.

I carried out the 15 interviews smoothly at A-Step office, whose location was well-known and accessible for most participants. MC provided all the transport that I needed to travel from one office to the other, and when I asked to visit specific locations. I also had the support of one A-Step staff member and one MC staff member whenever translation from Ki-Swahili to English was required from participants.

On the last week of my stay in Eldoret I held a focus group at Mercy Corps office with four of the people who were trained by InsightShare to be video coaches during the 2010 activities, and who facilitated the production of the twelve participatory videos. As it proved challenging to reconnect with most of the community members that received that training, focus group participants were two MC staff members and two A-Step staff members who were also trained at the time.

Project 2: Participatory Theatre

Since APT offices are based in Nairobi, the NGO connected me with William Yegon, the APT local person in Sotik who is responsible for mobilising the communities when APT activities are scheduled to take place in this area. William became my research assistant. He selected my interviewees and accompanied me when I had to travel to different locations. He also introduced me to the District Officer, and to some of the area chiefs in the Sotik District, and taught me about local customs and what people would or would not expect from a 'visitor'.

I carried out most of my interviews at the Pastoral Centre, a catholic mission located in Sotik, which was also my accommodation. For those participants who were unable to be interviewed in English, I recruited – thanks to William's contacts – a translator from the Borabu side, who was able to speak the Kisii vernacular, and one from the Sotik side, who was able to translate to and from Kipsigis. Due to their proximity to the communities, both translators had to sign a statement of confidentiality to formalise their commitment to not disclose participants' views and answers after the interviews.

General reflections

The preparation of this fieldwork – particularly in logistical terms - and its effective development required an enormous amount of my time. In addition, while organising and subsequently carrying out the investigation on the ground, I still had the pressure of having to keep up with my thesis writing. While I am thoroughly satisfied with the work I have managed to produce and the amount of data I have collected in a very limited amount of time, also as a white young woman alone in post-conflict/conflict-affected areas of an African country, I acknowledge the time constraints that often affect research outcomes, particularly those of a qualitative nature. Additional time to focus on the actual content of my fieldwork in greater length prior to my trips to Kenya (exploring the projects in more depth and with better directions, elaborating further my interview questions, learning more about impact assessment, seeking more feedback and from different people) would have allowed me to incorporate a wider range of issues.

In addition, given that this study deals with an evaluation, it would have been helpful to have tested the interview questions beforehand. It was only when I engaged with the first participants in Eldoret that I realised that my questions were too general and did not have a strong enough focus to find out what I was trying to discover. After the first interview, I completely revised my list of questions and immediately came up with more appropriate ones. It was as if being in the field and talking to the people involved gave me an instant knowledge of what the right points for discussion were.

I also realise now that, prior to engaging in my fieldwork, I had underestimated the strain of conducting interviews with people affected by large-scale civil violence. It was difficult, at times, to bring up and discuss individuals' experiences of the violence, as well as to encourage participants to remember events that still caused strong suffering. While I made clear to my respondents that they only had to talk about those events if they were comfortable to do so, I could not help but feel accountable for causing them pain even when they agreed to engage in that recounting. Yet, I know that that painful starting point was necessary for them to understand the role that participatory media had played in their situation. It was also equally difficult to manage the emotions of those interviewees who showed distress in their recount. In an attempt to not re-traumatise them, I had to learn when it was time to acknowledge their grief and readjust the course of the interview.

McSherry (1995) points out that very little research has been carried out on conducting interviews with people affected by trauma. Clear guidelines are lacking despite the high number of one to one interviews that are practised in the social sciences. Several codes of ethics have focused mostly on ideas and principles arising from therapeutic medical contexts, proving to hold limited value in non-therapeutic studies implemented by social scientists (ibid.). Robson (2001) has highlighted two important ethical questions within this area: the first one asks whether the purpose of the research and its potential outcomes justify its means in relation to the distress that may be caused to the interviewees; the second one brings to attention to what are considered acceptable and unacceptable distress levels in research. These are, I believe, important queries that researchers working in contexts affected by violence should reflect upon when designing their study. As Goodhand (2000) states, '(r)esearchers may inadvertently re-open wounds by probing into areas respondents may not wish to talk about. Dialogue must always be based on mutual consent. Researchers need to show restraint and know when to stop' (p.14).

What also needs to be acknowledged is the challenge that I have experienced, as a researcher, in remaining as neutral as possible in front of the telling of brutal events and absorbing those stories in a constructive way.

Lastly, I feared that, as someone coming from 'outside', people would have experienced discomfort and found it hard to open themselves to me. However, I became reassured when I realised that most of my interviewees seemed very comfortable during their conversations with me and revealed details about their suffering (as well as their involvement in the violence, for some) that I did not expect they would. Particularly with the young people from Eldoret, I felt that telling me their story was for them almost an act of liberation, as if they had knew that – as someone not belonging to any particular tribe - I would listen to them, understand them and not judge them. I also had the strong impression that it was very important for them to make me understand what happened in those days: they finally had the chance to describe those events and the situation at the time to someone who was not an eye-witness, and hence draw their own picture of the story. I believe that this is something they had not experienced frequently. In addition, I attribute their degree of comfort in talking to me also to the fact that we were of a very similar age.

Limitations and obstacles encountered

There are a number of limitations that can be recognised in this research conduct. These are elaborated in the following list, alongside the reasons associated to them and an explanation of how I have attempted to contain some of those issues:

- The number of research participants involved is very small (only 15 interviewees per two projects). This carries the risk of viewing this study as producing anecdotal evidence. However, the primary reason for the small numbers of interviewees is the limited number of people who were directly involved in the media production activities.

- Locating those who were part of the audience (audience members) for the participatory media productions proved to be a challenging task, even for the NGOs that were assisting me in the research. Hence, I was able to interview only five people belonging to that group for each project. I tried to overcome this extremely limited number of respondents by engaging with them in in-depth interviews, and subsequently conducting a narrative analysis of their answers. This way, it was possible to offer an insightful discussion despite the small size of data (presented in Chapter 6).

- Another challenge was posed by the difficulty in separating the impact that the participatory media project activities had had, from the influence that other peacebuilding initiatives had exerted on people. In the aftermath of the conflict, as plausible, a large number of projects aimed at re-establishing peace between former rival tribes were launched. This led to an enormous peacebuilding effort, particularly from NGOs and other local organisations, which saw the participation of communities in a number of different meetings and workshops to address the issues left by the conflict. Peace education was at the top of the agenda for most actors, and the participatory media activities that my research participants took part in were not easily detachable from the wider context. For this reason, I made sure that most of my interview questions bore a strong connection to the media experience.

- The time gap between the end of the two projects under investigation and the beginning of my research did not allow for a full and accurate exploration of people's opinions, feelings and impressions. Since two years had passed from the completion of those activities, participants were unable to recall some of the happenings in detail. This was particularly the case for audience members, who had not physically participated in the projects and whose answers were mostly based on their memory of those productions. For storytellers and actors the process was slightly easier. In both cases, however, most details about events and particular feelings came back to the surface thanks to the journey of remembering, which they were taken through with targeted questions.

- A final limitation that I should attribute to my work stems from the problems faced with being a white female researcher in an African country. The wrongful association of this image to networks of power undoubtedly influenced some of the participants' answers. At the same time, I was confronted with a lack of credibility, especially from some of the NGOs local staff, who saw me mostly as inexperienced and with no knowledge of their local situation.

While some of the constraints of this research can be generalised, I feel that the obstacles are more specific to each individual project. Hence, they will be discussed below in two separate sections.

Project 1: Participatory Video

- One of the problems that I encountered while conducting interviews on the PV project was the fact that some of the respondents found it difficult to separate their experience of the video from their participation in the LEAP Sport. There was frequent reference to the work of A-Step and Mercy Corps and at times I felt that some of them were praising the activities implemented by the two NGOs, possibly with the hope that I could arrange new funding for more projects that they could benefit from.

  Partly in relation to what I explained in the previous paragraph, it was also difficult for me to separate the impact of PV from the overall impact of the LEAP Sport programme, which played a very important role in the youths' lives after the post-election violence and really helped them to find peace.

- A major issue I had to confront while conducting my field research in Eldoret was the confusion between my study and the International Criminal Court (ICC) investigations. The Court was then becoming heavily engaged with the Kenyan happenings of 2007 and 2008, while struggling to get the support of an uncooperative government. Further complications arose from the fact that my stay in Eldoret coincided with the visit of ICC prosecutor Fatou Bensouda, who was trying to clarify to Kenyans the role of the ICC in investigating the events of the Post-Election Violence. While hers was purely a visit aimed at offering more explanations about the Court and its processes, rumours rapidly spread that her purpose was to gather more evidence against those who had participated in the violence. Hence, Eldoret was characterised by a tense atmosphere full or fear and mistrust.

Before agreeing to be interviewed under the condition that his interview was only audio recorded and not filmed, one of my interviewees told me that some people in town were encouraging others 'not to trust white people who are coming to Eldoret to ask questions'. He was told that 'white people are very smart, they hide the real reason for their visit and they ask questions to get information from you that might put you in trouble'.

So my trip to Eldoret (one of the hotspots of the 2007/2008 violence) took place at a very delicate time for the country because of the ICC investigations. The Kalenjins feared for what they did during the events following the elections, and the Kikuyus were afraid to talk due to possible reprisals: that was the situation in the Rift Valley at the time of my fieldwork. The tension was palpable; I was able to feel it myself even without having been there in 2007, so I constantly had to be careful to whom I talked and what about.

Project 2: Participatory Theatre

- The NGO Amani People's Theatre was incredibly uncooperative all the way through in my study, beginning from the email correspondence that I initiated in November 2011 from Sydney. Apart from being a very small local organisation with very limited resources, it also became clear that their work was very poorly documented, with two project reports that only offered a list of activities, dates and numbers without clearly explaining what the activities were about and with a lack of proper narrative. I received no support from them while I was on the ground; I emailed them several times to ask for clarification over some of their activities, as these became more and more confusing to me while I was progressing with my interviews, and also requested photos of the project a large number of times in order to prepare for my photo elicitation exercise; yet, I either would not get a reply or was told that I would receive everything the next day. Unfortunately, nothing was ever sent to me.

- I felt as if I had a total lack of control over the interviewee recruitment process, and that I had failed to explain to the NGO the exact recruitment criteria. This might be attributed to the fact that the initial contact with the local APT person in Sotik was made by the NGO itself, who instructed him on the process.

The people selected were those most prepared for peace (involved in peace groups or active members of the Catholic Church, very prominent in the Sotik area). They were all

involved with peace activities and I felt as if the NGO had instructed their focal point in Sotik to find those who could give the "right answers". This is without understanding that interviews with people who were so committed to peace both before and after the events that happened in the area, would have only made it harder to assess any positive impact that the theatre may have had.

While I provided some fairly accurate guidelines for recruitment, I did fail to specify that interviewees should have not been involved in any peacebuilding work before, perhaps also because that was not something I had considered people would be so heavily engaged with due to my lack of in-depth knowledge of the context. Moreover, while I was aware of the fact that a large number of people embraced the Christian faith there, I had underestimated the influence of its principles and values on its most loyal followers. Now I see this as a lesson that will be useful to me in future work in conflict and peacebuilding.

- Another major obstacle I encountered was that people would offer very general facts in answer to my questions. Despite the fact that I was specifically asking them to tell me what *they* thought, what had happened to *them* in a particular situation or what *they* had done in a certain context, their response would either be about a general description of the situation or they would refer to their tribe rather than to themselves personally. It was only through a slow progression into the interview that respondents would begin to tell me about *their own* personal opinion on something or about the events that took place in *their own* lives. To me, it seemed as if they had never been asked to tell their story before, hence they were finding it surprising that someone would enquire about it and they could not understand how I was interested in it.

- I was also frequently faced with language barriers. Most of the people I was dealing with, including my research assistant, had a very limited level of English, and this created repeated misunderstandings. It was very difficult for me to understand some of the things that William tried to explain to me, and I am certain that he experienced the same difficulties with me. In his case, the problem was there also when he had to express himself.

My assistant also told me that the main reason why some of the project beneficiaries refused to take part in my interviews was due to their fear of having to speak English or even having a translator present in the room.

An episode that I recall and that I have found particularly interesting in terms of language was when William confessed to me that, at the beginning of the interview recruitment process, he could not understand what the difference was between actors and audience in the theatre, hence he was not sure how to go about it. From my side, on the other hand, I could not see how the difference between the two groups could have been any clearer... William explained to me that according to their understanding of things, people can have different roles in a drama and one of these roles encompasses that of the audience. For them, those who are watching are not excluded from the play, but are actually playing the audience! This is how things were lost in a translation that did not account for cultural difference.

Conclusions

This chapter has provided details on the methodology and methods that were used for this research data collection. After clarifying the main questions and aims of the study, some considerations on evaluation and its approaches have been introduced, in order to build a framework around the research structure that has been developed and applied here. A brief illustration of the Theory of Change was helpful in connecting this section on method to the next two chapters that deal with the data analysis.

The ensuing paragraphs have elucidated the research design, presenting the participants, their characteristics, and the interview types employed for each group. The data collection process that took place on the ground was also explained and accompanied by a number of practical reflections arising from that.

Finally, a discussion on the constraints and obstacles of this research concludes this section. The important considerations that have been advanced both here and in the previous pages on data collection represent a crucial set of deliberations that are linked to the importance of the researcher's personal reflections in qualitative research. Unlike other methodologies, this approach acknowledges the researcher's personal experience and thoughts on the research process as a component of the investigation (Diemert Moch and Gates, 1999). This is particularly relevant in the context of this study, where the nature of the topic extends the inquiry into multiple individual dimensions.

CHAPTER 5
Interview Analysis and Findings from Storytellers and Actors

In this chapter and in the following one I will be carrying out the analysis of the qualitative data I collected by means of semi-structured and in-depth interviews during my field research in the Rift Valley of Kenya at the end of 2012. As detailed in the Methodology section of this thesis, 30 interviews were conducted with two different groups of people who were involved in two participatory media projects implemented in the aftermath of the 2007-2008 Post-Election Violence. 20 research respondents directly participated in the creation of these media productions (half of them working with video, while the other half worked with theatre). The remaining 10 interviews saw the participation in this study of members of the audience, that is those who were only exposed to the final media outputs.

The pages that follow offer an explanation of the type of analysis applied to this study and provide details of the methods used to generate findings from the two different sets of interviews. Such findings, supported by direct quotes from the research respondents, will then be carefully discussed and their conclusions presented in the light of conflict transformation mechanisms.

Building the framework of analysis

Before starting with the illustration of my framework of analysis, I feel it is important to provide some additional comments about the choice of evaluation that is being conducted here and clarify the motivations behind it.

The number of projects involving the use of the media for peacebuilding purposes appears to have expanded without an appropriate growth of a connected evaluation system. One of the causes might be linked to the fact that the concept of peacebuilding is still indistinct, where indicators such as peace promotion and inter-ethnic harmony are too intangible for an effective measurement. In addition, in post-conflict settings, the factors that lead to change are countless, with many organisations implementing a range of different projects at the same time. Hence, the identification of distinctive elements that contribute to a change in attitude and – progressively – in behaviour, becomes problematic (Curtis, 2000). This was

palpable also in my study, where participants had been exposed to a wide range of peace initiatives.

When I began to delve into the literature on evaluation, I was faced with the uncertainty of engaging in either an *outcome assessment* or an *impact assessment*. The literature in this area is rather unclear, with different authors offering divergent perspectives according to their own views and practice. Yet, after examining a number of publications (DANIDA, 2007; Schwandt, 2005; Leeuw and Vaessen, 2009; Rogers, 2009, 2012) and reflecting upon my own work, I have steered the wheels of this research towards impact evaluation for reasons that I shall explain in the next paragraph.

I see impact evaluation as a study that aims to measure the changes that a programme or project seeks to achieve in relation to people's knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, or behaviours. It looks at the long term and deeper changes. On the other hand, outcome evaluation is concerned with whether or not the programme has reached its final goal, which may commonly be a more complex factor to establish. It requires, at times, quantifiable data as well as evidence of more immediate and tangible results.

The types of changes that can be identified after a peacebuilding effort are summarised in the table below (Figure 9):

Type of change	Examples of specific changes
Relationship	From adversaries to partners in problem solving From suspicion to solidarity From different ethnicities to a common nationality Former neighbors reconciled
Behavior	From violent behavior to assertiveness From disrespecting women to respecting women From ignoring youth to taking their interests into consideration
Attitude	Greater tolerance of different perspectives From fear of others to trust in others From apathy and fatalism to hope and self-determination From a narrow focus on the neighborhood to a broad focus on inter-communal interests

Figure 9. Types of change in peacebuilding programmes (adapted from Church and Rogers, 2006, p.18)

This research looks at the impact that participatory media have had in relation to conflict transformation and reconciliation between former enemy groups, by examining two participatory media projects in the Kenyan Rift Valley. It attempts to show how such impact contributes to social change and sustainable peace after conflict. However, due to both a lack of accurate analysis conducted at the time of the implementation of the two participatory media activities examined here, and to the impossibility for the researcher to conduct a more anthropological investigation of the tribal dynamics that have shaped the area from the phase preceding the violence up to the present day, the impact of those projects will be evaluated only through the answers provided in the interviews carried out with their beneficiaries. It is not possible to determine, purely from this study, the extent to which tribes have factually re-established economic and social connections as a result of those projects, and the outcome that this is has on a broader scale.

Conclusions will be drawn from the theories associated twith the interviews, as well as from the recurrence of certain themes within those. It will be the personal perceptions and experiences of the interviewees that will guide this analysis, and not the scrutiny of contextual indicators.

Impact evaluation through Theories of Change

As discussed in the previous chapter, social change can be recognised as a transformational process whose aim is the redistribution of power. In order for this to occur, change needs to take place within society structure, including institutions and norms that can initiate a more equitable sharing of resources (Gujit, 2008).

Projects or programmes built around tailored interventions and with various levels of support can engender social change: in conflict situations, particularly, the focus should be that of rebuilding trust between people. When assessing such interventions, it is important to gain an in-depth understanding of how social change is going to take place in relation to the context and to the power inequities that need to be addressed. In order to do this, it is necessary to articulate clear assumptions on how change is believed to occur at a strategic level (ibid).

In its report *Peacebuilding with Impact*, CARE (2012) highlights the difficulties of identifying change when this is related specifically to the perceptions, attitudes and

behaviours that people have towards one another, which is what peacebuilding projects are trying to reach. Moreover, another challenge that evaluation in peacebuilding faces is in demonstrating how activities at the grassroots level can grow to attain peace also at the national level.

Developing and applying Theories of Change

When using an approach that is theory-driven, it is crucial to identify the mechanisms that will help to achieve change. Hence, structuring an evaluation means to bring to light the connection that exists between the planned activities and their effects (Clarke and Dawson, 1999). In conflict transformation, the focus is placed on relationships, thus it is important to address the less visible issues that sustain the conflict, such as historical patterns and group dynamics. Lederach et al. (2007) have visualised four dimensions of conflict that can be useful to articulate change (Figure 10):
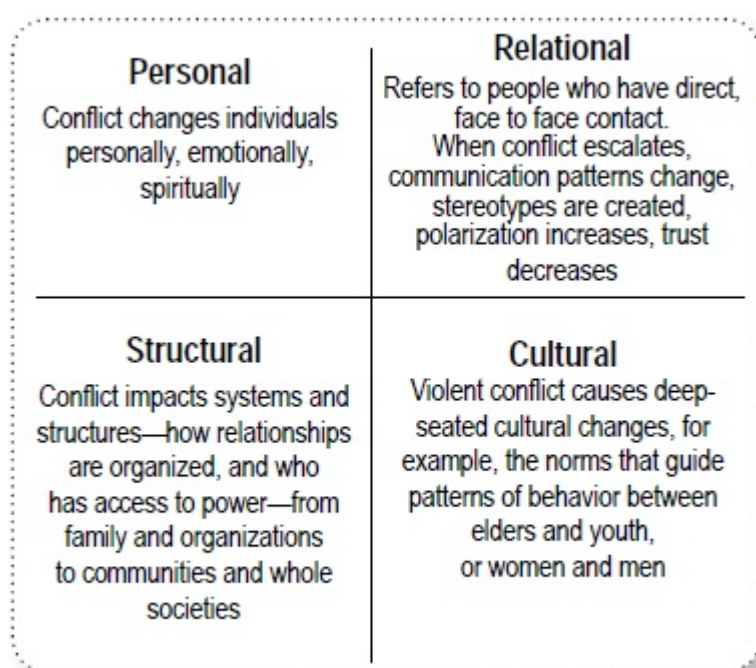
Figure 10. Four dimensions of conflict (from Lederach et al, 2007, p.18)

As part of the evaluation process, the authors suggest considering a 'theory of change' for each one of the dimensions illustrated above (ibid.). Weiss (1997, quoted in Clarke and Dawson, 1999, p.33) also advises on the sources of information that can assist the evaluator in developing theories of change:

- a more in-depth understanding of the programmes objectives can be gained from the available programmes' reports
- discussions with programme planners are needed
- interviews with primary stakeholders will provide crucial insights.

At the same time, Stein and Valters (2012) highlight how a ToC evaluation can be designed prior to a programme's implementation or it can have retrospective effect to shed light on what has supported the practice.

The UK Department for International Development has elaborated a number of theories of change related to peacebuilding interventions (DFID, 2010, p.8). Due to their relevance to this thesis topic, three are presented here:

Individual change theory	Peace comes through the transformative change of a critical mass of people, including their knowledge, attitude, behaviour and skills
Healthy relationship and connections theory	Peace comes from breaking down isolation, polarisation, division, prejudice and stereotypes between / among groups
Public attitudes theory	War and violence are partly motivated by prejudice, misperception and intolerance of difference. We can promote peace by using the media (television and radio) to change public attitudes and build greater tolerance in society

Arsenault et al. (2011, p.20) have adapted DFID's theories of change to the conduct of evaluations of media interventions in conflict countries. Thus the statements above have been transformed as follows:

Individual change theory	Media promotes peace by affecting the knowledge, attitudes and behaviours of a critical mass of people
Healthy relationship and connections theory	The introduction or improvement of media sources promotes peace by providing an information conduit between dissenting groups, thus reducing prejudice and stereotypes between groups
Public attitudes theory	Prejudice, ignorance, and intolerance of difference encourage war and violence. The media can encourage peace by changing public attitudes and building greater tolerance in society

Due to the limited scale of the participatory media activities explored here, this assessment will not address all of the four dimension of conflict introduced by Lederach et al. (2007). In addition, due to the reasons previously mentioned, it will not be based on set indicators but rather be built on the answers collected by the projects' beneficiaries during my field research. Hence, a thematic analysis of the interviews has been crucial in identifying changes in the perception and relationship between the former rival tribes.

The following step will establish a connection between those themes and the theories of change that were identified. The findings extrapolated from the interviews will be assessed against the ToC table presented below, in order to draw overall conclusions.

Theories of Change in this analysis

The table below presents a clear illustration of the ToC that were generated for this analysis, as well as details of their components. To generate the first two statements, the theories of change on media and peacebuilding from Arsenault et al. (2011, p.20) have been applied. For the final one, a new 'theory of change', which focuses on social change has been developed by this author.

Theory of Change table	
Overall aim: to apply Communication for Development designs to contribute to peace and create an enabling environment for sustainable development processes after a conflict.	
Method: engaging local communities in the creation of media productions as storytelling tools to share their experiences of the violence, their perspectives of the conflict and their views as members of different groups to enhance inter-group understanding, establish dialogue to move forward and restore peace.	
Theory of change: **Individual change theory** Media promotes peace by affecting the knowledge, attitudes and behaviours of a critical mass of people.	Description: **If** individuals are given the opportunity to share their experiences and express their feelings about the conflict in a media production, **then** they will discover their ability to be initiators of peace among their and other communities.

	Individual change
Focus	Ability to have his/her own story heard within their social network / Possibility to learn about others' experiences; new self-perception as agent of change; increased understanding of the effectiveness of communication to create change within communities as opposed to the use of violence.
Theories	Telling their own story / listening to similar stories from others through a medium creates a sense of worth and strengthens the commitment to peace; individuals recognise the importance of a different behavioural model for the establishment of peace; a process of healing takes place in those who tell or listen to stories about the conflict.

Theory of change: **Healthy relationship and connections theory** The introduction or improvement of media sources promotes peace by providing an information conduit between dissenting groups, thus reducing prejudice and stereotypes between groups.	Description: **If** people are given the means to create their own media production, **then** they will be able to establish a dialogue between former enemy groups and create a shared understanding of the conflict.

	Relational change
Focus	Establishment of a communication channel between victims and perpetrators; learning about each other's story; working together on mixed tribe activities.
Theories	An increased understanding of different groups' perspectives enhances unity; interaction across the former conflict divide is re-initiated on the basis of common beliefs and clearer perceptions.

Theory of change: **Social change theory** Violence and conflict disintegrate a society's structure and alienate its people. The media can help articulate and initiate the change needed to re-build the social fabric.	Description: **If**, thanks to participatory media productions, people can gain an understanding of each other's situation, **then** re-formed relations within communities' social networks will contribute to the creation of mechanisms leading to sustainable change and development.

	Social change
Focus	Link between people and groups who might have otherwise not been in contact; establishment of a positive inter-group collaboration; patterns of revenge replaced with patterns of dialogue.
Theories	Different groups peacefully engage in problem-solving; different groups commence being together in harmony, laying the basis for sustainable development after a conflict.

Introducing the analysis

Firstly, I will carry out the analysis of the 20 interviews I conducted with the participatory media storytellers and actors, that is, those who were directly involved in the video and theatre productions. In the ensuing section, the findings generated for each 'theory of change' will be examined. In the next chapter, I will introduce the narrative method used to analyse the 10 audience interviews and will proceed in its application.

As a result of the evaluation method that I am applying to this analysis, the themes and concepts arising from the interviews will not be used in an inductive manner to develop a new hypothesis. In contrast, they will be examined against the pre-established 'theories of change' illustrated above.

Analysis of storytellers and actors' interviews

As the first step in my analysis of the interviews with storytellers and actors, I developed codes that helped me gather and narrow down the information received from my participants a more manageable and consistent clusters of data. The codes were generated from the topics addressed by the semi-structured questionnaire I used, and were useful especially in bringing together similar subjects or ideas that were discussed at different times within the same conversation.

The codes utilised were the following:

No.	Participatory Video Project - Storytellers	Participatory Theatre Project - Actors
1	*PEV impact* [How the conflict affected the interviewee]	*PEV impact* [How the conflict affected the interviewee]
2	*Media consumption* [Interviewee's media consumption and preferred types of media]	*Media consumption* [Interviewee's media consumption and preferred types of media]
3	*Why make the video* [Reasons for deciding to be part of a video production and sharing their personal story]	*Why acting* [Reasons for deciding to act in a theatre play representing issues of the conflict]
4	*Feelings* [Feelings about being part of a video	*Feelings* [Feelings about being part of a theatre

	production]	play]
5	*Video activities - likes*	*Theatre activities - likes*
6	*Video activities - dislikes*	*Theatre activities - dislikes*
7	*New realisations* [What the person learned about themselves as a result of making the video]	*New realisations* [What the person learned about themselves as a result of participating in the development of a play]
8	*Participatory process* [Opinions about the participatory video-making process interviewees had engaged with]	*Participatory process* [Opinions about the participatory process the interviewee had to engage with to produce the play]
9	*Self-perception* [The emotions experienced when watching themselves telling their story]	*Feelings during the play* [The emotions experienced while acting]
10	*Same tribe feedback* [People's responses after watching the video]	*Same tribe feedback* [People's responses after watching the play]
11	*Rival tribe feedback*	*Rival tribe feedback*
12	*Use of video for peace* [Opinions on the use of video in relation to peace and reconciliation]	*Use of theatre for peace* [Opinions on the use of theatre in relation to peace and reconciliation]
13	*Kenya's future* [Comments about how the interviewee sees Kenya in the years to come]	*Kenya's future* [Comments about how the interviewee sees Kenya in the years to come]
14	*New ideas* [Ideas for future video work in contexts of reconciliation]	*New ideas* [Ideas for future theatre work in contexts of reconciliation]

Once groups of data were created on the basis of the codes illustrated above, a more in-depth analysis of the participants' answers gathered in codes 3 to 14 allowed me to identify themes that clearly connected with the theories previously defined.

What arouse from those key passages suggested the recurrence of the following themes:

- *empowerment for peace*

Participants recognised having an important role in the community, as sharing their story of the conflict made them the carriers of a message of peace. This generated a sense of empowerment that strengthened their commitment to peace.

- *behaviour change*

People have identified either in themselves or in other community members the intention of changing their behaviour into one that rejects conflict and encourages a peaceful exchange.

- *healing*

The media-related activities have encuraged people's self-reflection and/or for opportunity to finally share their story of the conflict. For some of them, this has initiated a process of healing.

- *unity*

People have referred to the possibility, need or incidence of "being together" with the opposing tribe as a result of understanding generated by the media activities.

- *interaction*

Instances of interaction between former enemy tribes were mentioned and their occurrence attributed, again, to the understanding generated by the media activities.

- *inter-group discussion*

Participants and other community members engaged in peaceful mixed-tribes discussions and collaboration.

- *peaceful co-existence*

A vision of long-term peace among all tribes is seen as achievable.

The tables that follow clearly show how the components of each ToC connect to the themes that have arisen from participants' answers (all the interviews' quotes related to each ToC can be found in Appendix I).

ToC1: **Individual change theory**	
Media promotes peace by affecting the knowledge, attitudes and behaviours of a critical mass of people.	
Focus on Individual change Ability to have his/her own story heard within their social network / Possibility to learn about others' experiences New self-perception as agent of change Increased understanding of the effectiveness of communication to create change within communities as opposed to the use of violence	
Themes	Theories
Empowerment for peace	T1: Telling their own story / Listening to similar stories from others through a medium creates a sense of worth and strengthens the commitment to peace
Behaviour change	T2: Individuals recognise the importance of a different behavioural model for the establishment of peace
Healing	T3: A process of healing takes place in those who tell or listen to stories about the conflict

ToC2: **Healthy relationship and connections theory**	
The introduction or improvement of media sources promotes peace by providing an information conduit between dissenting groups, thus reducing prejudice and stereotypes between groups.	
Focus on Relational change Learning about each other's story Establishment of a communication channel between victims and perpetrators Working together on mixed tribe activities	
Themes	Theories
Unity	T1: An increased understanding of different groups' perspectives enhances unity
Interaction	T2: Interaction across the former conflict divide is re-initiated on the basis of common beliefs and clearer perceptions
ToC3: **Social change theory**	
Violence and conflict disintegrate a society's structure and alienate its people. The media can help articulate and initiate the change needed to re-build the social fabric.	

Focus on Social change	
Link between people and groups who otherwise might have not been in contact	
Patterns of revenge replaced with patterns of dialogue	
Establishment of a positive inter-group collaboration	

Themes	Theories
Inter-group discussions	T1: Different groups peacefully engage in problem-solving
Peaceful co-existence	T2: Different groups commence being together in harmony, laying the basis for sustainable development after a conflict

Storytellers' and actors' interview findings

Here I am going to demonstrate how the findings generated through the analysis above can be effectively discussed within the broader theories of change identified previously.

ToC1: Individual Change Theory

At the individual level, the participatory media activities seem to have strongly contributed to restoring participants' confidence, in helping them identify themselves as agents of change, and also in guiding them in the discovery of new skills, engaging them in a process that encourages self-reflection and greater awareness.

➢ **T1: Telling their own story / Listening to similar stories from others through a medium creates a sense of worth and strengthens the commitment to peace**

The answers given by the interviewees highlight their willingness to be implementers of change. All of the respondents indicated that the reason why they had chosen to be part of a media production as storytellers or actors was related to the opportunity to bring change and peace to their communities. Respondents emphasised how the medium they used had given them the means to share with others an important story from their own lives, or to refer to important issues that stimulated reflection. They felt that their video story or their play might have encouraged viewers to follow somebody else's example of acknowledging the violent events that had happened and moving on.

<u>Interviewee 2 (PV)</u>

"I hope the impact is that people will change their attitude. After I had given my story, somebody else who still thinks the way I used to think before, will think before he or she acts on certain issues. Maybe if there is any difficulty ahead, he or she will first consult before rushing and taking on those things that maybe will cause somebody else harm, so I hope my story will have an importance in solving a conflict because it can help prevent some issues from happening in the future because people will have learned how to implement change".

<u>Interviewee 4 (PV)</u>

"I liked it because coming to media I believe I was very free, I was independent minded. Narrating my solo video, actually, I was talking about my feelings, my personal feelings, my emotional feelings, my own understanding of the course of the post-election violence that was there. My own mind and my own opinion about it and my own urge to the community, to both my community and the other community, maybe it was an enemy community during that time".

<u>Interviewee 6 (PV)</u>

"I made this choice [...] to educate the people in my community. Show them the... that what happened in the post-election violence should not actually educate itself in our common life. Because, it wasn't good, it didn't benefit anyone. In fact, we fought for those who were in the offices, they're now in their offices, and we made other people lose their lives".

<u>Interviewee 7 (PV)</u>

"[I] decided to tell [my] story because it is something that [I] went through, it was a real experience, and [I] wanted people from all the communities, including [my] community and the Kikuyus, to listen to [me] and to know that [we] can make something positive out of it".

<u>Interviewee 1 (PT)</u>

"I can pass the message of peace. So, there was a feeling in myself that I should act to pass a message of peace. At the end of the day, people have come together again. That is why I wanted to participate. I felt I could do this, yes".

The experience of taking part in a participatory media production was a positive one for the participants. The common feeling was that of 'happiness' and 'feeling important'. A strong sense of pride arises from the answers, not only for being able to tell their stories or to portray particular situations, but even more significantly for having the courage and the ability to do so in front of a camera or an audience. An achievement that is connected to this is that of reaching a large number of people beyond their communities' borders. Some people

also recognised the importance of their role in speaking for those who had not survived the violence or did not have access to these types of communication channels.

Interviewee 2 (PT)

"[...] by the end of it all I was happy that I've passed some message that could more reform other people, that could make people as more reform. That could change the minds of other people, because we were many..."

Interviewee 4 (PT)

"You see, when I was acting, I was feeling so... I felt it was so good, because you were trying to put the message to the audience or those who were watching us. You were [passing on] something to them".

Interviewee 3 (PT)

"I'm feeling very well because sometimes I think that these people we usually see in the TVs, me I thought that it is big people. You must have money, you must be doing a job somewhere, that is when you will see in the TVs or in newspaper. But, I can say I'm very happy seeing you and this media, so, me, I can say that I'm feeling well".

Interviewee 5 (PT)

"It made me actually feel proud of myself, because my aim was to influence this audience now. After addressing this audience, I am sure I'm going to convince them. Because the moment I convince them, that was my target".

Interviewee 9 (PV)

"[I] [my]self was surprised. [I] didn't know that it would come out the way it came. [I] didn't know that it would come out that good [...]. [I] also believe that it's good, the way it came out, 'cause the way it came out, it had an impact, and that's why it was actually chosen as a good one, the best one".

Interviewee 5 (PV)

"Whatever made [me] to take part in that video, [I] reflected and thought that maybe [I] could have been one of the people who died, but fortunately for [me] [I] was alive and therefore [I] thought it was worth to share [my] story with the others".

With the theatre, one participant told of the importance of portraying - during their play - how the characters moved from a situation of enmity to one of reconciliation.

"So, it was showing that, in the first place, was showing the enmity, and then after the reconciliation, there was now peace and we could now interact. So, I was trying to pass a message that we should do this through the play happening".

In relation to the video project, all the participants felt 'good' or 'happy' when they watched themselves on screen. They also reinforced the point of being able to reach a larger audience thanks to use of the medium. The sense of importance the video instilled in them as well as the perceived ability to reach a large number of people as a model to be followed, appear to have enhanced participants' commitment to peace and to be the carriers of a message of reconciliation between tribes. A clear sense of agency can be found in the youths' newly-discovered ability to encourage others to make a positive change.

Another interesting concept that was expressed had to do with the opportunity to hear their own voices and see themselves as part of a media production, which for most of them was happening for the first time in their lives. People liked the fact of being seen and heard, but mostly the relative factor of popularity that the video brought to them. Some of the participants told of how others had approached them in the street or in public meeting areas and congratulated them for telling their stories and promoting peace.

Interviewee 8 (PV)

"OK, I felt that I'm an important person in the society, because I'm there to talk for those who can't talk for themselves, because that thing totaled many people, and I came out to talk for them. I think it will help people".

Interviewee 1 (PV)

"I am happy because very many people saw me, very many people heard me. Because I was not well-known, but now everybody has seen me so I feel happy".

➢ **T2: Individuals recognise the importance of a different behavioural model for the establishment of peace**

At least half of the people interviewed in relation to the video activities, and more than half of those involved in the theatre, referred to the actual or intended adoption of a positive

behaviour change. This was either in reference to themselves or to someone they spoke with who had watched their videos.

In particular, participants talked about the realisation - when thinking back about their story they had to tell for the participatory media activities - of the importance of transforming their negative attitude into an approach that was aligned with peace in the communities.

Interviewee 2 (PV)

"The process opened me, it gave me a new life and chapter to realize that I was not on the right, I was not doing good things at first. As I narrated and as I was thinking, I felt that my life, attitude and actions before I narrated the story were not good".

Interviewee 6 (PV)

"[...] as the community has to move on, we learn to forget about what each other did to every one of us. And then, try and create a conducive environment for each and every person in the community".

Interviewee 2 (PT)

"And I decided by my own, it was something that was very tiresome, I decided by my own to be that peacemaker, to educate people, to let people know the fruits of staying or being peaceful, by educating, by telling them, by pressing to them to abandon their own traditional way of living, and to change their current way of addressing issues".

People told how their participation in the violence did not bring any benefits to either side, and that it is was important to make others understand this. They also expressed the idea that forgiving and reconciling was the only way to achieve peace.

Interviewee 4 (PT)

"I think the drama, or using drama, is the best way when looking for, let's say, reconciliation between the two communities. Yeah, because it appears as a real thing. And it reminds them of what happened, and they'll try any way possible to abstain from what happened".

Interviewee 9 (PT)

"So, that really gave us that issue that we feel that there was no need for us to continue with hatred and tribe policy, because at the end of the day, I will not benefit, and even the other tribe will not benefit".

"[...] both of them was affected the same, the Kipsigis and the Kisii, so they saw it was something which was touching both sides. And most of them also, they appreciated and says, 'We will never repeat this again', yeah".

Some of the actors also mentioned how the plays had helped them realise that the political manipulation that had made people engage in terrible acts during the conflict was something that could be prevented also through theatre. Some of the plays portrayed very clearly how accurate and transparent information and communication can prevent conflict, so people should stop paying attention to rumours that are only spread to incite people to participate in violence.

Interviewee 5 (PT)

"This theatre is the one which educates people. [Inaudible] *the theatre itself can have a great influence, and it can influence and can have a lot of impact on those people majorly who are being led by those leaders to cause violence. This theatre can change their minds. It can make their minds sombre. It can make their minds relaxed. It can make their minds be informed somewhere other than doing other things, which destroy. So this is a very important thing".*

Interviewee 7 (PT)

"[...] we want to be done what we call the reflection, so that we may put the information, so that we take it outside to the community they also have and be informed now and then so that they cannot be [manipulated]*, they cannot be* [manipulated] *even if they heard something - that this will happen."*

For one of the participants, the participatory media activities turned out to be quite crucial for the future course of his life. While he engaged in the video production and realised the power of video as a means of communication to reach audiences, he decided to change his career and switched from the technology degree that he was pursuing at university, to a media and communication one.

Interviewee 4 (PV)

"I was to do a technology course during that time and then after the post-election violence came and then the media came in to try to solve the problem. I also felt like I wanted to be a part of the media in the future and try to help the people also through the media by creating that platform and so I like that aspect where I decided to change my career and pursue media studies in university".

➢ *T3:* **A process of healing takes place in those who tell or listen to stories about the conflict**

The process of thinking back to the events that happened, in order to form the theatre play or tell their story for the video, was a painful exercise for those who participated in the media activities. Almost all of the respondents indicated how the process led them to deal with the emotional reaction that arose from having to recall the events of the conflict for the video-making or theatre performance.

> Interviewee 10 (PV)
>
> *"Yeah, the process almost affected me to start, because I cried as I remembered the things which I did. OK, first and foremost, OK, I remember going to the battlefront. OK, just defending my own community. And we did some tough things there. OK. Someone, not really according to the video, but we had to steal so that we can feast, you know. So, some things were not really reported on the video. But as I remember, some of the things I skipped because of my upmost feelings. OK. I didn't want to remember most of the things which really, really, really, really took me on surprise. I didn't know it was me. Yeah".*

> Interviewee 9 (PT)
>
> *"And actually, during that, when I was acting now, I flashback so many things. How we were running, how we had no peace, where we was staying. So I felt, 'Oh, I think this thing should not happen again,' [...]".*

Yet, what was also heavily emphasised was how that experience had helped them to see those events more clearly, recognise the mistakes that were made, and bring back to memory the aspects of the conflict that should not be forgotten in order for the violence not to take place again. Despite the initial sadness, participants attributed positive feelings to the process of remembering the events of the past to engage in the media activities, as it allowed them to release themselves of the burden they had been carrying, while at the same time doing something good for the other community members. One person also recalled the impact that these productions had on the audience.

> Interviewee 4 (PV)
>
> *"I believed sharing my feelings, or showing my story, was solving half of my problems, solving half of my community's problems because they felt like we offloaded some problems by sharing out to the people through the media".*

"It was also sad, acting it was so sad because, you see, you tend to remember all the injustices that were there at the time, it was (inaudible). But afterwards I was very happy that by the end of it all, one could have learned something to tell other people".

"When I remember that, by the way, I don't feel good when I remember that what's happened. But I felt good that day because they gave us something which was new to us, and it was good news. That from here what we want, we don't want those people to be our enemies. Now, what you do is go and make them friends of yours".

"I wanted to bring out the feeling inside me to the community members. So that we could just remind them of the events of the post-election violence. To act as a reminder to them. So that the violence would not come back again".

"[...] during the acting, when we were acting, I realised people were shedding tears. So that means they felt, even they felt it was a form of empathy, because they felt they were the one who was facing the same problem. And that thing, actually, make an impact to them. And I believe everybody felt that this thing should not happen again, yeah".

I believe that from nearly all of the interview quotes highlighted so far the healing effect that the participatory media activities had on participants at the individual level is made visible. This is reinforced by other thoughts expressed by the interviewees and reproduced below, which refer to specific aspects of the healing process, such as people's agreement to finally share their story – almost as an act of liberation; acknowledging the need to move on from feelings of hatred and grief; and forgiving each other.

"[...] for [me] it was a healing process. The more [I] talked about it, the more [I] was able to heal and come back to the way [I] used to be before the violence erupted".

"Thinking about that past. I (inaudible) created some things, as a normal human being. But I tend to realise that I can't live in my past. I have to move on. And so, as the community has to move on, we learn to forget about what each other did to every one of us".

"What made me take the decision was that even if I continue to keep what is burning in my heart, I won't keep it for long, 'cause it will hurt me. So I have let it out for other people to see what was going on".

"It will help because it's showing that (inaudible) video like that it helps somebody to actually bring the things that they are holding in and bring them outside, so that people can understand what is happening".

Interviewee 8 (PT)

"I realised that when we were together with, maybe, other tribes working together, so when I act this, they led me to that life that we had before, and the life we had at the time".

ToC2: Healthy Relationship and Connection Theory

From the perspective of relational change, the participatory media activities have undoubtedly established harmony among their participants and audiences.

➢ **T1: An increased understanding of different groups' perspectives enhances unity**

A sense of unity brought about by increased understanding of each other's situation is visible, in the first instance, through the impact of the mixed-tribe video workshops, at which all of the interviewees expressed a consistent opinion. A constructive dialogue was established between the young members of the different tribes who took part in the video making; at the same time, views on the PEV were exchanged also among those who watched the videos through public screenings. An understanding was created of the situation of both victims and perpetrators and relationships that were broken began to heal.

Interviewee 3 (PV)

"I thought that was very important for this community who are against each other. To watch the video and then they will learn something from that. That we should come together".

"[...] during the process, I took part in a play that involved the warring communities, my community and the other communities. We played a short story and during that process we - actually I and a guy from a different community - we played that as a play per se but at the end of the play, we were able to open up, we as warring communities were able to open up and also share that story, even after sharing our stories in the video. We went home and we were able to meet again and recall what we said whether it was true or whether it was not so it was a nice platform, it opened us up, it felt as if we had come at ease and we were very comfortable and flexible also to go out and say these stories to other people".

Interviewee 5 (PV)

"[...] it was very good and helpful for the community, because as [we] took the film and continued with it at least [we] were able to listen to other people from other communities, listen to their stories and relate closely. Therefore, it was very helpful for the community".

Even though to a lesser extent that did the video participants, also the actors referred to the ability of the drama to bring people back together and learn about each other's perspectives. I believe that one of the reasons why this aspect was slightly weaker in the theatre can be attributed to the difference in length of the two activities. While the video participants worked together daily over the course of two weeks, people who took part in the theatre were often involved in the workshops only for a day or two. Yet, still more than half of the participants felt the same sense of unity and understanding as those participating in the video-making.

Interviewee 6 (PT)

"They [members of the interviewee's tribe] came and told us you have made a very good thing. You have made us come together, stay together as brothers and sisters".

Interviewee 7 (PT)

"The thing that makes me to come and to share is when we remember how we were before post-election. You see, we were together and doing things together, but when the post-election came we dispersed each other. Now, when we wanted to make this drama is to rewind back how we had been staying and to come together to make this drama so that you can go outside to act it there for the communities, to citizens, of we not having that feeling when the post-election, to remove its... And we say that we came together and be in one community to share everything as we were. Yeah".

Another important aspect that should be looked at under the theme of unity is the effectiveness of participatory media at elucidating issues that were perceived differently by tribes at the time of the conflict, and at clarifying rumours that were spread with the intent of turning people against each other. The latter, in particular, is recognised to be one of the main causes that leads to the surge of violence. Communities, especially those with a low level of education, are deliberately thrown into chaos by deceptive information and become victims of the manipulation of those who hold power, in an attempt to stir conflict in the direction that is most convenient to a group. Some of the participants have addressed these points:

Interviewee 8 (PV)

"In most part, I saw that something like in media, people can come together, dissolve together as one community. Because what happened was the past, like you have to let the past go and fight for our future. So I saw that being in one community would help us build our society and live like one people and in one country. I enjoyed that, because I learnt that every person has a different personality, different reasoning, and different principles, so by coming together as a media, help us learn different things, yeah".

Interviewee 9 (PV)

"[I] believes it's a good thing, because it's brought everybody together, the people who are affected, and the people who are actually affecting the other people. So [I] believes it's a good thing to do that [...]".

Interviewee 2 (PT)

"[...] I was seen to be, to learn the root cause of each and every issue, to know the exact cause. What are the causes of this? So that... In fact, to learn a lot, to learn a lot. We learn how to deal with it by knowing the exact causes of this and how to address it. You see, you reconcile people only if you know what the real cause of their problem is. Maybe by letting them explain what their problem is so that, by their talking you then to put your words which are very straight to them so that they can follow them".

"To show what the causes was and by then we could find that we were wrong. Everybody was wrong in what they were thinking, what they were doing, yeah, you know".

- ➢ **T2: Interaction across the former conflict divide is re-initiated on the basis of common beliefs and clearer perceptions**

Most of the interviewees highlighted the interaction that was initiated both during and after the participatory media projects. This was sparked from a will to live together in peace, generated as a response to the terrible consequences of the violent events. Yet, this will was only effectively shown and communicated to others through the contexts and situations offered by the media activities. Here, the interdependence that strongly connects all the tribes in Kenya was also recognised. One of the interviewees, in particular, emphasised the crucial relationship that links the different groups living in the same area: trade, education, community development. At the same time, the interviewee underlined how this relationship was also strongly reflected in the production of the theatre play, where the co-operation between tribes was what made the drama possible.

Interviewee 3 (PV)

"After we recorded the video, we came here. And then we watched that video. It was all just from the ones who participated, then there was another one again. Then there was another one from a different place. So what I saw there, because when we took all those videos, there were preaching one thing: peace and reconciliation. That's what I liked".

Interviewee 7 (PV)

"[...] it was a very fun and [I] remember the day very well. The way [we] talked, and [we] made the environment quite humorous, it wasn't absolutely serious, or, at least [we] were comfortable enough to talk and definitely to remember the events very well".

Interviewee 10 (PT)

"Because I knew that we can't do anything, we alone, without them. With them, we can do much. But we alone, we can't do anything. So when we unite, a lot we shall learn, a lot, also, we shall do".

"[...] when we act, I saw that it helped us to make one another... to make use of one another".

Some of the interviewees also talked about the feedback they had received from members of the respective (former) opposing groups, who appeared to have welcomed the messages promoted through the media productions. One of the video participants explained how, after

watching his story, members of the Kikuyu tribe organised a gathering with the Kalenjin, the rival tribe to which he belonged and that initiated the violence after the elections. Similarly, other people emphasised how, since the day of the screening of his video, members of different tribes began to interact with him more, as if an understanding of everyone's pain and the situation of the victims had been created. Also the theatre participants had parallel experiences after their performance, which seemed to have been the catalyst of a renewed interaction between groups.

Interviewee 7 (PV)

"[My] Kikuyu friends are very happy to see the video. And [I] was able to mobilise friends and visit them at the Showgrounds [internally displaced people's camp], and they were very happy to see [me]. [...] when [I] visited them; [we] stayed there until quite late, like nine at night.

And they decided to (visit) [me], to come to (Unknown term of location) so that [we] can have a friendly gathering between the Kikuyus that were affected and the people from Kalenjin community, so that [we] can send a message to the community that we are good".

Interviewee 1 (PT)

"I remember a certain old man from the other side telling me that we need to conduct a meeting somewhere in the boundary, so that we stay together and maybe exchange, yeah, some ideas about the issue of peace in both communities".

Interviewee 3 (PT)

"From that day, we have done a good job, to me. Because we have gone to (Unknown term of location), the Kalenjin side, we have played with them, we took our choir there, our youth choir, they brought the youth choir to our church. We went there, we played together games".

ToC3: Social Change Theory

Through the acknowledgement of the different realities of the violence as an outcome of the participatory productions, members of all the tribes involved in the media activities expressed appreciation and the intent to accept peace as the platform for resolution of further dispute. At the same time, unequal power relations that had been sustained by the conflict began to shift towards more balanced structures. All these elements represent a contribution towards the foundations that are needed to begin to build a new social fabric.

> **T1: Different groups peacefully engage in problem-solving**

After the participatory media exercise, members of different communities began to recognise the importance of dialogue as an alternative to violence, as a way to understand others and as a means to look into their problems together. This gradual acceptance of a dialogic type of communication can be regarded as a symbol of the beginning of a process of social change.

Interviewee 4 (PV)

"Different communities, they are conflicting their communities could not come, like, in a room and share stories or maybe try to seek common grounds in solving the conflict. So, actually media came in as a common ground".

Interviewee 4 (PT)

"New things that I learned is that we, as the people... we are the people, and we are the problem, and we are also the solution to the problems. Yeah".

Interviewee 5 (PT)

"We were comfortable, we felt at home, we felt relaxed, we felt free. We chatted freely with these brothers and sisters from the Kisii and the Kalenjin communities".

Most people referred directly to aspects of the participatory approach adopted for the creation of the media productions, to stress how this method allowed tribes to see themselves back together, hence helping them to start reflecting on their interconnected existence. The participatory media workshops reunited everyone in one community. People were finally able to discuss their experience of the violence, both as victims and as perpetrators, and to talk about their differences. It was a comfortable space for people to be in. One of the video participants highlighted how this had never happened before, as people had never sat down to talk about their views of the violence.

Respondents also recognised the element of coming together and discussing problems, both during the production phase and the subsequent screening/performance, as one of the most significant aspects of the activities. This is strongly emphasised in their answers, in which various instances of the content-production process are recalled and commented upon.

<u>Interviewee 4 (PV)</u>

"We started sharing stories and we involved large number of people; youth and women and also men and also the students. We started sharing these stories on the ground level and actually people opened up and everybody was comfortable in saying their opinion and point of view and their understanding of what they felt was the cause of the post-election violence and so, through that platform, people were able now to come down and share their story and find the results out of that".

<u>Interviewee 5 (PV)</u>

"What [I] liked most about the whole process is that when [we] were telling [our] stories, there were not only people from [my] community, there were people from other tribes and therefore [I] liked that part of it that all of [us] could come together and talk about [our] stories and experiences in the violence".

<u>Interviewee 7 (PV)</u>

"[...] it was a very good experience because it was one of a kind. It was the very first time to see something like that. It was good because each of [us] – whether you were a perpetrator or a victim – [we] were able to tell [our] story without being afraid or being tied to anything. So, it was a very good experience for [me] and [I] [don't] think, maybe, that it [the violence] *can happen again, after what happened".*

<u>Interviewee 8 (PV)</u>

"It hurt, because at that time, it actually brought [me] together with people who [I] didn't want to see, but [we] were seated together, but seating... all of them. [We] were all brought together in one seating.

So, that bringing [us] together showed [us] that... it reminded [us] of the way [we] used to stay together. And sitting together, that compromise brings out the... shows [us] that coming together, [we] can live as one family and have a good life".

<u>Interviewee 2 (PT)</u>

"We had to, you see, youths especially are the people who are most used. And we had to make them sit down, talk to them, make them interact, make them know themselves, make them understand what they are supposed to be doing, other than throwing stones, other than bringing in chaos".

<u>Interviewee 5 (PT)</u>

"Immediately, after finishing acting, we came together as a group. We sat down, we saw how people come, to convince people. We can now generalise the issues. We discussed them. We said now, as the youth, we should not be misled, or ask the people of the same blood... We should not accept some money to come; a stranger coming from somewhere, to start cheating people, to start lying to them that we are going to give... to do this and this for you. [in reference to the corruption and manipulation that

was done by politicians particularly on young people, to encourage them into gang violence]

And you don't realise the outcomes from this incident. You don't. So, indeed, we discuss it, we found that it is ourselves who accept to bring hatred in our society. Yeah".

Interviewee 9 (PT)

"[...] it has a very strong impact, because the very same people who were affected, were the very same people who were trying to come up with the solution, trying to tell people, 'No, we did the wrong thing, and we should go this way.' So it really has an impact, than even people coming from afar. Those who were not even affected, they don't even know what really happened on that time, yeah".

The ideas expressed here, again, are all concepts that connect with the redistribution of power that is part of social change processes. Thanks to their important role in the media production, young people are reframed as active agents of the peacebuilding process and the perception of youth as a corrupted group in the hands of politicians, or controlled by the community elders, begins to shift.

Another alteration in power balance is the role of victims and perpetrators. Both groups, again, become equally important interlocutors in the dialogue that takes place after a conflict. This arises from a shift in perspective brought about by the participatory media activities, through which victims are enabled to recognise themselves also as survivors, whose contribution towards the achievement of peace is regarded as central; at the same time, the situation of perpetrators, most of whom were forced or manipulated to engage in the fighting, is acknowledged.

➢ **T2: Different groups commence being together in harmony, laying the basis for sustainable development after a conflict**

As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, social change is always a difficult goal to achieve, and one that requires a lengthy course of action. This is reflected also in the findings of this study. While (as illustrated previously) all of the research participants have talked, in different ways, about the positive impact of both participatory media projects and their ability to promote individual change, peace, interaction and constructive problem-solving, the vision of long-term peaceful co-existence is mentioned loosely in their answers.

<u>Interviewee 4 (PV)</u>

"[…] out of that we were able to share stories and also, maybe have the time or platform to let the other communities forgive the other communities and we also forgive each other and we are able to live in harmony".

<u>Interviewee 9 (PV)</u>

"And sitting together, that compromise brings out the… shows [us] that coming together, [we] can live as one family and have a good life".

<u>Interviewee 6 (PT)</u>

"I can see that if we come together and they make a game, those youngs who were coming up now, it will be a very good example so that they cannot make the mistake they did last. We continue staying with peace, we make peace, we stay together, we love one another. And our fellow children who are coming now will follow our example. Yeah".

Over the course of my fieldwork, which took place three years after the Post-Election Violence, I realised in many instances how a strong and stable peace was still a vision for many people in Kenya, and not yet a concrete achievement. The end of violence has left space for dialogue and the creation of a large number of community initiatives aimed at strengthening peace between tribes. However, the trust that was lost during the conflict, the fear of possible reprisal and the underlying issues that led to the conflict in the first place have not yet been fully addressed. This partly explains how concepts related to an enduring stability were hard to express for participants.

At the same time, I believe that the findings illustrated here have shown how participatory media are useful in creating an understanding among (former) enemy groups. Additionally, they have a positive impact in promoting a behaviour that encourages peaceful interaction and constructive discussion, and lays the foundations for wider social change.

If, as defined in the Introduction of this thesis, peacebuilding is a process that promotes reconciliation and the engagement in long-term stability for a society[19], it is valid to gather from this analysis that communication for development, through the use of participatory media, can offer an important contribution to this.

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[19] *Supra*, p.5

Through the application of the same framework of analysis to the interviews conducted with the audience, the chapter that follows will show how the changes that have been defined in the ToC table, and which were reflected in the actors and storytellers' answers, can also be connected to the impact the projects had on this group.

CHAPTER 6
Narrative Analysis and Findings from Audience Interviews

This chapter presents the analysis of the 10 in-depth interviews I conducted with audience members of the participatory media outputs – video stories and theatre plays.

As I explained in the reflections and limitations related to this study and presented in the Methodology chapter, it was challenging – at the time of my fieldwork - to locate those individuals who had attended the screenings of the participatory videos or who watched the participatory performances two years earlier. Due to the small number of interviewees available for the audience group, therefore, not only did I choose to carry out in-depth interviews with them, but I also found it appropriate to conduct an analysis that could discern more insights from the limited amount of data. Details on the new method of inquiry adopted here – which I refer to as *Narratives of Change* - are presented in the paragraphs that follow.

At the end, findings from these interviews will also be linked back to the theories of change previously introduced.

Narratives of change

Narrative approaches are seldom used when evaluating international development interventions, including communication for development interventions. However, in contexts where communities have been affected by violence and have experienced trauma, it might be useful to offer a space for people to tell their stories.

Here, a new qualitative method is introduced to evaluate the impact that participatory media productions can have on processes of reconciliation among communities. In particular, this technique aims at understanding the shift in the audience's perception of the former enemy when such productions are created and shared between different groups in the aftermath of mass violence.

This methodology arises from a combination of the Most Significant Change (MSC) technique with a narrative analysis approach, and can be referred to as *Narratives of Change*. Prior to engaging in the practical application of this new method to the data, a brief overview of the related approaches in narrative theory is presented. These are helpful in order to understand the bases on which its concept lies.

Rationale

The MSC method - developed by Rick Davies and Jess Dart (2005) – is a storytelling technique that has been in use in international development work over the past few years. It is a process that gathers stories of significant change from the beneficiaries of a programme and it is effective in capturing people's direct views, as it is not based on set indicators[20].

The evaluation of the impact of participatory media in post-violence contexts should be considered as an enquiry grounded in the traumatic experience undergone by individuals during a time of conflict. For this reason, it appears incongruous to attribute pre-determined values to the feelings and emotions elicited in people by those events. Hence, the application of a technique which is aimed at collecting stories that encourage the teller to identify significant change that has taken place in their lives after the project implementation can prove effective.

Yet, the MSC story-analysis process is filtered through the various hierarchical levels found within the programme's implementing organisation. Different stakeholders are brought into the selection and discussion of stories in order to generate participation and commitment. The 'domains of change' that this method uses to identify the different types of impacts that the project has had are decided through a consultative mechanism and a system is put in place to ensure consistency in the process at all levels (Davies and Dart, 2005).

This complex structure needs to be revisited and tailored to projects that involve a smaller number of beneficiaries (such as participatory media projects) and whose 'domains of change' are found in sensitive themes linked to social healing and reconciliation. The depth of these areas becomes more testing when issues of identity are introduced, such as in the context of ethnic conflict.

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[20] A wider illustration of the MSC method has been provided on pp.81-82 when discussing the PV&MSC technique implemented by Mercy Corps in its participatory video project.

Domains of change are loose categories that are normally established prior to the story collection, and which offer some guidance to the interviewer during their search for relevant changes. Davies and Dart (2005) recognise that these are not essential components of the MSC analysis, which can take different forms; yet, they are useful tools that can help in identifying change. Similarly, narratives can be analysed in the light of emerging themes or can even be linked to relevant theories of change (McClintock, 2003/2004).

The implementation of a narrative analysis to stories of significant change collected from audience members may be an effective method of evaluating the impact that participatory media can have when different communities are given the chance to watch and listen to each other's experiences and interpret violence through those productions.

Narrative inquiry attempts to understand how people make sense of certain events and the world that surrounds those events. The stories people produce articulate truths about their lives and identities. In addition, they yield context-specific knowledge about participants' experiences, which might not always come to the surface when other methods are used. This knowledge offers invaluable insights into social and cultural norms (Pavlish, 2007) and can be helpful in understanding any change that people may have undergone in their perception of the 'other' group. Finally, it can offer indirect insights into wider processes of peacebuilding and development taking place in the country.

Narratives are commonly used by people to convey the importance of their actions and other social practices. With reference to evaluation, Abma (1999) states that 'narratives illuminate [...] the value and meaning of a programme or policy and indicate which actions need to be taken to improve it or how failures can be prevented in the future' (p.4).

In addition, most MSC evaluators have placed their attention on changes that are directly or indirectly related to the work of their organisation (Davies and Dart, 2005). A different question arises, however, when the changes that need to be assessed are related to the emotional and social perceptions that take shape within and between communities in the aftermath of civil violence, and to the way such changes can enable the unfolding of processes of reconciliation and sustainable development in those contexts.

Communities, stories and narratives

Narrative research is undertaken on the assumption that human beings give meaning to their lives through the creation of stories. As a qualitative methodology, it requires the collection of narratives – whether in a written, oral or visual form – to be examined through the analysis of the signification that people assign to their experiences. This offers the possibility of gaining at least a partial understanding of the complexity of human lives. In addition, narrative enquiry focuses on the way a story is constructed, to whom it is addressed and for what purpose. Finally, it involves an examination of the cultural discourses that surround the telling (Trahar, 2009).

In the words of Chase (2005):

> Narrative is retrospective meaning making – the shaping or ordering of past experience. Narrative is a way of understanding one's own and others' actions, of organising events and objects into a meaningful whole, and of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time. [...] in addition to describing what happened, narratives also express emotions, thoughts and interpretations (p.656).

A key aspect that needs to be highlighted is that while the terms 'stories' and 'narratives' are often used interchangeably, their difference is paramount in the process of analysis. Riley and Hawe (2005) clarify that the story itself is regarded as primary data, while the narrative behind it is the point of analysis; in essence, narratives are generated from the stories people tell.

Riley and Hawe (2005) underline how the use of narrative methods can prove particularly valuable when applied to community interventions, as they could offer insights on complex dynamics that may not be recognisable through other methods. In his work on community development, Dixon (1995) advocates the suitability of storytelling in projects that address this goal. This is because the creation of meaning lies in the hands of the participants rather than in those of the researcher.

Similarly, Chase (2005) explains that it is important to recognise the differing social resources and circumstances that either enable or constrain stories. These factors are

typically to be found within the community the narrator is part of; both its cultural and historical locations will shape the way in which reality is constructed in the telling.

At the same time, Richardson (1990) recognizes that social cohesion, along with social change, is built upon narrative's capability to generate empathy with the stories of others. Cultural belonging includes being part of the narrative of that culture, with the meanings and relationships that come with it (ibid.). Even the storytelling act itself is influenced by culturally specific norms and structures that define textual representations (Coffee and Atkinson, 1996).

In addition, at the socio-cultural level the collective story has transformative possibilities. People who have had similar experiences can be bound together while remaining unknown to each other; isolation and alienation can be overcome through the telling of the collective story, and this process can ultimately lead to a transformation within society or groups (Richardson, 1990).

Combining MSC and narrative analysis for project evaluation: identifying 'Narratives of Change'

Instead of focusing on specific elements and indicators, with the MSC method 'oral stories of change' are treated as data. In order to capture such data, an open-ended question is posed to project participants in relation to the identification of a significant change that has taken place in their lives since the implementation of the project. Another element that is required is an insight from the respondent on the reasons that have led him or her to point out that change as significant (Willetts and Crawford, 2007).

In relation to narrative, by discussing Ricoeur's (1991) work, Lawler (2002, p.245) highlights the importance of the *emplotment* process that takes place when a narrative is shaped. It is through characters, events and a certain sequential order that a plot is formed; and it is through the plot that events that appear unrelated to one another produce a coherent story. More specifically, by means of narratives and processes of emplotment, the present situation becomes clearer from the telling of past occurrences. What comes afterwards confers significance to what happened before. Such significance is also given by both the personal and social history (Lawler, 2002).

The work of Costantino and Greene (2003) provides an example of narrative analysis used for evaluation purposes. In an attempt to determine the impact of their programme aimed at stimulating intergenerational relationships in a rural county in the United States, the researchers made an unexpected discovery while listening back to the interviews they had carried out with some of the participants. Rather than providing direct answers, interviewees resorted to the tactic of telling stories about their involvement in the programme's activities. In each story, Costantino and Greene (ibid.) realised that two different narratives co-existed: one was more related to the speaker's personal experience in the programme and to the relevance that this had for him or her; the other one was a broader explanation of the meaningfulness of the programme's activities on the social group the speaker belonged to (in that case, the elders of the area).

In the end, the authors (ibid.) explain how the narrative frame used in their programme evaluation 'provided windows of unique insight into participants' *lived experiences* of important programme effects and thus unique contributions to assessments of programme merit and worth' (p.36). At the same time, the narrative frame offered a space to voice different perspectives, thus 'reflect[ing] the interwoven complexity of most social programmes' (p.48).

The concepts arising both from Lawler (2002) and Costantino and Greene's (2003) work presented above are useful in considering the effectiveness that the MSC interview technique for story collection can have when accompanied by a narrative analysis of the stories of significance that have been gathered. If, as Lawler (2002) illustrates, people "emplot" narratives by making sense of the present circumstances from something that happened in the past, it is possible to link these two investigative tools to build a new method that allows us to identify the significant change that has taken place in a community from an earlier to a later situation as a result of a programme or project; this can be done by analysing the broader narrative that arises from the different stories collected by means of the MSC interviews. This new method can be used as an evaluation tool to assess both the individual impact that participatory media productions have had on their audience, and the new narrative that has taken shape from the new perceptions and understanding that have come to being within a particular community since its members listened to the stories of others. Thus we can refer to it as *Narratives of Change*.

In his work – conducted prior to the release of Davies and Dart's (2005) MSC guide – Barone (1999) illustrates his experience of carrying out an evaluation of a teachers' skills

enhancement programme through the use of narrative. He explains how, in his interviews, he encouraged respondents to think about how their lives had changed after their participation in the programme. Specifically, the question was formulated as follows (p.220):

"Would your life be significantly different today if you had not been enrolled in [this] programme [...]?"

It is interesting to note the similarity to the question posed through the MSC process, which is purposely built to elicit stories of significant change:

"Looking back over the last month, what do you think was the most significant change in the quality of your life after taking part in this programme?"

As the authors (Davies and Dart, 2005) point out when discussing the experience of other evaluators who have used the MSC method, the initial question can be rephrased to some extent in order to be in harmony with the context, the programme and the interviewee. This is an additional element that demonstrates how the MSC interview technique lends itself to the collection of stories for a narrative evaluation, as both methods suggest the use of minimal structure in their interview approach.

What the MSC shares with narrative analysis is also the constructivist lens under which a meaning is built by the narrator through their storytelling performance. In addition, the use of purposeful sampling that Wengraf (2001) recognises as more applicable than a convenience one in narrative research, can be said to be equally appropriate for the MSC, as an effective sampling method associated to this tool is one that is less inclusive and more selective (Davies and Dart, 2005).

Costantino and Greene (2003) usefully state that:

> A qualitative evaluation is itself akin to telling the story of a programme – its lived experiences and its impact on participants' lives. By telling the programme's story, an evaluation may be used to give voice to participants' perspectives, as they and their experiences provide the characters and events of the programme's narrative (p.47).

Finally, if we consider narratives not only as the recount of individual experiences but also as fissures into the cultural reality of a certain community, we can conclude that even the examination of stories gathered from a small sample are able to offer a deep understanding of the meanings shared by that social network. This not only increases the external validity of

the evaluation study (Elliott, 2005), but it also allows us to observe the suitability of this method in its application to (often) small scale participatory media projects.

Analysis of audience interviews

This analysis finds its foundations in the Macrostructure Model of Narrative elaborated by Kintsch and van Dijk (1983). The Narratives of Change method simplifies and tailors the application of this model to the purpose of an analysis, whose aim is to demonstrate how each narration shows a number of recurring themes connected to change. What is different here is that the richness of those narrations does not become lost through a purely thematic enquiry. In the context of this research, change is related to the impact that the participatory media productions had on the interviewees.

In the words of Kintsch and van Dijk (1983),

> Macrostructures are [...] the product of inferential processes. [...] [T]he inferences involved in the generation of macrostructures [...] are reductive and serve to reduce a text to its essential communicative message. [...]. Whereas the textbase represents the meaning of a text in all its detail, the macrostructure is concerned only with the essential points of a text. But it, too, is a coherent whole, just like the textbase itself, and not simply a list of key words or of the most important points (p.52).

The authors (ibid.) make a distinction between discourse coherence at the local and at the global level. The concept of local coherence is linked to the relations between propositions that emerge from ensuing sentences. Global coherence, on the other hand, becomes detectable when one considers the discourse as a whole, or it can be recognised by looking at larger fragments of it. Some of the elements that are used to indicate this level of coherence of discourse consist of topics, themes or points. The idea of macrostructure offers a semantic description of the global content, providing clarity to the discourse's global coherence. From this, we can also proclaim that

> [t]he macrostructure of a discourse is the conceptual global meaning assigned to it. This assignment is based both on textually manifested surface and meaning structures on the one hand and on various knowledge or other purely cognitive structures on the other (Kintsch and van Dijk, 1983, p.194).

In order to bring a specific macrostructure to the surface, Kintsch and van Dijk (1983) put forward the notion of *macrostrategies* (p.192). These provide us with a specific approach that is useful in inferring a macrostructure both from text and from knowledge. In particular, they can help us identify the contextual cues that provide the narrative with specific meanings. Due to the significant role that macrostructures play when processing information, it is important to utilise effective strategies to capture the meaning of discourse fragments. As the authors (ibid.) emphasise, this is made possible by considering not only textual material, but also contextual facts related to the narration, which is what this analysis will be focusing on.

The analysis carried out here aims to break down each narration in a number of macrostructures characterised by contextual similarities. Once these sections of the narrations have been identified, a textual macrostructural analysis based on semantic content will allow us to extract the meanings and themes arising from the interviews.

Kintsch and van Dijk (1983, p.200-201), again, identify five contextual macrostrategies that they apply to their narrative work. These are:

Contextual Macrostrategy I: GENERAL CONTEXT DEPENDENCE
Limit semantic searches to the general cultural context of the speaker.
Contextual Macrostrategy II: ACTUAL SITUATION DEPENDENCE
Limit topic search to the general properties of the actual situation.
Contextual Macrostrategy III: INTERACTION DEPENDENCE
Decide which topics are directly functional for the actualization of the interactional and pragmatic goals of the speaker.
Contextual Macrostrategy IV: DISCOURSE TYPE
Decide which topics are characteristic for the discourse type(s) expected in this interactional context.
Contextual Macrostrategy V: REFERENTIAL FREEDOM
Given I-IV, decide what objects or events can be talked about by whom in a given speech act and discourse type.

The authors (ibid.) state that 'the set of possible macrostructures is [...] a fuzzy one. The goals of a theory of macrostructure can [...] be to predict some prototypical macrostructures for some common reading goals' (p.53). Similarly, Cortazzi (1993) stresses how a macrostructure can be either distinctive to a particular narrator, or it can carry prototypical aspects. It is

possible to identify prototypical qualities of a macrostructure by analysing narratives on a specific topic, told by a group of narrators that share similar characteristics. In the case of my research, the main characteristics the interviewees share are both their geographical and cultural background, and their experience of the violent conflict. For the purpose of impact evaluation, and in consideration of the narrative context of the interviews I carried out, the contextual macrostrategies presented above were adapted to suit the method of Narratives of Change. As previously explained, the aim here is to identify the change that was achieved in people's perceptions of the rival tribe and the associated conflict, from the end of the violence to the time following their exposure to one of the participatory video screenings or participatory theatre performances. Hence, the following macrostrategies have been developed:

Contextual Macrostrategy I: GENERAL CONTEXT DEPENDENCE
Limit semantic searches to the general biographical and cultural context of the speaker.
Contextual Macrostrategy II: ACTUAL SITUATION DEPENDENCE
Limit topic search to the general properties of the actual situation of the Post-Election Violence for the speaker.
Contextual Macrostrategy III: ACTUAL SITUATION RESULT
Limit semantic searches to the general properties of the consequences of the PEV events.
Contextual Macrostrategy IV: ACTUAL PROJECT IMPACT
Decide which topics are directly or indirectly contingent upon the speaker's exposure to a participatory media output.

In accordance with the macrostrategies illustrated here, different sections of each narrative were isolated. These can be found in Appendix II. Once this process was completed, macrorules were applied to each section of the interviews in order to extrapolate their communicative essence. The macrorules used – adapted, again, from the work of Kintsch and van Dijk (1983, p.190) – are the following:

1. DELETION: Given a sequence of propositions, delete each proposition that is either a repetition of or a digression from another proposition in the sequence.

2. GENERALISATION: Given a sequence of propositions, substitute the sequence by a proposition that expresses the content of the set of propositions of the sequence.

This process has allowed to reveal the essence of each interview, thus identifying the core messages conveyed by the speaker (that is, their specific meanings). The focus of the analysis is on determining the extent to which each macrostructure shows 'prototypical' characters across all of the narrations. This is particularly important for the Contextual Macrostrategy IV – Actual Project Impact. Yet, the findings arising from the other sections are also useful in order to recognise commonalities in the culture and life events of the interviewees, which have influenced their thoughts and behaviour after the conflict. These details can become valuable, in particular, when designing and analysing this type of projects in other post-conflict contexts.

The paragraphs reported below are not simple interview extracts. They convey the macrostructures identified in the narration of each respondent after the application of the macrorules illustrated above. These macrostructures are accompanied by a textual macrostructural analysis from which different themes arise. As the analysis of these interviews is carried out by way of a method built on narrative enquiry, the presentation of the narratives is offered alongside its textual analysis.

Contextual Macrostrategy I: GENERAL CONTEXT DEPENDENCE

Macrostructures identified after the application of macrorules to the in-depth interviews	Textual macrostructural analysis
Interviewee A-PT I am a Kisii. We live near the border of the Kipsigis and the Abakusii. There is no income, so I have had to seek some community projects like cleaning or being a secretary, which can help me to pursue my education until I achieve my dream. My father passed on last year, but I live with my mother and five kids. I am the fifth born and I am in form three. I like helping my mother, going to church, participating in community activities, holding meetings with youths to discuss how to improve our lives. We don't buy anything: vegetables, milk, so we can use what we have. Like, we can farm to our best. We are allowed to marry people from any tribe. The relationship with the members of the other tribe was good. We had some social activities like sports. We had to go to the market. We would exchange goods, organise a prayer band, go to church together. At school classes were mixed.	Financial hardship Importance of family life and tasks. Large family Good relationship with other tribes
Interviewee B-PT I was born in the year 1969. I was brought up locally. I dropped out of school in form 4 because of the lack of fees. I am a farmer. I come from the Kisii tribe and I live in a town along the border here. We are five siblings. I am the elder and I have to provide economic support to my younger siblings. My parents also have financial difficulties, so they cannot help. When I got married, I became independent, and I took charge of the family. I have five children. Three daughters. And two boys. My elder daughter is in standard 5. And the other one is young, not yet going to school. According to my traditions, you must have personal integrity, respect for your parents and for the elders,	Incomplete education for financial reasons Financial hardship Large family Influence of religion

respect for your neighbours, and most importantly, you must respect God. This is a culture where the sun is supreme, because it will care and bring up your children well. If you remember our old ancestors... Yes, our old father's grandfathers, when our baby's been born, they used to carry the baby and face where the sun comes from, and they will see and speak these words, "Please take care of this baby. Give a good health," and he will grow well. That's how they believed, right? Our tradition says clearly that we should respect our neighbours, because during times of trouble, I must depend on a neighbour. He's the nearest person. My grandmother is a neighbour of the Kalenjin community. A father to my grandfather, during those old times, was bought with *wimbi* [type of cereal] as a token from the Kalenjin community. So he is directly affiliated to the Kalenjin community. When I moved here I started to do small-scale farming and hired a piece of Kalenjin land. There were no walls. We were lived normally and I regarded them as my people. We used to spend time together, not just do business.	Importance of traditions Role of tribalism Good relationship with other tribes
Interviewee C-PT I was born in 1970. I started my schooling from 1980, from class 1 to 8. I stopped my studies in primary school in 1987 because at that time they preferred boys' education than girls' education. In 1989 I got married. I have seven kids and two grandchildren. I like working on the farm, and that's how I meet my basic needs for the family. I come from a family of ten siblings. All the boys furthered their studies beyond primary school. Girls were left to be married off, so that our parents could get their dowry through their cows, so that the boys could then proceed with their education. I'm a Kipsigis by tribe. One thing with the culture of Kipsigis, women undergo circumcision. If you had not gone under such circumcision ceremony, then you could not have qualified to be called a woman. And you could not even get somebody to marry you. Nowadays it is different, because the culture is no longer as strong as it used to be. The neighbouring tribe is Kisii. Before the post-election violence, the relationship with them very good.	Incomplete education for financial and cultural reasons Importance of family life and tasks. Large family Importance of traditions Good relationship with other tribes

When we have good relation, one sign is that we normally go to the market together. We sell each other things, goods. When somebody's sick across the border, we go and visit that sick person across. And then, we also go together to church.	
Interviewee D-PT Mine is a Kalenjin name. We call ourselves Kipsigis and I follow the Kipsigis tradition. I'm married, I have four children: a girl and three boys. In 1976 I was initiated to manhood through Kalenjin tradition. And where we were told to defend our families, to stand as men, and to be responsible parents. I now live in a settlement called [*name of location*]. The British came and they settled there. Then we bought the land. It is the boundary between Rift Valley and Nyanza province. There are two communities on this border: the Kalenjin, on the east side of the Rift Valley, and the Kisii, on the western side. It is there where we have been experiencing some violence. People fought for their property, for their land, for their cows, because mainly, the cause of the violence is cattle deaths. And we depend on daily farming, and also, we depend on other food crops like maize. So, most of the things we are fighting for is the land for grazing and for cultivation. There is a tradition that the land down there was once a Kalenjin land. It is called the historical injustices, and when the settlers had settled there, they chased away the Kipsigis community. And eventually the Kisii came and they are now inhabiting the land, which was supposed to be the Kalenjin land. And also, culturally, we believe that all the cows in this world belong to the Kalenjins. So we have created animosity with our brothers. We see them as enemies, because they have taken our land, and they have our cows. So we are just bringing back the cattle. We don't say we are stealing them. We are taking back what belongs to us. I am a Born Again Christian. In 1987, I accepted Christ as my personal savior, and that changed my life, and I started abandoning the traditional Kalenjin way of living. Now, I embrace the Christian values. So when the violence broke out, I didn't participate, because I believe there is other ways of solving our problems, which are the Christian or the Biblical solutions to problems. I think the post-election violence was actually a reaction to what took place during and after the election itself. We felt that our rights were taken away unjustly, and so we had to react. But before we were doing business as usual, we played together, we prayed together, even we walked together as friends, and	Importance of traditions Influence of traditions Role of tribalism Influence of religion Good relationship with other tribes

there was no animosity. We also have land, and most of them don't have land, where to do their croppings, so they come to us and we rent them land.	
Interviewee E-PT I was born on 1987 and I was being brought up by a Christian family. In 1997 my parents passed away. I went up to secondary school.	Incomplete education
In 1992 I saw war for the first time: Kisii and Kalenjins. After, we came together again, to be friends. And even now, Kalenjins and Kisiis can inter-marry.	Role of tribalism
After completing form 4, I got my first-born child. And then I was being married. I'm proud, because I married a clever husband who is able to take care of his family. So, I now have four children, three boys and one girl. My first-born is doing now, exam, form 4, class 8. And my last-born is class one, that is my daughter. Sometimes life is challenging, but I'm proud because I'm seeing it is not bad.	Importance of family life. Large family
I farm and I'm a woman peacemaker. I've been trained in Nairobi, I've been going for seminars, and we have been trained by Amani People's Theatre. My husband and I are helping each other in family affairs. When I am at home, I am taking care of children, providing family with their daily needs. And he himself is also working hard to see that he is paying school fees for the children.	Importance of family tasks
My mother was a Kalenjin, but I'm a Kisii, because my dad is Kisii. The ethnic group is following the route of the father. The traditional things we are doing. Boys are being circumcised when they are still young, about 10 years, 9 years old. Even the girls. And when you have been married now, you are totally a woman of somebody, so you need to be responsible in everything.	Influence of traditions
Before of the post-election violence, we were doing business with the Kalenjins, and we would move freely from one side of the valley to the other selling and buying vegetables, maize, exchanging goods.	Good relationship with other tribes
We would even telephone each other. I need this and this and this, can you bring it to me? And he or she will bring. And they could do the same. Millet, finger millets, or bananas. So you will bag it and take it to them. We were friends.	
Interviewee A-PV	

I was born in December 1972 in Eldoret. We were ten. My father and mother are Kikuyu. My father had two wives, as part of being a polygamous family. We were brought up here in Eldoret, where I attended both primary and secondary school.	Large family. Incomplete education
I don't know much about my culture and traditions because this is a cosmopolitan town so there's not much about that. And I'm not fluent in Kikuyu, only Swahili and English.	Influence of traditions is not strong
When I was growing up, I used to help my dad doing some business in his shop.	Importance of family tasks
As I was growing up I didn't notice much difference in tribes because we used to communicate in a common language: Swahili mostly or English in school. We used to play together. We lived in a place where we had several families from different cultures, different tribes. I think my relationship with people from other tribes was always good.	Good relationship with other tribes
We used to trade together. We used to play together. We were good friends. We used to do graze together. We used to have parties together. We used to go to church together. We were friends.	
Interviewee B-PV I am a Luyha. I am the last of four children. Traditionally, we like *ugali*, it's our staple food. We do things out of our hearts. So we look like people who seem stupid, people who seem not want to develop, but we do things out of sincerity.	Importance of traditions
That's why you find most of the people from my tribe are entrusted with little jobs, like watchmen or doing the heavy jobs. We take them as good because that's our heart to serve.	
I was raised and went to school in a place called Mumias. Then I moved to St Mary's and went to school there. I was raised by my aunt. So because my family couldn't support me further in my studies, I volunteer with peace and conciliation NGOs, those who are fighting the HIV/AIDS and those things called sporting activities.	Incomplete education for financial reasons
Interviewee C-PV I was born in western region of Kenya. I'm a Luyha by tribe. I came here the year 1974. I started my primary school in Eldoret Township Primary School, then I joined a seminary school in Nakuru. I didn't go	Incomplete education for financial reasons

far because of a lack of school fees.	
I have a wife with five sons. My firstborn has completed form 4. My second born is sitting this year form 4, third born is in form 3 and fourth born is in form 7.	Large family
I thank God because I am alive.	Importance of religion
Before the year 2007, we are staying in a peaceful place, we are loving each other, you could marry someone from any tribe because we were just Kenyans all together. We were thinking that we are just one blood. We were playing with Kalenjins, with Kikuyu, with Kambas.	Good relationship with other tribes
Interviewee D-PV I have been staying in Kimumu for about 15 years. We are so many communities [tribes] here. We stayed like brothers and sisters. Before of the violence, if we wanted something from each other, we would help each other. We were staying like brothers and sisters. If we wanted something like salt, we could borrow from our neighbours: Kalenjins, Luyhas and Luos. When there were wedding or burials or any community functions, we used to come together and do them together. Even when it was time to raise funds for different things, we used to come together, help one another, 'cause nobody can live by themselves.	Good relationship with other tribes
Interviewee E-PV I've been raised in Kimumu. My father is a pastor, and he's been teaching us about peace. I've been taught to live with other people, but I've also been told that at times, when interacting with people, problems can arise. I have been taught that if you follow God's words and you actually do everything according to him, then you're OK.	Influence of religion
I started in [*name of primary school*] and finished in [*name of primary school*]. I actually didn't finish because of a fees problem, and only reached standard 5. At that time, education was still low. It is different from now. In those days, you would study up to standard 5, but there was still nothing valuable to understand.	Incomplete education for financial reasons
My father didn't have a steady job. Right now, I'm a parent. I have three kids.	Importance of family
Before of the violence, we used to live well. The only problems that we had were the small issues about	Good relationship with other tribes

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kids upbringing. Parents used to solve those. The reason for interacting with other tribes was majorly business.	
I am a stone carver, and there are many people from different tribes who do the same thing with him. It's a Kalenjin who actually taught me how to do that work and how to build. And it was a Kikuyu who taught me how to carve the stones, so that we could diversify from masonry. Before coming into construction, I used to do business with a Kikuyu. Right now, I do my stone carving.	Role of tribalism

Contextual Macrostrategy II: ACTUAL SITUATION DEPENDENCE

Macrostructures identified after the application of macrorules to the in-depth interviews	Textual macrostructural analysis
Interviewee A-PT My family was not affected, but I heard some people, their properties was destroyed. All of their land was taken away. I didn't take part in fighting, because fighting will not bring a solution, so I select to just keep praying for them, so that peace can prevail.	Loss of property Influence of religion. Commitment to peace
Interviewee B-PT I am a Christian of this church. When violence broke out, I had gone to my rural, ancestral area with the children. And abruptly, I was called back by members of my parish here. When they called me I came and found that my local town had been set ablaze. My house was not burnt, but it was looted. At that time, the situation was not conducive, to make any follow up. When I tried to come over, my parents were hesitant. They didn't want me to come over because that situation was bad. But in my head, I was thinking, "How can this happen? How can this be done by people I am acquainted with, where I have friends. Will they really do this to me?"	Loss of property Sense of powerlessness Fear of losing their life Loss of trust

Interviewee C-PT When that violence came, the first thing which we saw was burning of houses. Then there was massive killing, both sides in Kipsigis tribe and also in Kisii tribe. One thing which I keep remembering, there was a head which was cut from a Kisii, and the Kipsigis disappeared with the head to perform other cultural things. One thing I encountered, my house was burnt. And then, we had to move from that homestead, and we went to a very far place. Where we went, we didn't have anything to eat, we didn't have anywhere even to sleep. The children suffered because there was nothing to be provided to them. They became sick, some even were affected by pneumonia. At that site, we received some support from Red Cross. We were given some beddings, and also we were given food relief. They also brought some doctors to come and assist us for medication, because where we were, there was no medical facility around.	Loss of property Intense violence Internal displacement Deteriorating health Humanitarian support
Interviewee D-PT When the election was announced, we were waiting in the market at Chepilat. And we knew that the man we voted for, Mr Raila Odinga, was going to win the election. And then on KBC Radio we heard the electoral commission say, "I think there is something wrong with the votes being counted, and somebody is trying to steal some votes." So we had that emotional rising. We saw people coming. They said they were demonstrating against the way the government was handling the election issue. So when it was announced that Kibaki had won the election, people came to the roads, they blocked the fields, and then the communication was cut off at Chepilat. Eventually, the tribes started actually accusing one another. And then we started fighting. Then we saw houses being burnt, people being cut, and everybody was running for their life. We were along the border, in our land. But our brothers from the other side came to the boundary. And then also, our brothers from this side also came to the border, saying that, "Those people want to attack us." So there was that suspicion that these people wanted to attack us, but they also said, "These people want to attack us." So these were all some sort of defense mechanism, and everyone was ready to defend themselves.	Spread of unclear information Loss of properties Intense violence Running to find shelter Spread of unclear information

So we really had a hard time, because we had to take our families to their relatives outside here. Men remained to look after the houses and the properties. Now, many of the people, when they heard the war cry, they came for support. So when they came to our area here, they had to eat, they had to do all those things. And we were the ones to actually help them. So everything was a mess. If you have a house, you find many people coming in there, they sleep, even without your consent. They came, they eat whatever they find, they go to the *shambas*, take everything they wanted. So those are some of the things that affected us. When they find you not ready to go to fight the enemies, you are also taken as one of them. So some of us and some children were forced to go to war. And many of the people were forced to give out their cows and their properties as compensation of fines for the wrong they have done. So we were penalised, punished for no good reason. And so, we lost a lot. I had a family. My children, I have a 17-year-old son, and he went to war. He was schooling, he still is. He's in form 2, now. But then, he was in standard 7. He failed his examination. He was traumatised. Today, he's not actually... And the younger one seems to have enjoyed it, so he overcame. And now, he's doing his secondary education certificate. I think my family was really affected in that way, there was no education, children were forced to do other things, they needed to fetch water, to fetch weapons for these people to fight with.	Family separation Loss of property People forced to join the fighting Sense of powerlessness Trauma
Interviewee E-PT The post-election violence was really terrible. It affected a lot of things. During that time a lot of houses were burnt. Everything was destroyed. So, in my side and my family, we feel bitter, because we were on the border. Even maize was cut in the shambas. Even up to now, it is a trauma to some people, because it affected a lot of properties. So imagine you have built a house, maybe you stayed there for three years or four years. One day, it is destroyed completely. That time, there was nothing you could do. Even to eat, it was difficult, because how can you eat when people are [fighting] all the time? There was no peace. Where will you get even a meal? It was closed. So the only thing we were surviving with was water or milk and tea. We were just watching. What can you do now? I ran even away with my children. We moved to somebody's house, and then we stayed there about four	Loss of properties Loss of livelihood Trauma No food to eat Sense of powerlessness Internal displacement

weeks.	
Interviewee A-PV When it happened in 2007-2008, I was married. There was friction before the actual announcement of the presidential winner. And I remember we could feel the tension. Friendship was kind of losing weight, you could sense there was something happening but you were not sure exactly what. Naturally, I thought it was probably because we had pretty different candidates for the presidency. But after it was announced, then it's like all hell broke loose. I lived in an estate where we had different [tribes], and I realised that my immediate neighbour, who was from a different [tribe], was not there. Because I wanted to find out what is happening. I heard that people were being attacked... how do you advice me to go about it? And she was not there. So when I went around looking for people I knew could have answered, I found that most of them were not there, they had travelled. When I tried calling them, I could not get them. So it kind of destabilised my relationship with some of them. Within town there was so much tension and so much anger. It was very hard for you to just leave your house and come into town. We were being told all the time that the people are coming to burn houses. Sometimes, we would hear screams. Sometimes, even as you look outside, you could see the smoke coming up. It was scary. During the violence I went to a place in the (Unknown term) where my step brother has a home and they lived there. But I didn't like it, I didn't have work, we didn't have a lot of things.	Spread of unclear information Loss of trust Loss of property Internal displacement Feeling of powerlessness
Interviewee B-PV I remember very well. I was involved because I was in that estate at the time, so when the elections were announced and the president was named shortly after six, in a short while we could hear [*inaudible*], so everybody became fearful. It was one tribe against another. Like me, I possess a name that is of a Kikuyu tribe. And yet, I am a Luyha. So due to that name, others will mistake me to be a Kikuyu. Because even I have their face. And so, the other tribe which is the Kalenjin, they were coming. We stayed in a place where, if you stand, you can see the hill from the other side. So they would come down to that hill, they had masked themselves with clay, without clothes. They were coming with weapons to chase us, because they were actually chasing away the Kikuyu tribe.	Fear of losing their life

They imagined all the people who stayed there were Kikuyus. And so they could come, maybe in the evening, and they could really chase us away with arrows. I remember my dad missing two arrows which were meant to kill him as he was going to save a pregnant woman. And so, it was quite bad. We were not able to access to food, we could not communicate, and yet we had mothers and children.	Intense violence

No food to eat |
| Then there was war. If you wake up in the morning, you'd find dead bodies all over. And we just jump over them and you go others. You could see the pigs eating them, the dogs feasting on them... | Intense violence |
| There was little you can do. My effort was to see the mothers and children were safe. That was my desire. I could allow the men to go and fight. My little brothers, if you are found in the house and you are a man you could even be killed. And so, we were running to churches, running to the police. Actually, the estate was evacuated, houses were burnt down. People lost property at a very high rate. | Sense of powerlessness

Running to find shelter

Loss of property |
| **Interviewee C-PV**

It was a sad moment because people were not living happy. I took my wife and my sons to the church. I took my properties there. The tables, the cupboard, the chairs were broken there because a lot of people were there. We men were sleeping outside worrying about being attacked, but our wives and our children in the church. | Internal displacement

Fear of losing their life |
You could have money but you could not buy anything because no supply of anything, no company was working, no movement of the vehicles were going, so you are living in a very bad situation like this.	No food to eat
We were seeing the choppers just roaming around up and down. You see the fire burning houses there. So you are thinking, "I am the next victim." So we were living in a very scared environment.	Fear of losing their life
People were selling their properties because they wanted to get some money to sustain their families. Nobody was going on work, nobody was doing business. Somebody could come with their phone like yours, you say, "Have this phone. I want you to give me 2000 so that my family could get something to eat. Or have this blanket." Some were stealing others' property.	Sense of powerlessness
They dig somewhere, so everyone was going there. So some malaria, some diseases, begun to come from there because we cannot use one toilet around 1000 people. That was a very bad days.	Deteriorating health
The choppers were just hired choppers. Not the police. They want to move some people because their life is in danger. They were flied to Nairobi with 2000 shillings so that they can survive there.	Internal displacement

Interviewee D-PV After 2007, when the election was done, they say that the election was stolen and then they started to beat each other. I was here on that time. My properties were destroyed. We left for about one year and then came back.	Loss of properties Internal displacement
When they announced that the president had won, that's when people started going around saying that the votes had been stolen and they started burning houses.	Spread of unclear information
They were saying the Kikuyus should leave because the president is a Kikuyu. My house was one of those that were burnt, and I lost property worth close to 4 million. When they were burning the houses, we had to run away. We were lucky to board a GSU lorry, which took us out of here. GSU is General Service Unit, it's part of the police.	Running to find shelter
We were taken to the police station in town, and then, a week later, that's when we were taken to the showground. We stayed at the showground for about 3 months.	Internal displacement
Interviewee E-PV I'd never witnessed an event like that. Seeing your friends are the ones who burn your houses, they become your enemies. We were separated with our parents. We used to hide, at that time. My family was at the church. I tried to communicate with the guys who had come to burn our house, pleading for them not to burn our house, which was everything that we had.	Loss of trust Family separation
From then on, life was hard. We couldn't eat, food was scarce. The only thing that we could do was to consume water. And our house wasn't burnt.	No food to eat
When you were found, you were asked to carry stones. You find out that people are carrying spears, arrows, and *pangas*. So when given an arrow and a bow, you don't know how to use them. When given stones, you haven't actually been told how to use them. When given a *panga*, you actually might not have ever used it to cut somebody.	People forced to join the fighting
I felt bad, because seeing people you actually know, turning into animals. I had a coach. His name was Phillip. People attacked him and cut him up to death. The person who cut him, it is somebody he knew, and he used to meet with him in sports.	Intense violence

I was saddened by that situation, as my wife and kids had gone to the church. My father was sick. He couldn't even rise from bed. My father said that, because he's saved, he's not going to run away. And because he's old, he's not going to go anywhere. And true to fact, the fights happened when he stayed in the house. I was pleading for the house not to be burnt, because I knew that my father was inside the house. So the people who knew that my parent, somebody who was known in the community, was in the house, they were also pleading for the house not to be burnt. I was thankful to the neighbours, who actually understood. But there are those ones who didn't understand.	Family separation Fear of losing their life
I was also sorrowful, because since I wasn't fighting I could only remain indoors.	Sense of powerlessness
I used to tell them from the beginning, that because my father had taught me that following the Bible is important, when somebody offends you, you should forgive them seven times. Because of the way we had been taught about forgiveness, we knew that the devil really makes people do things.	Influence of religion. Commitment to peace.
There was a preacher from before called Roger, who used to teach us that there's something that is coming, called [*unknown term*], and it was going to finish people. But I didn't understand what [*unknown term*] was. So when the violence arose, I was asking myself, "Was that pastor actually speaking about this event?" So from the things that I had been taught before, in the church, I was seeing the situation as if what had been taught was actually happening.	Feeling of powerlessness

Contextual Macrostrategy III: ACTUAL SITUATION RESULT

Macrostructures identified after the application of macrorules to the in-depth interviews	Textual macrostructural analysis
Interviewee A-PT My behaviour towards them didn't change, because it was just out of anger. They were following a crowd, so I didn't blame them. They were just doing it not knowing what could happen.	No anger or feeling of revenge
Interviewee B-PT When I finally returned [after having fled to a different location during the violence], I was appointed as a person in charge of peace, along those people who were displaced in my town area. Now, I was	Commitment to peace

compelled to stay there, because should any question be forwarded by the parish, they'll come and ask exactly, "Can you give us the actual findings on what caused this issue? How was the situation?" And I will be the judge. Surely, in the whole of my entire life, at no time had I ever had any doubt. I had great promises, great hope on the Kalenjin community. Yes, I used to interact with them so much, and that bond was so much, even more than my ethnic people. So this one has not changed in me. I am kind of mending the broken beads of the relationship.	No anger or feeling of revenge
Interviewee C-PT One thing, I felt there's need for people to stay together, so that they are not affected like the way we were affected, like being moved from where we used to stay peacefully, and then moving very far. My prayer was for the peace to come back, so that I could go back to my home, because I was feeling I was far more frustrated staying away from my homestead, because I didn't have anything, I could not do anything, I could not support my family anywhere. Wherever I see any conflict, I become worried. I still want to see peace and cohesion, reconciliation between the Kipsigis and Kisiis.	Commitment to peace No anger or feeling of revenge
Interviewee D-PT I knew that the problem was not with them, but there was somebody behind these issues. So they were only acting by the orders of their superiors. We blame the politicians who organised them, that actually funded for this chaos. So with me, I knew this was not their intention. I had a meeting in [name of location] church, just immediately after 2007/2008. People were saying, "You are going to the Kisiis, and if they kill you?" So I said, "If they want me to die, I'll die. Even one day, I'll also die." So I went there, I met the people. They were very peaceful. And what I realised was that the neighbours themselves did not actually try to fight us. They also fled. They had foreigners, people from Maasai area, especially from the interior. And also, on our side, those who came was from the far villages. They were not people around here. So with me, I have a human heart. So after the post-election violence, I had no bad feeling at all, so I knew that somebody, somewhere, is	Understanding of the situation Commitment to peace

responsible for this thing, and it is not actually our Kisii brothers. And I also understand that even the Kisiis themselves there, there are some who understand that it wasn't our fault, we didn't plan for this chaos. But there was beneficiaries, there was some people who said, "We have to do this and this, to gain this." And there are a few people in the community.	No anger or feeling of revenge
Interviewee E-PT After the violence, my feelings were so bad, because my people were killed, our properties were destroyed. When I saw that tribe, they were like my enemies now, because that time was bitter. Imagine, you have done this and this and this, but in one or two days, it is destroyed completely. How would you feel if it was you? But after sometimes, as a Christian, as a woman who knows that you have to love your enemies as you love yourself, we started again. After the violence, still there was fear. The Kalenjins were not able to come to share anything with you. I was not able to go and share with them. You might be killed, they might put even poison into your food.	Anger Loss of trust
Interviewee A-PV So when we came back [after having fled to a different location during the violence] I didn't know who to trust anymore so I was feeling, like, "I cannot just take things back to how they used to be. I cannot trust them that easy." I think I felt betrayed because these are friends who could have warned us, could have told us what was being done. We needed to look for a way to protect ourselves or to mend the way things were. I had friends who, at that time, I was telling them, "No. You're not my friends anymore because you have betrayed us and you're not true friends." When your friend is headed towards something that is not good, you're supposed to warn them. I didn't want to see them when I came back. I didn't want to say hello. I didn't want to buy from them. Some of them came and they wanted to know how I was doing and I told them I just wanted to be left alone.	Loss of trust Anger
Interviewee B-PV At first, I was a bitter lady because of the rate of killings that had taken place. And so, I thought maybe this	

is not the Kenya we had. Actually, we were peacemakers for other nations, but this time we could not keep peace ourselves. So I was quite bitter and just imagining Kenyans who are Africans killing themselves because of just some elections. And yet, those who are supposed to be fighting for the seats are just... they are animal, they don't want to negotiate or whatever.	Anger
I could just see any Kalenjin and feel, "Gosh, this guy deserves to die. He does not deserve to live. These people deserve to die." They say that this is their own land, forgetting that we are all entitled to live anywhere in Kenya.	Feeling of revenge
Interviewee C-PV I didn't have any bitter for anybody because in election there are some people who went to school and have some knowledge, and there is someone who is illiterate. So to convince the person who is illiterate is very difficult. So the people who went to school knew that, in the election, there is a winner and a loser. So we told them, "Yes, we can accept the defeat and we can accept that this man wins, then we continue with our daily commercial basis."	No anger or feeling of revenge
Interviewee D-PV I got really angry. I felt like I should actually also pick up arms and fight back to finish them off too. We had sat together to think of how to retaliate, but then those ideas were washed away.	Anger Feeling of revenge
Interviewee E-PV After that, when going to look for work, people used to ask what tribe you're from. Tribalism rose that it came to a point when if you'd go to look for job from a Kalenjin, if you're from a Kikuyu community, he wouldn't actually give you that.	Inter-tribal relationship is broken
I myself am a Luhya. So when I go to a Kikuyu, they say that I was part of the people who were fighting them. The Kalenjins as well, on their part, also say that we are the ones who were fighting them. I, as an innocent person, suffered a lot, during that period.	Loss of trust
So as to separate myself from the issues, I had to actually stay away from everything. Because if I'm seen on either side, it will be a problem. So as to stay away from everything, I'll look for a Kalenjin or Kikuyu, and tell them that, "For me, myself, I've never actually fought." And plead with them to help me to hide, so	Commitment to peace

that they won't take me. I was saddened by the situation, but because I had never taken part in fighting, I didn't get so angry. I was worried about what was coming for the country. Seeing that I'd been born and raised here, and being told to go back home, I am wondering where will he go? Will I go back alive or dead?	No anger or feeling of revenge

Contextual Macrostrategy IV: ACTUAL PROJECT IMPACT

Macrostructures identified after the application of macrorules to the in-depth interviews	Textual macrostructural analysis
Interviewee A-PT The play changed me, because the moment I left here, I ran to my community, I called a group of members and then I talked about what I had attended and what I had gained from it. And it is still working now. Once a month, we call for a meeting. We discuss some agenda points, how to work out things in a peaceful way. While watching the drama, some members of the audience were hostile. Some shouted. Others were just excited.	Positive behaviour change Inter-group discussion Interaction
Interviewee B-PT The theatre had a big impact because people saw exactly what was happening. Sometimes, people doubt, like Thomas in the Bible. So, after seeing this drama, they have seen that surely there is reality, there is a sense on the life. And the perception we should have, should change for the better. All these questions that brought all these reactions were analysed. And the drama brought every question to its answer. So every reaction got its answer and response. Showing that our co-existence is very important. And I do feel that this kind of theatres should be a continuous process.	Empowerment for peace Unity Inter-group discussion
Interviewee C-PT When I watched the drama taking place, I began remembering about how we were running. So it brought	Healing

back that memory of how I was affected. I felt that there is need for peace and reconciliation, because violence really is not good. And I felt that there is need to stay peacefully with the neighbours surrounding me.	Peaceful co-existence
When the audience saw it, they were happy that it was just a play, and they learnt a lot from the drama. They learnt about the need for peace.	Unity
Interviewee D-PT I learnt a lot and my perceptions were changed. The feelings and the way I had been doing things actually changed. And I started actually seeing life in a new way. And I admire the way they were doing things [the theatre workshop]. They were not one tribe. There were people from the Nyanza, the Luo community. And we have the Kipsigis, and we had the Kisii community. So we were all in one place, doing one thing. I saw the unity of different communities coming together and doing plays together. I think it was an event I cannot forget. People in the audience had different reactions, but they were actually very interested. They were inspired. And everybody wanted to share it out with the people who were not there. And I remember one man saying, "I wish I would have come with my wife." Because they had home violence, families. So actually, it was a way of solving many issues, not only the political issues, so it comes to the family, to the self. And actually myself, I got changed and I learned a lot about things.	Behaviour change Interaction Interaction
Interviewee E-PT After watching [the theatre play], I thought that if there were no men or people who knew about peace, all these men would be killed. All of them could die, because everybody needs to take revenge. Let's say for example, if the Abakusii people were killed, they'd take revenge killing the others. At the end, all of them would die. But because there are people who know about peace, I thought that this is good, because it will save a lot of people, and it will bring good things ahead of us. This play has changed me because I've learned to know that without peace, there's nothing you can do. There's no development, there's no education for your children, the poverty will be high. So it has changed me to know that you have to struggle peacefully, encouraging other people to join the peace and come together, sharing, building, in order to succeed in life. And it's not even for me, but for my kids now.	Unity Empowerment for peace

In the audience there were two tribes. So even if it was a play, the Abakusiis were feeling bitter when they saw that the Kalenjins were fighting and killing a lot of Abakusii people. So the reaction was high. But even if they were high tempered, there was still understanding, "Stop, stop, stop. Don't fight them, because they will continue."	Interaction
Interviewee A-PV The play gave me an insight on what caused the eruption of the violence because it was a clearer picture of the events.	Unity
Watching the story of someone from a different tribe, I realised that these were innocent people who had been brought together and given ideas on what to do, and pressure was building. And after that we were able to come together as a community.	Inter-group discussion
We've poured our hearts, we've talked and it brought some healing to our past. And even after watching the movies, even as they were being made, as they were coming up in the stories, it made me realise that reconciliation can be achieved. Because everyone went that extra mile to bring things back to normal.	Healing
In the audience, we had people from different backgrounds; people from different age groups. Some people cried. It was a sad scenario. It took people back to when those things happened. And after that, we were brought back together and we were actually taken through some talk and we were told the importance of peace within the communities for all people.	Inter-group discussion
People reacted differently. There were those who were in shock, there were those who cried, there were those who just kept silent and watched.	
Personally, I felt moved to tears because it took me back to that particular day when this was happening. And I could see that, as they were acting, they acted as if it was real. And I remembered that there were those people who lost their lives. There were people who lost their properties, who lost very important things in their lives. Families, friends. And I remember that by then, at that particular time, there was no escape. We didn't know how you were going to get yourself out of this situation.	Healing
What I liked most about those video shootings was that we had people from different backgrounds who merged and formed those videos and it was a good thing. It was not just something that was done by one community. They brought their ideas together.	Interaction

Interviewee B-PV	
While I was watching that video, I felt like peace was coming back at last. When somebody talks about what he goes through, that's one way of getting healed. I felt like there was healing and reconciliation in the community.	Healing
At first when I was watching it, I really felt bad, how those people treated especially that family.	Unity
I started feeling like, "No. I shouldn't carry this bitterness. I will let things go the way they are. Maybe these people did out of pressure or tension or whatever and one day they will regret it. So if I hold bitterness against them, then we won't be able to live at peace with them because they also need forgiveness."	Behaviour change
I remember that in the audience there were some women and most of them cried. It was like having memories, and then most of them were quite hurt watching that video.	Beginning of healing
Interviewee C-PV	
After seeing that video, I realised that if people could stay in peace then we can have a very beautiful and a very good life. Because when we were chasing that boy it was just one boy. People who were coming behind him were around 20-30 carrying stones. Even if we could get that boy, his life would be gone. So I calmed down and saw that if we can stay in peace then nobody can lose his life or her life. And we can stay and we can make a lot of developments. Why? Because this one knows this one and he can help him in sickness or in goodness. So after seeing that video, I learned from my mind that peace can make everything go smoothly.	Behaviour change

Peaceful co-existence |
| We have 42 tribes in Kenya and that day we were fighting 41 against one. The other tribe we were excluding because they have wealth. They are hard-working people, so they are doing business. And when we are doing business, what are you expecting? You are expecting to grow. After that video, the communities have come together, because they knew that fighting is not the right thing. Demonstrating is not the right thing. Se we need to educate even our youths, because our youths are the ones who are running with the stones and the ones who are running with the [*Kiswahili name of a type of weapon*]. | Interaction

Behaviour change |
| When they were watching that video, some people felt sad. Some were looking to say: we did a very bad mistake when we were burning houses, when we were fighting each other. So some were regretting. And after that thing, they came all together and say that, "Now, we don't want to repeat such a thing in future". | Behaviour change |

Some even they came out and burned the voting cards, the youth: "If this thing can bring me to run, to kill somebody, to fight another, let me burn this thing, I don't want to do it again." There are some people in one tribe, they lost their people. When they started watching that film, they recalled that day because it was a black day. There are some, even, he was married to a Kalenjin and he's a Kikuyu. They were going to remove that lady, because you have brought a bad blood in our community. You see? So after seeing that cinema or a screening, they realised that, all of us, we are Kenyans and we want to stay together.	Unity
Interviewee D-PV I had been invited as a neighbour to come watch the video, and I found out that it wasn't only me alone. When I came and saw that the other people who had also been offended, some had even got hurt during that event, I told myself that I was lucky that I hadn't been physically harmed, although I had lost property. But property can be found again.	Empowerment for peace
At first, the videos were saddening to me. But then, after seeing the way that the people had been hurt but how they were now turning their lives, I saw that it's good to actually come and live together in harmony. Viewing the images helped me to get rid of the bad thoughts and the evil feelings that we had from what had happened to us.	Healing
[The perception I had about the other tribe] has changed, because, before then, I couldn't even say hi to them. But right now I actually talk with them, maybe a number of times they'd come and borrow money from me and I am willing to give them.	Interaction
All of us who watched were shocked 'cause we were also feeling the sorrow inside us. Some were actually crying from viewing the images. When we went later and sat down and discussed about it, we saw that our hearts had calmed down because we had seen that it wasn't only us who were hurt.	Inter-group discussion
Interviewee E-PV After the election, we were split up with our friends, but after coming and watching the videos, specifically the one from Peter… I felt that there was something happening from that. Peter was saying that, "These people have killed my parents, and I'm not going to actually sit with them."	Unity

So from watching the video, I saw that Peter is saying that things have happened, but it comes a time that we have to stay together. I felt pleased to see Peter greeting the people who had not been on the same thoughts as him. So I felt happy, seeing people saying that we should come together and be like the way were living before. I felt touched. Because during the period when we were fighting, I didn't believe that there was going to be peace anymore.	
Watching the video, it actually changed me, because after the post-election violence you couldn't actually stay in Eldoret. I had asked my father to get somebody to sell our land so that we could shift back to Western Kenya. So after the video, I went back to my father and told him that, "No, we shouldn't do this." After the problems that happened, things can actually change. So my father asked me, "What has changed that right now, that you are the one who is telling me to sell this land, but now you're saying no?"	Behaviour change
So I told my father that after coming together with people from different tribes, I actually saw that there is a possibility that the fighting wouldn't happen again. So, because of that video, I am still in Eldoret. So, if that video was not there, I would have told my parents to actually go back to Western Kenya. But through the video, after staying with other people and talking about what had happened, I actually saw that life can continue here.	Peaceful co-existence
When Peter was talking about the people who had killed his uncle, and that he wouldn't come back here to stay with them, I actually saw sorrow in the people who were sitting and watching the video. But when Peter [said that] after something wrong has happened, things [can] change... I saw that everybody in there actually clapped.	Healing
This is because, when you see a Kalenjin who is watching the video, if he was actually happy about it before, they might not have done it knowingly, because when they were watching it, they were not happy when Peter was talking about what happened to him. They were actually sad about it. You actually could see that it was touching the people's hearts in there.	Unity
Because the videos were not only from one tribe. It was witnessed from people by different tribes. So, after somebody is able to see a video from the people from the different tribes, they will actually be able to see that this was not a good thing.	Behaviour change

Audience interviews' findings

In the paragraphs below I will illustrate the 'prototypical characters' – gathered around the simple traits of 'themes' – that arise from the majority of the macrostructures. These are generated from the textual macrostructural analysis carried out in the right column. Particular attention is paid to the findings emerging from the Contextual Macrostrategy IV in relation to the projects' impacts.

Contextual Macrostrategy I: GENERAL CONTEXT DEPENDENCE

The macrostructures related to the general context clearly reveal a number of consistent characteristics in the narratives of the lives of the interviewees.

Some speakers mention directly the *financial hardship* that their family experienced while they were being brought up, resulting in some of them having to be raised by siblings or relatives rather than their own parents. When this was not discussed directly, it was always referred to when the narrators talked about their *impossibility to complete education* due to insufficient financial means to cover their school fees.

Family is a crucial element in the speaker's lives and everything seems to revolve around it, both in their childhood and adulthood. Families, which are usually fairly *large*, regulate people's existence by developing a sense of responsibility and bringing their members together to engage in activities that would generate benefit to the household, either in economic terms or towards other types of needs.

Traditions are another set of items that play a *strong role* in the interviewees' daily lives, especially those related to the tribe. This, in turn, increases the perception of tribalism that some of the narrators point out in their accounts. The *influence of religion* is also another powerful factor that shapes people's thoughts and behaviours.

All of the interviewees underline how their *relationship with the other tribes* had been a relatively *positive* and peaceful one during their upbringing.

Contextual Macrostrategy II: ACTUAL SITUATION DEPENDENCE

Common characteristics are also visible in the situation recount of the Post-Election Violence events among those inhabiting the Rift Valley of Kenya.

One the most recurrent concepts expressed is the tragedy that accompanies the *loss of property* for the narrators. Such loss included particularly the looting and burning of houses, along with the unjust occupation of land and the destruction of crops. The *killings* and the *intense violence* witnessed or experienced by the speakers are also brought up in the conversation, where the *fear of losing one's life* becomes a strong recurrent theme in the narrative of the conflict.

The ensemble of all these factors appears to have elicited in the interviewees a strong *sense of powerlessness.*

Families, which – as discussed above – represent a core element in people's lives, are also heavily affected. In an attempt to *escape and find shelter*, the speakers tell how their *families had become separated.* Women and children were sent to live in churches or other types of temporary refuge, while *men remained to fight (often forcibly)* or to protect their belongings. The *lack of food* and safety also pushed some to migrate to other areas within the country, which led to the creation of *internally displaced people's camps*, where health and sanitation were poor. These are all common elements of the situational macrostructures.

Individuals became *traumatised* and a lasting *loss of trust* between the different tribes came to occupy people's hearts and minds.

Contextual Macrostrategy III: ACTUAL SITUATION RESULT

In relation to the emotional response that took place in the aftermath of those events, the actual situation result sees the 10 macrostructures divided into two groups. Five of the narrations from members of the audience who watched either the participatory video or the participatory theatre play are characterised by a *lack of anger or sense of revenge* from the narrator towards the rival warring tribe. To reconnect with some of the considerations I advanced in my Methodology chapter, I believe that the primary reason for this is to be found

in people's religious beliefs. The spread and the strength of the Christian faith in the areas I visited for my fieldwork influenced a large number of individuals, who firmly embraced values of peace, compassion and forgiveness. This is often confirmed by the interviewees themselves, who assert their *commitment to peace* and their lack of hatred towards those who harmed their communities, both before and after the violence, making direct reference to the teachings of God.

The remaining five, on the other hand, display *strong feelings of anger* and the *will to take revenge* against members of the enemy tribe. The content of those macrostructures shows how the *inter-tribal relationship was broken* as a result of the violent events and emphasis is put, once again, on the *loss of trust* between the different groups that used to live peacefully as neighbours.

Contextual Macrostrategy IV: ACTUAL PROJECT IMPACT

In these sections of the audience interviews, all of the themes that had previously arisen from the interviews conducted with the storytellers and actors (an analysis of which was carried out in the previous chapter) have been traced:

- *Empowerment for peace*
- *Behaviour change*
- *Healing*
- *Unity*
- *Interaction*
- *Inter-group discussion*
- *Peaceful co-existence*

In addition to these themes (illustrated in Chapter 5), another important concept that features in almost all of the narrations from the audience is that of *learning*. Whether they mentioned it explicitly or not, the interviewees emphasised the knowledge and understanding they gained from the media productions, both in relation to the other tribes' perspectives and on the concrete causes of the conflict. More specifically, people learned about the situation of those from another tribe, they better understood the hardship that they themselves and others had endured, and they were able to identify some of the causes that initiated the conflict and also that moved certain people towards the violence in the first place.

When not directly referring to a learning process, people talked about finally 'seeing' new possibilities for peace, hence new alternatives to the violence, thanks to the participatory media productions. They talked about 'finding answers to their questions' or having a new type of 'realisation' when faced with other people's stories.

This goes in harmony with the storytellers' and actors' goals of participating in the media productions in order to pass on their examples and teach people about peace.

Identifying change

Through the use of the Narratives of Change method of analysis, the changes that were brought about by the participatory media projects on their audience have become clearer with the identification of different macrostructures within each narration. In particular, the GENERAL CONTEXT DEPENDENCE and the ACTUAL SITUATION DEPENDENCE have provided us with an interpretation of the speakers' stories prior to and during the Post-Election Violence, and of the tangible consequences the latter had on people. The ACTUAL SITUATION RESULT was useful in understanding the individual emotional response to the dramatic events of the conflict, while the ACTUAL PROJECT IMPACT macrostrategy allowed us to isolate the effects of the video and theatre activities, which are not independent from the preceding factors.

The analysis of macrostrategies I, II and III showed the relationship between the narrators' circumstances and the impact that the project had on them (macrostrategy IV). When discussing the project impact, participants reconnected to previous themes such as the *good relationship with other tribes* [macrostrategy I] that they felt they were returning to after watching the participatory productions. The *influence of traditions* and the *role of the tribe* [macrostrategy I] are also visible, as people went back to their tribe and talked about what they had seen and learnt from those productions. The *importance of religion* [macrostrategy I] is present in the project impact macrostructure of one of the interviewees [macrostrategy IV], who mentioned that the drama had allowed him to see things clearly with his own eyes, like Thomas in the Bible. The theme of *financial hardship* [macrostrategy I], which sits alongside the recurring *incomplete education* [macrostrategy I], resurfaces when peace is identified by some as the way to development. Finally, the thematic traits of *loss of property*, *intense violence*, *fear of losing their lives*, *running to find shelter*, *family separation* [microstrategy II], *anger* and *feelings of revenge* [macrostrategy III] are brought back into

the narrations when respondents discuss the initial memories elicited by the media, which were then re-examined in a different light.

What follows is a more defined illustration of the changes initiated by these projects, which emerges through a discussion of the impact macrostructures and their relation to the theories of change applied to this research.

ToC1: Individual Change Theory

> *T1*: **Telling their own story / Listening to similar stories from others through a medium creates a sense of worth and strengthens the commitment to peace**

From the answers of at least three of the speakers it is possible to identify a sense of empowerment that arises from the learning process facilitated by the media productions, as well as the perception of a new realisation of the events that occurred during the conflict.

> **T2: Individuals recognise the importance of a different behavioural model for the establishment of peace**

The majority of the narrators told how the participatory media productions encouraged them to engage in positive behaviour change. Most of them began to see the possibility of living in peace with other tribes as a concrete reality, and started moving towards its achievement in different ways. Some even began to encourage others to adopt an attitude and behaviour conducive to peace.

> *T3:* **A process of healing takes place in those who tell or listen to stories about the conflict**

The answers from half of the interviewees highlight the healing process that was initiated in them and in the rest of the audience after watching the media productions. The acts of remembering, grieving and forgiving are all explicitly mentioned in the narrations. These are key steps in the move towards reconciliation.

ToC2: Healthy Relationship and Connection Theory

> **T1: An increased understanding of different groups' perspectives enhances unity**

Again, the majority of the narrations suggest that the exposure to the participatory media productions elicited in the interviewees a sense of unity, based on the development of a better

understanding of the situation. Speakers would recall the moment in which, while watching the video or the drama, people began to look at the relationship with the other tribe in a more positive manner.

➤ **T2: Interaction across the former conflict divide is re-initiated on the basis of common beliefs and clearer perceptions**

More than half of the respondents' answers showed that the media productions contributed to re-establishing different types of interaction between members of (former) warring tribes. These went from a simple exchange of views after the screening or the theatre play, to a contact that extended outside the sphere of the participatory media activities.

ToC3: Social Change Theory

➤ **T1: Different groups peacefully engage in problem-solving**

Some of the narrators placed emphasis on the dialogue that was created between people as a result of the media productions. This took place not just among those who collaborated in producing those outputs, but also among all those who watched them. It becomes clear from the words of the speakers, that the videos and theatre plays were a catalyst for constructive discussion and finding meaning between different tribes.

➤ **T2: Different groups commence being together in harmony, laying the basis for sustainable development after a conflict**

Two of the narrations offered a more sustainable view of peace, as was elicited by the speakers' exposure to the participatory media productions. The answers presented showed an acceptance of reconciliation as the primary means towards a future free of conflict, and most importantly that of peace as a realistic and achievable objective for communities in Kenya.

To summarise

This chapter and the previous one have introduced the framework of this analysis, highlighting some of the challenges that are encountered when assessing the impact of peacebuilding-related activities and presenting the approaches of different organisations and scholars.

A Theory of Change table was built in order to provide this study with a solid analytical tool to assess the data. At the same time, a clear illustration was presented of the process that was followed to generate the different theories and their components.

The two sets of interviews that I conducted with participatory media project beneficiaries in Kenya were examined. The answers from the storytellers and actors (that is, those who directly took part in the participatory video and theatre productions) were analysed in Chapter 5, and their findings discussed in the light of the pre-established theories of change. Subsequently, this chapter has dealt with the 10 narrations from those who watched those productions. These were explored in detail by way of the Narratives of Change method, whose use and purpose were introduced and clarified in connection with the literature on narrative enquiry.

What emerges from the 30 interviews provides evidence in support of the Theory of Change table applied to this study. The findings arising from the data have made visible the changes that participatory media influence in contributing towards a sustainable peace in communities affected by violent conflict. These were clearly identified through two different types of analysis that showed the consistent effects that those projects elicited, both in those participants who were directly involved in the productions and among those who were simply exposed to them, by addressing the dimensions of individual, relational and social change that are key in conflict transformation processes.

Additional overall reflections and final observations on the concepts that have arisen here are offered in the next chapter, which reconnects the findings to the theories presented in the first part of this thesis.

CHAPTER 7
Discussion

This thesis demonstrates the impact that participatory media have on relationship between communities in the aftermath of civil violence. It does so by relating the findings that arise from the evaluation of two participatory media projects in Kenya, to the changes that occur in conflict transformation processes. These have been articulated in a Theory of Change framework. It also shows how opposing groups can begin to reconcile when engaging together in media content production and in its subsequent viewing, and how sharing stories and interacting can open up a path to social change.

The chapter introduced here brings together the theories, analyses and reflections that were developed in previous sections of this thesis, to provide a rational narrative of the key elements that have arisen from this research project. In particular, it reconnects the findings presented in the preceding two chapters, to the theories discussed in the Background Concepts and Literature Review. It also offers further insights on the participatory media projects that were evaluated in this work and presents recommendations generated from the issues encountered during their implementation.

Finally, this chapter also reflects on the significance of Communication for Development in Peacebuilding as a new research area: it highlights the different roles that communication can have in post-conflict scenarios in the context of development; it offers a clear interpretation of this field and its multi-faceted nature; it discusses the dialogic attribute of participatory communication and it offers a new framework where conflict transformation, participatory communication and social change are brought together.

The peacebuilding context

As discussed in Chapter 1, communal violence destroys the complex network of social interaction between groups and disintegrates traditional support systems. While humanitarian assistance is needed to meet the most urgent needs – usually physical and economic – of those affected by the fighting, it is important to address also the less tangible issues that are useful in preventing a relapse into violence and which contribute to building a more sustainable peace. For the most part, warfare appears now to have shifted from the

domain of trained fighters to that of ordinary citizens, leaving even more profound scars on the population (Maynard, 1997).

Different authors recognise that what seems to be missing in current peacebuilding interventions is an approach that fills the gap between the immediate humanitarian response and the long-term re-establishment of the institutional system. This middle ground should be characterised by a focus on civil society, starting from the grassroots (Neumann and Emmer, 2012).

If we hold this as a valid standpoint, then it follows that what is needed at the foundation of the peacebuilding structure, is an approach that allows individuals, groups and communities to come together. Hence, rather than focusing on the national scale, the primary peace effort should concentrate on transforming the negative legacy of the conflict at the individual level, and on re-establishing relationships between conflicting groups. These are shifts that can subsequently trigger a wider social change. This study highlights the role that Communication for Development plays within this space, where conflict transformation and reconciliation become key components of the communication process that is created through media and participation.

As I discussed in Chapter 1, reconciling means identifying the events that have occurred, considering ways to repair the wrongdoings, and forgiving those who have done harm. The main aspect of reconciliation is that it provides mechanisms that encourage former adversaries to engage with one another as humans. It is a process that helps both sides of the conflict to address the past, confront their pain and plan a shared future (Negowetti, 2003).

When we choose to apply conflict transformation in peacebuilding – the approach taken in this study – reconciliation becomes a key component of the process. This is because, as explained previously, the focus of conflict transformation is not simply around the issues that sustain the conflict, but primarily on the relationship between those involved. This idea unifies the two concepts, bringing to the surface a number of overlapping areas. Beside the general focus on human relationships, both processes work towards creating a connection between victims and perpetrators, rather than directly punishing injustices; hence, their journeys to attainment can be lengthy. In addition, the goal of reconciliation of restoring relationships is not intended to be a return to the pre-conflict situation, but to a renewed type of harmony, as in the aim of conflict transformation. Finally, both approaches can achieve

changes at different levels, from personal, to relational, and so on. For these reasons, it is useful to design interventions where principles of reconciliation participate in the process of transforming conflict (Vo, 2008).

In his triangular visualisation of conflict, Miall clarified how the source of a dispute can be found within the contextual factors of a social system, within the interactions that occur in that society and between individuals, and in the cultural discourse that gives meaning to those circumstances[21]. As we have seen, again, in Chapter 1, the outcomes of a peacebuilding programme are related more to modifying the negative dynamics between individuals and groups, than they are to re-shaping the historical memories that define the broader nation. It is, however, important also to find a space to address the long-standing beliefs that alter each party's perception of the causes that have led to the conflict.

Within this context, Maynard (1997) is helpful at illustrating clearly the situation that arises within communities after violence:

> In war-torn societies, healthy social patterns between dissimilar groups are replaced by distrust, apprehension, and outrage, impairing community cohesion, interdependence, and mutual protection. The personal nature of current wars is all the more ruinous in communities that have had close intergroup ties, including mixed marriages, neighbourhoods, business associations [and] church memberships [...]. Incidents of individual reprisals, group fear tactics [and] the threat of return to war [...] exacerbate the tension (p.207).

From the conversations I have had with my research participants and with some of the peace workers based in the Rift Valley of Kenya, it soon becomes clear how the primary legacy of the PEV is a strong loss of trust between the two main ethnic groups who were involved in the fighting. The violence was so unexpected from the Kikuyu side that it strongly damaged their relationship with the neighbouring Kalenjin, since the two tribes had been living side by side for a number of decades. The intensity of the sudden violence also left a deep sense of fear, accompanied by the belief that a stable peace would not be possible again, as the risk of these episodes recurring would always be perceived as a possible threat for the Kikuyu community. One research participant describes his feelings after the violence as follows:

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[21] *Supra*, pp.17-18

> *"It was a very bitter experience because I was hurt. I was not able to sit with people from other tribes like the [Kalenjin] because they are the ones who shot me with an arrow on my chest, burnt my home, and when I'd see them passing by, I'd see everybody as an enemy."*

Another one spoke about the broken trust:

> "*If you're once bitten by a snake every time you see that snake you always alert that the same thing can happen again."*

Maynard (1997) continues by highlighting how individuals' fear for their safety, distrust for other groups and inability to look at the future positively impact their perception towards the importance of rebuilding peace. This is part of the social damage caused by the fighting, which can only be addressed at the grassroots level.

Another crucial feeling that was left by the conflict was the anger – experienced by both sides – deriving from the loss of property and livelihood that many families endured, and from the consequences (for some) of becoming internally displaced. As another interviewee recalls:

> *"At the time, it tortured me psychologically, because I actually remember I lost my books, my clothes, our house, all the properties that we had. Sometimes, it tortured me psychologically".*

Finally, as a result of the difficult investigations carried out by the International Criminal Court (ICC), which were hindered by much criticism and by a lack of cooperation on various sides, many people saw the crimes that were committed against them and their families left unpunished. This strengthened their negative feelings and reinforced an uncooperative attitude and hatred towards the (former) rival group.

Initiating communication between antagonistic parties is therefore an essential course of action for re-building trust and understanding (Neumann and Emmer, 2012), and for creating an environment of collaboration towards social change and sustainable peace. As Bahador (2012) makes clear, in order to establish a culture of peace, a key step is to reconsider and change a society's belief of the rightness of one side while legitimising the other one. Such changes can be traced in the political, social, cultural and educational

dimensions of that society, and they can be addressed by both societal institutions and communication channels.

Mowlana (1997) highlights that '[t]he discontents and revolutions in many parts of the world have been efforts by individuals to communicate their needs for dialogue, and for respect and dignity' (p.240). Hence, access to communication processes is critical to all members of a social network, and the significance of facilitating this in post-conflict settings becomes clear from these pages.

Participatory communication for social change: how the concepts apply to the findings

What differentiates Communication for Development in Peacebuilding from the area of Peace Media is its focus on development approaches, on participatory communication and on the complexity of community dynamics and social change, particularly in a (post-)conflict context. The field of Peace Media, as presented by Singh (2013), is driven by communication theories that concentrate on media productions addressing conflict issues and promoting peace. These, however, do not necessarily focus on changing the complex networks of relationships and power at the grassroots that can hinder/facilitate development, or on taking into account conflict transformation mechanisms.

Manoff (1998) provides a list of the potential roles that the media have in a situation of conflict. While his focus is mostly on journalism, the author recognises the ability of the media to channel communication between parties, educate and build confidence (p.15). These are important roles in the framework of this study, and they have been contextualised in participatory media practice through the work of Rodriguez[22] (2000, pp.152-156), as highlighted in Chapter 2. The author refers to participatory media as:

- alternative sources of information,
- seekers of peace initiatives,
- sites to reclaim the experience of violence,
- architects of peace genres,
- catalysts of forgiveness.

[22] *Supra*, pp.62-63

While reconciling theory and empirical findings, this section will provide a concluding and unifying discussion of the findings on the impact that participatory media can have on conflict transformation and reconciliation after civil violence, both on those who participate in their production and on the audience. In order to do so, I will discuss how the features identified by Rodriguez (ibid.) accompany the themes that have emerged from this study in recognising the ability of participatory media to contribute to

- Empowerment for peace
- Behaviour change
- Healing
- Unity
- Interaction
- Inter-group discussion
- Peaceful co-existence

Alternative sources of information and of empowerment for peace – the participatory video and theatre productions which are examined in this study have helped communities to gain a better understanding of the social reality that was shaped by the conflict. By listening to the experiences of others, particularly those belonging to a different tribe, people were able to re-examine their perceptions of the conflict under a more transparent lens. At the same time, those who were involved in those productions perceived themselves to be the carriers of an important message of peace, contributing to a sense of empowerment and to a more realistic prospect of harmony between opposing groups.

The aims of communities' involvement in the media, such as in the case of the establishment of community media outlets, are to encourage debate, reach a consensus and build solidarity within communities. Not only do these goals help groups to move forward on the path towards sustainable development, but they also contribute to peace and reconciliation. These outlets offer both access to and dissemination of information, as communities learn about issues of concern at the national level, while policy makers find out more about community problems. As Muthoni Wanyeki (2000) asserts, '[c]ommunity media have a dual role – that of a mirror (reflecting the community back at itself) and that of a window (allowing the outside world to look in at its experience)' (p.30). The empowering effect of processes such as those of media production, management and ownership gives communities the confidence to interpret and find solutions to their problems (ibid.).

The levels of planning, decision-making and production identified by Merino Utreras[23] (1988, cited in Krohling Peruzzo, 1996, p.173) and discussed previously in this thesis, clearly re-connect to these practices and allow us to make further reflections on the characteristics of participatory media[24].

Carpentier (2007) distinguishes between four models of participation in media. The first one involves the element of membership of those participating (whether formal or informal), while the second model does not include any membership structure. The third model engages with facilitation of access, interaction and participation, while the fourth one considers only access and interaction as its main components.

For the last two frameworks described, participation is facilitated at the macro-level and we can refer to it as 'semi-participation'. For the other two, however, the micro-level gains more importance, and it is especially in the first model that we can identify participatory processes through which people manage their own participation (ibid.). This is where the participatory video and theatre projects I have presented through this research are located: in a milieu where collaboration was initiated between members of the same community and of different ones, and which has led to a continuing interaction.

Seekers of peace initiatives and behaviour change – this can be regarded as one of the main features of the participatory media in this study. The aim of using these media as channels to encourage people to move on from the injustices that were committed prior to and during the conflict, and consequently to embrace peace, is a predominant motive among projects' participants. At the same time, this aim suggests the adoption of a new behaviour that transcends the contrasts left behind by the conflict and sees individuals engaging with one another more positively.

Sites to reclaim the experience of violence and healing – Through these participatory media channels, most participants presented the impact that the violence had had on them and on their families. This is an important step in the healing process. At the same time, the effect was equally significant for those who received that information, as they were able to recognise that their suffering was shared.

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[23] *Supra*, p.47
[24] A definition of participatory media in this study was provided on pages 47-48

A participatory framework in Communication for Development is what Mefalopulos (2007) refers to as 'dialogic communication'. This concept is linked to the involvement of local stakeholders in the definition and implementation of specific activities aimed at development: 'dialogue is needed in order to build trust, ensure mutual understanding, explore different perspectives and identify the best course of action to successfully address a situation that needs to be changed' (ibid., p.n/a).

The dialogic model encompasses aspects of the diffusion model, such as the internal and external flow of information, as well as the introduction of innovations. However, its key component is the process of creation, sharing and contestation of meanings and values. What is integral to the dialogic model is the context in which communication occurs, where economic, social, political and cultural factors play an important part. It is through these factors that meanings are shaped (ibid.).

A definition of participatory communication is provided by Singhal and Devi (2003), who refer to this concept as

> [...] a dynamic, interactional, and transformative process of dialogue between people, groups and institutions that enables people, both individually and collectively, to realise their full potential and be engaged in their own welfare (p.2).

This designation emphasises even more how the concept of dialogue is central in order to initiate a meaningful and sustainable process of development. As we are frequently reminded in the literature, when we want to engage with participatory communication, the starting point for all activities must be the community. This is where problems are discussed and interaction between different members occurs. Servaes and Malikhao (2005) recognise that, in order for development to occur, people must participate both in the planning and in the production of media content. This is also made clear in the approach promoted by UNESCO, which progresses the Freirian notion of dialogic communication as a tool for liberation from oppression. While Freire considered group dialogue to be an instrument for subjugated people, UNESCO's work emphasises that participation should comprise the public's inclusion in all the stages of communication systems' production (ibid.).

Participatory communication "[...] is based on the rhetoric and practice of liberation, of freedom, of emancipation, of struggle, of the 'preferential option for the poor', and of transformation and change" (Thomas, 1994, p.55). As a result, it lies on the other side of the spectrum from the type of communication that preserves the existing state of affairs and sustains inequality (ibid.).

The video and theatre productions discussed in this thesis are not part of those 'alternative media' models that want to contrast the mainstream view; rather they are spaces where participatory communication has served as a tool for opposing groups to share their experiences of the violent events, initiate dialogue and open up the path to social change in their communities.

Architects of peace genres that lead to unity and interaction – the media productions discussed here have taken on a genre of their own by addressing the very core issues and narratives of the conflict. For the first time, communities were able to see themselves reflected in those video stories and theatre plays, as their members were the sole makers of these outputs. Rather than listening to a news report prepared by others and offering an analysis from a particular angle, the media content presented was able to reach everyone in the same way, by discussing issues that all groups could relate to.

In addition, due to their participatory process of content production, opposing groups were brought together and worked towards a common task. The screenings were also a site where people gathered. These opportunities allowed the re-establishment of an interaction that was lost with the violence.

Catalysts of forgiveness that generate inter-group discussion and peaceful co-existence – these media productions were able to humanise the different experiences of the conflict, removing them from their political and economic dimensions. In so doing, people were able to recognise the same sense of loss and suffering also in members of tribes that were different from their own. This feeling of commonality was the starting point for forgiveness, for dialogue and for laying the foundations towards a vision of living together in peace again.

In a recent BBC Media Action policy brief, Dean (2013) stresses how, in societies that are politically and ethnically fragmented due to control over resources, corruption and inequality, many of the present media and communication trends appear to fuel a separation of identities rather than strengthen the idea of a shared one. In particular, 'the trend towards the media reflecting specific identities in society is not being counterbalanced by media that transcends those identities. There is no obvious emergence of a media sector that enables constructive, unifying debate and dialogue among groups of people who consider themselves different from one another' (p.13). Moreover, the promotion of a shared identity cannot simply be encouraged by the elite but must be driven by the people with the crucial support of the media (ibid.).

Kalathil et al. (2008) openly acknowledge the importance of engaging with a more participatory approach to communication for initiatives that involve post-conflict situations. The authors state that 'when a participatory approach underlies even rapidly executed [...] communication activities, it is more likely to find receptive audiences and a change for a genuine programme's success' (p.54).

Through an ethnographic study of participatory video with multi-racial Fijian women, Harris (2013) concludes that through the employment of participatory media in diverse contexts, 'aspects of community building and social cohesion become the underlying themes in the production of local content, not driven by a top down agenda of reconciliation, but through the portrayal of community action in the everyday experience of the producers and their social networks' (p.273). Thus - as the projects illustrated in this thesis have also demonstrated - even though different ethnicities and traditions exist within the same locality, a collective sense of community belonging emerges when people cooperate in the media production process.

Finally, to re-emphasise what has been discussed, the graphic below (Figure 11) offers a visualisation of the theories of change that were applied to this study and shows how the themes and findings identified through the analysis contribute to their validation:

Themes identified

ToC1: **Individual change theory**
- *Empowerment for peace* — Connected to — T1: Telling their own story / Listening to similar stories from others through a medium creates a sense of worth and strengthens the commitment to peace
- *Behaviour change* — T2: Individuals recognise the importance of a different behavioural model for the establishment of peace
- *Healing* — T3: A process of healing takes place in those who tell or listen to stories about the conflict

"[I] decided to tell [my] story because it is something that [I] went through, it was a real experience, and [I] wanted people from all the communities, including [my] community and the Kikuyus, to listen to [me] and to know that [we] can make something positive out of it".

ToC2: **Healthy relationship & connections theory**
- *Unity* — T1: An increased understanding of different groups' perspectives enhances unity
- *Interaction* — T2: Interaction across the former conflict divide is re-initiated on the basis of common beliefs and clearer perceptions

"[I] decided to tell "From that day, we have done a good job, to me. Because we have gone to [Unknown term of location], the Kalenjin side, we have played with them, we took our choir there, our youth choir, they brought the youth choir to our church. We went there, we played together games".

ToC3: **Social change theory**
- *Inter-group discussion* — T1: Different groups peacefully engage in problem-solving
- *Peaceful co-existence* — T2: Different groups commence being together in harmony, laying the basis for sustainable development after a conflict

"So, that bringing [us] together showed [us] that... it reminded [us] of the way [we] used to stay together. And sitting together, that compromise brings out the... shows [us] that coming together, [we] can live as one family and have a good life".
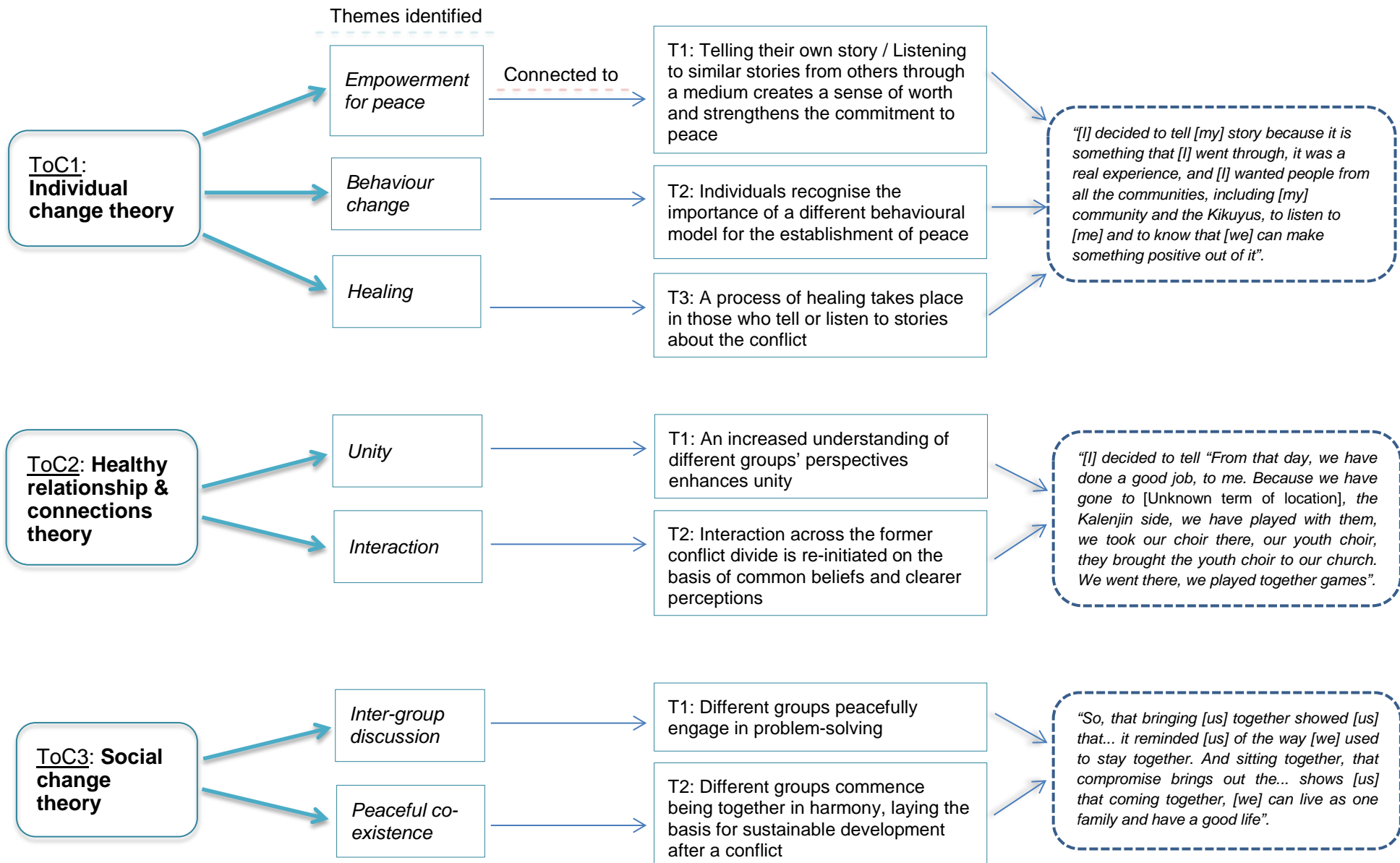
Figure 11. Theories of change and findings

Additional reflections on the participatory media projects

To add emphasis to the importance of the empirical part of this work, I believe it is useful to further reflect on the projects that were examined and what general lessons can be learnt from them. The focus group I conducted with the participatory video coaches, in particular, offered some interesting first-hand insights on the implementation of participatory media projects in post-conflict settings. It also shed light on a number of issues that did not arise from the participants' interviews, and which I feel are relevant to be presented as part of this discussion.

- <u>Formal consent</u>

While the video camera was an unprecedented mobiliser in the community and attracted a large number of people who wanted to learn what was happening, motivating people to tell their story for the camera did not come without difficulties. People appeared to be uncomfortable with the idea of being interviewed and of having someone asking them questions about their lives during the violence, and about their present feelings. They were even more reluctant to have this process filmed. As one of the video coaches recalled:

> <u>Video coach 3</u>
>
> *"[Introducing the camera], I think, was the easy part. When we started, everyone was glued there trying to see. Now, the difficult part was to getting them to sit, you know, the interview. Like, for example, you want some guy to answer some questions; then when you [set up the camera] it's like the guy has a different picture altogether. You can see that now this guy is looking at things differently like 'you mean you were serious, you want to record me?' So now you have to go back and make him feel comfortable, but when you are unleashing that stuff at first everyone is interested".*

The consent forms were an element that added to this complexity. People perceived those forms as something formal that they were not accustomed to, and as a tool that would legally strip their story from them. What was helpful in this process was that the video facilitators who were most in contact with the communities, were also members of some of those communities themselves. As seen previously, the participatory element of involving communities in all aspects of the project is an essential component, and this view is reinforced here.

- Acting

Even for those who chose to participate in the videos simply by acting (rather than telling their story), the process was powerful. People who watched themselves acting on screen had the opportunity to reflect on the significance of the actions they had performed, which related to the time of the conflict. In the words of another focus group participant:

Video coach 2

"Many people who are just interested in acting, [...], when they sit down and just watch what they are doing, they start to say 'oh, was that me?' Somebody just quietly sits down and thinks about the acts he was doing".

An interesting element discussed by the coaches was not only the re-enactment of the violence, but also the creative thinking that had to occur in order to reproduce the conflict on screen. Participants had to come up with visual strategies that stood figuratively for certain actions. To include the burning of houses that had taken place and that had affected many people, for example, participants used poster-sized paper where they drew images of houses. Posters were then burnt in the filming to represent what had happened.

- Initiating the process of sharing stories

While initiating the process of storytelling may be difficult, and some may decide to not take part in it, it is not uncommon to witness a snowballing effect as the first individuals begin to open up. As one of the focus group participants explained:

Video coach 2

"But then when you get the first person to actually speak out [...] I saw the other ones wanting to chip in and were willing to give their stories. So after a short while you get everybody chipping in and by giving them that opportunity, the enthusiasm for participating grows. And then when it comes to shooting, most of them got even more excited at that point because, you see, we were even using the storyboards. They were excited to see what this storyboard is and where I am going to fit into this. So they were eager to give ideas here and there on what to do here, what to do there".

Jackson (2002) reminds us that it is key to recognise the ability that stories have to re-unite people and groups that were formerly divided, and to uphold and celebrate what is held in

common with others. While we tend to think that what has happened to us is something that is part of our own distinctive experience, our perception changes when we relate the events of our lives to those of other individuals, thus subsequently having a role in shaping the wider narrative around them (ibid.).

Within this context, during our discussion another focus group participant described a powerful episode that took place during the implementation of the participatory video project:

> Video coach 1
>
> *"I had listened to his story when we were seated in the story circle and I am telling myself 'this guy has the best story to shoot'. And then actually the group decides he's the person, John[25]. And now I am listening to his story with the headsets on, behind the camera, and the camera is pointed at him and it's even more emotional. [When we are all watching his final video] I remember not looking at his story as it was being screened but looking at him. At some point I even asked someone for the camera to take a shot of him because he was in his own world, he was looking at what he had just said... I think I came and said the silence was just too loud and it shows how powerful seeing yourself, how powerful the tool is in terms of healing process, in terms of actually making people reflect and see. I actually think and felt that people actually saw John in a different light after that time".*

While I did not have the opportunity to hold a focus group discussion with the facilitators of the participatory theatre project, I believe that some of the points that have been highlighted here can be reviewed in the light of that activity.

The fact that the participatory theatre project participants seemed eager and very confident in their acting (as expressed by all those interviewed) might be related to the absence of video cameras and consent forms, which may have caused delays and even a refusal to participate by some. Also, while people did not have the opportunity to watch their performance back on screen, they were able to get immediate feedback from the audience by watching their reactions, unlike those who acted in the videos. This was valuable as it provided meaning to the actions that actors performed on stage. Finally, the element of fiction that characterises theatre made people feel at ease in participating, since actors were not required to perform their own story, but simply to reproduce a situation or a problem that occurred within the communities as a result of the violence. If someone decided to reproduce events from their own lives, that was not necessarily known to the public.

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[25] The name of the participant has been changed to ensure confidentiality.

Some recommendations and lessons learnt

Given the nature of the activities and the sensitivity that is always required when working with conflict-affected communities, a number of issues should be considered. The concepts discussed here offer some useful indications for a more effective design of C4D projects within this sphere. The learning experience that I illustrate at the end is relevant to an attentive implementation of these projects.

As a starting point, an issue that deserves mentioning relates to the ***storytelling*** that comes with the media production process in these participatory projects. In the literature on trauma and healing, it was noted that initiatives which employ a more community-focused approach to restoring peace after conflict - rather than one focusing on individuals - can allow for more effective healing and greater sustainability (Boyden, 2001). At the same time, however, even when the principal aim of a process is to benefit communities, it is crucial to address the needs and welfare of individual participants. Hence, individuals who are encouraged to participate should be only those who would find help in telling their story, without incurring any further psychological harm (Brendel, 2006).

In the context of projects that apply the participatory design illustrated in this study, therefore, it is important to build specific activities and approaches that take into account the cultural background of the communities that are engaged in a storytelling process for the medium. Similarly, it is sensible to ensure that only those who are genuinely willing to share their story of the violence have a place on stage or in front of the camera. This can prove to be a challenging task at times, as organisational power structures or priorities may be the drivers.

It is also important to pay attention to the way these media stories can at times destabilise, rather than empower, those who are involved in the telling as well as in the wider group discussion. In a paper on the Lebanese experience of using participatory theatre for conflict transformation, Reich (2012) reminds us that in a situation of violence, stories are vital to provide order and meaning to those who have undergone brutality, and they often serve as a survival strategy. The questioning of such stories or their close co-existence, as in the case of a participatory theatre performance (and I believe also in video), carries the danger of doing more harm than good. As the author emphasises, what is crucial are both participants' belief that the process will work, and the type of relationships that are present within the group. The participatory process that is created through these projects should be helpful in assisting

communities to move away from the dominant narratives of the conflict system and to contribute in generating new positive meanings (ibid.).

A further consideration must be made in reference to the element of ***power***. The Freirian dialogical approach from where the concept of participatory communication stems, appears to take for granted that individuals and groups will sidestep the power structures existing in their communities to initiate a dialogue and reach a consensus. This, however, may not take place in the face of great power imbalances; the growth in the number of civil conflicts in the past decade confirms this point (Fernández Viso, 2014). As Boyden (2001), once again, has highlighted, peacebuilding interventions addressing communities are often carried out with a lack of information and research on the pre-conflict stage of a society, leading to a design that is grounded in a universal rather than context-specific approach. In order to reach a truly participatory communication exchange, access to communicative resources should be given to those who have been oppressed and deprived of their rights, and power should be redistributed. Within this scenario, it follows that those who oppressed others and benefited from their lack of rights, will be disempowered, giving rise to resistance and further conflict (Fernández Viso, 2014).

Finally, ***ethics*** is a crucial factor for practitioners to reflect upon when engaging with participatory media activities in post-conflict contexts. It is important to acknowledge that those participating in these projects may be victims of persecution or discrimination by another group or even by government. In relation, particularly, to the use of media such as video, anything that leads to participants' identification must be regarded as a potential danger to their safety. Thus, prior to initiating these activities, an accurate risk assessment must be carried out, where the dangers arising both from the workshops and from the use of the visual medium are identified (Daw, 2011).

While similar considerations apply to participatory media in general, the extra element that comes into play in participatory video projects is related to the ethics of editing. Lunch and Lunch (2006) remind us that the editing process performed by facilitators or donors can easily wipe away the power of a strong participatory video process, with the final message becoming something that is completely unintended by the video-maker. An ongoing cycle that involves screening back and discussing in group the footage taken is needed to carry out a participatory decision-making exercise as to what should be included and excluded from the final product. Drawing a paper storyboard, as in the case of the project discussed in this study, is a useful method to get more people involved and reach a consensus on the type of

editing required, even without the availability of a computer. Finally, it is crucial to receive approval of the final version of the video from the community that worked on it.

The widespread use and impact of social media is another issue that must be carefully considered when conducting participatory media projects in conflict and post-conflict contexts today. If donors (or facilitators) have an interest in making videos or photographs from the projects available online, participants must be consulted and made aware of all the potential repercussions this may involve, based on the context in which the participatory media activities have taken place.

In the case of the participatory video project analysed in this research, all participants gave formal consent for their video story to feature on Mercy Corps LEAP Sport Programme Youtube channel. However, when I travelled to Eldoret to conduct my interviews at the end of 2012, more than two years had passed from the project implementation. Due to this time gap, as well as to the lack of familiarity with the use of the internet that characterises those areas, some of the youths failed to recall their agreement to allow access to their videos online.

With the new presidential elections scheduled for March 2013, some of the young people I interviewed showed signs of concern in relation to their online presence. One of the participants, in particular, had become a candidate for the upcoming local government balloting and feared that his recorded words might jeopardise his political career. Another alarming issue for those who took part in the videos was the re-enactment of the violence that was represented on screen. Actors felt that, in that time of strong political tension, those images might be confused with authentic violence and this could have legal implications for them.

This demonstrates very powerfully the complexity of post-conflict settings, where the fear for one's own safety, the mistrust and the constant sense of alert towards potential dangers are part of people's daily existence. In order to address the concerns that I felt my presence had elicited, with the permission of and support from Mercy Corps I organised a screening of all the films that were made in 2010 and invited all participants to come and watch them, alongside their friends, families, and other community members. The primary aim of this screening was for the storytellers to bring back to mind the significance of the stories they had shared in the videos and to reassure them in regard to their safety, as none of their words

or actions in the films had the potential to be used against them. It was also useful in seeking verbal re-consent regarding the accessibility of those films online.

What I did not taken into account was the importance that this event and its format would have at that particular time. The screening was held in a church in one of the peri-urban areas of Eldoret, where poverty and dilapidation prevail. It was also one of the localities that had been most affected by the PEV, and where many of the LEAP Sport participants came from. This function brought

Image 4. The church that hosted the PV screening

together a group of individuals from different tribes, as well as the area chief and other leaders, who had either never seen those participatory videos or had watched them more than two years earlier.

With new elections looming over the country, memories of the conflict resurfaced in people's minds and I had the opportunity to gain first-hand experience of the impact that those video stories had, both on the storytellers and on the rest of the audience. While the atmosphere during the projection was filled with sadness, the debate that followed was centred on peace and on the willingness to not relapse into that violent time.

Image 5. The audience of
the PV screening

Image 6. One of the audience members presents her thoughts after the screening

Image 7. The audience in the church

Image 8. A frame from one of the participatory video stories

Image 9. The telling of the violence in one of the videos

Image 10. One of the storytellers watches himself back on screen

Image 11. One of the audience members talks about the importance of peace in the upcoming Kenyan presidential elections following the screening

Image 12. A frame from the videos' screening of the re-enactment of the violence which occurred during the conflict

This experience shows that these types of media resources can be used by communities years after violent events as a reminder and to assist them to take a path of peace in a newly emerging political context.

The path to a new model

In this section of the chapter I introduce a model that effectively shows how C4D, and in particular communication for social change programmes, can encompass activities that address conflict transformation. In particular, the model recognises how changes at the individual, relational and social level are brought about within this process. From the ideas presented below, it becomes clear how the participatory media projects that have been presented and analysed in this thesis can be viewed in the light of that framework.

Figueroa et al. (2002) developed an Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change (IMCFSC) to provide a framework for their health communication work. While the authors recognise that development and social change in a community can be brought about through different courses, their model is built on a process of 'community dialogue and collective action' (p.5). This is an iterative course of action (as shown in Figure 12) where a catalyst opens up a dialogue in the community, which progressively leads to collective action and social change (Figueroa et al., 2002).

Figure 12. Simplified visual representation of Figueroa et al.'s (2002) IMCFSC

Figueroa et al. (2002) explain that the catalyst is an innovative element in development communication literature, where dialogue has always been assumed to initiate spontaneously, despite evidence showing the need for an external agent. In a list of potential catalysts that the authors offer, the media have been recognised as playing an important role.

Since conflict can be regarded as a dispute over meaning, the social process involved in constructing meaning through dialogue becomes crucial to peacebuilding efforts. When dispute arises between communities, the conflict enters the sphere of each community's cultural knowledge, thus having to be confronted with the understandings of self and other, the interpretation of history, the diverging expectations for the future and the different approaches to addressing conflict (Senehi, 2002). The projects discussed in this thesis demonstrate the strength that participatory media can have when employed as catalysts to trigger the interaction that sows the seeds for social change at the community level after a conflict.

Drawing from these ideas, Figueroa et al.'s (2002, p.7) IMCFSC has been adapted in order to offer a new frame that shows how a participatory communication design can lead to social change while addressing conflict through dialogue. This new framework takes the name of *CSC in Conflict Transformation* Model:
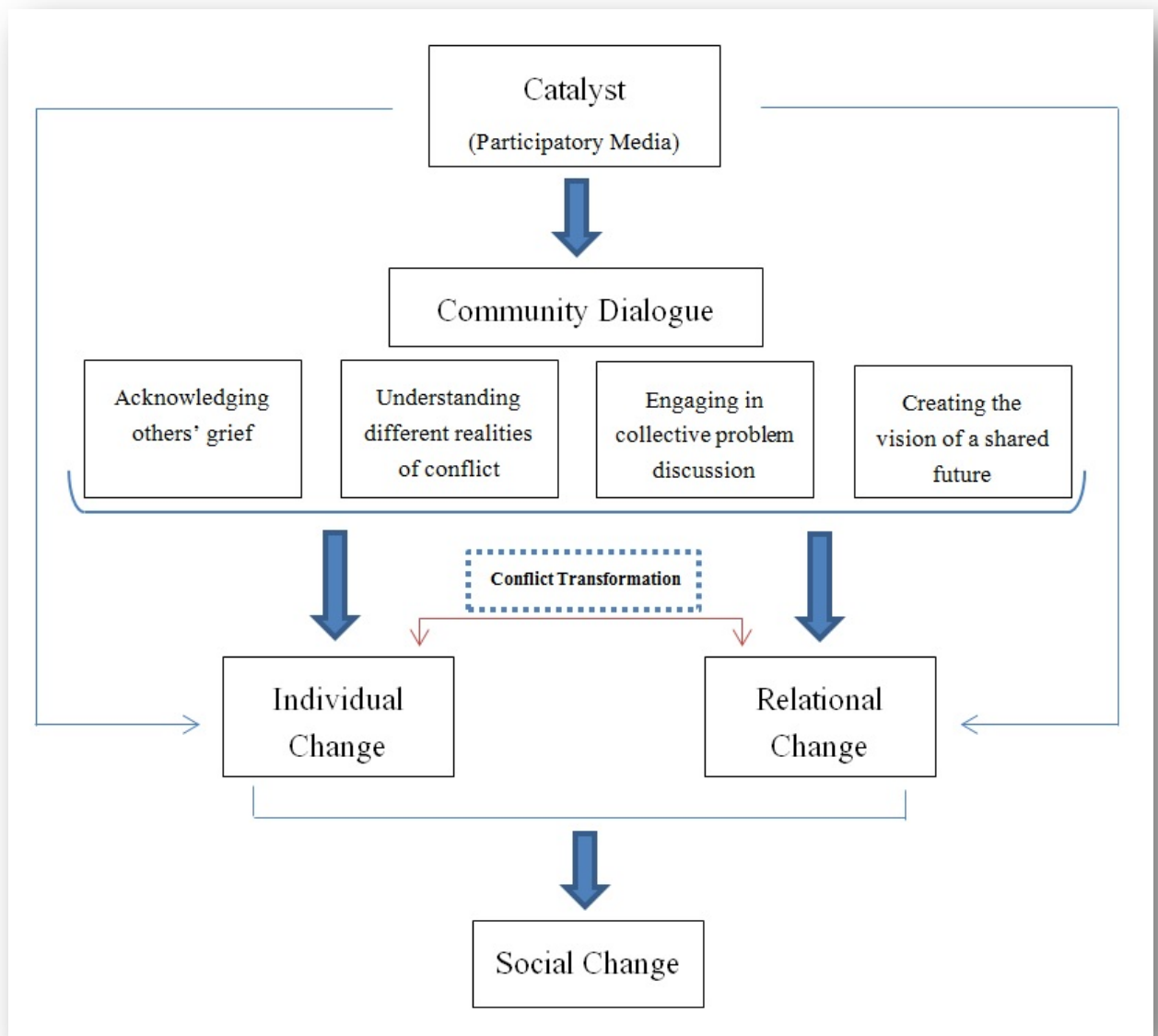
This model (shown in Figure 13) provides a useful paradigm for the functioning of communication for social change in post-violence contexts, exemplifying how the introduction of catalysts such as participatory media can initiate processes of conflict transformation that lead to a wider social change. The analysis presented here provides this model with a strong empirical component, as the research findings highlight how the projects' activities impacted participants in the different dimensions of change (individual and relational), and ultimately made possible the recognition of elements of social change in the communities. This took place as a result of the communication process that was activated by the media productions and their participatory approach.

While the model presented above is a basic visualisation of the mechanism that is set in motion by use of a catalyst, and one that refers only to the employment of participatory

media in conflict transformation, it represents an important starting point to build on through further C4D in Peacebuilding research. Expanding some of those elements and including the large number of dynamics that can take place in post-conflict scenarios is an important step in the development of this research area, a step which can lead to a more sophisticated design for the application of communication for development in peacebuilding programming[26].

In addition to that, due to the current security landscape, more recent peacebuilding strategies have begun to give priority to re-establishing order over re-introducing certain social values; this places the emphasis on creating a solid state structure as a means to define stability within a society (Hutton, 2014). C4D can play an important role in shifting the focus back on civil society and bringing to light the networks of relationships, communication channels and information needs that must be taken into account in order to successfully rebuild peace.

From theory to practice

While peacebuilding and international development have long functioned as two distinct practices, both scholars and practitioners have begun to acknowledge the strong correlation existing between these fields, and the need to foster collaboration. This is especially required since the majority of development programming is now being implemented in conflict-affected areas (Wisler, 2013). The *exclusivist* approach that saw peacebuilding as a political effort confined to a certain stage of the conflict is giving way to an *inclusivist* line, which advocates the role of development as the underlying philosophy of all peacebuilding interventions (Smoljan, 2003). If this is the correct line of action, then it follows that Communication for Development is also about communicating for peace and conflict transformation (Fernández Viso, 2014).

In 2010, the NGO Search for Common Ground published an important report on *Communication for Peacebuilding*. While still identifying them as two separate areas of practice, this publication began to highlight the similarities and connections between

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[26] The reflections arising from this PhD thesis and from the development of the CSC in Conflict Transformation model led me to undertake a further research project utilising participatory photography. The aim was to assess the impact of this medium in conflict-affected communities, when photographs are used to create understanding and dialogue between former enemies. A full illustration of this activity can be found in Appendix III.

Communication for Development and Communication for Peacebuilding by discussing the multiple functions and pathways that communication can provide in rebuilding peace.

Hoffman (2013) made an attempt to conceptualise the potential that communication has to address peace. This author argues, however, that we should move away from the idea of communication for development and set out towards what she terms 'communication for peace (C4P)'.

In 2013 (two years after I started this PhD project) the United Nations Children's fund (UNICEF) launched its *Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme (PBEA)* that is entirely based on the use of C4D in Peacebuilding. In the mapping report that was drafted as the first activity of the programme, Spadacini (2013) provides a useful definition for this area of work:

> Communication for Development (C4D) in peacebuilding can be defined as a social process that fosters dialogue and meaningful conversations to reduce and prevent the risk of conflict or relapse into it. By using a range of participatory tools and methods, C4D in peacebuilding creates safe spaces for discussing both the causes and consequences of conflict, as well as 'normal and everyday life'. This process generates transformation at all levels by promoting listening, debating, building trust, learning to appreciate differences, sharing knowledge, developing skills, formulating and implementing policies, and learning in order to lay the foundations of a sustainable and durable peace (p.4)

This definition allows us to grasp the multi-faceted role that C4D can have in rebuilding peace. It also clarifies how its application can set in motion a number of different processes that are connected to peace, both at the community and at the national level.

In an AusAID systematic review of publications documenting projects where the media and communication were used to achieve peace, Skuse et al. (2013) have provided more details on the key roles that C4D plays in post-conflict contexts, where 'efforts to sustain and enhance peace, reconciliation, reconstruction and trust are critical' (p.8). These roles, which are clarified in the table that follows, extend the use of communication to one that goes beyond the mere involvement of local media, and encompasses a wider range of channels:

C4D in Post-Conflict Scenarios		
Critical warning signs	-	Context is characterised by a transitional status often associated with a move towards democracy
	-	Relaxing of media censorship
	-	Relaxing of media and telecommunications regulation
	-	Renewal and expanding of media and communication infrastructure
	-	NGOs and CSOs expanding
Communication and information needs	-	Development of media and communications capacity
	-	Maintenance of peace-building dialogue between formerly opposed groups through media
	-	Increase transparency between governments and the public, with a increased focus on information sharing to enhance accountability
	-	Maintained focus on human rights observance and the addressing of previous human rights abuses
	-	Focus on civic education, the roles and responsibilities of governments and citizens (i.e. during elections)
Scope of C4D interventions	-	Increased emphasis on capacity strengthening of media and communications personnel, especially in areas associated with news reporting and peace-building
	-	Support for revision of media and communications policy and regulation to enhance plurality and lower cost to access
	-	Development of local C4D capacity and specialization within national/local NGOs and CSOs

Figure 14. C4D in post-conflict scenarios (in Skuse et al., 2013, p.75)

From the list presented in this table, it becomes clear how this PhD study is useful in providing evidence towards the role of C4D in assisting people to meet their 'communication and information needs', which is one of the core features introduced in Figure 14. More specifically, it is able to demonstrate not only the important function of creating a dialogue between opposing groups through media, but also how developing media and communications capacity can be a part of it, even at the level of the community (as suggested in the table).

Another important aspect of this research that is strongly linked to the practice is the introduction of an *impact evaluation*. Evaluating peacebuilding programmes is always challenging, as the results are often intangible. At the same time, the long-term effects of C4D are largely dependent on contextual and structural elements that cannot all be addressed when designing an intervention. The social, political, economic and cultural environments play a key role in influencing the outcomes; hence measuring impact represents a complex task that requires the application of different methods (Lennie and Tacchi 2013).

In a discussion on testing theories of change in peacebuilding interventions, a recent World Bank research brief from Gaarder and Annan (2013) stresses the importance of using *impact evaluation* to be able to identify significant effects. The authors recognise the usefulness of this approach in testing how the actual changes effectively reflect our theories of change.

While my study evaluates the impact of two small participatory media projects for peacebuilding, which did not include the wide range of factors, dynamics and methods that are normally part of larger programme evaluations, it has suggested a useful basic framework for the use of 'theory of change' in C4D in Peacebuilding work. Drawing from Shapiro's (2006) theories of change to achieve social change in conflict transformation[27], this research has presented a ToC analysis of the qualitative data I collected during my fieldwork in the Rift Valley of Kenya. The adoption of two of Arsenault et al.'s (2011, p.20) theories of change in media interventions[28], and the introduction of a new theory based on social change, have provided a relevant framework of analysis that connects the use of C4D to reconciliation and conflict transformation outcomes. Hence, from the analysis I have conducted of the interviews held with beneficiaries of a participatory video and a participatory theatre projects, this research offers a useful demonstration of the development and application of theories of change for C4D in Peacebuilding.

In order to measure the impact of C4D in peacebuilding initiatives, UNICEF puts forward the concepts of 'theories of change and the socio-ecological model'. Spadacini (2013) explains that in C4D, a theory of change clarifies the underlying assumption around the way a specific communication process achieves the desired impact. At the same time, these initiatives involve multiple-level actions that begin with the individual and expand into the socio-ecological model. This model sees the pursuit of peace and stability in a more holistic fashion, rebuilding the social fabric within communities, while at the same time formalising peace accords, redistributing resources and providing basic social services at the national level.

Thus, for larger C4D in Peacebuilding programme evaluations, an effective ToC framework will include the four dimensions of conflict identified by Lederach et al. (2007) and introduced previously in this thesis[29]. These address change both at the personal and relational level, as in the example of this study, but also consider the structural and cultural

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[27] *Supra*, pp.20-21
[28] *Supra*, p.119
[29] *Supra*, p.118

dimensions of change. The dimension of social change, which should be built into this framework, will encompass a series of changes that cut across all the other spheres.

Concluding remarks

To summarise the key points that have been discussed in this chapter, an overview of the present peacebuilding context has reiterated the emphasis that this field places on providing humanitarian support, rebuilding infrastructure and re-establishing the functioning of institutions that operate at the national level. While these are all essential components of the journey towards a country's stable peace, there is a need to strengthen interventions that begin from the grassroots. Creating an understanding, opening a dialogue and re-establishing relationships between groups who fought during the conflict is the starting point to achieving sustainable development after civil violence.

By reviewing the projects analysed here in the light of the roles that participatory media can play in conflict environments, as identified by Rodriguez (2000), the subsequent section has positioned the overall findings within the framework of key concepts belonging to the participatory communication theory. Additional reflections arising from the focus group discussion held with the video coaches who facilitated one of the projects have offered further observations on the nature of and the dynamics emerging from these activities.

The research findings, again, have then been used to generate and introduce a new model that clearly positions the role of participatory media in initiating conflict transformation processes that can lead to social change within communities. This model lays the basis for further investigations into the impact that communication for development and social change can have when applied to peacebuilding interventions.

To connect both the theory and my research outcomes to the broader practice of C4D in post-conflict contexts, this discussion extended its focus to the work that organisations have begun to undertake in this area during the time I have been engaged in this academic project. This has shown the emergence of Communication for Development in Peacebuilding as a definite field, and its understanding and relevance in international development work.

In the final pages of this thesis, conclusions will be drawn on the overall arguments, achievements and future scope of the work presented here.

Conclusions

This thesis has shown the significant connection between communication for development and peacebuilding. Through a process of literature review of both C4D and conflict transformation and reconciliation theories, I have highlighted the intersection between these bodies of literature which is useful in understanding the process that takes place when opposing groups engage in participatory media activities in the aftermath of conflict. The experience with video and theatre of two communities in Kenya has been illustrated and analysed to demonstrate the impact that these projects had in addressing individual, relational and social change, to ultimately transform conflict and reconcile former enemies. In so doing, this study advances knowledge towards the important role that communication for development plays in informing the design of peacebuilding interventions.

Conflict transformation and reconciliation are two vital mechanisms that contribute to the achievement of peace at the community level, allowing for a bottom up, widening process. At the same time, more effective instruments are needed that perform the difficult task of re-connecting broken communities and initiating those mechanisms. Communication for development is an important practice within this area. Since communication is at the centre of human interaction, learning how to shape its use in the light of a development approach that strives for peace enables us to tap into its potential for transforming community conflicts.

Participatory communication, in particular, provides a method which facilitates that human connection, as people are encouraged to have a say on matters that affect them. The dialogic aspect of this type of communication, as well as its aptness to group problem-solving, allow for a more inclusive approach to the discussion of issues that are important to the community. Participation is also crucial in setting in motion those mechanisms that change internal power dynamics and open the path towards positive social change.

Applying these concepts to the production of media content leads to the creation of participatory media outputs whose planning, management and content-making are entirely driven by communities, who are given the tools to tell their stories. In post-conflict scenarios, as we have seen, stories become powerful instruments to change the course of a dispute and the negative stereotypes that are embedded in the perception of the events that have occurred.

The participatory video and theatre projects analysed in this study have provided empirical evidence that supports the primary aim of this thesis. The evaluation of these initiatives has been beneficial in ascertaining the impact that communication for development interventions in contexts of peacebuilding can have in conflict transformation and reconciliation.

The Background Theories and Concepts have introduced the key ideas and definitions that are related to the literature of reconciliation and conflict transformation. This theory has then been applied to the process of storytelling, which was presented within the framework of community participation in reconciliation mechanisms. A number of experiences from different post-conflict countries were helpful in creating an understanding on the use of stories in peacebuilding, as well as in highlighting the importance of including restorative judicial processes that do not merely deal with punishment but place more emphasis on healing relationships. This is particularly crucial in African cultures.

The subsequent Literature Review provided an historical overview of the rise of Communication for Development as a discipline. This took on a new form through the recent concept of participation in development, which saw a shift in the field towards a more inclusive approach. This renewed practice gives value to local knowledge and sees as one of the main tasks of communication that of ensuring that those who are directly affected by development issues have their voices heard. Communication for Social Change, in particular, emphasises the idea of dialogue as an instrument to achieve a mutual understanding between parties and to initiate processes of transformation and empowerment within communities.

This is followed by an illustration of the concept of participatory media, with particular focus on video and theatre as tools to enable people not simply to tell but also to share their stories with different and often opposing groups. In contexts that have been affected by violence, having channels that open up communication between (former) enemy groups can be the key towards the achievement of a sustainable peace. This process is clearly illustrated in this section, where the views are presented of various scholars who advocate the critical role that the media play in the aftermath of a conflict.

In The Origins of Kenya's 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence, I illustrate the main causes that have led to the outbreak of conflict in the country, including the historical context. Tribalism, regarded here as the sentiment of tribal belonging that heightens ethnic differentiation (Mitchell, 1970), played a major role in the violent events that unfolded in Kenya during the

PEV, where members of the Kikuyu tribe were persecuted. At the same time, the dynamics revolving around the concept of identity and strongly connected to the issue of land triggered extreme levels of violence in the Rift Valley, where the empirical part of this research took place.

The two projects investigated in this research are also presented in this section. Both the participatory video project implemented by Mercy Corps in the Uasin Gishu district of the province, and the participatory theatre activities carried out by APT in the Sotik/Borabu area are described and their objectives contextualised in the post-conflict environment that was formed in the aftermath of the violence.

The Methodology clarifies the research question applied to this study. At the same time, it recognises the distinctive aims that the question seeks to address. These can be summarised as follows:

Main question
Do participatory media productions created by communities that have been affected by civil violence have any effect on processes of conflict transformation and reconciliation between former enemy groups – subsequently leading up to processes of social change? And if so, how do such productions contribute to sustainable peace?
Aims
To what extent are participatory media productions helpful in creating an understanding between former enemy groups?
What impact do these productions have on those who have taken direct part in their creation, in relation to conflict transformation and/or reconciliation?
What impact do these productions have on those who watch them?
As a result of the three variables above, what impact do these productions have on social change within the wider context they have been created and/or used?
How is communication for development, through the use of participatory media productions, helpful in creating an enabling environment for sustainable peace and development after a conflict?

The qualitative methods of semi-structured and in-depth interviewing, focus groups and photo elicitation have then been illustrated and discussed in relation to the research activities I carried out in the Rift Valley province of Kenya over the course of three months, at the end

of 2012. Through the use of this methodology of data gathering, I collected 30 interviews and one focus group with those who had been involved in the participatory video and participatory theatre projects that form the basis of this investigation. Details of this fieldwork have been offered, including the obstacles encountered, the constraints and limitations, and some personal reflections on my research experience.

The Analysis and Findings of the data that were collected show, firstly, how I have analysed the interviews that were conducted with people who had had a direct involvement in the participatory media productions. These included 10 participants from the participatory video project and 10 from the participatory theatre project. Next, the analysis of the 10 interviews that were held with those who were part of the audience for those productions was carried out.

A Theory of Change framework was built to support the overall data analysis. Each component of the framework addresses a specific type of change that should be targeted in conflict transformation interventions: individual, relational and social change. The ToCs applied to this structure have helped to describe how those changes would occur, in relation to the use of participatory media activities. A simplified version of the Theory of Change table for this study is presented below:

ToC1: Individual change theory
If individuals are given the opportunity to share their experience and express their feelings about the conflict in a media production, **then** they will discover their ability to be initiators of peace among their and other communities.
ToC2: Healthy relationship and connection theory
If people are given the means to create their own media production, **then** they will be able to establish a dialogue between former enemy groups and enhance a shared understanding of the conflict.
ToC3: Social change theory
If, thanks to participatory media productions, people can gain an understanding of each other's situation, **then** re-formed relations within communities' social networks will contribute to the creation of mechanisms leading to sustainable change and development.

A coding process of the answers from the semi-structured interviews has generated a number of themes that were analysed against the ToC framework described above. A *Narratives of Change* enquiry was conducted on the in-depth interviews, leading to the identification of a

set of themes (or 'prototypical characters') that arose from the various macrostructures embedded in the speakers' narrations. The themes emerging from the ACTUAL PROJECT IMPACT macrostructure, in particular, have been recognised to be the same as those arising from the previous interview group of actors and storytellers. These outcomes have been, in turn, analysed in the light of the ToC table.

The overall findings from the study can be summarised as follows:

Main answer to the research question

Participatory media productions created by communities that have been affected by civil violence have the ability to set in motion conflict transformation and reconciliation mechanisms between former enemy groups. This, in turn, appears to initiate processes of social change that will ultimately contribute to the achievement of sustainable peace.

Aims

This study has demonstrated that participatory media productions are helpful in creating an understanding between former enemy groups, as people learn about each other's stories.

These productions have an impact (in relation to conflict transformation and/or reconciliation) on those who have taken direct part in their creation, as both storytellers and actors have felt empowered by their experience of spreading their message of peace through a medium. At the same time, this has reinforced their commitment to let go of their negative feelings and adopt positive behaviour towards the other group.

Those who watch these productions begin to see the possibility of living together in peace again as achievable. Their sense of unity with the other tribes is strengthened and they are encouraged to engage in more positive behaviour towards former enemies.

The productions have effectively opened up a channel for dialogue between groups who were divided by the violence. In so doing, both direct participants and audience members have begun to engage in a re-definition of the roles of victims and perpetrators and in a more positive meaning-making process that can progressively lead to wider social change.

These findings have shown the potential that Communication for Development has in post-violence settings, where its application can be framed within new designs of participatory communication for social change interventions aimed at transforming conflict and building peace.

To bring together and clarify the notions arising from this work, the final Discussion has reflected on the concepts around participatory communication for social change and its dialogic nature, and has demonstrated how the findings from this investigation lie within those concepts. It has subsequently introduced the *CFSC in Conflict Transformation* Model,

providing a useful framework for visualising the mechanism that is set in motion through the introduction of participatory media in communities divided by violence.

A number of issues that required further considerations have also been presented in this chapter. These include some of the obstacles encountered during the projects' implementation, and reflections on the nature of the projects' activities themselves: the implications of sharing stories, the power structures embedded within communities, and the importance of incorporating ethical questions every step of the way. These are important points that can serve as useful lessons for future activities designed around community participation in media, predominantly in post-conflict environments.

Finally, to reconnect the theory to the practice, the emerging area of Communication for Development in Peacebuilding has been discussed, particularly in the light of recent work released by organisations that have acknowledged its fundamental role. From the ideas of the World Bank by Kalathil et al. (2008) and Search for Common Grounds (2010), this field has seen further developments since I embarked on my PhD project. Publications such as those from Hoffman (2013) and UNICEF by Spadacini (2013) have really shifted the focus from the role of the media in conflict interventions, to that of communication in peacebuilding. This is a profound change in the way we regard the significance of communication and its place not only as a tool, but also as a process in the context of conflict. This has led to further considerations linked to the multiple forms and applications that C4D can have in peacebuilding interventions, as well as to some indications on a more effective approach to its evaluation.

Yet, the concepts presented by the authors mentioned above still live primarily in the sphere of grey literature and continue to lack a thoroughly researched and empirically assessed framework. In the context of peacebuilding work, this study is the first to bring together a solid theoretical framework based on Communication for Development with a significant empirical component that has provided evidence to its claims. Projects like the ones presented in this thesis are significant activities in the context of a population that has experienced civil violence and whose communities are now divided; thus, their lessons and findings should not remain accessible only to their implementing organisations or close stakeholders. On the contrary, they should be effectively researched, analysed and shared for an enhanced development practice. As Gumucio Dagron (2011) asserts, 'the image of alternative media and participatory communication experiences as small, isolated, and pure forms of community communication does not correspond to reality any longer' (p.198).

Thanks to the evolving media technology, these projects are now able to expand their scope to larger sections of a country's population and beyond. The use of video cameras, photo cameras, mobile phones and online platforms stretches the notion of participatory media productions and expands the concept of community. In addition, the outputs arising from these projects can become useful again even years after their creation, as my first-hand experience with the participatory video screening during my fieldwork in Eldoret has shown.

Besides the use of participatory media for reconciliation and conflict transformation which has been extensively analysed in this PhD thesis, there are a number of key areas in which the academic fields and practices of C4D and peacebuilding should work side by side. In particular, I believe that further research on Communication for Development in Peacebuilding should include primarily the following domains:

- *Democratisation and governance*

An effective use of communication to set in motion processes of democratisation in countries that were affected by civil conflict is pivotal to the re-establishment of peace. Strong and transparent communication channels must be opened between the new government, civil society, and the international actors that might be operating in the country as a result of peacebuilding interventions. Democracy can be achieved when the population has access to clear and up-to-date information about the steps that are being taken to rebuild the nation, and when an appropriate civil society consultation mechanism is in place. Good governance is ensured when all groups within society, including minorities, have the opportunity to be heard and their voice are fed back into the policy development at the national level.

- *Technology (ICT) and new media*

The adoption of technology for peacebuilding is an emerging and rapidly growing field. The use of video, mobile phones, computers and other types of technologies to address both conflict and post-conflict situations is expanding through the work of NGOs, activists, but also independent tech companies[30]. To ensure that this field focuses on a praxis that – rather than being specialised – it remains accessible, inclusive and takes into account the needs of different groups of the population, it is important that its progress takes place within the sphere of Communication for Development. While media studies can offer interesting insights on the ways people approach and interact with the different technologies, and

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[30] See, for example, Ushahidi - http://www.ushahidi.com

especially on how these technologies shape people's realities, a C4D framework incorporates the fundamental goal of community development.

- *Social media*

This area is partly connected to the one previously discussed. With the availability of computers and internet connection expanding to more and more parts of the world, social media are becoming crucial instruments both in times of conflict and once the overt dispute comes to an end. Thanks to their wide reach, these platforms can assist the reconstruction phase in a number of ways. By connecting the different institutions, organisations and other actors involved in the peacebuilding effort, a resultant transparent picture of the operations can improve its overall progress. Citizens have access to the data, and at the same time communities' input can be effectively sought and shared. This would help to set up structures that are more sustainable and can prevent a relapse into conflict.

- *Media development / Journalism*

In the aftermath of civil violence, the media play a major role in re-establishing sustainable peace. While many initiatives are already in place in the area of journalists' capacity building in conflict reporting, particularly from a media & journalism studies perspective, C4D can be helpful in the development of media interventions that are strategically designed to address the development issues that affect post-conflict societies. By applying a participatory development lens to the use of the media in peacebuilding, media projects and journalists training can be shaped around the needs of communities and local organisations. Community media are also central within this framework.

- *Women and violence*

Women are strongly affected by conflict. In addition to the physical impact that they endure, primarily as a result of sexual violence, they often remain excluded from the peace talks that take place at the cessation of fighting. New C4D approaches should be developed, mainly with the following aims: 1) provide women with a safe space to talk about their experiences of the violence and engage them in communication and media activities that enable them to move from their situation of victims to that of empowered individuals; 2) identify channels and set up communication platforms through which women can have their say in the reconstruction process. This will assist the work of peacebuilding programmes that have a lesser focus on grassroots communication but effectively deal with high level negotiation

processes and policy development, as women's voices generated from C4D activities can be put forward and incorporated in those processes.

- *Evaluation methods*

For most peacebuilding work (such as we have seen in this thesis) evaluation is a complex task to carry out. Evaluating C4D activities – the effects of which might not be immediately visible - becomes even harder in contexts that are volatile such as those that form after a conflict. More research is needed to develop more flexible methodologies that are helpful in identifying change progressively. Furthermore, while quantifiable data are crucial, when a relative notion such as that of peace is the subject of investigation, a qualitative approach can offer rich details of a programme's impact. Building more resource- and time-effective methods to collect and analyse large datasets of qualitative information (such as, for example, the Most Significant Change method) based on people's direct or indirect experience with media or other types of communication channels can be a step forward in the evaluation of activities in these contexts. As also advanced in the previous chapter, developing an accurate Theory of Change framework that takes into account the different cultural realities, individual perceptions, communication norms and social networks is another important exercise that requires further exploration.

In conclusion, recognising the role of Communication for Development as a crucial instrument for peace after conflict is essential for the establishment of a stable and positive co-existence between groups that were engaged in violence. The present nature of conflict in the developing world, which sees civilians as main actors in the fighting, calls for a redefinition of the peacebuilding process from the bottom up. Communities become primary agents in this course of action, and their perspectives and stories play a fundamental role. Communication interventions that help articulate those voices, initiate a dialogue for reconciliation with opposing groups, and create a connection between the local and national peace effort, are critical in the attainment of a social change that leads to sustainable development in the aftermath of violence.

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APPENDIX I

Extracts of coded storytellers' and actors' interviews linked to each theory of change

<table>
<tr><td>

Theory of change: **Individual change theory**

Media promotes peace by affecting the knowledge, attitudes
and behaviours of a critical mass of people.
</td></tr>
<tr><td>

Code: **Empowerment for peace**
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<tr><td>

Project: Participatory Video
</td></tr>
<tr><td>

Interviewee 1

Reference 1

"[I] agreed to shoot the video because [I] wanted the youth to see the change that had come, [I] wanted them to see that it is giving them morale and hard work, so that they can come down and when they see something wrong they can decide to put it right".

Reference 2

"I feel good that the whole world sees me on the video, the can witness what happened, they can see the good and bad and make a decision".

Reference 3

"I am happy because very many people saw me, very many people heard me. Because I was not well-known, but now everybody has seen me so I feel happy".

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"Through my experience and what I underwent, I feel like what I said through the video maybe would turn somebody else. Maybe he or she had a negative attitude the way I was at first. So I wanted to tell them that I was thinking like you, I was doing like you, but after I have seen that participating in some activities that would not benefit me and my society is not good. So I decided to share my views".

Reference 2

"I felt happy because someone has recognized my experience and is ready to share it with someone else. So I am happy because I know I have used my little knowledge and
</td></tr>
</table>

experience, and also I was happy because I was involved directly".

Reference 3

"First of all I liked watching the video; secondly I was given time to say my experience, so I was happy because that part, as I was narrating my story, I saw that even those I was narrating my story [to] they liked the way I presented my story".

Reference 4

"I was happy because I knew I could just express myself through a camera, and my voice even can be heard".

Reference 5

"I hope the impact is that people will change their attitude. After I had given my story, somebody else who still thinks the way I used to think before, will think before he or she acts on certain issues. Maybe if there is any difficulty ahead, he or she will first consult before rushing and taking on those thinks that maybe will cause somebody else harm, so I hope my story will have an importance in solving a conflict because it can help prevent some issues from happening in the future because people will have learned how to implement change".

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"I felt that video was very important to other people. Yes. To anybody who might not have participated there, because all of those people could not have come there. [...]. Now, what I felt is that let this video reach other people".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"So, actually by coming in and maybe narrating the story on video and then people can hear me or they can watch me talk. It has actually acted as mediator. The media came in as a mediator".

Reference 2

"I can narrate my stories and urge the other communities, my feelings, I share my feelings. I talk of what I feel".

Reference 3

"I liked it because coming to media I believe I was very free, I was independent minded. Narrating my solo video, actually, I was talking about my feelings, my personal feelings, my emotional feelings, my own understanding of the course of the post-election violence that was there. My own mind and my own opinion about it and my own urge to the community, to both my community and the other community, maybe it was an enemy community during that time".

Reference 4

"[...] when I was writing stories and in the process, I thought that I was talking [to] masses of people. And I thought I was talking to, like, everybody in the country and even in the world. Like, the conflicting countries like Sierra Leone and Rwanda and all the other countries like the Arab countries and the Asian countries. This sort of violence is actually in around many communities and many countries".

Reference 5

"I think it was a nice initiative from the person who brought up the project itself and, actually, during that time I felt like it was a nice time. It was a nice platform to come out and share my story"

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"Whatever made [me] to take part in that video, [I] reflected and thought that maybe [I] could have been one of the people who died, but fortunately for [me] [I] was alive and therefore [I] thought it was worth to share [my] story with the others".

Interviewee 6

Reference 1

"I made this choice [...] to educate the people in my community. Show them the... that what happened in the post-election violence should not actually educate itself in our common life. Because, it wasn't good, it didn't benefit anyone. In fact, we fought for those who were in the offices, they're now in their offices, and we made other people lose their lives".

Reference 2

"[...] it made me feel good because now it means being watched in a video. That, I can see, is the best way of spreading my message of maintaining peace in the community. So

myself being seen in the media, as young as I am now, I can effectively pass the message to the people and it's good for me to be seen in that video. It's the easiest means I can pass that message".

Reference 3

"So when I watch it back, I saw that I got the right way of encouraging the groups in my community to build up a good enjoyment. So it had nothing bad for me watching it back. In fact, I like watching it".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"[I] decided to tell [my] story because it is something that [I] went through, it was a real experience, and [I] wanted people from all the communities, including [my] community and the Kikuyus, to listen to [me] and to know that [we] can make something positive out of it".

Reference 2

"[I] was happy to take part in it because [I] was sure that so many audiences are going to be reached […], and [I] was happy to participate".

Reference 3

"Videos can be used as a learning process because, for example, [I] made one for [my] community. And, for [me], video can be used to teach, or make other people learn from [my] experience".

Interviewee 8

Reference 1

"At first, I was a little bit shocked, tensed. But I took courage, because it's something we learn from, because we learn from our mistakes".

Reference 2

"OK, I felt that I'm an important person in the society, because I'm there to talk for those who can't talk for themselves, because that thing totalled many people, and I came out to talk for them. I think it will help people".

Reference 3

"Because I thought, at least I can go somewhere, I can talk to people, yeah. I can impact something on somebody's mind, yeah".

Reference 4

"I think the video, when people from different tribes and society view, they can learn something [...]".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"[It was a way for me to] Just take it out and [...] tell people that what happened was not good, and we should not let it happen again".

Reference 2

"[I] [my]self was surprised. [I] didn't know that it would come out the way it came. [I] didn't know that it would come out that good [...]. [I] also believe that it's good, the way it came out, 'cause the way it came out, it had an impact, and that's why it was actually chosen as a good one, the best one".

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

"OK, my decision was based upon change, OK, we live in change, because I believe or I knew we will go to some election period, like this time almost going to the election period. So the other youth might see my story and change their perspectives about other communities. That was my most commonly agenda of sharing my personal view. So, telling them that this not good. OK, we did it, but we did it on mistake. It was not good. OK, we did it, but we were told to do it. That's not good. Yeah. My whole opinion was about change. Yeah".

Reference 2

"It made me feel proud, yeah, and good. Yeah, because I knew I [had] never done it before. OK. I was really, really nervous at first. But I gained courage as I was going on air. It was very, very good".

<u>Project</u>: Participatory Theatre

Interviewee 1

Reference 1

"So, it was showing that, in the first place, was showing the enmity, and then after the reconciliation, there was now peace and we could now interact. So, I was trying to pass a message that we should do this through the play happening".

Reference 2

"I can pass the message of peace. So, there was a feeling in myself that I should act to pass a message of peace. At the end of the day, people have come together again. That is why I wanted to participate. I felt I could do this, yes".

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"[...] personally I decided to choose that path, because when you look at the genesis and all these things, people are failing to understand that this life, people doesn't know what they are supposed to be doing".

Reference 2

"In fact, I was feeling so good. I do it to be something so nice in that people who come out in their crowd. You see, the problem with us, the problem with people of our community, you cannot come by your own and say it should be this. You just listen to what other people, whom you don't know, are saying".

Reference 3

"[...] by the end of it all I was happy that people I've passed some message that could more reform other people, that could make people as more reform. That could change the minds of other people, because we were many..."

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"I was a Kisii, by the way, and that they wanted a Kisii and a Kalenjin. Yeah. That's why I decided. They choose me and I accepted, because I know I could help [...]"

Reference 2

"I'm feeling very well because sometimes I think that these people we usually see in the TVs, me I thought that it is big people. You must have money, you must be doing a job somewhere, that is when you will see in the TVs or in newspaper. But, I can say I'm very

happy seeing you and this media, so, me, I can say that I'm feeling well".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"It was alright to me, because I was feeling that I was also like a teacher, or a good example". Yeah.

Reference 2

*"You see, when I was acting, I was feeling so... I felt it was so good, because you were trying to put the message to the audience or those who were watching us. You were (*inaudible*) something to them".*

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

*"I wanted to make people... to make that issue very clear, that indeed, the violence does not start (*inaudible*). The violence starts right from even before the elections. That's how it starts. It starts from incitement. So this is how I acted like a chief, in order that we can capture these people who are available, and to make people understand that violence cannot start minus incitement. There must be people who are inciting other people; there must be someone who is influencing someone to do something, and for you to be influenced, maybe to do something. Indeed, you must be given something small".*

Reference 2

"It made me actually feel proud of myself, because my aim was to influence this audience now. After addressing this audience, I am sure I'm going to convince them. Because the moment I convince them, that was my target".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"I will feel well because I was free and I give myself to act in the play so that people will see what happened in our community, and also, when I act, I act freely because I give myself, I want to play, so that people will teach or will have someone from me. Yeah".

Interviewee 8

Reference 1

"I wanted people to learn from me all about peace in relation to what can also affect

other people surrounding".

Reference 2

"[...] [my[feeling, it was high, because people were learning from [me], not [me] learning from others. But people were learning from [me]. [I] was feeling so good".

Reference 3

"[...] [I] think that when [we] take [our] drama, [we] know much. [We] know a lot of things which happens around [us] and [we] can even bring it out clearly when [we]'re acting, because [we] know exactly what went on around [us]".

"Even the externals might not know exactly, might not identify what were the major issues which were affecting them. They might also go offside. They might not address the major things which were affecting them. But the locals, (unknown term), [we] could know what [we] underwent and how they were affected directly".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"I decided to take part in the Amani People's Theatre, since... actually, during the post-election, we really see what really happened and how it affected us. And actually, me, I felt that people should know the effect of clashes of post-elections. So I feel these people should be taught or know, these things should be stopped, that in the clashes, that type policing. So I took part in theatre [...]"

Reference 2

"[...] it was touching, because we were trying to show people how, really, people were killed, how that hatred...no-one can even go to..."

Code: **Behaviour Change**

Project: Participatory Video

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"Maybe he or she had a negative attitude the way I was at first. So I wanted to tell them that I was thinking like you, I was doing like you, but after I have seen that participating in some activities that would not benefit me and my society is not good".

Reference 2

"The process opened me, it gave me a new life and chapter to realize that I was not on the right, I was not doing good things at first. As I narrated and as I was thinking, I felt that my life, attitude and actions before I narrated the story were not good".

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"We should not participate in such things. Because we are all Kenyans and we should live as Kenyans".

Reference 2

"So [other members of my tribe] tell me, if what you are bringing there, what you did, what you acted on that video, could lead to other people, then it could be very nice".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"I was to do a technology course during that time and then after the post-election violence came and then the media came in to try to solve the problem. I also felt like I wanted to be a part of the media in the future and try to help the people also through the media by creating that platform and so I like that aspect where I decided to change my career and pursue media studies in university".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"[I was] so happy [I] took part, because for [me] it was a healing process. The more [I] talked about it, the more [I] was able to heal and come back to the way [I] used to be before the violence erupted".

Interviewee 6

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"[...] as the community has to move on, we learn to forget about what each other did to every one of us. And then, try and create a conducive environment for each and every person in the community".

Project: Participatory Theatre

Interviewee 1

Reference 1

"I believe people who are living together, they should learn from each other. They should learn for themselves, because at the end of the day, the external people will go and they would remain. They would remain there, so they have to learn how to interact with themselves, without actually waiting for external needing to come and be there. But in the first place, we have to have people to show us how to do it, and then we remain to do it for ourselves, yeah".

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"And I decided by my own, it was something that was very tiresome, I decided by my own to be that peacemaker, to educate people, to let people know the fruits of staying or being peaceful, by educating, by telling them, by pressing to them to abandon their own traditional way of living, and to change their current way of addressing issues".

Interviewee 3

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"Now, I picked a point from there that we must come together with the Kalenjins, we must do what we call reconciliation, we must forgive them, they forgive us, we must

interact with them and they interact with us during what we call in the marriage. That's when we will be good friends and bring peace, by the way. Yes, I like that".

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"[...] when I went at home, we had a choir of our church. Sometimes our teacher... This time, we have... Before we start singing, we do a certain practice. Me, I took the game I told you, the one of "Preso-preso" "Vice-vice" with the numbers, I introduced it to the choir. It was very nice to them. And at the end, they asked me, "Where did you find this thing from?" And I told them I went to Sotik and many people stayed there [he went to Sotik, the town where the former rival tribe lived, to take part in the theatre activities with them]. *Those people are the one who gave us this game. They were very happy. They congratulated me because of that thing".*

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"I think the drama, or using drama, is the best way when looking for, let's say, reconciliation between the two communities. Yeah, because it appears as a real thing. And it reminds them of what happened, and they'll try any way possible to abstain from what happened".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"Because this theatre can play a great role in influencing the people living in that community. Because they touch on various issues. One, they touch on the issue of the causes. They touch on issues about the results of the violence. They touch on issues on how can we resolve, or how can we reconcile.

It's through this theatre where we can understand these things. This theatre actually is very good; it can help you to understand, through participating... regular participating can help you to understand a lot of things. They can help you to understand that being given something small... something small, you can't use it even to buy a pair of shoes. It's just you fill your stomach for one hour, and the stomach is then empty. So it cannot help you anything. So it is the theatre where somebody can understand, cannot accept to be misled.

*This theatre is the one which educates people. (*Inaudible*) the theatre itself can have a great influence, and it can influence and can have a lot of impact on those people majorly who are being led by those leaders to cause violence. This theatre can change their minds. It can make their minds sombre. It can make their minds relaxed. It can make their*

minds be informed somewhere other than doing other things, which destroy. So this is a very important thing".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"[...] we want to be done what we call the reflection, so that we may put the information, so that we take it outside to the community they also have and be informed now and then so that they cannot be, they cannot be even if they heard something - that this will happen. We'll just bring them together and tell them: 'No, please let us have peace. Let us come together'".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"So, that really gave us that issue that we feel that there was no need for us to continue with hatred and tribe policy, because at the end of the day, I will not benefit, and even the other tribe will not benefit".

Reference 2

"[...] both of them was affected the same, the Kipsigis and the Kisii, so they saw it was something which was touching both sides. And most of them also, they appreciated and says, 'We will never repeat this again', yeah".

Code: **Healing**

Project: Participatory Video

Interviewee 1

Reference 1

"When the violence started, I was very bitter in my heart because so many children died, others burned. When I had to sit down and think about it, my heart became hardened. But now I feel that my heart is contented".

Reference 2

"I felt good because [inaudible] but I was looking around me I could see that many people were sad, because everybody [inaudible] and when they look at the video and they look at me, it touched my heart to see how they saw it".

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"The process opened me, it gave me a new life and chapter to realize that I was not on the right, I was not doing good things at first. As I narrated and as I was thinking, I felt that my life, attitude and actions before I narrated the story were not good".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"I believed sharing my feelings, or shown my story, was solving half of my problems, solving half of my community's problems because they felt like we offloaded some problems by sharing out to the people through the media".

Reference 2

"I watched it and I was happy. I did not actually think I narrated such a nice story during that process but after watching it, I realised I said a lot of things, maybe, that I didn't think I said it but because of my feelings and my emotional thinks I just said it and it was true. They were true, they were my actual feelings and my actual emotions were during that period".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"[...] for [me] it was a healing process. The more [I] talked about it, the more [I] was able to heal and come back to the way [I] used to be before the violence erupted".

Reference 2

"[...] the process of remembering and reflecting was able to help [me] heal and somehow forget about everything that happened and see things in a new direction".

Reference 3

"[I] felt so good watching [my] own story, and listening to [my]self talk. It was very good for [me] to listen to [my] own story.

Interviewee 6

Reference 1

"Thinking about that past. I (inaudible) created some things, as a normal human being. But I tend to realise that I can't live in my past. I have to move on. And so, as the

community has to move on, we learn to forget about what each other did to every one of us".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"[...] it helped [me] perfect, every time [I] look at it and listen to [my] story, [I am] able to reflect on the reality that happened".

Interviewee 8

Reference 1

"Yeah, I went back to what happened, which, at the time, it tortured me psychologically, because I actually remember I lost my books, my clothes, our house, all the properties that we had. Sometimes, it tortures me psychologically. But I usually thank God. Maybe it was planned it will happen, so the only thing is to tell God to give us strength to move on, yeah".

Reference 2

"[...] in media, people can come together, dissolve together as one community. Because what happened was the past, like you have to let the past go and fight for our future".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"What made me take the decision was that even if I continue to keep what is burning in my heart, I won't keep it for long, 'cause it will hurt me. So I have let it out for other people to see what was going on".

Reference 2

"It hurt, because at that time, it actually brought [me] together with people who he didn't want to see, but [we] were seated together, but seating... all of them. [We] were all brought together in one seating.
So, that bringing [us] together showed [us] that... it reminded [us] of the way [we] used to stay together. And sitting together, that compromise brings out the... shows [us] that coming together, [we] can live as one family and have a good life".

Reference 3

"It will help because it's showing that (inaudible) video like that it helps somebody to actually bring the things that they are holding in and bring them outside, so that people

can understand what is happening".

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

"Yeah, the process almost affected me to start, because I cried as I remembered the things which I did. OK, first and foremost, OK, I remember going to the battlefront. OK, just defending my own community. And we did some tough things there. OK. Someone, not really according to the video, but we had to steal so that we can feast, you know. So, some things were not really reported on the video. But as I remember, some of the things I skipped because of my upmost feelings. OK. I didn't want to remember most of the things which really, really, really, really took me on surprise. I didn't know it was me. Yeah".

<u>Project</u>: Participatory Theatre

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"It was also sad, acting it was so sad because, you see, you tend to remember all the injustices that were there at the time, it was (inaudible). But afterwards I was very happy that by the end of it all, one could have learned something to tell other people".

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"When I remember that, by the way, I don't feel good when I remember that what's happened. But I feel good that day because they gave us something which was new to us, and it was good news. That from here what we want, we don't want those people to be our enemies. Now, what you do is go and make them friends of yours".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"I wanted to bring out the feeling inside me to the community members. So that we could just remind them of the events of the post-election violence. To act as a reminder to them. So that the violence would not come back again".

Interviewee 8

Reference 1

"I realised, that when we were together with, maybe, other tribes working together, so when I act this, they led me to that life that we had before, and the life we had at the time."

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"[...] during the acting, when we were acting, I realised people were shedding tears. So that means they felt, even they felt it was a form of empathy, because they felt they were the one who was facing the same problem. And that thing, actually, make an impact to them. And I believe everybody felt that this thing should not happen again, yeah".

Reference

"And actually, during that, when I was acting now, I flashback so many things. How we were running, how we had no peace, where we was staying. So I felt, 'Oh, I think this thing should not happen again,' because it gave me that [...]".

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

"So it was very sad, when I think about it. Then, I started to remove what I saw, how I felt at that time. And I started, now, giving out in the play".

Theory of change: **Individual change theory**

Media promotes peace by affecting the knowledge, attitudes
and behaviours of a critical mass of people.

Code: **Empowerment for peace**

Project: Participatory Video

Interviewee 1

Reference 1

"[I] agreed to shoot the video because [I] wanted the youth to see the change that had come, [I] wanted them to see that it is giving them morale and hard work, so that they can come down and when they see something wrong they can decide to put it right".

Reference 2

"I feel good that the whole world sees me on the video, the can witness what happened, they can see the good and bad and make a decision".

Reference 3

"I am happy because very many people saw me, very many people heard me. Because I was not well-known, but now everybody has seen me so I feel happy".

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"Through my experience and what I underwent, I feel like what I said through the video maybe would turn somebody else. Maybe he or she had a negative attitude the way I was at first. So I wanted to tell them that I was thinking like you, I was doing like you, but after I have seen that participating in some activities that would not benefit me and my society is not good. So I decided to share my views".

Reference 2

"I felt happy because someone has recognized my experience and is ready to share it with someone else. So I am happy because I know I have used my little knowledge and experience, and also I was happy because I was involved directly".

Reference 3

"First of all I liked watching the video; secondly I was given time to say my experience, so I was happy because that part, as I was narrating my story, I saw that even those I was narrating my story [to] they liked the way I presented my story".

Reference 4

"I was happy because I knew I could just express myself through a camera, and my voice even can be heard".

Reference 5

"I hope the impact is that people will change their attitude. After I had given my story, somebody else who still thinks the way I used to think before, will think before he or she acts on certain issues. Maybe if there is any difficulty ahead, he or she will first consult before rushing and taking on those thinks that maybe will cause somebody else harm, so

I hope my story will have an importance in solving a conflict because it can help prevent some issues from happening in the future because people will have learned how to implement change".

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"I felt that video was very important to other people. Yes. To anybody who might not have participated there, because all of those people could not have come there. [...]. Now, what I felt is that let this video reach other people".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"So, actually by coming in and maybe narrating the story on video and then people can hear me or they can watch me talk. It has actually acted as mediator. The media came in as a mediator".

Reference 2

"I can narrate my stories and urge the other communities, my feelings, I share my feelings. I talk of what I feel".

Reference 3

"I liked it because coming to media I believe I was very free, I was independent minded. Narrating my solo video, actually, I was talking about my feelings, my personal feelings, my emotional feelings, my own understanding of the course of the post-election violence that was there. My own mind and my own opinion about it and my own urge to the community, to both my community and the other community, maybe it was an enemy community during that time".

Reference 4

"[...] when I was writing stories and in the process, I thought that I was talking [to] masses of people. And I thought I was talking to, like, everybody in the country and even in the world. Like, the conflicting countries like Sierra Leone and Rwanda and all the other countries like the Arab countries and the Asian countries. This sort of violence is actually in around many communities and many countries".

Reference 5

"I think it was a nice initiative from the person who brought up the project itself and, actually, during that time I felt like it was a nice time. It was a nice platform to come out and share my story"

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"Whatever made [me] to take part in that video, [I] reflected and thought that maybe [I] could have been one of the people who died, but fortunately for [me] [I] was alive and therefore [I] thought it was worth to share [my] story with the others".

Interviewee 6

Reference 1

"I made this choice [...] to educate the people in my community. Show them the... that what happened in the post-election violence should not actually educate itself in our common life. Because, it wasn't good, it didn't benefit anyone. In fact, we fought for those who were in the offices, they're now in their offices, and we made other people lose their lives".

Reference 2

"[...] it made me feel good because now it means being watched in a video. That, I can see, is the best way of spreading my message of maintaining peace in the community. So myself being seen in the media, as young as I am now, I can effectively pass the message to the people and it's good for me to be seen in that video. It's the easiest means I can pass that message".

Reference 3

"So when I watch it back, I saw that I got the right way of encouraging the groups in my community to build up a good enjoyment. So it had nothing bad for me watching it back. In fact, I like watching it".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"[I] decided to tell [my] story because it is something that [I] went through, it was a real experience, and [I] wanted people from all the communities, including [my] community and the Kikuyus, to listen to [me] and to know that [we] can make something positive out of it".

Reference 2

"[I] was happy to take part in it because [I] was sure that so many audiences are going to be reached [...], and [I] was happy to participate".

Reference 3

"Videos can be used as a learning process because, for example, [I] made one for [my] community. And, for [me], video can be used to teach, or make other people learn from [my] experience".

Interviewee 8

Reference 1

"At first, I was a little bit shocked, tensed. But I took courage, because it's something we learn from, because we learn from our mistakes".

Reference 2

"OK, I felt that I'm an important person in the society, because I'm there to talk for those who can't talk for themselves, because that thing totalled many people, and I came out to talk for them. I think it will help people".

Reference 3

"Because I thought, at least I can go somewhere, I can talk to people, yeah. I can impact something on somebody's mind, yeah".

Reference 4

"I think the video, when people from different tribes and society view, they can learn something [...]"

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"[It was a way for me to] Just take it out and [...] tell people that what happened was not good, and we should not let it happen again".

Reference 2

"[I] [my]self was surprised. [I] didn't know that it would come out the way it came. [I] didn't know that it would come out that good [...]. [I] also believe that it's good, the way it came out, 'cause the way it came out, it had an impact, and that's why it was actually chosen as a good one, the best one".

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

"OK, my decision was based upon change, OK, we live in change, because I believe or I knew we will go to some election period, like this time almost going to the election period. So the other youth might see my story and change their perspectives about other communities. That was my most commonly agenda of sharing my personal view. So, telling them that this not good. OK, we did it, but we did it on mistake. It was not good. OK, we did it, but we were told to do it. That's not good. Yeah. My whole opinion was about change. Yeah".

Reference 2

"It made me feel proud, yeah, and good. Yeah, because I knew I [had] never done it before. OK. I was really, really nervous at first. But I gained courage as I was going on air. It was very, very good".

Project: Participatory Theatre

Interviewee 1

Reference 1

"So, it was showing that, in the first place, was showing the enmity, and then after the reconciliation, there was now peace and we could now interact. So, I was trying to pass a message that we should do this through the play happening".

Reference 2

"I can pass the message of peace. So, there was a feeling in myself that I should act to pass a message of peace. At the end of the day, people have come together again. That is why I wanted to participate. I felt I could do this, yes".

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"[...] personally I decided to choose that path, because when you look at the genesis and all these things, people are failing to understand that this life, people doesn't know what they are supposed to be doing".

Reference 2

"In fact, I was feeling so good. I do it to be something so nice in that people who come out in their crowd. You see, the problem with us, the problem with people of our community, you cannot come by your own and say it should be this. You just listen to what other people, whom you don't know, are saying".

Reference 3

"[...] by the end of it all I was happy that people I've passed some message that could more reform other people, that could make people as more reform. That could change the minds of other people, because we were many..."

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"I was a Kisii, by the way, and that they wanted a Kisii and a Kalenjin. Yeah. That's why I decided. They choose me and I accepted, because I know I could help [...]"

Reference 2

"I'm feeling very well because sometimes I think that these people we usually see in the TVs, me I thought that it is big people. You must have money, you must be doing a job somewhere, that is when you will see in the TVs or in newspaper. But, I can say I'm very happy seeing you and this media, so, me, I can say that I'm feeling well".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"It was alright to me, because I was feeling that I was also like a teacher, or a good

example". Yeah.

Reference 2

"You see, when I was acting, I was feeling so... I felt it was so good, because you were trying to put the message to the audience or those who were watching us. You were (inaudible) something to them".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"I wanted to make people... to make that issue very clear, that indeed, the violence does not start (inaudible). The violence starts right from even before the elections. That's how it starts. It starts from incitement. So this is how I acted like a chief, in order that we can capture these people who are available, and to make people understand that violence cannot start minus incitement. There must be people who are inciting other people; there must be someone who is influencing someone to do something, and for you to be influenced, maybe to do something. Indeed, you must be given something small".

Reference 2

"It made me actually feel proud of myself, because my aim was to influence this audience now. After addressing this audience, I am sure I'm going to convince them. Because the moment I convince them, that was my target".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"I will feel well because I was free and I give myself to act in the play so that people will see what happened in our community, and also, when I act, I act freely because I give myself, I want to play, so that people will teach or will have someone from me. Yeah".

Interviewee 8

Reference 1

"I wanted people to learn from me all about peace in relation to what can also affect other people surrounding".

Reference 2

"[...] [my[feeling, it was high, because people were learning from [me], not [me] learning from others. But people were learning from [me]. [I] was feeling so good".

Reference 3

"[...] [I] think that when [we] take [our] drama, [we] know much. [We] know a lot of things which happens around [us] and [we] can even bring it out clearly when [we]'re acting, because [we] know exactly what went on around [us]".

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"I decided to take part in the Amani People's Theatre, since... actually, during the post-election, we really see what really happened and how it affected us. And actually, me, I felt that people should know the effect of clashes of post-elections. So I feel these people should be taught or know, these things should be stopped, that in the clashes, that type policing. So I took part in theatre [...]"

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"[...] it was touching, because we were trying to show people how, really, people were killed, how that hatred...no-one can even go to..."

<u>Code</u>: **Behaviour Change**

<u>Project</u>: Participatory Video

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"Maybe he or she had a negative attitude the way I was at first. So I wanted to tell them that I was thinking like you, I was doing like you, but after I have seen that participating in some activities that would not benefit me and my society is not good".

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"The process opened me, it gave me a new life and chapter to realize that I was not on the right, I was not doing good things at first. As I narrated and as I was thinking, I felt that my life, attitude and actions before I narrated the story were not good".

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"We should not participate in such things. Because we are all Kenyans and we should live as Kenyans".

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"So [other members of my tribe] tell me, if what you are bringing there, what you did, what you acted on that video, could lead to other people, then it could be very nice".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"I was to do a technology course during that time and then after the post-election violence came and then the media came in to try to solve the problem. I also felt like I wanted to be a part of the media in the future and try to help the people also through the media by creating that platform and so I like that aspect where I decided to change my career and pursue media studies in university".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"[I was] so happy [I] took part, because for [me] it was a healing process. The more [I] talked about it, the more [I] was able to heal and come back to the way [I] used to be before the violence erupted".

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"[...] it was not all about me being seen in a video. But it was about involving the community and the activity of being seen in the video, so that they can know that we have a long road to go. And unless we come together, there's nothing we can do".

Reference 3

"[...] as the community has to move on, we learn to forget about what each other did to

every one of us. And then, try and create a conducive environment for each and every person in the community".

Project: Participatory Theatre

Interviewee 1

Reference 1

"I believe people who are living together, they should learn from each other. They should learn for themselves, because at the end of the day, the external people will go and they would remain. They would remain there, so they have to learn how to interact with themselves, without actually waiting for external needing to come and be there. But in the first place, we have to have people to show us how to do it, and then we remain to do it for ourselves, yeah".

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"I wanted to let them know that it was a minor things will result in a very huge thing, but if you can suppress that in our own way, our own stand, in a very simple way, there's nothing great that will happen, and it will not be harmful, as it was that time".

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"And I decided by my own, it was something that was very tiresome, I decided by my own to be that peacemaker, to educate people, to let people know the fruits of staying or being peaceful, by educating, by telling them, by pressing to them to abandon their own traditional way of living, and to change their current way of addressing issues".

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"Now, I picked a point from there that we must come together with the Kalenjins, we must do what we call reconciliation, we must forgive them, they forgive us, we must interact with them and they interact with us during what we call in the marriage. That's when we will be good friends and bring peace, by the way. Yes, I like that".

Reference 2

"[...] when I went at home, we had a choir of our church. Sometimes our teacher... This time, we have... Before we start singing, we do a certain practice. Me, I took the game I

told you, the one of "Preso-preso" "Vice-vice" with the numbers, I introduced it to the choir. It was very nice to them. And at the end, they asked me, "Where did you find this thing from?" And I told them I went to Sotik and many people stayed there [he went to Sotik, the town where the former rival tribe lived, to take part in the theatre activities with them]. *Those people are the one who gave us this game. They were very happy. They congratulated me because of that thing".*

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"I think the drama, or using drama, is the best way when looking for, let's say, reconciliation between the two communities. Yeah, because it appears as a real thing. And it reminds them of what happened, and they'll try any way possible to abstain from what happened".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"Because this theatre can play a great role in influencing the people living in that community. Because they touch on various issues. One, they touch on the issue of the causes. They touch on issues about the results of the violence. They touch on issues on how can we resolve, or how can we reconcile.

It's through this theatre where we can understand these things. This theatre actually is very good; it can help you to understand, through participating... regular participating can help you to understand a lot of things. They can help you to understand that being given something small... something small, you can't use it even to buy a pair of shoes. It's just you fill your stomach for one hour, and the stomach is then empty. So it cannot help you anything. So it is the theatre where somebody can understand, cannot accept to be misled.

*This theatre is the one which educates people. (*Inaudible*) the theatre itself can have a great influence, and it can influence and can have a lot of impact on those people majorly who are being led by those leaders to cause violence. This theatre can change their minds. It can make their minds sombre. It can make their minds relaxed. It can make their minds be informed somewhere other than doing other things, which destroy. So this is a very important thing".*

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"[...] we want to be done what we call the reflection, so that we may put the information, so that we take it outside to the community they also have and be informed now and then so that they cannot be, they cannot be even if they heard something - that this will happen. We'll just bring them together and tell them: 'No, please let us have peace. Let us come together'".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"So, that really gave us that issue that we feel that there was no need for us to continue with hatred and tribe policy, because at the end of the day, I will not benefit, and even the other tribe will not benefit".

Reference 2

"[...] both of them was affected the same, the Kipsigis and the Kisii, so they saw it was something which was touching both sides. And most of them also, they appreciated and says, 'We will never repeat this again', yeah".

Code: **Healing**

Project: Participatory Video

Interviewee 1

Reference 1

"When the violence started, I was very bitter in my heart because so many children died, others burned. When I had to sit down and think about it, my heart became hardened. But now I feel that my heart is contented".

Reference 2

"I felt good because [inaudible] but I was looking around me I could see that many people were sad, because everybody [inaudible] and when they look at the video and they look at me, it touched my heart to see how they saw it".

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"The process opened me, it gave me a new life and chapter to realize that I was not on the right, I was not doing good things at first. As I narrated and as I was thinking, I felt that my life, attitude and actions before I narrated the story were not good".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"I believed sharing my feelings, or shown my story, was solving half of my problems, solving half of my community's problems because they felt like we offloaded some problems by sharing out to the people through the media".

Reference 2

"I watched it and I was happy. I did not actually think I narrated such a nice story during that process but after watching it, I realised I said a lot of things, maybe, that I didn't think I said it but because of my feelings and my emotional thinks I just said it and it was true. They were true, they were my actual feelings and my actual emotions were during that period".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"[...] for [me] it was a healing process. The more [I] talked about it, the more [I] was able to heal and come back to the way [I] used to be before the violence erupted".

Reference 2

"[...] the process of remembering and reflecting was able to help [me] heal and somehow forget about everything that happened and see things in a new direction".

Reference 3

"[I] felt so good watching [my] own story, and listening to [my]self talk. It was very good for [me] to listen to [my] own story.

Interviewee 6

Reference 1

*"Thinking about that past. I (*inaudible*) created some things, as a normal human being. But I tend to realise that I can't live in my past. I have to move on. And so, as the community has to move on, we learn to forget about what each other did to every one of us".*

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"[…] it helped [me] perfect, every time [I] look at it and listen to [my] story, [I am] able to reflect on the reality that happened".

Interviewee 8

Reference 1

"Yeah, I went back to what happened, which, at the time, it tortured me psychologically, because I actually remember I lost my books, my clothes, our house, all the properties that we had. Sometimes, it tortures me psychologically. But I usually thank God. Maybe it was planned it will happen, so the only thing is to tell God to give us strength to move on, yeah".

Reference 2

"[…] in media, people can come together, dissolve together as one community. Because what happened was the past, like you have to let the past go and fight for our future".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"What made me take the decision was that even if I continue to keep what is burning in my heart, I won't keep it for long, 'cause it will hurt me. So I have let it out for other people to see what was going on".

Reference 2

"It hurt, because at that time, it actually brought [me] together with people who he didn't want to see, but [we] were seated together, but seating… all of them. [We] were all brought together in one seating.
So, that bringing [us] together showed [us] that… it reminded [us] of the way [we] used to stay together. And sitting together, that compromise brings out the… shows [us] that coming together, [we] can live as one family and have a good life".

Reference 3

*"It will help because it's showing that (*inaudible*) video like that it helps somebody to actually bring the things that they are holding in and bring them outside, so that people can understand what is happening".*

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

"Yeah, the process almost affected me to start, because I cried as I remembered the things

which I did. OK, first and foremost, OK, I remember going to the battlefront. OK, just defending my own community. And we did some tough things there. OK. Someone, not really according to the video, but we had to steal so that we can feast, you know. So, some things were not really reported on the video. But as I remember, some of the things I skipped because of my upmost feelings. OK. I didn't want to remember most of the things which really, really, really, really took me on surprise. I didn't know it was me. Yeah".

<u>Project</u>: Participatory Theatre

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"It was also sad, acting it was so sad because, you see, you tend to remember all the injustices that were there at the time, it was (inaudible). But afterwards I was very happy that by the end of it all, one could have learned something to tell other people".

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"When I remember that, by the way, I don't feel good when I remember that what's happened. But I feel good that day because they gave us something which was new to us, and it was good news. That from here what we want, we don't want those people to be our enemies. Now, what you do is go and make them friends of yours".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"I wanted to bring out the feeling inside me to the community members. So that we could just remind them of the events of the post-election violence. To act as a reminder to them. So that the violence would not come back again".

Interviewee 8

Reference 1

"I realised, that when we were together with, maybe, other tribes working together, so when I act this, they led me to that life that we had before, and the life we had at the time."

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"[...] during the acting, when we were acting, I realised people were shedding tears. So that means they felt, even they felt it was a form of empathy, because they felt they were the one who was facing the same problem. And that thing, actually, make an impact to them. And I believe everybody felt that this thing should not happen again, yeah".

Reference

"And actually, during that, when I was acting now, I flashback so many things. How we were running, how we had no peace, where we was staying. So I felt, 'Oh, I think this thing should not happen again,' because it gave me that [...]".

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

"So it was very sad, when I think about it. Then, I started to remove what I saw, how I felt at that time. And I started, now, giving out in the play".

Theory of change: **Healthy relationship and connections theory**

The introduction or improvement of media sources promotes peace by providing an information conduit between dissenting groups, thus reducing prejudice and stereotypes between groups.

Code: **Unity**

Project: Participatory Video

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"[...] as I was narrating my story, I saw that even those I was narrating my story they liked the way I presented my story".

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"[...] we came together at different communities and we preached one thing, we say one

*thing, which was a very important thing: peace and (*inaudible*). That is why it feels good".*

Reference 2

"I thought that was very important for this community who are against each other. To watch the video and then they will learn something from that. That we should come together".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"I took part in community media to share the story because media was a neutral point to share my stories and also, they themselves can share their stories through the media and maybe all of us could watch and actually have that story help them to understand their problems and also, they themselves can understand our problems through the media".

Reference 2

"[...] during the process, I took part in a play that involved the warring communities, my community and the other communities. We played a short story and during that process we - actually I and a guy from a different community - we played that as a play per se but at the end of the play, we were able to open up, we as warring communities were able to open up and also share that story, even after sharing our stories in the video. We went home and we were able to meet again and recall what we said whether it was true or whether it was not so it was a nice platform, it opened us up, it felt as if we had come at ease and we were very comfortable and flexible also to go out and say these stories to other people".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"[...] it was very good and helpful for the community, because as [we] took the film and continued with it at least [we] were able to listen to other people from other communities, listen to their stories and relate closely. Therefore, it was very helpful for the community".

Interviewee 6

Reference 1

"[...] some of [the members of the other tribe] didn't consult me face-to-face. In fact, most of them did not come face-to-face. But we talked through the phone. And some of them

said, 'It's OK. We were fighting for nothing'".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"[…] [I] was happy because they were able to see the damages that are caused"

Reference 2

"I feel that it was very good because after the post-election violence we were able to gather together people from different communities".

Interviewee 8

Reference 1

"In most part, I saw that something like in media, people can come together, dissolve together as one community. Because what happened was the past, like you have to let the past go and fight for our future. So I saw that being in one community would help us build our society and live like one people and in one country. I enjoyed that, because I learnt that every person has a different personality, different reasoning, and different principles, so by coming together as a media, help us learn different things, yeah".

Reference 2

"People who viewed the video said, 'That video is touching, it's encouraging, and somebody can learn something from that'".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"[I] believes it's a good thing, because it's brought everybody together, the people who are affected, and the people who are actually affecting the other people.
So [I] believes it's a good thing to do that, 'cause [I've] been able to bring people together. Now, people would be able to live together as brothers and sisters".

Prorect: Participatory Theatre

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"It was about how to know, how to learn. It was about, what I was much interested in was that to learn. Whenever there is that thing, let's say, for example. OK, we've heard from somebody that it was such and such, for example. You've heard from somebody that so and so say this. Maybe the things that are being said is very paining. So, me, I was seen to be, to learn the root cause of each and every issue, to know the exact cause. What are the causes of this? So that... In fact, to learn a lot, to learn a lot. We learn how to deal with it by knowing the exact causes of this and how to address it. You see, you reconcile people only if you know what the real cause of their problem is. Maybe by letting them explain what their problem is so that, by their talking you then to put your words which are very straight to them so that they can follow them".

Reference 2

"To show what the causes was and by then we could find that we were wrong. Everybody was wrong in what they were thinking, what they were doing, yeah, you know".

Reference 3

"[The participatory process] was very nice. I think what they collected from the place was exactly what was in the eyes of the people. You see, the government funded their own truth. That was their own truth of all what happened, and what we're experiencing, what our thoughts was. So, I think it was right for them to come to the crowd. Not going to a certain (inaudible). You see, nowadays, things are not how it was before. You can have a group coach them, so that when (inaudible). So, I think it was very nice for them to just get us (inaudible). We had to say what it was on our eyes. Yeah".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"What the drama has (inaudible) on me is that it has encouraged me to help other people to reconcile, or find a solution to their problems. So it has assisted me a lot."

Interviewee 6

Reference 1

"They came and told us you have made a very good thing. You have made us come together, stay together as brothers and sisters".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"The thing that makes me to come and to share is when we remember how we were

before post-election. You see, we were together and doing things together, but when the post-election came we dispersed each other. Now, when we wanted to make these drama is to rewind back how we had been staying and to come together to make this drama so that you can go outside to act it there for the communities, to citizens, of we not having that feeling when the post-election, to remove its... And we say that we came together and be in one community to share everything as we were. Yeah".

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

"It helps us to be together, by making them... walking together with them, yes".

Reference 2

"I think, in this theatre, it makes us to be united, yes".

Code: **Interaction**

Project: **Participatory Video**

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"After we recorded the video, we came here. And then we watched that video. It was all just from the ones who participated, then there was another one again. Then there was another one from a different place. So what I saw there, because when we took all those videos, there were preaching one thing: peace and reconciliation. That's what I liked".

Reference 2

"Why do I think it was good? Because actually what we said there... Because we came together at different communities and we preached one thing, we say one thing, which was a very important thing: peace and (inaudible). That is why it feels good".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"[...] during the process, I took part in a play that involved the warring communities, my community and the other communities. We played a short story and during that process we - actually I and a guy from a different community, we played that as a play per se but at the end of the play, we were able to open up, we as warring communities were able to

open up and also share that story, even after sharing our stories in the video. We went home and we were able to meet again and recall what we said whether it was true or whether it was not so it was a nice platform, it opened us up, it felt as if we had come at ease and we were very comfortable and flexible also to go out and say these stories to other people".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"[...] what captured [me] the most is listening to people tell their stories"

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"[...] it was a very fun and [I] remembers the day very well. The way [we] talked, and [we] made the environment quite humorous, it wasn't absolutely serious, or, at least [we] were comfortable enough to talk and definitely to remember the events very well".

Reference 2

"[My] Kikuyu friends are very happy to see the video. And [I] was able to mobilise friends and visit them at the Showgrounds [internally displaced people's camp], *and they were very happy to see [me]. [...] when [I] visited them; [we] stayed there until quite late, like nine at night.*

And they decided to (visit) [me], to come and (Unknown term of location) *so that [we] can have a friendly gathering between the Kikuyus that were affected and the people from Kalenjin community, so that [we] can send a message to the community that we are good".*

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"When [I] was watching the film, when [we] were doing the video, [I] had somebody who [I] saw that it was good that somebody who brought him back, and it helped him to be able to get back to being with other people". (one of the video participants left the group during the activities, but someone else encouraged him to re-join the group and this was beneficial to him)

Project: Participatory Theatre

Interviewee 1

Reference 1

"I remember a certain old man from the other side telling me that we need to conduct a meeting somewhere in the boundary, so that we stay together and maybe exchange, yeah, some ideas about the issue of peace in both communities".

Interviewee 3

Reference 1

"From that day, we have done a good job, to me. Because we have gone to (Unknown term), the Kalenjin side, we have played with them, we took our choir there, our youth choir, they brought the youth choir to our church. We went there, we played together games".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"If you were there to see what we acted on that day, indeed you can see how something can start from the beginning to the end. And they really performed it very well. We were happy about it. We saw how it arises, and how it happens. Yeah".

Interviewee 6

Reference 1

"I wanted us, we as Kipsigis and the Kisii, to come together as friends and stay with peace".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"[...] most of them, they encourage us, telling us, 'Oh, you should proceed, this thing was good.' So, most of the people actually appreciated, yeah".

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

"Because I knew that we can't do anything, we alone, without them. With them, we can do much. But we alone, we can't do anything. So when we unite, a lot we shall learn, a lot, also, we shall do".

Theory of change: **Social change theory**

Violence and conflict disintegrate a society's structure and alienate its people. The media can help articulate and initiate the change needed to re-build the social fabric.

Code: **Inter-group Discussions**

Project: Participatory Video

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"Most of the youth who participated they are part of the society who participated in the violence, and were used to explain their experiences that they underwent. So I think that the participatory process was good because we were not a bit anxious because the people that interviewed us are just common people that we are used to and with whom we live together".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"Different communities, they are conflicting their communities could not come, like, in a room and share stories or maybe try to seek common grounds in solving the conflict. So, actually media came in as a common ground".

Reference 2

"I took part in community media to share the story because media was a neutral point to share my stories and also, they themselves can share their stories through the media and maybe all of us could watch and actually have that story help them to understand their

problems and also, they themselves can understand our problems through the media".

Reference 3

"We started sharing stories and we involved large number of people; youth and women and also men and also the students. We started sharing these stories on the ground level and actually people opened up and everybody was comfortable in saying their opinion and point of view and their understanding of what they felt was the cause of the post-election violence and so, through that platform, people were able now to come down and share their story and find the results out of that".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"What he liked most about the whole process is that when they were telling their stories, there were not only people from his community, there were people from other tribes and therefore he liked that part of it that all of them could come together and talk about their stories and experiences in the violence".

Interviewee 6

Reference 1

" [...] it was not all about me being seen in a video. But it was about involving the community and the activity of being seen in the video, so that they can know that we have a long road to go. And unless we come together, there's nothing we can do".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"[...] it was a very good experience because it was one of a kind. It was the very first time to see something like that. It was good because each of [us] – whether you were a perpetrator or a victim – [we] were able to tell [our] story without being afraid or being tied to anything. So, it was a very good experience for [me] and [I] doesn't think, maybe, that it can happen again, after what happened".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"[...] it just brings people together. And so many people that were there, were just there, were also facing the problems, but they could not talk".

Project: Participatory Theatre

Interviewee 1

Reference 1

*"[...] we were in groups, that were about me being my parents and another group. And then there was another group again who were dealing with – they were forming a kit about the corruption. And there was certainly there was a (*unknown term*) and, yeah, there was kind of a corruption. People coming to bribe us, to do things. And I like that, because it also discourages this kind of corruption that is going on around here".*

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"So, me, personally I saw it was something nice to participate so that... You see, me, I was participating, relating those stories my own personal way. You see, me also have experienced the same problem and I've been thinking how to solve them, how to come out of the drama. So, I was seen to be nice in that it will make some, if not all, some individuals know the truth and follow the right way. Yeah".

Reference 2

"We had to, you see, youths especially are the people who are most used. And we had to make them sit down, talk to them, make them interact, make them know themselves, make them understand what they are supposed to be doing, other than throwing stones, other than bringing in chaos".

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"New things that I learned is that we, as the people... we are the people, and we are the problem, and we are also the solution to the problems. Yeah".

Reference 2

"I think the participatory process is so good, or nice, when a community or a group of people is looking for a solution to the problem they have themselves. Yeah".

Interviewee 5

Reference 1

"We were comfortable, we felt at home, we felt relaxed, we felt free. We chatted freely with these brothers and sisters from the Kisiis and the Kalenjin communities".

Reference 2

"Immediately, after finishing acting, we came together as a group. We sat down, we saw how people come, to convince people. We can now generalise the issues. We discussed them. We said now, as the youth, we should not be misled, or ask the people of the same blood... We should not accept some money to come; a stranger coming from somewhere, to start cheating people, to start lying to them that we are going to give... to do this and this for you.

And you don't realise the outcomes from this incident. You don't. So, indeed, we discuss it, we found that it is ourselves who accept to bring hatred in our society. Yeah".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"[...] in the community there are some questions. They ask you, after the play now. So, I've loved to tell them, 'That was a play.' We played that play, we prepared that play, so that to teach our people, not to go back, to do as it was. And we remind them, these things are the bad and these things are the good. So let us not... (inaudible), let us be free and continue having peace within our community. Yeah".

Interviewee 8

Reference 1

"It's the best tool for mobilisation, because the gathering can come really fast when they see the drama and everyone can come. You cannot tell who has come, but it makes them together very fast and they will watch the same thing and they will strengthen the people's togetherness. To him, that is what he said".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"[...] it has a very strong impact, because the very same people who was affected, were the very same people who were trying to come up with the solution, trying to tell people, 'No, we did the wrong thing, and we should go this way.' So it really has an impact, than even people coming from afar. Those who were not even affected, they don't even know what really happened on that time, yeah".

Reference 2

"[...] during theatre now, people are trying to respond. They try to ask questions. Actually, they wanted to know... for most of the people who were there during post-election, and they were there during the dramas, when we were acting. So they tried to come up with, telling us, 'Oh, I think you should advance,' because this thing should go beyond even our communities. They should go even to other communities, maybe those who are not affected, so that they can realise what really happen [...]"

Code: **Peaceful Co-existence**

Project: Participatory Video

Interviewee 4

Reference 1

"[...] out of that we were able to share stories and also, maybe have the time or platform to let the other communities forgive the other communities and we also forgive each other and we are able to live in harmony".

Interviewee 6

Reference 1

"[...] as the community has to move on, we learn to forget about what each other did to every one of us. And then, try and create a conducive environment for each and every person in the community".

Interviewee 9

Reference 1

"And sitting together, that compromise brings out the... shows [us] that coming together, [we] can live as one family and have a good life".

Project: Participatory Theatre

Interviewee 2

Reference 1

"We were very confident because we were brought up in that environment which was (inaudible) and pleasant. We were very nice. We would play".

Interviewee 6

Reference 1

"I wanted us, we as Kipsigis and the Kisii, to come together as friends and stay with peace".

Reference 2

"I can see that if we come together and they make a game, those youngs[ters] who were coming up now, it will be a very good example so that they cannot make the mistake they did last. We continue staying with peace, we make peace, we stay together, we love one another. And our fellow children who are coming now will follow our example. Yeah".

Reference 3

"The role it will have is to make people stay together with peace without any problem".

Interviewee 7

Reference 1

"The thing that makes me to come and to share is when we remember how we were before post-election. [...] And we say that we came together and be in one community to share everything as we were. Yeah".

Reference 2

"[...] *when we took it outside the community, also the community were joyful".*

APPENDIX II
Full audience interview transcripts for individual macrostructures

Using the contextual macrostrategies identified in Chapter 5, the audience interviews have been divided in different sections, each one signifying a certain macrostructure. The interview sections are reproduced below. To make the narration flow seamlessly, some of the questions and prompts from the interviewer have been removed, giving space mainly to the words of the narrator. For those interviews that required translation, the words of the interpreter have been reported in the first person. In a small number of cases, when the speaker's English language showed a poor grammatical structure, sentences have been re-formulated to convey a clearer form.

Contextual Macrostrategy I: GENERAL CONTEXT DEPENDENCE
Limit semantic searches to the general biographical and cultural context of the speaker.
Project: <u>Participatory Theatre</u>

Interviewee A

Yeah. I come from Kisii. I am a Kisii. We live near the border of the Kipsigis and the Abakusii - the border. So, I studied religion and (unknown term). And I want to pursue my education, but since there is not some income, so I have had to seek some projects which can help me to pursue my education until I achieve my dream. Yeah.

[...]

Projects like participating, while in the peace. In the peace, you can be called, you can be called and (unknown term). You go and participate. You help in some activities.

Yeah, in the community, like cleaning. You can be a secretary, yeah.

INTERVIEWER:

OK. And so, how big is your family? Who do you live with?

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, I live with my mother. I'm sad that my father passed on last year, but I live with my mother and five kids. I am the fifth born and I am the last (unknown term) in form three.

I like helping my mother, going to church, participating in community activities, (inaudible) and then, like, even holding some meetings with some youths, talking about much how to improve our lives in the future.

INTERVIEWER:

And can you tell me anything about your traditions among your tribe?

INTERVIEWEE:

[...] We plant. We keep some animals, and through that, we are really getting on. We don't buy anything: vegetables, milk, so we can use what we have. Like, we can farm to our best, so that we can produce through that. Yeah, traditions? We are allowed to marry anybody, any tribe that is around.

INTERVIEWER:

While you were growing up, what was your relationship with the members of the other tribe? Did you have friends? Did you interact?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yeah, we had friends. We had some social activities like sports. We had to go to the market. We can send to us some things, and thus we exchange. True prayer bands - we can organise a prayer band. We go to church together. It was good. We had no issues with them. It was just a peaceful meeting with them.

INTERVIEWER:

And at school, you had several friends?

INTERVIEWEE:

Several friends from Kipsigis land, yeah.

INTERVIEWER:

So, the classes were mixed?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yeah, they were mixed.

Interviewee B

Yeah. I was born in the year 1969. I was brought up in the local area, (Unknown term). I went to school till form 4. And from there, because of the lack of fees, I dropped out of school. As of

now, I am a farmer. And I'm doing some bit of business, yes. I come from the Kisii tribe. But of now, I stay along a town that is near the border here, known as Chepilat, where I am carrying out some business, and I do farming, yes. Many times, we have hired some land for cultivation in the Sotik district, because demarcation has brought them and scaled them into smaller portions.

When the conflict came over, we got a lot of loss.

We are five siblings. I am the elder. My younger ones are there, though economically, they are not empowered. OK, yeah? I have got the responsibility of supporting them. Yes? Though I have my parents, economically also, they are low. So they never had that potential, economic power, to support my other siblings. So when I got married, I became independent, and I took charge of the family. They are growing up, out of this kind of meagre income. Though we cannot recover what we underwent, in terms of the violence...

[...]

I'm married. I have five children. Three daughters. And two boys. My elder daughter is in standard 5. And the other one is young, not yet going to school. That's my short story of my family background.

INTERVIEWER:

OK, and can you tell me a little bit about your traditions and the things that you do?

INTERVIEWEE:

First thing...I must have personal integrity, personal respect. Second, respect to my parents, all the aged men of my parents. Third, respect to your neighbours, neighbourhood and other vicinity. Good.

Fourth, and the cardinal, the main one that encompasses all these... You must respect God.

This is a culture, whereby those old times, we referred [to] God as (Unknown term). That is the traditional name given to God. And we are told to respect that (Unknown term). It is a culture where the sun is supreme, that it is the sun that will care and bring up your children well, right.

If you remember our old ancestors... Yes, our old father's grandfathers, when our baby's been born, they used to carry the baby and face where the sun comes from, and they will see and speak these words, "Please take care of this baby. Give a good health," and he will grow well. That's how they believed, right?

So, I do believe that that one is family, a culture. And culture is transmitted from generation to generation. And therefore, in this regard, I must respect my neighbours, as I have been told by my parents. And our tradition says clearly that we should respect our neighbours, because during times of trouble, I must depend on a neighbour. He's the nearest person.

That is enough, I think.

INTERVIEWER:

And can you tell me a little bit about your life in relation to the other tribe, before the post-election violence? How did you interact? And for what reasons?

INTERVIEWEE:

My grandmother is a neighbour of the Kalenjin community here. A father to my grandfather, during those old times, was bought as a token from the Kalenjin community. So he is directly affiliated to the Kalenjin community. Yes, in fact, he was bought with *wimbi* [type of cereal], so they gave *wimbi* in exchange of my father's grandfather.

When I came over, along this town that is near here, known as Chepilat I never had that opportunity to ambitiously carry out business. What I was doing is small-scale farming. And I could go out and hire some piece of land, here in Kalenjin land. Since morning, I work there, and return too late, at sunset.

My basic necessities were provided by my people here, in Kalenjin land. So I never saw any ethical differences. There were no walls. We were live normally, and I regarded them as my people.

But when this issue of violence came over... There is a very big gap that was created. The relation had not been bonded, you know?

INTERVIEWER:

So did you have friendships before the post-election violence? Was it just an interaction for business, or did you have also friends...

INTERVIEWEE:

[...] My friendship is not based on, you know, my business. They use it to come along that border, and we could share, hours and hours, all over the day, yes.

Interviewee C

I was born in 1970 at a place called (Unknown term).

I started my schooling from 1980. From class 1 to 8, I cleared my studies in primary school in 1987. I could not proceed with my education, because at that time, the girl education was sidelined, as in, they preferred boys' education than girls' education.

From 1989, now I got married. I have seven kids. And I have two grandchildren. And I have a husband, one husband.

I am a farmer. I like working on the farm, and that's how I meet my basic needs for the family, and for my needs. And I'm happy, comfortable with my work, being a farmer.

I come from a family of ten siblings. But all the boys went further, they furthered their studies beyond primary school. Girls were left to be married off, so that our parents could get their dowry through their cows, and then the boys could proceed with their education.

I'm a Kipsigis by tribe. And I want to majorly speak about the women and the culture of value of women in Kipsigis tribe. One thing with the culture of Kipsigis, women undergo circumcision. If you had not gone under such circumcision ceremony, then you could not have qualified to be called a woman. And you could not even get somebody to marry you. But nowadays, it is different, because at least the culture now is no longer as strong as it used to be.

OK, the neighbouring tribe is Kisii. Before the election violence, the relationship has been very good. The relationship was so good, until after the election.

When we have good relation, one sign is that we normally go to the market together. We sell each other things, goods. We also buy from them goods. And even along the border, those who are staying along the border, when somebody's sick across the border, we go and visit that sick person across, we say (word in foreign language), and we come back. And then, we also go together to church.

Interviewee D

Oh, yes. My name's indicated here. [omitted] is a Kalenjin, is a Kalenjin name. Especially, we call ourselves Kipsigis, and I understand the Kipsigis tradition. And I grew up at a place called [name of location], in [name of location] district, nowadays [name of location]. I'm married, I have four children, and a girl, one girl, and three boys. In 1976 I was initiated to manhood through Kalenjin tradition, and so I participated in those events. And where we were told to defend our families, to stand as a man, to all those things, and to be responsible parent. So I have to learn all those things through the tradition and culture.

So, I now live in a settlement called [name of location]. It was once a white man place. The settlers came, the British came, and they settled there. And when they, after in the violence, we bought the land. And it is the boundary between Rift Valley and Nyanza province. And there we live, this border, in the two communities, the Kalenjin and the Kisii, at the other side, western side. And we are the east side of the Rift Valley. So it is there where we have been experiencing some violence, especially there's a hotspot where people fought fiercely. Yeah, they fought for their property, for their land, for their cows, because mainly, the cause of the violence is cattle deaths. And we depend on daily farming, and also, we depend on other food crops like maize.

So, most of the things we are fighting for is the land for grazing, land for cultivation, and the farming. There is a tradition that the land down there was once a Kalenjin land. It is called the historical injustices, and when the settlers had settled there, they chased away the Kipsigis community. And eventually, one day they had come, the Kisii came, and they are now inhabiting the land, which was supposed to be the Kalenjin land. So there is that kind of thing.

And also, culturally, we believe that all that all the cows in this world belong to the Kalenjins. It's the Kipsigis' property, not the other tribes that want the cows.

So with that confusion, we have created the numbness and animosity between our brothers. We see them as enemies, because they have taken our land, and they have our cows, our girls. So it is just bringing back the cattle. We don't say we are stealing them.

Yeah, taking back what belongs to us.

That is the culture, yeah. So me, I am a Born Again Christian. In 1987, I accepted Christ as my personal savior, and that changed my life, and I started abandoning the traditional way of living, the Kalenjin way, the Kipsigis way. And now, I embrace the Christian values. So when the violence broke out, with me, I didn't participate, I didn't fight, because I believe there is other ways of solving our problems, our conflicts. So we actually impress the Christian or the Biblical solutions to problems.

Yes, before the post-election violence. I think the post-election violence was actually a reactionary. It was actually a reaction of what took place during and after the election itself. We find that our rights were taken away unjustly, and so we had to react. But before, we were doing business as usual, we played together, we prayed together, even we walked together as friends, and there was no, that kind of animosity. So there were no... I mean, hard feelings between me, especially me.

And the other tribe, especially the people, we worship together, mostly the Kisiis, and the man who introduced me to Mennonite Church was called Pastor George. And he's a Kisii, but from the Narok side. He lived at Maasai land, so he is a Kisii, but brought up in Maasai land. And we pray together, we sing together, we do all those things together. And we had also business, common business along the border. We had millet, and then we sell the millet to these brothers. And we do business together. We also have land, and most of them don't have land, where to do their croppings, so they come to us, especially many of them, we had rental land, and we have free land, and we gave them freely.

So we were friends, and then this thing came. I think it actually happens to bring out the old animosity, whereby we knew they were our enemies, but those... that thing was not being said. I knew, as a Kisii, he's an enemy. Those are culturally, because we fight for land, we fight for girl. But before post-election, we were peaceful.

Interviewee E

With me, I was born on 1987, and I was being brought up by a Christian family. And that time, I was still a young child, so I grew up being taking care by my both parents. But unfortunately, up to 1997, my parents passed away, my family. So I grew up by joining (name) primary school, I go up to secondary school. But unfortunately, in 1992, that is the first day I saw war, people fighting, about Kisii and Kalenjins. So at that time, I was in class 7, class 8.

[They were fighting on the] Border, Borabu and Sotik. So that time, I didn't see properly, but I was still young. So after, we came together again, to be friends. And even up to now, we are in

the direction of marriage, being Kalenjins being married by the Kisiis, and Kisiis coming to Kalenjins.

And then after that, I went to secondary school. I completed my form 4. After that, now, I got my first-born child. And then I was being married. So I'm proud, because I was being, I was married by a clever husband... what can I put now? A father who is able to take care of his family. So, I now have four children, three boys and one girl. My first-born is in St Joseph, here. He's doing now, exam, form 4, class 8. And my last-born is class one, that is my daughter. So when I see now, my life, sometimes life is challenging. This life is this thing, not straightforward. But the way I'm seeing now, I'm proud because I'm seeing my life is not bad.

INTERVIEWER:

What type of activities are you involved in, and your husband?

INTERVIEWEE:

Farming. Sometimes, I am going out for this building. Even in my community now, I'm a woman peacemaker. I've been trained in Nairobi, I've been going for seminars, and we have been trained by Amani People's Theatre, yeah. So we are now, we are coming together with my husband, helping each other in family affairs. So when I am at home, I am taking care of children, providing family with their daily needs. And he himself is also working hard to see that he is paying school fees for the children. Yeah.

So, my ethnic group, my mother was a Kalenjin, but now I'm a Kisii, because my dad is Kisii.

[...]

And my ethnic group is following the route of the father... Not the mother.

So in my ethnic group now, the traditional things we are doing. You know, boys are being circumcised when they are still young, about 10 years, 9 years old. Even the girls, they are still being circumcised. But about the other tribes, they are not going, so the girls and the boys are still being circumcised. But the girls are not so serious nowadays, but the boys are being circumcised. And when you have been married now, you are totally a woman of somebody, whereby you need to be responsible in everything. Take care of children, take care of home, make sure everything is organised. Yeah.

INTERVIEWER:

OK, and can you tell me now, a little bit about your life in relation to the other tribe, before the post-election violence? What was it like before the post-election violence, how did you interact, and for what reasons?

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, before post-election violence... We are being interacting in doing business, whereby Kalenjins are coming to Borabu, Borabu people are coming to the other side of the valley, in selling and buying of vegetables, maize, exchanging of goods.

It was so good, no problem.

My personal interaction? I have no problem, because we are entering into the interior part of the Kalenjin, and I am not feeling that I will be beaten or what. We are eating together, sharing together, exchanging goods together. Sometimes, we will even be telephone to (Unknown term). I need this and this and this, can you bring to me? And he will bring, or she will bring. And also, she will tell you, "Can you bring for me (Unknown term)?" Millet, finger millets, or bananas. So you will bag it and take it to them.

[...]

we were friends, totally friends.

Contextual Macrostrategy I: GENERAL CONTEXT DEPENDENCE
Limit semantic searches to the general biographical and cultural context of the speaker.
Project: <u>Participatory Video</u>

<u>Interviewee A</u>
I was born in 1972 in December here in Eldoret, and... We were ten. My father is a Kikuyu, my mother is a Kikuyu. My father had two wifes, as part of being a polygamous family. We were brought up here in Eldoret, I went to school in Eldoret, and both primary and secondary school was both here in Eldoret. I don't know much about my culture and traditions because this is a cosmopolitan town so there's not much about culture and traditions. And I'm not fluent in Kikuyu at all, Swahili and English, yeah.

When I was growing up, [...] I used to help my dad who had a shop in doing some business, selling in the shop.

INTERVIEWER:

And what was your life in relation to the other tribes before the post-election violence while you were growing up?

INTERVIEWEE:

I would say it was very good because as I was growing up I didn't notice much of different tribes because we used to communicate in a common language. We used to communicate in Swahili mostly or English in school. We used to play together. Where we lived, we lived in a place where we had several families from different cultures, different tribes, so it was... I think my relationship with people from other tribes was always good.

But I had friends from... my friends, my best friends, had become from different tribes.

INTERVIEWER:

So you were raised in sort of living with harmony with everyone...

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes.

INTERVIEWER:

Also, your family had the same views?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yeah, yeah.

[...]

Like, my brother, my step-brother's home. It was in a place called (Unknown term) which is just some kilometres out of town. And our neighbours were from different communities. We used to trade together, because they used to come to us to buy one thing or another and we used to buy from them. We used to play together. We were good friends. We used to play. We used to do graze together, 'cause we had good cattle, so we used to graze together. We used to have parties together. We used to go to church together. Yeah, we were friends. Yeah.

Interviewee B

I am a Luyha, a Luyha by tribe. The last (inaudible) of my father, we are Luyha together, so four boys. And we actually stayed in (Unknown term), and lot of traditions. We like *ugali*. Yeah. That's our staple food. And we... most of them, Luyhas are (inaudible). Yeah, we do things out of our hearts. So we look like people who seem stupid, people who seem not want to develop, but we do things out of sincerity.

Yeah. So and that's why you find most of the people from my tribe are entrusted with little jobs so that, like, doing, like, watchmen or doing the heavy jobs that (inaudible) and we take them as good because that's our heart to serve. Yeah.

I was raised in a place called Mumias. School there, from (inaudible) at a school called Mumias Complex. Then I moved to St Mary's and went to school there. So I can say I was raised by my aunt. Of course, she just liked me. We stayed with her all of my school years. So because my family couldn't take me further to... for further studies, so mostly I volunteer in most of these organisations.

[...], mostly I volunteer with the peace and conciliation NGOs. Those who are fighting the HIV/AIDS and those things called sporting activities.

Interviewee C

OK. My name, as I have told you, is [omitted]. I was born in western region of Kenya. I'm a Luyha by tribe. I came here the year 1974. I started my primary school in Eldoret Township Primary School here, then I finished. I joined Nakuru, in another school, a seminary school. I didn't go far because of a lack of school fees, that's why you can hear me, my English is not sufficient. And I have a wife with five kids, five sons, because I don't have a lady. OK, my firstborn has completed form 4. My second born is sitting this year form 4, third born is in form 3 and fourth born is in form 7. OK, I thank God because I am alive. Before the year 2010, before election, we were sitting... we are staying in a peaceful place, we are loving each other, we are even you could marry from any tribe because we were just as Kenyans all together. We didn't know that there are some people who are not for this region and some are not for this region.

We were thinking that we are just one blood. OK. So we grew up in that community. We were playing with Kalenjins, we are placing with Kikuyu, we are playing with Kambas. But after election we get another thing in us so this are not our people, we are excluding some people, we say, "These are Kikuyu, this are Kambas, this are Luyhas," then something grow in our hearts and our youths.

I am a Luyha.

Before election, we were (inaudible). We are living as brothers, as I've stated. And you could go everywhere you want to go. Why? Because there was peace. No one was excluding someone to say, "This one is coming from that tribe; this one is coming from that tribe." We were, I tell you, we were, even my brother has already... his wife is a Kalenjin. You see? But we didn't know that there is a difference between these people. Our knowledge was that we are brothers. We are borrowing. Even salt, if you don't have salt, if you don't have flour, if you have an (Unknown term), a (Unknown term) for your children or education or health you are calling those people, you sit with them together, you tell them, "I am having this one, so contribute for me so that my son can go on with his education." So we were living in a peaceful environment. Yeah.

Interviewee D

INTERVIEWEE:

My name is Isaac. I stayed here in Kimumu from some many years ago, about 15 years, we were so many communities here. When we stayed, we stayed like brothers and sisters and after a long 2007 when the election was done, the communities... because of others communities, because of election, they say that election was stolen and then they started to beat each other. They faced one community which was for our president - Kibaki - when they came and they fight for them. Even me, I was here on that time. Even my properties were destroyed. After long, when we stayed for about one year, we came back and we came, we get this program for ASTEP, this started, they came from where we were staying at showground, they come to talk to us and then they told us, "Let us stay in peace and stay in each other like brothers and sisters."

[...]

INTERVIEWER:

So what was life like before the post-election violence?

[...]

INTERVIEWEE:

Before, we stayed... Because if we want something to each other, we were helped from each other, those communities, we stayed good. We were staying like brothers and sisters. We do not see anything which was happening bad. Because if we wants to something like salt, you can borrow your neighbour. And neighbours, we were more communities. We were having Kalenjins, Luyhas and Luos. We stayed together.

[...]

Before, we used to live together in harmony. When there are wedding or burials or any community functions, we used to come together and do them together.

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Even when there comes a time when people need to raise funds for different things in Harambee, we used to come together, help one another, 'cause nobody can live by themselves.

Interviewee E

INTERVIEWEE:

I've been raised in Kimumu. My father is a pastor, and he's been teaching us about peace. I've been taught to live with other people, but I've also been told that there are times that things arise, where when interacting with people, problems can arise. I have been taught to... that when living and following God's words, you actually do everything according to him, and you're OK.

I started in (name of primary school). And finished in (name of primary school). I actually didn't finish. I reached standard 5, 'cause of a fees problem. At that time, education was still low. Comparing the education from then and now, there's a big difference. Those days, you would study up to standard 5, but there's still nothing valuable to understand. You come to school, then you're chased back at home. You come again, you're chased back at home, 'cause in those days, families still paid for their school.

My father didn't have a steady job. Actually, we had to survive... where we could get a little, we would go with that. And we have lived like that, ever since. Right now, I'm a parent. I have three kids.

INTERVIEWER:

And can you tell me about your life in relation to other tribes, before the post-election violence. So, what was your relationship with other tribes, how did you interact with them?

INTERVIEWEE:

Before then, we used to live well. We didn't have problems in the... the only problems that were there, were the small issues about kids bringing issues. And like, those were small issues. Parents used to solve those that have problem to worry. Otherwise, what where other reasons why you would interact altogether, as tribes? For business or... It used to be majorly business and stuff like selling... trade of maize, vegetables.

I myself am a stone carver, and there are very many people from different tribes who do the same thing with him. For me, it's a Kalenjin who actually taught me how to do that work and how to build. And it was a Kikuyu who taught me how to carve the stones, so that we could diversify from masonry. Before coming into construction, into masonry, I used to do business with a Kikuyu. Right now, I do my stone carving.

Contextual Macrostrategy II: ACTUAL SITUATION DEPENDENCE
Limit topic search to the general properties of the actual situation of the Post-Election Violence for the speaker.
Project: <u>Participatory Theatre</u>

Interviewee A

Yeah. Our community, through our family, I say we were not affected, but I heard some people, their properties was destroyed. All of their land was taken away. But to us, I see, we were not disturbed.

[...] As I said, people were fighting, but for me, I didn't take part in fighting, because fighting will not bring a solution, so I select to just keep praying for them, so that peace can prevail. Yeah, it was not disrupted our location. We were just living in those.

Interviewee B

One shocking thing, I am a Christian of this church, of this parish here. At my home in Chepilat town... Now, during that time, when violence broke out, I had gone to my rural, ancestral area, and the children had gone there. And abruptly, I was called back, and we are in the same grouping by members of this parish here. So they called me back. When they called me I came and found that my local town has been set ablaze. My house was not burnt, but it was looted. And I couldn't have controlled, at that time. The situation was not conducive, to make any follow up.

When I tried to come over, my parents kind of were hesitant. They never wanted me to come over, because that situation was worse. But in my head, in myself, I was thinking, "How can this happen? How can this be done by people I am acquainted with, where I have friends. Will they really do this to me?" When I came over the third day, there was kind of calm that was coming down, you know, normalcy, normal life was coming. Though we never read along the border.

Finally, slowly, slowly, a peaceful situation, normalcy came, you know, started to come back, though some Christians had run off. It took around four weeks without any normal worship. We could find ourselves four to five people in the, you know, chapel. But peace returned slowly by slowly, gradually. Yes. And it picked up. Since then, we have had no skirmishes.

Interviewee C

When that violence came, there was... the first thing which we saw, there was burning of houses. Then there was killing, massive killing, both sides in Kipsigis tribe and also in Kisii tribe. OK, they also... Kipsigis also went to... they went ahead, killing also the Kisii people. And then, one thing which she keeps remembering, there was a head which was cut from a Kisii, come from a Kisii community, and those people, the Kipsigis people, went with the head.

[...]

There was a head. They disappeared with it. [...] To perform other cultural things.

[...]

One thing I encountered, my house was burnt. And then, we had to move from that homestead, and we went to a very far place. Where we went, we didn't have anything, we didn't have anything to eat, we didn't have anywhere even to sleep. The children suffered because there was nothing to provide to the children. There was no room to provide for them to sleep. And then, the children became sick, some even were affected by pneumonia.

OK, at that site, we received some support from Red Cross. We were given some beddings, and also we were given food relief. They also brought some doctors to come and assist us for medication, because where we were, there was no medical facility around.

Interviewee D

Yeah, when it came, when the election was announced, we were waiting in a certain place, in market at Chepilat. And we knew that the man we voted for, Mr Raila Odinga, was going to win the election. And then the KBC Radio, the media, we were watching our televisions, and we have this walkman radios, so when we heard them saying, the electoral commission was saying, "I think there is something wrong with the votes being counted, and somebody's trying to do something, is trying to steal some votes." So we had that emotional rising, and then before the announcement, the people were coming. We saw people coming. They said they were demonstrating. They were doing... yeah, they don't like the way the government was underlying the election issue.

So when it was announced that Kibaki has won the election, this is why the people came. They came to the roads, and then they blocked the fields, and then the communication was cut off at Chepilat. And then, eventually, the tribes started actually accusing one another, saying, issue, issue, issue. So it all started that way, and then we start fighting.

So, with me, I was in the town, and we had to run. Then we saw houses being burnt, people being cut, and then we all run. Everybody was running for his life.

[...]

Yeah, we were only at the border, along the border. And we were in our land, so we... but our brothers from the other side came to the boundary. And then also, our brothers from this side also came to the border, saying that, "Those people want to attack us." And also these ones saying, "They want to attack us." So there was that suspicion that these people want to attack us, and they also saying, "These people want to attack us." So these all some sort of defence mechanism, and everyone was ready to defend themselves. So we run, and then things just started that way. So we don't exactly know what actually took place, because it was not the same along the border. And that started earlier, before even the election was announced, results was announced.

Yeah, even before the [violence] had started. So we had... Already, the other side was fighting. We called it [name of location] and [name of location] along that border. [Name of location], from the Kisii side. So those people were already fighting. And the reason, we do not know. They were saying, "Cows were stolen or somebody came, burn our houses, we don't know for what reasons." There was small fighting among the communities down there. So, Chepilat was peaceful until after the elections were announced.

So we really had a hard time, because our families had to flee away. We had to take them to their relatives outside here, outside the boundary, where we live. So we take the children to live with the relatives outside the area. And then, men remained to look after the houses and the properties. So we were really affected. Now, many of the people, when they heard the war cry, they came for support. So when they came to our area here, at [name of location], they had to eat, they had to do all those things. And then we were the ones to actually help them. So everything was mess. If you have a house, you find many people coming in there, they sleep, even without your consent. They came, they eat whatever they find, they go to the *shambas*, everything they wanted. So those are some of the things that affected us.

And then, when they find you also not ready to go for war, to fight the passive enemies, you are also taken as one of them. So some of us are to be forced, and some children were forced to go to war. And many of the people were, say they were with the chief or with the government officials. There were few of us (Inaudible) of the communities. So they were forced to give out their cows and their properties as compensation of fines for the wrong they have done. So we were penalised (Laughs), punished for no good reason, and then... we were really affected. And so, we lost a lot, we lost a lot. So, with me, I had a family. So my children, there is an eldest, I have a 17-year-old son, and he went to war. He was schooling, he still is. He's in form 2, now. By then, he was at form 1... no, he was in standard 7, so...

He failed his examination. He was traumatised, he came so... today, he's not actually... he suffered psychological. And the younger one seems to have enjoyed it, so he overcame. And now, he's doing his secondary education certificate today, he's sitting now. And so, I think my family was really affected in that way, education, you know, there was no education, there were no one, children were forced to do other things, they need to fetch water, to fetch weapons for these people to fight with. We had a rough time, we had a rough time.

Interviewee E

Oh. On post-violence now, it was really terrible. It affected a lot of things. During that time, you know, a lot of houses were burnt. Everything was destroyed. So, in my side and my family, we feel bitter, because we were in border. So houses were burnt, chairs was taken. Even maize was cut in the shambe. And we see that it was... even up to now, it is a trauma to some people. There's bound to be a trauma. People have been traumatised, because it affected lot of properties, whereby we lose a lot of things, properties. So imagine you have built a house, a permanent house. Maybe you stayed there for three years or four years. One day, it was destroyed completely.

[...]

We ran away. I ran even away with my children. That time, there was nothing you'll do. Even to eat, it was difficult, because how can you eat when people are (Makes noises) all the time, eh? There was no peace. Where will you get even a meal? It was closed. So the only thing we were surviving with was water or milk and tea.

INTERVIEWER:

So what were you doing?

INTERVIEWEE:

We were just watching. What can you do now?

[...] we moved to somebody's house, and then we stayed there about four weeks.

[...] Yes, in [name of location], because the border was so bad, because people were now fighting there.

[...] We came back now, again. And then we started now being friends again.

[...] Yes, and then we start life again, begin to start again. And then we start now developing, slowly by slowly, yeah.

<u>Interviewee A</u>

When it happened in 2007-2008, I was married. And I remember there was some friction. There was friction before the actual announcement of the presidential winner. And I remember we could feel the tension. Like, friendship was kind of losing, it was no longer… you know, you could sense there was something happening but you were not sure what exactly was happening. Because people, old friends, were feeling this some tension. And naturally, I thought it was because we probably was a pretty different candidates for the presidency.

But after it was announced, then it's like all hell broke loose. I lived in an estate where we have different communities, and we realised that… I, personally, realised that my immediate neighbour, who was from a different community, was not there. Because I wanted to find out what is happening. I've heard that people are being attacked, what… how do you advice me to go about it? And she was not there. So when I went round looking for people I knew could have answered, I found that most of them were not there, they had travelled. When I tried calling a number of them, I could not get them. So I found it kind of destabilised my relationship with some of them.

Like, where I was brought up, I was brought up as a 12-year-old by my step-brother, we lived out of town. She attended the house that we lived in was burnt down. The kettle and the food that were in the stove were burnt down. And actually she… because in the event, when she was actually allowed to (inaudible) to run and save herself. She fell and she broke one of her legs, she's 11, (inaudible) she broke her leg and we didn't know where she was. So when the politician reckoned the house had been burnt down, we mobilised ourselves and decided, "Let's just go and see if will get her alive or dead." And… still, we felt priviledged because the person who took her in was somebody from that community that was burning houses, that is somebody who decided, "Let me just do it, because it's our (inaudible) and these are our friends." So she was taken in and given a place to sleep for the night and in the morning when we came, we were told, "This is where she is. Just come very quietly, take her, and take her to hospital."

Within town, because by this time I was living within town, there was so much tension and so much anger. It was very hard for you to just leave your house and come into town. There was so much… We were being told all the time that the people who are coming in and they're coming to burn houses. Sometimes, we would hear screams. Sometimes, we'd hear that… even as you look outside, you could see the smoke coming up. It was scary. Yeah.

[…] You know, after they left… after the violence dropped, we are telling them to town and went to other places, because I was telling you I was brought up here so I didn't know a lot of people. I went to a place in the (Unknown term) where my step brother has a home and they lived there. But I didn't like it, because these were like environment, I didn't have work, I was just… We didn't have a lot of things, so when we came back I didn't know who to trust anymore so I was

feeling, like, "I cannot just take things back to how they used to be. I cannot trust them that easy." Yeah.

Interviewee B

Yeah. I remember very well. I was involved because I was there, I was in that estate at the time, so when the elections themselves were announced and then the president is named shortly after six, and just in a short while we could hear (inaudible) and everything, so everybody became fearful. It was one tribe against another. Like me, I possess a name that is of a Kikuyu tribe. That is [interview's last name – omitted]. And yet, I am a Luyha. So due to that name, others will mistake me to be a Kikuyu. Because even I have their face, yeah. And so, the other tribe which is the Kalenjin, they were coming... You could see them from... We stayed in a place where, if you stand, you can see the hill from the other side. So they would come down to that hill, they had masked themselves with clay, without clothes, the Kalenjins now. They'll come with weapons, they will chase us, because they were actually chasing away the other tribes which is especially the Kikuyu tribe. They didn't want the Kikuyu tribe. And so, due to that, we were all combined.

So, they imagined all the people who stayed there were Kikuyus. And so they could come, maybe in the evening, like from 5, and they could really chase us away with arrows. I remember my dad missing two arrows which were meant to kill him as he was going to save a pregnant woman. And so, it was quite bad. We were not able to access to food, we are not able to access anything, we could not communicate, and yet we had mothers and children.

After maybe throughout the night and then there was war. If you wake up in the morning, you'd find dead bodies all over. And we just jump over them and you go others. You could see the pigs eating them, the dogs feasting on them...

Yeah. There was little you can do. So actually our efforts... like me, my effort was to see the mothers and children were safe. That was my desire. I didn't want to see... I could allow the men to go and fight. My brothers, my little brothers, if you are found in the house and you are a man you could even be killed because they were taking other tribes now. They put in front like the Luos, the Luyhas, they put in front, and then the Kikuyus, so that when the Kalenjins come to fight most of these other tribes were killed. They'd kill the targeted group. So that's how it was.

[...]

And so, we were running to churches, running to the police. Actually, the estate was evaquated, houses were burnt down. People lost property at a very high rate, but that was it.
We were trying to hide in the house, maybe in the church. If you see it was intensifying, you could run to the police station. Yeah.

Interviewee C

OK, it was a sad moment because people were living in... they were not living happy! They were living thinking that the people will come and attack us! I, myself, I took my wife and my sons to the church, [name of location], we have a catholic church there. I took my properties, what I have, I took them there. The tables, the cupboard, the chairs were broken there because a lot of people were there. We men were sleeping outside but the ladies, our wives and our children, in the church. We were sleeping outside worrying about being attacked with some people.

You could have money but you could not buy anything because no supply of anything, no company was working, no movement of the vehicles were going, so you are living in a very bad situation like this. It took around five days, but we experienced very, very bad days.

[...]

OK. You know, that days... First of all, I told you, you could have money but you could not buy anything because there was no one in the market.

And if people were there in market, they sold whatever they had and it got finished. Then, we were living in a very big scare. Why? Because we were seeing the choppers just roaming around up and down, up and down. You hear... You see the fire burning houses far, there, there! So you are thinking, "I am the next victim." So we were living in a very scared environment.

[...]

OK, you know, people were selling their properties because they wanted to get some money to sustain their families. So, you know, nobody was going on work, nobody was doing business, and if one was doing then that business you was doing in a risk. So somebody could come with their phone like yours, you say, "Have this phone. I want you to give me 2000 so that my family could get something to eat. Or have this blanket." Some were stealing others' property because we were (inaudible) together. So if someone come, he can take this camera of yours, he can take this one, then for his benefit. Other things were broken, the tables were getting damages. So it was very bad, because we were taking another toilet, this one.

They dig somewhere, so everyone was going there. So some malaria, some diseases, begun to come from there because we cannot use one toilet around 1000 people. That was a very, very bad days.

[...]

The choppers was just this hired choppers. Not the police. You hear the choppers going this way, some managed to get a flight from this airstream here. Even the price, they get the price down. Why? Because they want to move some people, some community, because their life is in danger. They were taken here, they were flied to Nairobi with 2000 shillings so that they can survive there.

Interviewee D

Before the elections, we were all living together in harmony. And then, when the elections came and during, people started saying that votes had been stolen. There came a time when people started having issues with one another.

On that day that the votes were announced, in the evening, at around 6 in the evening, that's when...

When they announced that the president had won, the president who was running right now had won, and the people... In the evening... That's when people started going around saying that the elections... the votes had been stolen and they started burning houses. They used to live in junction here. People are going round burning houses. They were saying that the Kikuyu community should up and leave.

They were saying the Kikuyus should leave because the president is a Kikuyu so all the Kikuyus should leave. They were burning houses. My house was one of those that were burnt, and I lost property worth close to 4 million. When they were burning the houses, we had to run away. We were lucky to get a GSU lorry, which we boarded, that took us out of here. A GSU lorry. GSU is General Service Unit, it's part of the police. Yes. So we boarded the lorry and it took us out of here.

We were taken to the police station in town, and then, a week later, that's when we were taken to the showground. We stayed at the showground for about 3 months.

Interviewee E

I'd never seen or witnessed an event like that. Seeing your friends are the ones who burn your houses, they become your enemies. We were separated with our parents. We used to hide, at that time. My family, my parents, were at the church. I tried to communicate with the guys who had come to burn our house, so that... pleading for them not to burn our house, that our house was everything that we had.

From then on, life was hard. We couldn't eat, food was scarce. The only thing that we could eat was... what we could consume was water. And our house wasn't burnt.

[...] it was about three months.

I felt bad, because seeing people you actually know, turning into animals. Because I was seeing people that I knew, but what they were doing, they were not good. Me myself, I had a coach. His name was Phillip (Inaudible). He was attacked, and people attacked him and cut him up to death, while he was... The person who cut him, it is somebody he knows, and he used to meet with him in sports. He did something very... It hurt me so bad, seeing that somebody you know, being killed by somebody you also know. It actually hurt my heart so much.

I was saddened by that situation, as my wife and kids had gone to the church. My father was sick. He couldn't even rise from bed. My father said that 'cause he's saved, he's not going to run away. He's going to remain there. And 'cause he's old, he's not going to go anywhere. And true to fact, the fights happened when he stayed in the house. I was pleading for the house not to be

burnt, because I knew that my father was inside the house. So the people who knew that my parent is somebody who was known in the community, was in the house, they were also pleading for the house not to be burnt.

I was sad. I was also sorrowful, 'cause I couldn't fight, so only remain indoors, so.

I used to tell them from the beginning, that because my father had taught me that following the Bible is important, when somebody offends you, you should forgive them, seven times seven. I knew, because of the way we had been taught about forgiveness, we knew that the devil really makes people do things.

There was a preacher from before called Rogers. Rogers (Unknown term), who used to teach us that there's something that coming, called (Unknown term). I didn't understand what (Unknown term) was, and it was going to finish people. But I didn't understand what (Unknown term) was. So when the violence arose, I was asking myself, "Was that pastor actually speaking about this event, or what was it?" So from the things that I had been taught before, in the church, I was seeing the situation as if what had been taught was actually happening. So when I used to go to church, I used to feel there is something to it.

Contextual Macrostrategy III: ACTUAL SITUATION RESULT
Limit semantic searches to the general properties of the consequences of the PEV events.
Project: <u>Participatory Theatre</u>

Interviewee A

My behaviour? No, it didn't change, because I can say it was summer. It was just out of hunger. They were following a crowd, so I didn't blame them. They were just doing it not knowing what could happen, or not being sure. Fighting is not a solution, so my attitude towards them did not change much. I kept on praying that with time they will just know what they were doing is not good.

Interviewee B

I came over, the third day. The worst thing that made me never to return to my house, I was appointed as a person in charge of peace, along those people who were displaced in my town area. Now, I was compelled to stay there, because should any question be forwarded by the parish, they'll come and ask exactly, "Can you give us the actual findings on what caused this issue? How was the situation?" And I will be the judge. So I was compelled, also, to stay put, at the town.

Surely, in the whole of my entire life, at no time had I ever had any doubt. I had great promises, great hope on the Kalenjin community. Yes, I used to interact with them so much, and that bond was so much, even more than my ethnic people. So this one has not changed in me. I am kind of mending the broken beads of the relationship.

Interviewee C

One thing, I felt there's need for people to stay together, so that they don't... they are not affected like the way we were affected, like being moved from where we used to stay peacefully, and then moving very far. I felt there's need for peace, so that we can stay very well at our home.

My prayer was to have peace, for the peace to come back, so that I could go back to my home, because I was feeling I was far more frustrated, staying away from my homestead, because I didn't have anything, I could not do anything, I could not support my family anywhere.

I'm feeling that I still need a lot of peace. And wherever I see any conflict, I'm worried, I become worried. I only want to focus on... I still want to see peace and cohesion, reconciliation between the Kipsigis and Kisiis.

Interviewee D

Yeah, I think with me, it didn't affected me, it didn't affect me at all. With me, I knew that the problem was not with them, but there was somebody behind these issues. So they were only acting by the orders of their superiors. We blame the politicians who organised them, that actually funded for this chaos. So with me, I knew this was not their intentions. I knew that. I have friends, many of them the Kisiis. We're here, together.

Even today, I had a meeting in (Unknown name) church, just immediately, 2009, 2010, we had two churches in Kisii. And with me, I went there, and then the people was saying, "You are going to the Kisiis, and if they kill you?" So I say, "If they want me die, I'll die. Even one day, I'll also die." So I went there, I met the people. They were very peaceful. And what I realised was that the neighbours themselves did not actually try to fight us. They also flee. And then they had foreigners, people from Maasai area, especially from the interior. And also, on our side, those who came was from far villages. They were not people around here. So with me, I have a heart, a human heart (Laughs). So I knew (Unknown term) is my friend, and I cannot touch him. So the person who doesn't understand (Unknown), will not befriend him.

INTERVIEWER:

So after the post-election violence, you never had any feeling of anger or hate?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, yeah. That is what I'm trying to express, yeah... That I had no bad feeling at all, so I knew that somebody, somewhere, is responsible for this thing, and it is not actually our Kisii brothers. And I also understand that even the Kisiis themselves there, there are some who understand that it wasn't our fault, it wasn't our plan, we didn't plan for this chaos. But there was beneficiaries, there was some people who said, "We have to do this and this, to gain this." And there are a few people in the community.

Interviewee E

After the violence, my feelings now was so bad, because my people were killed, our properties were destroyed, so my feelings was now bad, because when I saw that tribe now, it was like my enemies, totally enemies, because that time was bitter. Imagine, you have done this and this and this, but one day or two days, it was destroyed completely. How do you feel, when it was you? It was so seriously bad. When me, I feel badly. But sometimes, as a Christian, as a woman who knows that you have to love your enemies as you love yourself, so we started again, because there is nothing we'll do again.

[...]

You know, after the violence, still there was fear. So even the Kalenjins, who are not able to come to share with you anything. Even me, I was not able to go and share with them, because that fear was still there. You might be killed, they might put even poison into your food or what. So there was a (Unknown term), a big (Unknown term), after the violence. But sometimes, when people come and teach us about peace, about peace, about peace, we come now closer. You know, because they started of interaction, sometimes your sister is there or your mum is

there, so you came together closely. Even me, I tried to come, slowly, slowly, slowly, slowly, and then we interact again. But up to now, we are really, totally friends. The friendship we have now is even beyond the one before the violence.

Contextual Macrostrategy III: ACTUAL SITUATION RESULT
Limit semantic searches to the general properties of the consequences of the PEV events.
Project: <u>Participatory Video</u>

Interviewee A

My feeling... I think I felt betrayed because these are friends who could have warned us, could have told us what is being done, what is the things that are taking place. We need to look for a way to protect ourselves or to, you know, to mend the way things were going.

[...] Yeah, I had friends who, at that time, I was telling them, "No. You're not my friends anymore because you have betrayed us and you're not true friends. This is not that we (inaudible)." When your friend is headed towards something that is not good, you're supposed to warn them.

Like, (inaudible) who are from the community, and I didn't want to see them when I came back. I didn't want to say hello. I didn't want to buy from them. I didn't want to. Some of them came and they wanted to know how I was doing and I told them I just wanted to be left alone. Yeah.

Interviewee B

At first, I felt bitter. I was a bitter lady because of the rate of killings that were going on. And so, I thought maybe this is not the Kenya we had. Actually, we were peacemakers for other nations, but this time we could not keep peace ourselves. So I was quite bitter and just imagining Kenyans who are Africans killing themselves because of just some elections. And yet, those who are supposed to be fighting for the seats are just... they are animal, they don't want to negotiate or whatever, but I was quite a bitter lady.

[...] in fact, I could just see any Kalenjin and I feel, "Gosh, this guy deserves to die. He does not deserve to live. These people deserve to die." But, we see, this their own land, that's what they say forgetting that we are all entitled to live anywhere in Kenya.

Interviewee C

No, you know, after election we... Some people had a anger, but some hide their anger. Why? Because they thought that the one they elected is not the one who is ruling. So they got anger. And we tried to bring them together. After the two principals were... Kofi Annan brought them together, then we said, "If the two principals have greeted each other, therefore decided to work together, then what are we taking a anger for at the others? Let us work together. Let us stay as we were staying (inaudible)."

[...] I didn't have any bitter for anybody because in election, you know, there are some people who went to school and have some knowledge, a little bit knowledge, and there are someone who are illiterate. So, you know, to convince the person who is illiterate is very difficult. So the

people went to school they knew that in the winning, in the election, there is a winner and a loser. So when we told them, "Yes, we can accept the defeat or we can accept that this man wins, then we continue with our daily commercial basis."

Interviewee D

I got really angry. I felt like I should actually also pick up arms and fight back to finish them off too. We had sat together to think of how to retaliate, but after getting (inaudible) and being talked to the… those ideas washed away.

Interviewee E

After that, when going to look for work, people used to ask what tribe you're from. It came to a point when if you'd go to look for job from a Kalenjin, if you're from a Kikuyu community, he wouldn't actually give you that. Tribalism rose so that even if you go to a Kikuyu, would he be willing to give you work?

Because the elections came with a lot of things, and the Kikuyu are saying that the Luhyas, who are fighting them in company with the Kalenjins. When you go to a Kalenjin, he'll also have his stuff to say, because they are in the middle, between the two tribes. I myself am a Luhya. So when I go to a Kikuyu, they say that I was part of the people who were fighting them. The Kalenjins as well, on their part, also say that we are the ones who were fighting them. I, as an innocent person, suffered a lot, during that period.

Before the elections, I used to go to [name of location], to [name of location], to [name of location] to work. But after the post-election violence, I was scared to go there. Of course, I might be killed there or finished there.

[…]

I couldn't go to areas like those, 'cause you see, the parts where the Kalenjins were living, they think that you are fighting them, alongside the Kikuyus. So, like an area like Mugnaka… That's where I'm…..(Inaudible)…… But they were two groups. Each group wanted me to sit with them.

When you go to the group of the Kalenjin, they want you to be with them. So as to separate myself from the issues, I had to actually stay away from everything. Because if I'm seen on either side, it will be a problem. So as to stay away from everything, I'll look for a Kalenjin or Kikuyu, and tell them that, "For me, myself, I've never actually fought." And plead with them to help me to hide, so that they won't take me.

When you were found, you were asked to carry stones. You find out that people are carrying spears, arrows, and *pangas*. So when given an arrow and a bow, you don't know how to use it. When given stones, you maybe, you haven't actually been used to it, to carrying stones. When given a panga, you actually might not have ever used it to cut somebody.

I was saddened by the situation, but because I had never taken part in fighting, I didn't so much get so angry, but I was worried that what was coming of the country. Seeing that I'd been born and raised here, and being told to go back home, I am wondering where will he go? Will I go back... where will I go, if I'm being told to leave this place? Will I go back, alive or dead?

I was thankful for the neighbours, who actually understood. But there are those ones who didn't understand. The post-election violence made me sad, because I couldn't get to see both of my parents. One was in the house, sick... And the other had gone to hide at the church.

So I used to feel sorrowful about everything that had happened, and if somebody had preached to you, and then he is dead, you actually become sad about it.

Contextual Macrostrategy IV: ACTUAL PROJECT IMPACT
Decide which topics are directly or indirectly contingent upon the speaker's exposure to a participatory media output.
Project: <u>Participatory Theatre</u>

Interviewee A

INTERVIEWER:

[...] Have you gained any new understanding from these plays?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yeah, it has changed me, because at the moment I left here, I ran to my community, I called some, to my village. I called a group of members and then I talked about what we have attended and what I have gained from it, and it's still working in our community right now, yeah. At once, maybe monthly, we can call for a meeting. We discuss some agendas, how to work out things in a peaceful way.

INTERVIEWER:

And while you were watching the drama, do you remember a little bit, maybe, the reaction of other members of the audience?

INTERVIEWEE:

Some were hostile. Some shouted, while others watched. Others grabbed. Others were just excited, yeah.

Interviewee B

Theatre gave a big impact, because they have exactly seen what is happening. Though sometimes, people who are like the doubting Thomas in the Bible, you know? So, after seeing this drama, they have seen that surely there is reality, there is a sense on the life. And the perception we should have, should change for the better.

All these questions that brought all these reactions were analysed. And the drama brought every question to its answer. So every reaction got its answer and response. Showing that our co-existence is very important. And I do feel that this kind of theatres should be a continuous process.

Interviewee C

When I watched the drama taking place, I began feeling how we ran, how we were also affected when we were running. So it brought back that memory of how I was affected.

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I felt that there is need for peace and reconciliation, because violence really is not good. And I felt that there is need to stay peacefully with the neighbours surrounding me.

When the audience saw it, they were happy that it was just a play, and they learnt a lot from the drama. They learnt about the need for peace.

Interviewee D

Yes, yeah. I learnt a lot. I learnt to change. Yeah, my perceptions were changed, and the feelings and the way I've been doing the things before, have actually changed. And I started actually seeing life in a new way. And I admire the way they were doing things. And, you know, they were not one tribe. There were people from the Nyanza, the Luo community. And we have the Kipsigis, and we had the Kisii, the Kisii community. So we were all in one place, doing one thing. So that kind of thing, I saw the unity of different communities coming together and doing plays and doing those things together. I think it made some incidents, I cannot forget.

INTERVIEWER:

And do you remember what was the reaction of the rest of the audience?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yeah, I think many actually had a different way of doing things, but they were actually very interested. They were inspired, they were very inspired, I'd imagine so. And everybody wanted to share it out with the people who were not there. And I remember one man saying, "I wish I would have come with my wife." Because they had home violence, families. So actually, it was a way of solving many issues, not only the political issues, so it comes to the family, to the self. And actually myself, I got changed and I learned a lot about things.

Interviewee E

My thoughts, now, after watching [the theatre play], I thought that if there was no men or people who know about peace, all these men will be killed. All of them could die, because everybody need to revenge. Let's say for example, if they, Abakusi people too will be killed, they'll revenge to kill them. At the end now, all of them will die, will be killed. But because there is people who know about peace, I thought that this is good, because it will save a lot, and it will bring good things ahead of us.

INTERVIEWER:

OK. And has anything in particular changed in you, after watching that performance?

INTERVIEWEE:

It has changed because I've learned to know that without peace, there's nothing you can do. If violence still start, there's nothing you can do. There's no development, there's no education for your children, the poverty will be high. So it has changed me to know that you have to struggle peacefully, encouraging other people to join the peace, the route of peace, and coming together, sharing, building, in order to succeed in life. And it's not even for me, but for my kids now, coming behind me. As the age is now going, my children need my powers now to lift them up. So it has changed me to know that I have to come together to share with other people, in order to assist and come together to build our nation and our community, and help each other to continue.

INTERVIEWER:

And do you your remember maybe a little bit about the reaction of the rest of the audience?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yes, I remember, because we were in two tribes. So when the reaction, you know, even if it was a play, the Abakusis was feeling bitter when they saw that the Kalenjins are fighting and killing a lot of Abakusi people. So the reaction was high. They were very high tempered, now. But even if they were high tempered, there was still understanding, "Stop, stop, stop. Don't chat them, because they will continue." Don't do this, because they'll see that they are being... the Kalenjins are now higher than them. So the reaction was too hard, whereby it was reality, they could divide themselves again.

Contextual Macrostrategy IV: ACTUAL PROJECT IMPACT
Decide which topics are directly or indirectly contingent upon the speaker's exposure to a participatory media output.
Project: <u>Participatory Video</u>

Interviewee A

INTERVIEWER:

OK. And what were your immediate... your thoughts, about the video?

INTERVIEWEE:

It gave me an insight on what happened, what could have happened, to cause the violence eruption because it was a clearer picture of the happenings, yeah.

INTERVIEWER:

You watched the story of the Kalenjin, so how did it make you feel to watch and to listen to the perspective from the other side? [...]

INTERVIEWEE:

I did understand, because I realised that these were innocent people who had been brought together and given ideas on what to do, and pressure was building. You know, you see that pressure build up because of one or two people. And after that we were able to do it as a community. Yeah.

We've poured our hearts, we've talked and it brought some healing to our past. And even after watching the movies, even as they were being made, as they were coming up in the stories, it made me realise that reconciliation can be achieved. Because everyone went that extra mile to bring normalcy, you know, things, back to normal.

INTERVIEWER:

And can you remember what was the reaction of the rest of the audience when you were watching the video?

INTERVIEWEE:

Oh, we had people from different backgrounds; people from different age groups. I realise that there were people who cried. It was a sad scenario. Actually, as the play was drawing out, it was a sad... it took people back to the happenings what gave them, you know, to us when those things happened. And after that, we were brought back together and we were actually taken through some talk and we were told the importance of peace within the communities for all people. Yeah.

[...]

The people reacted differently. Those who were, you know, in shock, who were just… So this was going on, it was happening on the ground. And then, there were those who cried. There were those who just kept silent and watched. (Inaudible), different people reacted differently.

[...]

Like, personally, I felt moved because to tears because it took me back to that particular day when this was happening. And I could see that, as they were acting, they acted as if it was real. Yeah. And I remember that there were those people who lost their lives (inaudible). There are those people who lost their properties; there are those people who lost very important things in their lives. Families, friends. And I remember that by then, at that particular time, there was no escape. We didn't know how you were going to get yourself out of this situation. You are there and their talkers went through it right there with you and they help you recount and you didn't know just how you were going to get yourself out of this situation.

What I liked most about those video shootings was that we had people from different backgrounds, people from different communities, and they merged and formed about those videos and it was a good thing. It was not just something that was formed by one community. They joined together. They brought their ideas together. They brought their whatever it was that they had been doing. They had (inaudible) were using to attack us, or to communicate to us so that this person from here, the other community, does not know what he's saying. So both may contribute (inaudible). That is what I think is most important.

Interviewee B

INTERVIEWER:

OK. And what were your thoughts while you were watching that video?

INTERVIEWEE:

I felt like there was coming to be a new… Let me say, at least peace is coming back. When somebody talks about what he goes through, that's one way of getting healed. I felt like there was healing and reconciliation in the community. Yeah.

INTERVIEWER:

And has anything changed within you from watching that video story?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yeah. At first when I was watching it, I really felt bad, how those people treated especially that family. But after watching it and realising that actually there was healing, but let me say that after watching that video I felt like there was a new something coming up like a healing in the community and in my life.

I started feeling like, "No. I shouldn't carry this bitterness. I will let things go the way they are. Maybe these people did out of pressure or tension or whatever and one day they will regret it. So if I hold bitterness against them, then we won't be able to live at peace with them because they also decide forgiveness." Yeah.

INTERVIEWER:

Do you remember what the reaction of the audience was as well during that screening?

INTERVIEWEE:

Yeah. Some… I remember there was a woman, there were ladies, in the audience and most of them cried. It was like having memories, and then most of them were quite hurt watching that video.

Interviewee C

OK. After seeing that shooting, I realised that if people could stay in peace then we can stay a very beautiful and a very good life. Why? Because when we were chasing that boy it was just one boy. People who were coming behind him were around 20-30 carrying stones. Even if we could get that boy, his life could be gone. So I calmed down and see that if we can stay in peace then nobody can lose his life or her life. And we can stay and we can make a lot of developments. Why? Because this one knows this one and he can help him in sickness or in goodness. So I saw, after me seeing that shooting, I learned from my mind that peace can make everything go smoothly.

INTERVIEWER:

So what was the major change in your perception of the conflict after you watched that video?

INTERVIEWEE:

OK, the major change, I can assure you. You see, we have 42 tribes in Kenya and that day we were fighting 41 against one. You can imagine. 41 tribes against one. So the other tribe we were excluding because they have wealth. You know, they are hard working people. So they are doing business. And when we are doing business, what are you expecting? You are expecting to grow. So what I see after that shooting, the community we have come together. Why? Because after knowing that this thing is not the right thing. Fighting is not the right thing. Demonstrating is not the right thing. We came together with all the community we have a (Unknown term) Kisii. So we are make another community there so that to educate even our youths. Why? Because our youths are the ones who are running with the stones and the ones who are running with the (ki-swahili name of a type of weapon), with the (ki-swahili name of a type of weapon). So we are educating our youths, "Peace is the life we want in Kenya or in Eldoret."

INTERVIEWER:

[…] do you remember any particular reaction from the audience?

INTERVIEWEE:

OK. In fact, when they were watching that video they feel sad. Some of them feel sad. Why? Because on that day, when we were shooting, it was ridiculous because people, we were taking car tyres, burning, some people scared. Some even they were running to their houses to close, to shut their doors, so that maybe they have started. So some were worried, and some were looking to say: we did a very bad mistake when we were burning houses, when we were fighting each other. So some were regretting. Some were very sad. And after that thing, they came all together and say that, "Now, we don't want to repeat such a thing in future. Why? Because we lost even some people, they had one mattress and the mattress was stolen in the church. So I didn't get anything. Some even they came out and burning the voting cards, the youth. If this thing can bring me to run, to kill somebody, to fight another, let me burn this thing, I don't want to do it again."

OK, there are some people in one tribe, they lost their people. When they start watching that film, they recall that day because it was a black day. So some were sad and some were being educated, as I've been saying. Some people, they lost their wealth. There are some, even, he was married to a Kalenjin and he's a Kikuyu. They were going to remove that lady, because you have brought a bad blood in our community. You see? So after seeing that cinema or a screening, they realised that, all of us, we are Kenyans and we want to stay together.

Interviewee D

Then we return at our homes. When we came here at, we get that we were requested to come and see some videos here. Like neighbours, when I come I see it was not alone. It was not me alone who was affected. I see from those movies which were shown from Kamkunjis, I see one guy who was beaten, an arrow from his… on his lips. And then we were… we talked and I see those movies, it shows that we can stay together with each other.

[…]

I had been invited as a neighbour to come watch the video, and I found out that it wasn't only me alone. When I came and saw that the other people who had also been offended, some had even got hurt during that event, I told myself that I was lucky that I hadn't been physically harmed, although I had lost property. But property can be found again.

[…]

At first, the videos were saddening to me. But then, after seeing the way that the people had been hurt but they were now turning their lives, I saw that it's good to actually come and live together in harmony.

[…]

Viewing the images helped me to get rid of the bad thoughts, of the evil thoughts, that we had from the... evil feelings that we had from what had happened to us. And from watching that and seeing the way the people were actually coming together and living together, it actually showed us that it would be good to also for us to live harmoniously with other people.

[...]

[The perception I had about the other tribe] has changed, because, before then, I couldn't even say hi to them. But right now I actually talk with them, maybe a number of times they'd come and borrow money from me and I am willing to give them.

INTERVIEWER:

And can you remember the reaction also of the rest of the audience to that film, to that screening?

INTERVIEWEE:

All of us who watched were also shocked 'cause we were also feeling the sorrow inside us. Some of us were actually crying from viewing the images. When we went later and sat down and discussed about it, we saw that our hearts had calmed down and we... 'cause we had seen that it wasn't only us who were hurt.

Interviewee E

About the election... after the election, we were split up with our friends, but after coming and watching the videos, specifically the one from Peter... And also the one from Maxwell... I felt that there was something happened, from that. After watching it and listening to their stories, the story from Peter really bore a lot of sorrow for me.

INTERVIEWER:

OK. So can you tell me what were your thoughts, when you watched that video?

INTERVIEWEE:

Especially after watching Peter's video, when Peter was saying that, "These people have killed my parents, and I'm not going to actually sit with them." So from watching the video, I saw that Peter is saying that things have happened, but it comes a time that we have to stay together. I felt pleased to see Peter saying hi to... greeting the people who had not been on the same thoughts as him. So I felt happy, seeing people saying that we should come together and be like the way were living before. I was very happy, and felt touched. Because during the period when we were fighting, I didn't believe that there was going to be peace anymore. After seeing that people had come together, eating together, staying together, I actually felt happy about it.

[...]

Watching the video, it actually changed me, 'cause after the post-election violence… I told you this already, that I can't actually stay in Eldoret. I had asked my father to get somebody to sell their land, so that we could shift back to Western Kenya.

So after the video, I went back to my father and told him that, "No, we shouldn't do this." After the problems that happened, things can actually change and be… So my father asked me, "What has changed that right now, that you are the one who is telling me to sell this land, but now you're saying no?"

So I told my father that after staying with other people, coming together with people from different tribes, I actually saw that there is a possibility that the fighting wouldn't happen again. So, because of that video, I am still in Eldoret. So, if that video is not there, I would have told my parents to actually go back to Western Kenya. But through the video, after staying with other people and talking about what had happened, I actually saw that life can continue here.

INTERVIEWER:

Do you remember the reaction of the rest of the audience?

INTERVIEWEE:

What I saw from the time when Peter was talking about the people who had killed his uncle, and that he wouldn't come back here to stay with them, I actually saw sorrow in the people who were sitting and watching the video.

[…]

But when Peter [said that] after something wrong has happened, things [can] change… I saw that everybody in there actually clapped.

This is because, when you see a Kalenjin who is watching the video, if he was actually happy about it, as I said before, they might not have done it knowingly, because when they were watching it, they were not happy when Peter was talking about what happened to him. They were actually sad about it. So [from what I saw at the screening] I believe that they were not happy about what had happened.

[…]. You see, Peter is a Kikuyu, and the other ones are Kalenjins. So the Kalenjins were not happy, at that time, when they were watching that, yes. When they were watching, there were different tribes in there. So, you actually would see that it was touching the people's hearts in there.

[…] For myself, I actually saw that that video got to touch everybody. Because the videos were not only from one tribe. It was witnessed from people by different tribes. So, after somebody being able to see a video from the people from the different tribes, they will actually be able to see that this was not a good thing.

So I'm very thankful for the video. Because I myself, right now, wouldn't be in Eldoret. […]

APPENDIX III

Participatory photography for peace

[This work was presented at the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) Conference at Sakarya University, Istanbul, Turkey, 10th-15th August 2014]

In June of this year (2014) I conducted a further research project that provided supplementary evidence to my claim about the impact of participatory media in post-conflict settings, and on the role that C4D plays in these contexts. This was made possible through the Post-Graduate Research Fund (PGRF) offered by Macquarie University. The PGRF is a research grant conferred on PhD candidates, in order to provide funding for further activity that is not essential but may provide additional value to their research project. Students in the final year of their candidature are encouraged to apply[31].

This research activity gave me the opportunity to examine the medium of participatory photography (PP) with a community that had been affected by civil violence. The two media projects I evaluated in my thesis were conducted in 2010, prior to my field research in Kenya. My thesis analysis was solely based on the interviews I gathered with participants in relation to their experience with those projects, which used participatory video and participatory theatre. With this participatory photography project I had the chance to undertake a first-hand observation of the impact of a participatory media project on its beneficiaries during the project implementation. I was able to combine my role as field researcher with those of participatory media project designer and facilitator. This was important as it allowed me to progressively design and assess the course of the project on the basis of participants' responses, leaving space for constant reflection and greater understanding.

Research background and context

Through this additional undertaking I wanted to demonstrate how, in post-conflict communities, a participatory approach to the use of photography can encourage dialogue between (former) enemy groups through the use of images. This is also due to the fact that,

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[31] "The PGRF is intended to enhance the postgraduate research experience and add value to the thesis – it is not to be used to meet basic research and infrastructure costs associated with the applicant's candidature." [...] "Supplementary Research Costs (for costs incurred in pursuing **new** aspects of the research project): These costs might include, community consultation costs, production of creative works, supplementary fieldwork, supplementary visits to off-campus libraries or archives, visits to research laboratories with the intention of acquiring additional research skills or purchase of small items of equipment not normally supplied by the Department. These claims must not relate to costs that would normally be incurred in the completion of the thesis as originally planned" (*PGRF Supplementary Research Finding Rules | Macquarie University*).

throughout my research, I had difficulty finding a participatory media project that addressed issues of conflict through the use of photographs, because the method is yet to be fully explored in this context.

American scholar Brinton Lykes has made an important contribution to this specific area through her work with the Association of Maya Ixil Women (Women of Photovoice/ADMI & Lykes, 2000). She used participatory photography and oral history with Mayan women affected by violence in post-war Guatemala. In an analysis of these activities, Lykes and her colleagues (2003) discuss the Freirian pedagogical techniques employed in the project to address elements related to the psychological issues developed by the women as a response to violence and repression, but also to the improvements of the local community.

Through pictures, storytelling and dialogue, the women of Chajul, one of the poorest areas in Guatemala, recorded their life stories and created a public testimony of the atrocities experienced by their people during the war. The images helped to re-create stories of violence through symbols – another important feature of PP – and the visual and oral narrations were shared with neighbouring villages. In addition, the group-based discussions that were part of the project allowed participants to talk about episodes of their lives which had been, until then, forcibly suppressed (ibid.).

The authors explain how, ultimately, the women succeeded in reaching a common understanding about some of the reasons that led to the violence, and its effects (ibid). Most importantly, yet, was that 'participation [in these activities] has [...] been an opportunity not only for individual growth and development but for sharing stories, comparing different versions of survival, rethreading community wherein to develop a shared vision towards collective action for change' (Lykes et al., 1999).

While Lykes and her colleagues still employed participatory photography primarily as a research method, the project documented here employs PP predominantly as a tool to create dialogue and understanding between groups that were formerly divided by conflict.

In the following sections I present the method and outcomes from *Lenses of Conflict and Peace*, a PP activity that I conducted with a group of young people living in a Kenyan slum. The project allowed the youths to express themselves through the use of images that they chose to take about their tribes and the way their community was affected by the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence: how things have changed from the violence to the present day, their

interaction with the other ethnic groups, and their feelings today as the young generation of a tribally divided but politically unified Kenya.

The analysis in the following pages shows how the project allowed the youths to begin to think critically about issues of conflict and peace present in their community. It also demonstrates how the activities have contributed to initiating an understanding of the different experiences of the conflict among participants, who belonged to different tribes. Finally, it reveals how this particular project design can ultimately contribute to processes of conflict transformation and reconciliation in the aftermath of violence.

Project logistics

This project took place, once again, in Eldoret, Rift Valley. More specifically, the activities were implemented in Langas, the largest slum on the outskirts of the town. The group of participants consisted of nine young people between the ages of 20 and 34 years. To ensure safety and appropriate working conditions, the series of five workshops that the project consisted of were conducted within the premises of one of the local Christian churches. In addition, all participants were residents of the slum and very familiar with the area and its community.

The project was organised in collaboration with A-Step, Mercy Corps' partner organisation that supported me also during my fieldwork. The organisation dealt with participants' recruitment by selecting some of the beneficiaries of their programmes who had expressed their interest and communicated their availability to attend the PP workshops. In the selection, not only a fair representation of both genders was ensured, but also that of different tribes. More specifically, the participants included two members of the Kikuyu tribe belonging to two different sub-tribes; one member of the Kalenjin tribe; and six members of different tribal clusters including Teso, Luo, Kisii, Nubi, Luhya and Marana. With the exception of the Kisiis, these groups sided with the Kalenjins during their fight against the Kikuyus in 2007/2008.

Most of the participants were able to express themselves in English, with only two individuals requiring translation at times from Ki-Swahili to English. Only one of the participants had a previous limited exposure to the use of a camera. The only photography experience that everyone else shared was that of capturing images through their mobile phones.

While I designed all the activities and acted as the main facilitators in the project, I received the support of Esther, a staff member from A-step who, after completing the recruitment and securing the venue, assisted me with any clarification, obstacle and translation need that arose during the project, both from my side and from that of the participants. Given the interest she immediately showed in photography, the level of comfort that participants had around her as someone they knew and trusted, and the fact that she was also a resident of that community, Esther engaged in some of the participatory photography exercises and her images and stories have become part of the final collection.

Lenses of Conflict & Peace participatory photography project

Below, I discuss the workshop activities that were conducted during the PP project, and which progressively led to its final outcome. The one presented here, however, is not an exhaustive illustration of all the reflections, games, and discussions that formed this project, but a selection based on the relevance to this research topic.

On **Day 1**, participants were firstly introduced to the method of participatory photography and given clarification on its meaning and purpose. Subsequent to that, the objectives of the project were identified:

➢ Expressing what the conflict meant to participants and to their tribes;
➢ Showing what changed in the community since the end of the violence;
➢ Understanding what the conflict meant to fellow participants and to their tribes;
➢ Offering a lens on peace in Langas community.

Following this I introduced myself through the use of photographs that depicted people and places in my life. This effectively captured participants' attention, as the whole group thoroughly enjoyed this presentation and was fascinated by the photos I showed them of cities and subjects that were completely unknown to them.

After an ice-breaking exercise, I introduced basic photography notions such as shot types, camera angle, composition, light and framing. I split the eight participants into two groups of four and explained to the first group how to operate a basic digital camera. The first group then demonstrated to the other.

In pairs, participants practised by taking portraits of each other, experimenting with different shots and angles. They were then encouraged to write captions for each other's photos indicating their partner's name, age, country of birth (this was suggested in order to transcend reference to tribal belonging), and what he/she thought was the main difference between conflict and peace. This activity allowed people to get acquainted with the idea and the importance of captions.

Image 13. Participants' portraits with captions

A thorough discussion was held on the risks of working with images, the importance of keeping the equipment safe and the ethics of photography, more reflections and details of which are offered later. Participants then left the church premises with their cameras for the first time and took five to six photos per pair of important or well-known places in the slum. This introductory exercise, which was not strictly related to the themes of the project, was helpful for participants to experience the community's reaction to the cameras and to learn how to approach people and clarify to them the aim of our activities.

Day 2 focused mostly on connecting images to feelings and emotions. A series of pictures was shown encouraging the group to share what feeling each one elicited in them, highlighting also the individual differences. They were then handed a list of feelings and, in pairs, asked to take photos that expressed those. All the images were projected back on the computer screen and discussed in the group, highlighting once again individual differences in interpreting what was being expressed through the photos but also the creativity used in doing so.

Participants were subsequently split into two groups and engaged in a game that required them to match a series of images that I provided, to a number of captions that indicated either feelings (i.e. happy, sad, scared, betrayed, etc.) or general themes (i.e. freedom, conflict,

fear, justice, injustice, etc.). This was a key activity as participants had to reflect on the connection that each picture had with its potential caption; most importantly, each group had to engage in a dialogue and reach an agreement over how to match the different items, as this choice would often differ from individual to individual. Furthermore, the images outnumbered the captions I had supplied, hence group members had to create additional captions (based again around feelings or themes) to describe the remaining pictures. This was again an exercise that required critical thinking and the achievement of consensus.

Participants were then paired according to their tribal affiliation, and asked to leave the premises with their cameras to take one photo each of a place within the slum that represented for them a strong reminder of the Post-Election Violence.

Upon their return, they worked on the creation of a map of the slum using the photographs they had taken during the exercise of the previous day (Image 14). This was an extended collaborative activity, which engaged them in a group reflection on their area. After completing the map, I encouraged the group to talk me through the various roads and places they had either drawn or photographed. I then asked them whether and how any of those places had changed from the time of the conflict to the present day. For what I recognised being the first time since the end of the violence, participants began to identify the differences in their community; by thinking critically about how things had changed from the conclusion of the fighting, they started to distinguish elements related to peace that had gone unnoticed with the re-establishment of the everyday routine within the slum. At the same time, they were also able to point out how some of those changes show at times that the road to a sustainable peace is still a long one.

Image 14. Pictures map of Langas

On **Day 3** we began with the first storytelling session. Each participant told the story around the picture they had taken the previous day, in relation to what was for them a reminder of the conflict in their area. Each story was an intense and powerful moment, and everyone listened to one another attentively. Sad memories were brought back but rather than a sense of division, it seemed as if everyone was feeling united by the shared suffering they had experienced. At the end of the storytelling, in silence, each participant wrote on a piece of paper what he or she had learned about the experience of the other tribes.

After that, participants engaged in another participatory photography exercise, which encouraged them to capture images that showed the progress towards peace that had been made in their community since the end of the Post-Election Violence.

This was followed, again, by sharing stories around those photographs with the group. Later, participants wrote down the themes that they were able to recognise from those stories, and provided an illustration for each of them (Image 15).

Image 15. Themes arising from the images on the progress to peace

The main activity on **Day 4** revolved around a further participatory photography exercise, which saw the young people taking photographs of what they felt still represented barriers to peace in their community. Following the image-taking, everyone told the story around their photo, explaining how barriers were still present, where, and in what form. After that, the group worked on writing a list of the barriers that were highlighted during the storytelling, providing an illustration for each of them and highlighting how different tribes were affected by them (Image 16).

Image 16. Illustration of the barriers to peace still present in Langas community

During the final session on **Day 5**, the group engaged in its last participatory photography exercise. This activity was designed to create a further understanding between different tribes and identify a way forward. This time, pairs of different tribes were formed. After leaving the premises, each person explained to the other how they felt their tribe had been affected by the violence, and how they believed they were still being affected and/or discriminated against to this day. Upon listening to this story, the other had to take a photograph of their partner in a place or in a way that was connected to what they had just heard, also considering his or her suggestions over the composition.

For the storytelling process, this time each person had to re-tell the story they heard from their partner. This way, individuals belonging to a particular tribe had to communicate to others how someone from a different tribe felt during the violence and how they believed they were still affected by the issues that had led to it. They also had to explain how the photograph they had taken was meaningful to the circumstances described.

Afterwards, the young people worked again in groups to bring together the issues that were raised during the storytelling, placing emphasis on the problems each tribe is facing. They

then tried to design solutions that could lead to a more equal and peaceful community (Image 17).
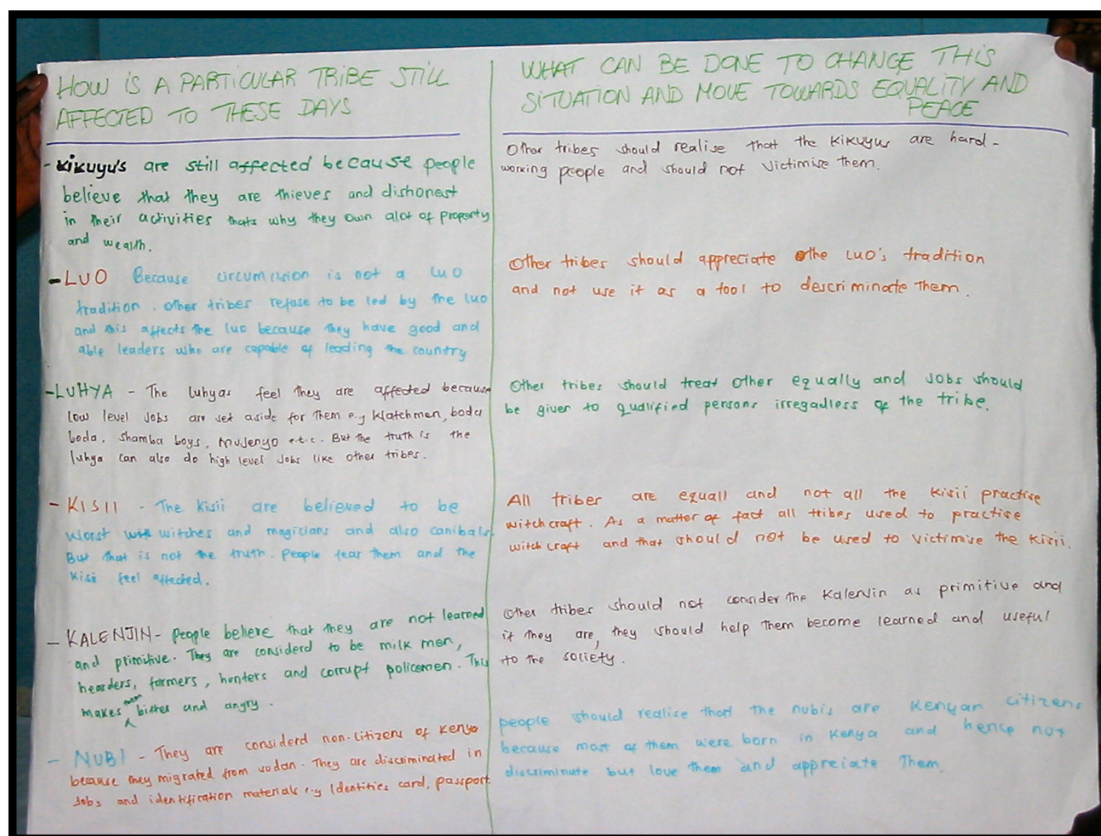

Image 17. Discrimination and problems faced by each tribe, with possible solutions

This session also involved a group decision-making process on the future use of the images and stories that had arisen from the project. This was followed by an in-depth explanation of the issue of 'consent' and by participants signing their consent form and seeking consent from their photo subjects.

Images, storytelling and dialogue

Pink (2007) states that '[images] are inextricably interwoven with our personal identities, narratives, lifestyles, cultures and societies, as well as with definitions of history, space and truth' (p.21). This is particularly relevant in the context of this project analysis, as the activities involved the use of cameras to capture snapshots of community life and physical spaces. These were crucial for undertaking both a personal and group reflection on the ethnic conflict that tore Kenyan tribes apart in 2007/2008, and to critically examine the concept of peace in the community.

Below, I show some examples of the photographs taken and the stories told by the participants in relation to the four core participatory photography exercises conducted during the workshops:

1) *Take a photograph of something in the community, which strongly reminds you of the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence.*

Image 18. Example of a participant's image of a reminder of the conflict

"As you can see, this is a church built using iron sheets, but it was initially not there, it came up after the violence. Before, this used to be a playground. We used to come here to play football. It was just a ground where also [religious] crusades could take place. But right after the [2007] elections, this was a battlefield because one day the Kikuyus and the other tribes met here and there was a lot of fighting. Many people were killed. And when we woke up in the morning we found a lot of bodies here, which had been cut into pieces by both groups. There were also children who had been killed and the dogs came here and they were eating these people who were dead. So this was filled with many bodies. And after that, the communities around decided to build a church to bring religion in order to encourage peace.

Every time I walk past here, this church brings back a lot of painful memories. Because I remember when we were kids I used to come here to play. It was filled with grass, and then people turned it into a bloodspot. And then it became my church. So there are a lot of things that come to my mind when I see this place."

Mitchel, 22yo

2) *Take a photograph that shows the progress towards peace that is being made in the community since the end of the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence.*

Image 19. Example of a participant's image of progress to peace

"I took this picture because during the post-election violence, this shop did not use to be there, but now at least because we have peace it is easy and the owner of the workshop can make those beds and chairs, and every different tribe comes here to buy.

During the violence you wouldn't find things of wood being made because workshops were the best places to be put on fire. But nowadays at least they are making them again. Only the Luos are the ones who are making this furniture. Before, the owners of this business had run for their lives because of the violence, but now they are back and they are still making furniture. In fact, I have two pieces at home, the chairs and the bed."

Antony, 22yo

3) Take a photograph that shows the barriers to peace that are still present in the community, even after years since the end of the conflict.

Image 20. Example of a participant's image of an obstacle to peace

"As you can see, in this photo there is a garage. It is where they repair bicycles, motorbikes, vehicles and other things. So I decided to take this photo because they have people there but me, I hate it – I hate that because you can only find one tribe working there. They're Luos, and Luos are good at mechanics, repairing vehicles and motorbikes and other things. But the thing that makes me very angry is that there are no other tribes, there is only one tribe. Luos only.

I think it would be good if there was a mix of tribes like Nandi, Kikuyu and others, because that is the only way of building peace. Because, you can see, one tribe only, maybe, to an extent, it leads to conflict because they only talk about politics and support the guy who is from their own tribe."

Stephen, 20yo

4) *Listen to the story of a member of another tribe on how they feel their tribe has been affected by the conflict and how they are still experiencing forms of injustice or discrimination. Take a photograph of that person, which is meaningful to the story they have told you.*

Image 21. Example of tribal portrait I

"This is Mitchel and I decided to take his photo outside this building because he is a Kikuyu and most of these premises are believed to be owned by the Kikuyus, and people feel that they are the ones who, at least in this part of Kenya, are the upper class, not comparable to other tribes.

So due to the way they live and the way their life is, they are thought to be better than others. And that's why I decided to take this photo, because of that house.

Mitchel is not happy when he hears people saying that the Kikuyus are the ones who rigged the votes, because he always thinks that the president won by himself, not by rigging. So people would go about saying that they are the ones who stole the votes, but he says that it's not that way. He told me that he feels his tribe is being discriminated by people calling them thieves; they feel that people think they live by stealing, but it's not that way, it's that they are hard workers."

Brenda, 23yo

Image 22. Example of tribal portrait II

"This is Brenda and she comes from the tribe of the Nubi. The Nubi came to this part of Kenya from the Sudan side. And so her story is that the Nubis are being discriminated because people do not see them as citizens of Kenya and so they cannot get any collar jobs. They are only given jobs that are of low level, and this does not make them feel good.

I took this picture of Brenda on the road because she told me that the Nubis are fighting for their rights and are on the road to achieve what they are fighting for."

Mitchel, 22yo

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Image 23. Example of tribal portrait III

"This is Caroline, she comes from the Kisii tribe. According to her story, the Kisiis have never been given the opportunity to be leaders. When the elections came in 2007, they did not have that person who was superior or had the power to lead them. So every time there is an election, people take them as neutral, as the Kisiis always end up supporting a candidate from another tribe, maybe Luo, or Nandi, or Kikuyu. So she told me that the thing that makes her very angry is that they also want to be good people and they also want to be able to lead the country like other tribes, the way Kikuyus are leading and the way Nandis have led. So she has told me that every time we have an election, people think that they are not good at politics; but the truth is that they are good, they are just lacking the person to lead them.

I took this photo because the way she is in this image shows that she is very lonely. So this picture reflects the way her tribe feels, their loneliness. They don't have a person who leads them."

Stephen, 20yo

Image 24. Example of tribal portrait IV

"This is Antony. He's a Teso. During the post-election violence, Tesos were siding with the Luos in the fighting. He told me that, during that time, they were being mistreated by other tribes since they were being told that they are not circumcised hence they can't lead the country.

The place where I took his photo is a place where most Luos are doing their work; it is a garage made of ironsheet."

Ritah, 20yo

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As detailed in the illustration of the activities previously provided, the images and their stories were a catalyst for participants to reflect on the situation in their community and provided them with "lenses" to analyse some of the existing factors that were related to both conflict and peace. The aim was not to create a common perspective, as each "lens" was unavoidably altered by the views and beliefs held by the native tribe. It was rather to offer a platform to reveal those views and learn about one another. This way, an understanding of differences began and a number of commonalities were unveiled.

Foster-Fishman et al. (2005) have interestingly highlighted through their work that participatory photography does not aim to reach a consensus among participants. On the contrary, it allows for both an individual and group reflection through which people gain a greater understanding about others (ibid.). This is particularly important in a post-conflict reality.

When I asked participants to write down what they had learned about the other tribes after the first storytelling exercise, which was related to the theme of the Post-Election Violence, what each one of them wrote was not linked to the stories they had just heard or to the discussion that had taken place. The content of their writings instead was still strongly based on the stereotypes that each of them held about the other groups, despite emphasising the importance of unity and peace.

As the project progressed, however, participants began to think critically about peace and the degree to which peacebuilding was evolving in their community. As demonstrated through a series of individual interviews I conducted with each participant at the end of the project, the activities allowed people not only to reflect upon their situation, but also to understand the power of photography as a tool for peace. One of the participants expressed her views about the project with the following comment:

> *"This project at least helps people, like when I go there I take images of what happened, I come here, we discuss... We are different people with different ethnic groups so we know, we come up with a way of solving what happened and learn that we will never go back to the mistake that we did. So it's like we are trying to build peace together."*

Others observed:

> *"It's not the way I used to think about it. Initially I thought photography was just for fun, but now I know photography is more serious. I can use the skills I've gained in order to create peace in society."*

> *"In my life, I was trying to build peace, but I didn't know that I could take a photograph on peace. So now I have learned."*

Overall, I feel that the most important lesson from this project comes from the answers of two of the participants, given separately after the end of the activities. While explaining to me what he had learned about other tribes, the young man belonging to the Luo tribe recounted:

> *"I was happy with the project because we have learned how to use cameras and to see that there is peace; because during the post-election violence we – me I am a Luo, and Luos and Kikuyus are those who were fighting. And after the violence there was no space where Luos could sit together with Kikuyus. But now you see we are here together, we are eight tribes, and I am happy. [...] I enjoy it because from 2007 there was never a day where I shared something with a Kikuyu. [Through the project] I have also learned that now people [from different tribes] are unequal. I thought that, because they are rich, Kikuyus hated other tribes and their people. But now I see that not all of them hate others."*

The young Kikuyu observed:

> *"I've learned a lot about other tribes. After the elections it was very hard for us, the Kikuyus and the Luos, to sit at one table. We would meet maybe in church or in the [football] field for a short time, but in this project I've been able to learn a lot about the Luos and their experiences and their feelings after the violence. And I think that is very nice."*

This shows a key step in the creation of a shared understanding between tribes, which represents a crucial element in the advancement of a reconciliation process among former enemies.

Participatory photography as a communication for development tool in peacebuilding

As Wang (1999) asserts, participatory photography 'is an ideal participatory technique through which participants can document, critically analyse and improve [the] contexts that affect [them]' (p.191). It also 'enhance[s] internal reflection, self-awareness, and the exchange of individual's perceptions in order to initiate personal and community change' (Chilton et al., 2009, p.75). In addition, it goes beyond the barriers of literacy that are often present in contexts of poverty (ibid.) such as, for example, that of a slum.

By applying a C4D lens to the analysis of the images and stories arising from this project, we can begin to recognise participatory photography as a tool for initiating dialogue aimed at rebuilding peace. As presented in this discussion, PP has generated a process of listening, trust-building and knowledge-sharing between project participants who, due to their

differing backgrounds, held diverging perspectives over the past ethnic conflict, its causes, and the experiences of tribes other than their own. As the project materials reproduced above demonstrate, this method was also crucial in encouraging critical thinking around the issues related to the conflict and the elements connected to peace, which are currently part of community everyday life.

Differently from the approaches that dominate both the literature and practice on this method, the project sheds light, for the first time, on the important role that participatory photography can play as a communication tool for peacebuilding. As Foster-Fishman et al. (2005) claim, while there is evidence that participatory photography projects have effectively captured the voices of those who are often unheard and presented them to policy-makers, the impact that these activities have on participants has not received appropriate documentation. The analysis presented here advances preliminary evidence that change can occur at the participants' level, and not simply in policies, through the application of a targeted design that includes a strong component of inter-group communication.

Finally, in contrast with other tools that see larger community involvement as the key factor that leads to sustainable social change, participatory photography considers also the individual perceptions of the root causes of a problem (Strack et al., 2010). This is in line with conflict transformation mechanisms that focus on both individual and relational changes, which are needed in the aftermath of violence.

Lessons and challenges

Ethics and safety

As I discussed in my reflections on the fieldwork, even after six years since the end of the Post-Election Violence, tensions related to its events, its victims and perpetrators continue to exercise strong pressure on the Kenyan population. Hence, I was aware that the sudden introduction of cameras in the community might have been a cause of concern for its members as well as being a potential danger for the participants.

In preparing a list of ethical issues to reflect upon and to debate with participants, I found helpful the participatory photography guide by Lyrintzis (2010). This focused on the following points:

1) The photographer should avoid intrusion into people's privacy while taking photos, and always ask for permission before photographing someone;

2) The photographer should not take photos that would cause embarrassment to the person/people being photographed;

3) The photographer should not take photos that display people in a false light, creating a distortion of the truth;

4) When asking people for permission to have their photo taken, the photographer must explain clearly why they are taking that photo and what the project is about;

5) During group discussions, each photographer shall engage in reminders about ethics, power and responsibility when taking photos of the community;

6) Both the project staff and the photographers will ensure that the photos taken express the real voice of the community.

The risks of working with images were also identified by the group as:
- the possibility of upsetting people;
- making people recognisable in photos, when they should not be;
- putting people in danger.

These were important considerations in this context, as the fear and mistrust over the happenings of the conflict are still strong; ensuring safety of the participants was therefore one of the key aspects. Prins (2010) reminds us that the act of capturing an image with a camera makes a person vulnerable by exposing them and their belongings. Photography can be easily perceived as an instrument for surveillance whose aims can be regarded as suspicious; its use can at times be in contrast with social norms and put participant-photographers in danger (ibid.).

The group of young people I worked with experienced a number of difficulties, particularly on the first two days of the project, when members of the community had to familiarise themselves with the presence of cameras in their area. Since one of the first PP exercises was that of taking images which reminded people of the conflict, most participants had to face questions and often the anger of people who were concerned about the reasons why they were photographing certain places or buildings. Esther, who assisted me throughout the project, told me that participants were initially very concerned about the community's reaction and feared potential reprisals. She also shared with me an episode that occurred while she was taking a photograph of a house that had been burned down during the PEV, when a visibly irritated man approached her asking her whether she had the intention to sell his property to someone.

Others had similar experiences, but clarifying the peacebuilding aim of the project and also emphasising the fact that they were engaging in photography training that required practicing their skills outside was helpful for participants to reassure people.

This was connected to the importance of keeping the equipment safe. In a slum environment, where the crime rate is particularly high, the safety of the equipment often goes alongside that of participants, as the simple action of walking around with digital cameras can make them targets of assaults and robberies. We brainstormed ideas on how to overcome these potential dangers: an agreement was reached on not visiting certain parts of the slum that were known as likely sites of attacks; at the same time, it was agreed that only project participants were allowed to use the cameras. This meant that the devices were not to be handed over to family members, friends, or anyone else who showed an interest in experimenting with their use.

Limitations

It is fair to acknowledge that the complexities of post-conflict environments cannot be resolved simply through a series of participatory photography workshops, even when the aim is that of providing a channel for different parties to communicate. In addition, as highlighted in my thesis, exposure that the community may have had to previous peacebuilding initiatives remains an influencing factor.

One of the constraints of my project was the limited amount time I had for the implementation of the activities, and practically no time for follow up. I had only two weeks to spend in Eldoret. The first day was dedicated to finalising logistical arrangements; after that, I held a workshop every other day (excluding the weekend). I needed a gap between sessions to reflect on what had taken place each day and write down my observations. It was also crucial to go through all the photographs that participants had taken, then catalogue them and print out those that were needed. Despite the fact that I had prepared a list of games and activities to carry out, the final programme of each workshop depended on the outcomes of the previous one, hence it was necessary for me to have the time to design each session day by day.

At the end of the project, as mentioned previously, I talked to each participant individually and asked them a series of questions in order to carry out a brief evaluation. While the answers were very useful for me to learn the immediate impact and impressions, it was

difficult to make broader assumptions on the long-term effects of this work. These will only become visible with time, especially since A-Step has successfully fundraised for a number of cameras for the group to continue using their newly-gained photography skills.

A final issue is that of the impact that the photos might have on the community. Before conducting this project, I believed that one of the outcomes would have been that of a public exhibition. However, after reviewing the images that were taken and reflecting upon the different stories, I did not feel assured that everyone in the community would react positively. Many of those photos, as also explained when discussing ethics, showed images of burned buildings that belonged to someone; of locations where people had fought and bodies were found. The photos and stories related to the 'barriers to peace' in Langas showed well-known places where certain tribes are still not treated equally. Hence, with no possibility for me to test the reaction of the community to those photos and with no certainty over the potential repercussions on participants, I had to exclude the public exhibition component. This was also decided in consultation with the participants.

The time limitation was another factor that contributed to this choice. If I had had the opportunity to remain in the area during the weeks following the end of the project, I would have tried to study the possible response that those photos may have elicited in the community, also with the involvement of other community-based organisations working on peacebuilding and with area leaders.

Conclusions

This work has shed light on the ability of images taken by members of a community that was affected by conflict, to provide a platform for storytelling and dialogue between (formerly) opposing groups. The activities described here have demonstrated how photographs can generate stories that are helpful in creating an understanding of the different situations and perspectives linked to the violence. By developing a design that effectively combines participatory photography with a critical examination of conflict and peace within a community, it is possible to comprehend the multiple meanings that different groups assign to their reality.

Communication for Development is a useful framework to allow understanding of this technique as a tool to initiate dialogue. When we regard inter-group communication as the primary component of these activities, we can recognise the crucial role that images and stories play in bringing about change both at the individual and relational level. These

changes are important to begin to transform the underlying conflict that remains after the end of the violence. At the same time, the act of sharing knowledge and listening to one another is a significant step towards restoring the trust that is needed for reconciliation to occur.

This project has strongly enhanced my perception and knowledge of C4D in Peacebuilding, and it has greatly expanded my experience as a researcher. Moreover, since its design was informed by the framework that I developed through my PhD research[32], the outcomes that I was able to observe offer further validation of the mechanism that sets in motion when participatory media become catalysts for restoring understanding and interaction within conflict-affected communities, and begin to transform conflict.

Further inquiry into the data will be undertaken to develop this analysis into a publication.

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[32] See Chapter 7, p.207

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APPENDIX IV
Research Ethics Approval

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

VALENTINA BAU <valentina.bau@students.mq.edu.au>

Approved- Ethics application- Harris (5201200034)
1 message

Ethics Secretariat <ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au>   Thu, Apr 12, 2012 at 2:54 PM
To: Dr Usha Harris <usha.harris@mq.edu.au>
Cc: Miss Valentina Bau <valentina.bau@students.mq.edu.au>

Dear Dr Harris

Re: "Communication for development as a tool for peacebuilding
participatory media productions for conflict transformation and
reconciliation" (Ethics Ref: 5201200034)

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the
issues raised by the Human Research Ethics Committee and you may now
commence your research.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Chief Investigator- Dr Usha Harris
Co-Investigator- Miss Valentina Bau

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL
EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1.   The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing
compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research
(2007).

2.   Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision
of annual reports. Your first progress report is due on 12 April 2013.

If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a
Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been
discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to
submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/
human_research_ethics/forms

3.   If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew
approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final
Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit
on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in
an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are
continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4.   All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the
Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for
Amendment Form available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/
human_research_ethics/forms

5.   Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6.   At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of final ethics approval.

Yours sincerely
Dr Karolyn White
Director of Research Ethics
Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee