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**POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: POLITICAL RALLY
MESSAGES EFFECT ON ETHNIC INTOLERANCE AND
CONFLICT AMONG VOTERS IN MIGORI COUNTY, KENYA**

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POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: POLITICAL RALLY MESSAGES EFFECT ON ETHNIC INTOLERANCE AND CONFLICT AMONG VOTERS IN MIGORI COUNTY, KENYA

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Abstract

Purpose: The purpose of this study was to establish political rally messages effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya.

Materials and Methods: Descriptive research design was adopted. The study targeted a population of 388, 633 respondents made of voters from Migori County. A sample of 400 respondents was used. The sample for quantitative data was obtained using stratified random sampling method and the other section of the sample; media practitioners were non-randomly sampled. The sample for qualitative data was collected through FGDs on a purposefully selected sample. The data collection was conducted through administering of questionnaires and also Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) using a structured and pilot-tested questionnaires. Data was collected using questionnaires and FGDs. Quantitative data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences computer software package (SPSS statistics version 22). Descriptive statistics drawn include mean, and standard deviation which were presented in tables and graphs. Inferential statistics drawn include multiple regression and correlation analysis.

Results: The findings revealed that there was a positive and significant relationship between propaganda, stereotype, hate messages and vernacular radio stations to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. Based on the findings, it was concluded that, there is a positive and significant relationship between political rally messages and vernacular radio stations used in this study, and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya.

Unique contribution to theory, practice and policy: The study recommends to government agencies such as NCIC and Media Council of Kenya and the IEBC to consider taking measures against these political rally messages as one way to reduce ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya.

Key words: *Political Rally Messages, Ethnic Intolerance, Conflict, Voters*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Political rally is an organized effort which seeks to influence the decision making process within a specific group of people, (Anselm, 2019; Boris & Brenton, 2017). In a political rally, the politicians are trying to get those who agree with their ideas to support them for a political position. Political rally message contains ideas that the candidate wants to share with voters. Political rally message often consists of several talking points about policy issues, (Bednar, 2017; Kalla & Broockman, 2017). These points summarize the main ideas of the rally and are repeated frequently in order to create a lasting impression with voters. In many elections, the opposing contender tries to get the nominee 'off message' by bringing up policy and personal questions that are not related to the talking points.

The various governments in the world have taken several steps and put down procedures to reduce tensions and also to prevent conflicts, (Oberschall, 2018). The persistence of conflicts in every election raises concerns about the effectiveness of their mechanisms. How politicians express themselves to the citizens who are the electorates has clearly shown a paradigm shift, (Ndavula, 2015). Innovative ways of political marketing by the political class seems to be on the rise. Political leadership in many African countries is characterized by ethnic bias and favoritism, (Abrahmas, 2010). Citizens are thus treated unequally in many respects, particularly when it comes to national resource allocation and political representation. This often bleeds ethnic intolerance and, consequently, conflict (Nandi & Platt, 2018).

Political identities in the world and African continent specifically, have been a major source of clashes during political campaigns (Arther, 2017). These clashes might be a significant cause of ethnic intolerance and conflict in our society. For example, in Kenya, the repeal of section 2A in 1992 that abolished single-party politics, led to increase of political parties. These parties, in the opinion of the researcher, are ethnically based. This is a factor that is believed to have brought about ethnic political affiliations, (Heelsum & Koomen, 2016). Political parties' rise toward election periods has promoted ethnic conception rather than spearheading national value, (Platt, 2014). People have been mobilized along ethnic identities. Besides, various communities always mobilize themselves along ethnic groups and form pacts and alliances with other community political parties. For instance, political deals were witnessed in Kenya, during the 2013 and 2017 general elections, respectively.

Techniques of engaging the electorate by politicians have been on the forefront factors that might fuel ethnic intolerance and conflict (Nandi & Platt, 2018). The researcher focuses on political rally messages including hate, stereotype and propaganda. The mass media is providing politicians and political actors with unlimited space to articulate a variety of political information in new techniques, (Williams & Gulati, 2012). These techniques can be categorized into conventional political marketing and non-conventional forms of political marketing. For this study, conventional forms of political marketing are those methods that have traditionally been tied closely to the political system and the electoral process (Lucinda et al., 2016). Conventional forms of political marketing include the use of Radio to pass messages to supporters. Non-conventional forms of political marketing involve the use of information and communication

technology using to exercise a direct influence on the masses and to aid in establishing a political strategy.

Politicians have taken advantage and used the media to send hate, stereotypic and propaganda messages among others during electioneering, (Lucinda et al., 2016). The researcher of this study focuses on whether these message types can have effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County. Media freedom has been viewed as crucial in society and especially to democracy and development, (Henrikas, 2016). The idea is that the news media air elections results and shine spotlight on corruption. This makes media outlets serve as watchdog in the society. Politicians justify restricting media freedom on the grounds that irresponsible news coverage might incite political violence hence, ethnic intolerance and conflict, with the potential of undermining peace (Lucinda, 2018; Nandi & Platt, 2018).

Ethnic conflict is one of the lethal forms of political violence. The researchers also note that political violence is a great challenge to the international community (Woodring & Belle, (2014) & (Muttarak, 2014), Woodring et al., (2012), report that as a result of political divisions, between 1946-1999 only, there were more than 127 civil wars where the World Bank estimates nearly 20 million people were left dead. Henrikas (2016), discovered that conditions that lead to independent and free news media to instigate violence; particularly civil conflict, highly depends on social tolerance among people themselves. In the opinion of the researcher, the people do not want to tolerate other people, especially if they are from another political divide.

The various groups in the world who have been reported to engage in conflict have shown good relations in the past, (Timothy, 2016; Seculic et al., 2017). The good relations have been betrayed by ethnic hatred that motivates ethnic intolerance and conflict. The researchers further add that Bosnia State, suffered a period of war that preceded ethnic hatred hence, the ethnic intolerance. The break-up of Yugoslavia is an excellent case to test how hatred, hostility, and intolerance are causal factors in inter-ethnic wars, also known as ethnic intolerance and conflict among communities who have for long time lived together, (Lucinda, 2018). Ethnic intolerance in Yugoslavia resulted to inhuman actions and treatments including; neighbor to neighbor atrocities, among other vices. There have been recorded tensions and hatred and that grow into violence among communities, especially during election periods. The researcher focuses on the cause of this especially if political rally messages might have effect. The combination of accumulated tensions and hate message by power seeking personalities and groups, was alleged cause of violence in Balkan, (Timothy, 2018).

Politicians persuasively employ messages of various types through the aid of mass medium, which finally promotes hatred, killings, intolerance and conflict among other vices (Murati, 2011). The case of Migori County in Nyanza province may not be any different. Major John, former Prime Minister of United Kingdom while speaking in the House of Commons in 1993, reported that the disintegration and dissolution of the Soviet Union was the result of the nature of political rally messages, (Oberschall, 2018; Williams, 2017; Pilbeam, 2017). As the politics continue and elections near in most of the world counties, ethnic grievances and inter-ethnic rivalries find an outlet just before democracy gets hold of the situation, (Mellon, 2018). At these times, the military efforts to hold the country together quickly turn into violence.

In April 2002, Venezuelan news media provided round-the-clock coverage of the general strike, protests and political violence that led to temporary ouster of President Hugo Chavez Frias, (Karin, 2020;Muttarack, 2014;James & Gibson, 2013;Ananda & Platt, 2017). The clashes between the pro - Chavez and anti-Chavez demonstrators left dozens of people dead and many more injured. The differences between the rich and the poor, opposition and the government were brought about by messages that were broadcasted by the political leaders. Divisive messages by Venezuela media challenged the assumptions broadcasted by a wide range of international governmental and non-governmental organizations of freedom and independence coverage.

Africa's youngest nation, South Sudan which separated from Sudan in 2011 after almost 40 years of civil war, was drawn into a devastating new conflict in late 2013, (Blanchard, 2016). This was the result of political dispute that overlapped with preexisting ethnic and political fault lines. The civilians have routinely been targeted in conflicts mobilized along ethnic groups, and the warring parties are accused of major and minor war crimes against humanity. This war has resulted to displacement of more than 2.7 million people. FAO (2016) & IOM (2016), discovered that in December 2013, political tensions among key South Sudan leaders erupted violence sparking armed clashes and targeted ethnic killings in Juba and its surrounding. The war was between President Salvar Kiir and his vice president Riek Machar who was accused of a coup plot.

In Kenya, every five years after elections, there is a period of peaceful co-existence; businesses usually operate and the economy grows. As per Ndavula (2015) & Cook (2010), political parties and political candidates seek to compete in elections to win and hold public office. The harmonious co-existence among people of different ethnic groups is often distorted as political class seeks to win and hold offices. According to Arther (2017), politics is based mainly on socialized communication and on the capacity to influence people's minds. Snow (2015), politicians employ the use of different messages enjoyed and easily understood by their affiliate supporters. The main channel of communication between the political system and electorates is the mass media such as vernacular Radio stations.

August 2017 the presidential election results drove Kenya to the periphery after Chief Justice Maraga led Supreme Court overturned Jubilee's President Uhuru Kenyatta's victory and ordered for a repeat of presidential elections, (Cheeseman et al., 2019;Piotrowska, 2020;Odote & Kanyinga, 2020). The conducted repeat elections were boycotted by opposition's Raila Odinga and incumbent Kenyatta was declared the winner. This sparked several days of protests and riots with opposition supporters engaging the police in running battles in many parts of the country. Ogenga (2020), in a study conducted between January-February found out that this activity culminated in the controversial swearing-in of Raila as "The People's President" on January 30, 2018. Ogengo 2020 further agues that, Kenya is regarded as a progressive democracy in the East Africa region but its general elections are full of chaos and divisive politics. There have been experienced election disputes and bloody ethnic tensions.

Political rally messages effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters was the center of focus by the researcher who opted to study Migori County's situation. This study sought to find out whether rally messages might have effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The 2010 Constitution of Kenya was a turning point in Country's history as it reconfigured balance of power by devolving power and responsibilities from national governments to 47 elected county governments, (Kinuthia & Lakin, 2018). The first five years (2013-2017) under the new devolved system of governance witnessed progressive democratization and expansion of political space especially for the historically marginalized communities in Kenya (Kivoto, 2016). Some counties have demonstrable unique strengths and resources that offer a potentially useful peer to learning and self-reliance. The adoption of devolved system was a desire of citizens who wanted to access public services closer to them (Ngigi & Busolo, 2019). According to Articles 174 and 175 of the constitution 2010, the objects of devolution include; promotion of democracy and accountability in the exercise of power, fostering national unity by recognizing diversity, enhancing people's self governance, enabling communities to manage their own affairs, protecting and promoting interests and ensuring equitable sharing of state resources (The Kenya Constitution, 2010). However, this spirit of devolution during elections starts developing problems.

First, the problem which is ethnic intolerance and conflict. A study by Matara 2018 and Abdulhameed et al 2018 confirmed that this problem has been witnessed in Migori county especially on political rally during election periods in every election cycle, (Matara, 2018; Abdulhameed et al., 2018). For example, during the 2017 elections traders from Kuria community were chased out of Luo dominated market places and vice versa. Again, during these times, buyer from Kuria community may avoid buying from and selling to Luo traders and vice versa. A study done by Ndavula in 2015 revealed that there has been a paradigm shift in various ways political class express themselves to the electorates, (Ndavula, 2015). Most liberal democracies, advanced ways of political promotion seem to be on the rise, (Cook, 2010). Conventional forms of political advertising employed by most political candidates in Kenya since freedom from colonialists have mostly been political rally, speech and spending by contenders on direct gifts of various kind to electorates. Ethnic intolerance and conflict hinder efforts to foster unity by failing to recognize diversity, (Ndalila, 2018). Once efforts to foster unity is hindered, protection and promotion of various communities' interests also flop.

Studies done show that, various methods of political gathering employed by political actors during election periods have achieved negative results including stifling the democratic culture of the people, (Asemah & Edegoh, 2012; Baumgartner & Morris, 2010). In this study, the researcher proposes to examine factors that might cause the problem of ethnic intolerance and conflict. The researcher will employ both qualitative and quantitative approaches to gather primary data and information with the objective to establish the effect of political rally messages on ethnic intolerance and conflict among the voters in Migori County, Kenya.

1.2 Theoretical Review

The Theory of Political Propaganda

This theory was propounded and developed by Herold D. Lasswell in 1927. The theory states that propaganda is the management of collective attitudes by manipulation of various significant symbols, (Rice, 2012). Rice 2012 defines the term attitude symbol as a tendency to act according to certain valuation patterns. The theory states that the existence of an attitude may not be a direct determinant of experience but also inference from signs which have a conventionalized significance. The valuational patterns upon which this inference is founded may be primitive gestures of the face, body, or more sophisticated gestures of the voice.

Mary (2020), indicates that propaganda is information that is primarily used to influence audience and further the agenda. The information may not be objective and it may present facts selectively to encourage a particular synthesis. The perception is brought about by use of a loaded language to produce an emotional response to the information presented. According to Louise (2015), propaganda is often associated with materials prepared by governments, activist groups, companies, religious organizations, political parties and political candidates. The media and individuals can also be a source of propaganda. The politicians concerned employ the use of propaganda techniques such as sharp voice and powerful phrase in relation to a given culture.

According to Herold D. Lasswell 2008, the theory states that the propagandists apply significant symbols while expressing the attitudes and they are also capable of being employed to redefine attitudes (CambridgeUniversity, 2013). Thus, significant symbols employed have both expressive and propagandist functions in the life of the public. The speaker of propaganda gains access to the individual's private stock of meanings and becomes capable of exploiting them rather than the group's standard meanings in which the individual is a member. The theory by Herold D. Lasswell 1927, further indicates that in cultural terms, the strategy of propaganda involves the presentation of an object in a culture in such a manner that certain cultural attitudes will be organized towards it. In the context of communication and of this study, object refers to the ideas and statements presented by the designed propagandist to the audience. For example, in Migori County, a politician, during 2013 and 2017 general elections would address supporters by presenting some statements considered divisive.

The theory further argues that the purpose of the propagandist is to intensify the attitudes favorable to his own desired purpose, to reverse the hostile attitudes to it and also to convince the rebels (Rice, 2013). Every cultural group has its unique values which include the possession of claims to ceremonial defense. The statement or object that is aimed at promoting hate, incite and divide the group against another is presented by the propagandist in a way that is against the values provided. The propagandist chooses wisely statements that are meant to manipulate one from another.

The term propaganda is traditionally associated with psychological warfare and manipulation, and at some times might carry with itself a negative interpretation by the receiver of the information, (Baugut & Neumann, 2019). Baugut and Neumann 2019 conducted a study that was informed by Theory of Political Propaganda, "Online propaganda use during Islamist

radicalization,” The researchers of the study utilized a qualitative design using semi-structured problem-centred interviews on individuals with radicalization experience. Finding was that through propaganda, terrorism activities are highly influenced. This means propaganda is an attempt to shape cognitions and behaviors, (McDonlads & Dus, 2019). Barik et al did a study 2019, “Election of Donald Trump and Rising Tensions between Western Governments and the Russian Federation; communication and power in sharp focus, (Bakir et al., 2019a). This study was informed by the theory of political propaganda. They utilized a qualitative design using semi-structured problem centred interview. They found out that the rising tensions that resulted into violence between Western governments and Russian Federation became fierce with the influence of propaganda by the involved groups. This theory informed the study in that, it elaborated more on aspects of propaganda as a variable.

1.3 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual model links the problem statement to the research questions and the theories which formed the basis for elaboration of the findings of the study.

Independent Variables

Dependent Variable

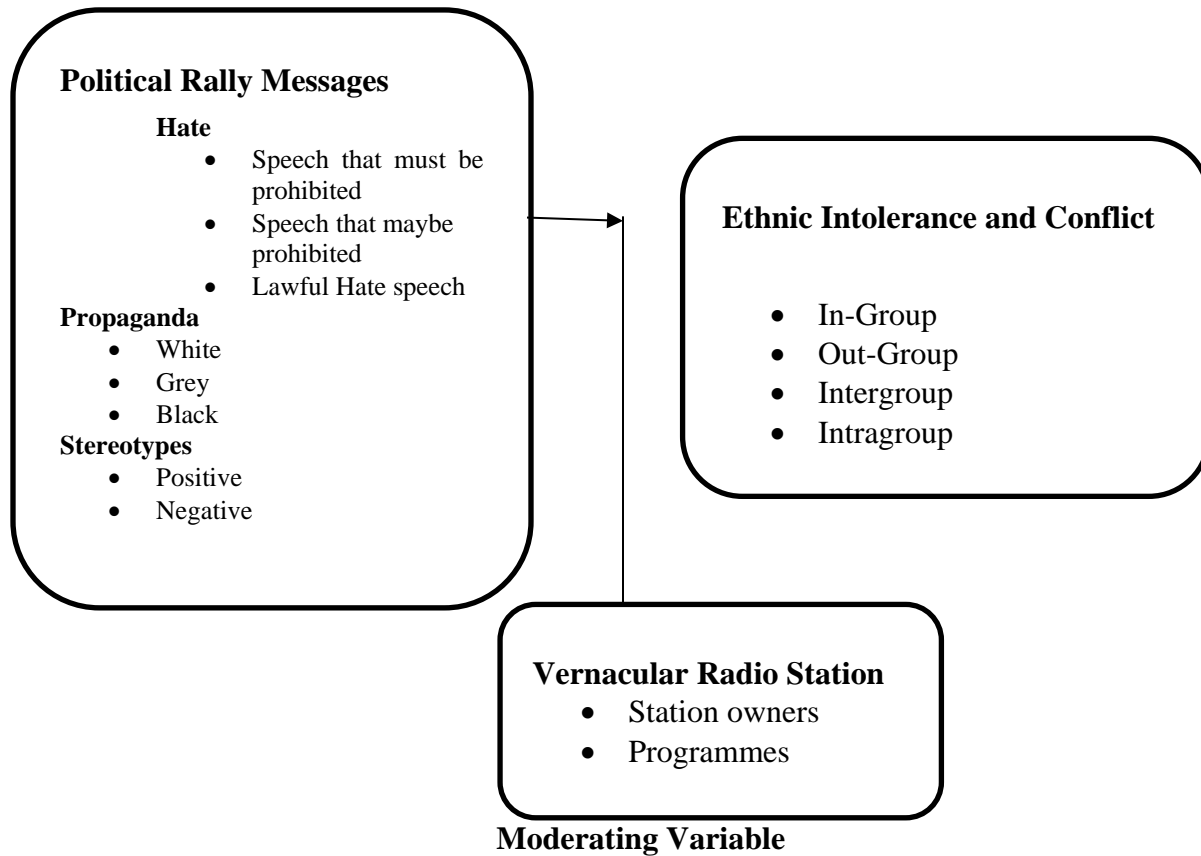


Figure 1 Conceptual Framework: By the Researcher (2020)

2.0 METHODOLOGY

Descriptive research design was adopted. The study targeted a population of 388, 633 respondents made of voters from Migori County. A sample of 400 respondents was used. The sample for quantitative data was obtained using stratified random sampling method and the other section of the sample; media practitioners were non-randomly sampled. The sample for qualitative data was collected through FGDs on a purposefully selected sample. The data collection was conducted through administering of questionnaires and also Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) using a structured and pilot-tested questionnaires. Data was collected using questionnaires and FGDs. Quantitative data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences computer software package (SPSS statistics version 22). Descriptive statistics drawn include mean, and standard deviation which were presented in tables and graphs. Inferential statistics drawn include multiple regression and correlation analysis.

3.0 RESULTS

3.1 Demographic Characteristics among Voters

For the study to establish political rally messages effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among the voters in Migori County Kenya, it was deemed necessary to establish the background information of respondents which included age, gender, sub-county of residence, participation in democratic exercises, party affiliation, level of influence to party affiliation, driving factor to a political affiliation one voted for in previous elections and the preferred Radio Stations. This was informed by the need to establish whether there exists any close relationship among respondents' demographic characteristics and effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. Aydin & Bayir, (2016), allude that success factors are strongly associated to different demographic factors. Therefore, this section provides valuable data that helps in interpretation and inference on political rally messages effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya.

Table 1 Demographic Characteristics among Voters

Demographic Characteristics	Frequency	Rate (%)
Gender		
Male	135	43
Female	180	57
Age		
18-35 Years	135	43
36-53 Years	120	38
54 Years and Above	60	19
Sub-County of Residence		
Suna East	38	12
Suna West	38	12
Kuria East	31	10
Kuria West	44	14
Nyatike	50	16
Uriri	35	11
Awendo	38	12

Rongo	41	13
Party Affiliation		
Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	213	67.6
Jubille Party (JP)	68	21.5
Amani National Congress (ANC)	18	5.8
Kalauisi Party (KP)	4	1.3
Muongano Party (MP)	2	0.6
People's Democratic Party (PDP)	1	0.3
Independent Candidate	5	1.6
None	4	1.3
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Independent Candidate	5	1.6
None	4	1.3
Influence to the party		
Strongly	195	62
Fairly	101	32
Not Influenced	19	6
Participation in Voting Exercise		
Yes	252	80
No	63	20
Vernacular Radio Preferred in Migori County		
Milambo FM	147	46.8
Onagi Radio	61	19.4
Tarumbeta Radio	34	10.8
Anyuola Radio	24	7.6
Ramogi FM	13	4.3
Mayienga Radio	13	4.0
Radio Lake Victoria	8	2.5
Radio Nam Lolwe	1	0.4
None	14	4.3
Driving Factors in Political Affiliation		

Political Candidates	180	57.2
Personal Choice	97	30.8
Opinion Leaders	33	10.6
Manifesto	1	0.3
None	4	1.3

The results in Table 1 shows that majority of the people who took part in the study were female (57%) while 43% were males. This implies that majority of the voters in Migori County are females. Similarly, the results show that majority (43%) of the voters were between 18-35 years of age, 38% were between 36-53 years old while only 19% of the voters indicated 54 years and above. The results imply that majority of the voters in Migori County are between 18-35 years. The results also imply that only a few voters are aged 54 years and above. It also implies that in the case of ethnic intolerance and conflict, it this the age bracket of between 18-35 years who are mostly affected. This is because they are the major consumers of various political rally messages. These findings were inline to a report by (Brief, 2015), that found out that youth are the critical people in bringing about social and political transformation in Africa. It also stated that series of electoral campaigns and processes in South Africa in the early 1990s, Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia in 2011, campaigns in Senegal in 2011 and the third term revolution in Burkina Faso in 2014, young people between age 18-35 years are the forefront of democratic processes in the continent.

The results in table 1 above show that the voters who took part in the study, Nyatike sub-county formed the majority of voters (16%), followed by Kuria West (14%), Rongo (13%) and then Suna East, Suna West and Awendo each (12%). Finally, Uriri sub-county were (11%) and lastly Kuria East at a rate of 10%. This implies that majority of the voters targeted by politicians are from Nyatike and Kuria West Sub-counties. In addition, it also shows that during political rally, politicians reach people in all corners of Migori County. They therefore, use this opportunity to spread rally messages such as propaganda, hate sand stereotype messages that can incite people to ethnic intolerance and leading to war. On the other hand, majority (67.6%) of voters who took part in the study were affiliated to ODM party. The Focus Group Discussion results on party affiliation among voters, the panelist were in agreement that ODM is the dorminant party in the region, supported by majority.

This implies ODM is the most preferred in Migori County mostly used as a political vehicle during a rally. 21.5% indicated that they were affiliated to Jubilee Party while 5.8% of the voters indicated that they were affiliated to ANC party. Kalausi party had affiliation at a rate of 1.3%, Muungano party only at 0.6% and PDP were 0.3% and 1.6% of the voters who took part in study were affiliated to Independent Candidate. In addition, among the same voters, 1.3% were not affiliated to any political party. Finally, the findings show that other political parties other than ODM is intolerated in most sub-counties in Migori County. These findings were inline to those that were done by, (Timothy, 2016;Seculic et al., 2017), who found out that groups living together enjoy peaceful coexistence upto the point where they start displaying their differences. For the purpose of this study, these differences can be displayed interms of different political affiliations among voters in the same region.

The results in Table 1 show that highest number (62%) of the voters who took part in the study were strongly influenced by various factors into their political affiliations. Thus implies that factors such as political candidates and opinion leaders influence voters to particular party such as ODM hence, shapes people's attitudes and actions during political rally especially when it involves rally messages such stereotypes, propaganda and hate messages. The Focus Group Discussions findings was in agreement and indicated that factors such as political candidates and opinion leaders greatly influence voters to vote in particular ways. 32% of voters who participated in the study indicated that they were fairly influenced to the party affiliation they voted for in previous elections. Finally, only 6% of them were not influenced by any other factor to voting in any party of their choice. On the other hand, majority (80%) of voters who participated in the study participated in voting exercise, whereas, only 20% did not participate in a voting exercise. This implies that political rallies are effective during campaigns that render maximum turnout. These findings were supported by (David & Todd, 2021), who found out in argues in their study, "Campaigns Influence Elections Outcomes Less than You Think" that during campaigns segment electorates into different groups for the purpose of persuading them to vote. The persuasion process is done by the political actors who come through various political parties during political rallies. Hence, political rally messages are a source of ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in migori County, Kenya.

The results in Table 1 also indicate that majority of the voters who participated in the study preferred listening to vernacular radio stations for information on political rallies. Specifically, the results indicated that they were mostly (46.8) listening to Milambo FM. Milambo FM airs both in Luo and Kuria local languages. 19.4% of the voters listened to Onagi Radio another local radio station in Migori County, 10.8% listened to Tarumbeta Radio, whereas, 7.6% listened to Anyuola FM which also broadcasts in Migori and its environs. Ramogi Radio at a rate of 4.3%, 4.0% listenership to Mayienga FM and 2.5% of the voters listened to Radio Lake Victoria. . Finally, the voters who took part in the study (0.4%) listened to Radio Nam Lolwe, whereas, 4.3% of the voters were not listening to any vernacular radio stations. The Focus Group Discussions showed that majority of the local residents of Migori County, listen to Vernacular Radio Stations followed by Internet. This implies that majority (95.7%) of the voters in Migori County listen to vernacular radio stations. This implies that voters can easily be reached during political rally messages by politicians, hence, the findings show that politicians can easily spread propaganda, hate and stereotype messages that incite one community against another therefore, causing ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. Onguny (2019), in a study, "Electoral Violence:the role of vernacular radio narratives," supports this finding and argues that the narratives of vernacular radio stations influenced the intergroup relations during the 2007/2008 post-election violence that left 1000 persons dead while thousands internally displaced in Kenya.

In addition, the results indicated that majority (57.2) of the voters who participated in the study are driven by political candidates into political affiliation, 30.8% others indicated that they are driven by personal choice, 10.6% were driven by opinion leaders, 0.3% indicated they are driven by politicians' manifesto, whereas, 1.3% indicated they are not driven by any factor towards political affiliation. This implies that most of political affiliations, voters are to an extent influenced by political candidates, personal choice and manifesto with influence from political

candidates form the majority as shown. This implies that the respondents agreed with most of the choices that were provided but the responses were varied. The findings show that political candidates in Migori County easily sway decision and actions by the voters. Mberia et al., (2015), support the findings and argue that politicians, political parties associates and other opinion leaders in Kenya employ propaganda and other types of messages to persuade electorates into a particular voting pattern, as a political marketing strategy.

3.2 Descriptive Statistics

3.2.1 Effect of Propaganda Messages on Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict among Voters in Migori County, Kenya

The study sought to find out the effect of propaganda messages on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. The descriptive statistics for propaganda messages are presented in Table 2 below;

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics for Propaganda Message

Statement	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Propaganda message use on political rally can be source of division among communities.	312	4.0609	.74765
Propaganda used by politicians can easily influence supporters against others resulting to ethnic intolerance and conflict.	309	3.9903	.92752
The use of Propaganda message misrepresents the message presented hence, can be a source of division among voters.	312	3.8237	.84736
Valid N (listwise)	309		
Average		3.9583	.84084

Based on the results in Table 2, propaganda message use on political rally can be a source of division among communities had a mean of (4.0609) and standard deviation of (0.74765). The respondents agreed that propaganda message use on political rally can be source of division among communities. On whether propaganda used by politicians could easily influence supporters against others resulting into ethnic intolerance and conflict, the results had a mean of (3.9903) and standard deviation of (0.92752). The results show that majority of respondents agreed that propaganda use by politicians can easily influence supporters against others resulting to ethnic intolerance and skirmish. The results had a mean of (3.8237) and standard deviation of (0.84736), especially on whether the use of propaganda misrepresents message presented hence, can be a source of division among voters. This implies that the respondents agreed with most of the statements but the responses were varied. The findings of the study show that there is noteworthy effect of propaganda messages especially on message misrepresentation that leads to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. These findings were in

agreement with the findings of Kibet et al., (2019), who argues that propaganda have the most noteworthy effect on moral judgment (misrepresentation in this context) concerning justification of violence and attitudes toward in-group and out-group.

The descriptive statistics for propaganda messages results had an overall mean and standard deviation of 3.9583 and .84084 respectively. This implies that respondents agreed with most of the statements concerning the effect of propaganda message on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters as indicated in table 2. However, their responses were spread about the mean. The findings were found to concur with findings of Kibet et al., (2019) in a 2019 study, “Propaganda, Emphathy and Support for Intergroup Violence: the Moral Psychology of International Speech Crimes,” who discovered that propaganda have the most noteworthy effect on moral judgment (misrepresentation) especially on justification of vehemence and attitudes towards in-group and out-groups. This showed that in the presence of propaganda during political rally especially on the contexts shown in table 2, there is possibility of emergence of ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. Based on the Focus Group Discussion findings, propaganda is to a greater extent directly linked to ethnic intolerance and conflict. Majority of respondents reported that it is a source of division among voters.

3.2.2 Effect of Stereotype Messages on Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict among Voters in Migori County, Kenya

The study sought to establish the effect of stereotype messages on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori county, Kenya. The descriptive statistics for stereotype messages are presented in Table 3 below;

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics for Stereotype Messages

Statement	N	Mean	Std.Deviation
Stereotype messages by politicians can easily mobilize voters along ethnic lines.	312	3.9455	.75243
Stereotype describes in a bad light a community from another, and can therefore, result into ethnic hatred and conflict.	311	3.8875	.84826
Stereotype message can tear the relationship of two communities living together.	312	3.7436	.92045
Valid N (listwise)	311		
Average		3.8587	.84038

As indicated in Table 3 above, majority of the respondents agreed that stereotype messages by politicians can easily mobilize voters along ethnic lines in Migori County, Kenya. The results on that had a mean of 3.9455 and standard deviation of 0.75243. The results also show that stereotype describes in a bad light a community from another and can therefore, result into ethnic hatred and conflict. The results on that had a mean of 3.8875 and standard deviation of 0.84826. In addition, the result on whether stereotype message could tear the relationship of two communities living together had a mean of 3.7436 and standard deviation of 0.92045. The respondents were in agreement to a greater extent that stereotype message can tear the

relationship of two communities living together. This implies that the respondents agreed with most of the statements as displayed in table 3, but the responses were varied.

The descriptive statistics for stereotype messages results had an average mean and standard deviation of 3.8587 and .84038 respectively. This implies that the respondents agreed with most of the statements in table 4.6 in respect to effect of stereotype messages on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters though the responses were varied. The findings were found to concur with the findings of (Ndonye et al., 2015; Timmermann, 2017; Kiper et al., 2019) who discovered that ethnic stereotype which are found in jokes and politics are the main platforms in which negative ethnicity manifest; which have been used as an instrument to fuel vices in society hence, lowering out-group understanding. The findings were also found to be in agreement with the discovery of Beelmann & Heinemann, (2014), who found out that such negative inter-group attitudes (stereotypes) are associated with social problems with potential to promote inter-group conflict. The findings of the questionnaires and that of Focus Group Discussions were similar for the study.

3.3.3 Effect of Hate Messages on Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict among Voters in Migori County, Kenya

The third objective of this study was to determine the effect of hate messages on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. The descriptive statistics for hate messages are presented in table 4;

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics for Hate Messages

Statement	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Use of hate speech possesses a negative effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict	312	4.5769	.64692
Hate speech can easily affect relationship between friends from different ethnic groups resulting to incitement and war	311	3.9228	.97410
The politicians, opinion leaders and political parties can use hate speech to negatively influence supporters to ethnic intolerance and conflict	313	3.7540	1.00648
I have witnessed hatred towards a given community as a result of hate speech issue	310	3.9806	.93802
Hate speech among communities can direct them to vote on ethnic groupings	312	4.2660	.94702
Valid N (listwise)			
Average	306	4.1006	.902508

As illustrated in table 4, majority of the respondents agreed that use of hate speech possesses a negative effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict. The results on this had a mean response rate of 4.5769 and standard deviation of 0.64692. The results also show that majority of the respondents agreed that hate speech could easily affect relationship between friends from different ethnic groups resulting to incitement and consequently war. The results on this had a mean response rate of 3.9228 and standard deviation of 0.9410. Again, the results on whether politicians, opinion leaders and political leaders could use hate speech to negatively influence supporters to ethnic intolerance and conflict, had a mean response rate of 3.7540 and standard deviation of 1.00648. The results also show that majority have witnessed hatred towards a given community as a result of hate speech situation with a mean response rate of 3.9806 and standard deviation of 0.93802. Finally, most of respondents agreed that to a greater extent that hate speech among communities could direct them to vote along ethnic groupings, with a mean response rate of 4.2660 and standard deviation of 0.94702. This implies that the respondents agreed with most of the statements on effects of hate messages on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters as shown in table 4, but the responses were varied.

The descriptive statistics for hate messages effect results had an overall mean of 4.1006 and average standard deviation of .902508, denoting that the respondents concurred with most of the statements presented to them regarding the hate messages effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict as shown in table 4.7 above, though the responses were varied. These findings are in line with Article 20 (2) and Article 19 (3) of the ICCPR 1948 that demonstrate that hate speech include direct and public incitement to genocide, any advocacy of discrimination, hostility or violence, (ICCPR, 1948). The finding was also in concurrence with Article 19 (2) of ICCPR and Article 4 and Article 5 of the International Convention on Elimination of all Racial Discrimination (ICERD), that demonstrate that hate speech raises concerns interms of intolerance and discrimination, since expressions maybe inflammatory depending with the context in which they are applied. Based on the findings of the study through focus group discussions, majority of voters agreed that hate speech is a source of incitement to war especially during political rally and it makes voters vote along ethnic lines. The findings are in agreement to that of the questionnaire; the main data collection instrument of the study.

3.3.4 Moderating Effect that Vernacular Radio Stations have on the Relationship Between Political Rally Messages and Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict among Voters in Migori County, Kenya

The study sought to determine the moderating effect that vernacular radio stations have on the relationship between political rally messages and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. The descriptive statistics for vernacular radio stations are presented in table 5 below;

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics for Vernacular Radio Stations

Statement	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Vernacular radio stations make it easy to reach voters by the political class.	314	4.5860	.63993
I believe that the use of vernacular radio stations to spread hate, stereotype and propaganda messages among different communities can result into ethnic intolerance and conflict.	313	3.8562	.91029
Politicians can capture vernacular radio stations and can use them to spread messages are deemed divisive.	314	3.6847	.97211
Programmes in vernacular radio stations if not well scrutinized can be a source of incitement among voters deemed.	314	4.2484	.88043
Valid N (listwise)	313		
Average		4.0938	.85069

As indicated from table 5 above, majority of the respondents concurred that vernacular radio stations made it easy to reach out to the voters by the political class. The results on this showed a mean response rate of 4.58660 and standard deviation of 0.63993. A good number of respondents for the study also believed that the use of vernacular radio stations to spread hate, stereotype and propaganda messages among different communities can result into ethnic intolerance and conflict, with a mean response rate of 3.8562 and standard deviation of 0.91029. Majority agreed that politicians can capture vernacular radio stations and use them for their own gain in order to spread messages deemed divisive. The results on this had a mean response rate of 3.6847 and standard deviation of 0.97211. Finally, on whether the programmes in vernacular radio stations could be a source of incitement among voters if not well scrutinized, the results had a mean response rate of 4.2484 and standard deviation of 0.88043. This implies that majority of the respondents agreed with most of the statements on the moderating effect that vernacular radio stations had on the relationship between political rally messages and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters, but the responses were varied.

The descriptive statistics for the moderating effect of vernacular radio stations on the relationship between political rally messages and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters results indicated an average mean of 4.0938 and average standard deviation of .85069. This infers that the respondents were in agreement with most of the statements in table 4.8. However, their responses were spread out about the mean. The findings were found to concur with conclusions by Gustafsson, (2016);Mogire et al., (2017);Onguny, (2019), who discovered that in the case of Rwanda genocide of 1994, local media reported in a manner that caused incitements that allegedly promoted tribal-based killings of Tutsi by Hutu. The findings were also in agreement to conclusions by (Kibet, 2015;Guyo & Godana, 2013).

From the research findings for Focus Group Discussions, vernacular radio stations ease voters reach hence, they can also be used to spread hate, stereotype and propaganda messages. These station can also be taken hostage by politicians for their own interest. Failure to properly

scrutinize vernacular radio programmes can lead to incitement among people. This was in line with Muendo, (2019), who found out that media may lead to conflict through incitements and propaganda which may inturn cause violence. This violence comes especially through failure to point out emerging intolerance situations and the delay to report on such related matters.

3.3.4.1 Source of Information During Political Rally

The voters from Migori County, Kenya listened to or watched in order to be informed during political rally the following media; vernacular radio stations, national radio stations, television and internet. The descriptive statistics for voters' information source during political rally are presented in table 5b below;

Table 5b: Descriptive Statistics of Voters' Information Source

Media	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Almost Everytime	Every Time
Vernacular Radio Stations	10%	4%	26%	35%	25%
National Radio Stations	9%	17%	50%	16%	8%
Television	8%	7%	50%	15%	20%
Internet	13%	17%	43%	14%	13%

As indicated in Table 5(b) above majority (60%) of respondents agreed that vernacular radio stations were their source of information during political rally. The results also show that a good number (26%) of respondents sometimes listened to vernacular radio stations in order to be informed during political rally. This was in concurrence with the verdicts by DellaVigna & Gentzkow, (2010), who argue that Vernacular Radio Stations enjoy a wide reach and audience share across the country irrespective of the fact that they appeal mainly to communities that are living in particular regions in Kenya. In addition, 14% of the respondents were never informed by the same media during political rally. These show that majority of voters from Migori County were informed by vernacular radio stations, hence, were easily influenced by that information during political rally. Again, the results indicated that only (24%) of respondents agreed that national radio stations were their everytime source of information during political rally, 50% were sometimes informed by the same media, whereas, 26% of respondents were never informed by national radio stations.

Further, the results show that only (35%) of the respondents were for everytime informed on political information during rallies by television. In addition, the results point out that 50% of respondents were sometimes informed by same media during political rally, whereas, (15%) of the respondents were never informed during political rallies through television. Finally, the results indicate that only (27%) of the respondents were at everytime informed through internet during political rallies. On the other hand, (43%) of the respondents were at sometimes informed through internet medium during political rally, whereas, 30% of respondents were never informed through internet medium during political rally. From the results on the above table 4.8(b) above, majority of the voters in Migori County listened to vernacular radio stations as compared to any other medium of information in order to get informed during political rally.

This was in concurrence with the verdicts by DellaVigna & Gentzkow, (2010), who argue that Vernacular Radio Stations enjoy a wide reach and audience share across the country irrespective of the fact that they appeal mainly to communities that are living in particular regions in Kenya

3.3.5 Descriptive Statistics for Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict

Ethnic intolerance and conflict was used by researcher as the dependent variable in the study. The descriptive statistics for ethnic intolerance and conflict are presented in table 6 below;

Statement	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Hate speech used by politicians during campaigns can significantly result to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters	311	4.3923	.83886
Propaganda message used by politicians during campaigns can significantly result to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters.	310	3.5065	.99755
Stereotyping against one community by politicians can significantly result to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters.	307	3.4886	1.19464
Politicians preferred using stereotype, propaganda and hate messages during a political rally in the 2017 general elections.	304	3.9638	.91306
I agree that elections in Migori County, is marred with in-group and out-group ethnic intolerance and conflict.	308	4.4253	.89020
Valid N (listwise)	296		
Average		3.9553	.966862

As shown in table 6, majority of respondents agreed that hate speech used by politicians during campaigns can significantly result into ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. The results on the statement had a mean response rate of 4.3923 and standard deviation of 0.83886. On whether propaganda message used by politicians during campaigns could significantly result to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters, the results showed a mean response rate of 3.5065 and standard deviation of 0.99755. This shows that majority of the respondents were in agreement with the statement. In addition, the results show that majority of respondents agreed that stereotyping against one community by politicians can significantly result to ethnic intolerance, hence, conflict among voters themselves. This statement's results had a mean response rate of 3.4886 and standard deviation of 1.19464. The findings are in compliance with, Oberschall, (2018), Williams, (2017) & Pilbeam, (2017), state that Major John, former Prime Minister of UK while addressing the House of Commons in 1993, reported that disintegration and the dissolution of Soviet Union was the result of the nature of political messages.

Further, the results indicate majority of respondents concurred that politicians preferred using stereotype, propaganda and hate messages during a political rally in the 2017 general elections. The statement's results had a mean response of 3.9638 and standard deviation 0.91306. Finally, on whether elections in Migori County being marred with in-group and out-group ethnic

intolerance that leads to conflict among voters, the responses had a mean rate of 4.4253 and standard deviation of 0.89020. This implies that the respondents agreed with these statements as shown in table 4.9 above of the statements. The findings are in compliance with, Oberschall, (2018), Williams, (2017) & Pilbeam, (2017), state that Major John, former Prime Minister of UK while addressing the House of Commons in 1993, reported that disintegration and the dissolution of Soviet Union was the result of the nature of political messages.

3.3.5.1 Factors Influencing Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict among Voters

The extent to which the following factors; hate speech, propaganda message, stereotype message and vernacular radio stations' programmes influence ethnic intolerance and conflict were shown in table below. The descriptive statistics for factors influencing ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters are presented in table 7.

Factor	Not at all Influential	Slightly Influential	Somewhat Influential	Very Influential	Extremely Influential
Hate Speech	4%	15%	31%	29%	21%
Propaganda Message	3%	14%	38%	34%	11%
Stereotype Message	6%	19%	36%	27%	12%
Vernacular Radio Station's Programmes	6%	20%	31%	21%	23%

As indicated in Table 7, majority (81%) of the respondents agreed that hate speech highly influenced ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. Only 19% of the respondents reported that hate speech not at all influential to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. The results also show that majority (83%) of respondents were in agreement that propaganda message influenced ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. Therefore, only 17% of respondents responded that not at all propaganda message influential to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. Further, majority (75%) of respondents agreed that stereotype message were very influential to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters, whereas, only 25% of respondents reported that stereotype messages were not at all influential to ethnic intolerance and conflict. Finally, majority (74%) of respondents were also in agreement that vernacular radio programmes were very influential to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. The results indicated that only 26% of respondents reported that vernacular radio stations' programmes were not at all influential to ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. The findings are in acquiescence with, Oberschall, (2018), Williams, (2017) & Pilbeam, (2017), who state that Major John, former Prime Minister of UK while addressing the House of Commons in 1993, reported that disintegration and the dissolution of Soviet Union was the result of the nature of political messages.

3.4 Correlation Analysis

In this section, the study sought to establish the significance, direction and strength of the linear relationship between ethnic intolerance and conflict, which is the dependent variable, and

political rally messages; propaganda, stereotype and hate speech which is the independent variables. This was achieved through performing a Pearson's Correlation Analysis. Pearson's correlation values range from -1 to 1 . -1 indicates a perfect negative relationship, 0 indicates that there is no relationship between the variables while $+1$ indicates a perfect positive relationship, (Frost, 2021). An absolute Pearson's correlation value of 0.5 indicates a strong linear relationship between the variables while a value below 0.5 indicates a weak linear relationship. The sign of the Pearson's correlation coefficient value indicates the direction of the relationship. Finally, the resultant p-value less than 0.05 at 95% confidence level indicates that the linear relationship between variables of interest is statistically significant.

Therefore, a correlation analysis was performed in this study and the findings were presented in Table 8 below;

Table 8: Pearson's correlation analysis

		Propaganda Message	Hate Message	Stereotype Message	Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict
Propaganda Message	Pearson	1	.394**	.127	.292**
	Correlation				
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.079	.000
	N	309	311	306	316
Hate Message	Pearson	.394**	1	.259**	.395**
	Correlation				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000
	N	309	311	306	316
Stereotype Message	Pearson	.127	.259**	1	.416**
	Correlation				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.079	.000		.000
	N	309	311	306	316
Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict	Pearson	.292**	.395**	.416**	1
	Correlation				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
	N	309	311	306	316

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The correlation results show that there was a positive significant linear relationship between Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict and Propaganda Message, $r=0.292$, $p<0.05$, Hate Message, $r=0.395$, $p<0.05$, and Stereotype Message, $r=0.416$, $p<0.05$, this was indicated by significant p-values less than 0.05 at 95% confidence level. From this analysis, it was found out that political rally messages including propaganda, stereotype and hate messages were the source and one of the major contributors of ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County. Therefore, in every election cycle in Kenya, political rally messages have been used by political actors through vernacular radio stations to promote ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters.

3.5 Regression Analysis

Regression analysis was conducted to establish the relationship between Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict which was the dependent variable, and political rally messages including propaganda, stereotype and hate as independent variables.

3.5.1 Regression Analysis Between Political Rally Messages and Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict

A simple linear regression was performed with political rally messages as the independent variable and ethnic intolerance and conflict as the dependent variable. This was aimed at determining the political rally messages effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori county. The model established whether there was a statistically significant relationship between the two variables and later established a predictive model.

Table 9: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted Square	R Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.292 ^a	0.086	0.080	0.56738

a. Predictors: (Constant), Political rally messages; Hate, Propaganda and Stereotype

From the results in table 9, political rally messages was found to explain 8.6% of direct effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County. This was indicated by a coefficient of determination value of 0.086 indicated this ($R^2=0.086$).

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to test the research hypothesis for the first objective of this study. The null and alternative hypothesis are stated as follows;

H0: There is no political effect of propaganda messages on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori county, Kenya.

H1: There is significant effect of propaganda messages on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya.

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	5.635	1	5.635	17.776	.000 ^b
Residual	73.365	309	.309		
Total	79	315			

a. Dependent Variable: Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict

b. Predictors: (Constant), Political Rally Messages

The results in Table 9 on analysis of variance in the case of regression between political rally messages and ethnic intolerance and conflict, was used to test whether the model with political rally messages as explanatory factors was statistically significant in predicting ethnic intolerance

and conflict among voters. The results again were used to test the hypothesis of the study which entailed testing whether the coefficient of political rally messages in the model was equal to zero or not ($H_0: \beta_1=0$ vs $H_1: \beta_1 \neq 0$).

The results proved that there was sufficient proof or evidence to reject the null hypothesis concluding the alternative which stated that there was a significant effect of political rally messages on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya, ($F = 17.776$ $p = .000$). Therefore, political rally messages were statistically significant predictors of ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters.

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients	Std. Error	Standardized		
			Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
1 (Constant)	2.081	.316		3.9583	.000
Political Rally Message	.382	0.89	0.292	4.334	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict

The model above was obtained from the study results in table;

Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict = $2.081 + 0.382 * \text{Political Rally Messages; Propaganda, Hate and Stereotype}$.

The relationship between Propaganda Message and Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict among Voters was found to be significant and positive, $\beta_1=0.382$, $t=4.334$, $p=0.000$. This therefore, means that there was a significant association between propaganda message and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. The findings indicate that with increased use of propaganda message increases ethnic intolerance and conflict by .382.

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Propaganda Messages and Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict

The descriptive statistics for propaganda message results had an average mean and average standard deviation of 3.9583 and .84084 respectively, implying that respondents agreed with most of the statements. However, their responses were spread about the mean. These results show that there was a positive relationship between propaganda messages and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. The findings were found to be in agreement with findings by Kibet et al., (2019) in a study, "Propaganda, Empathy and Support for Intergroup Violence: The Moral Psychology of Speech Crimes," who found out that propaganda have the most noteworthy effect on moral judgment concerning to justification of violence and attitudes toward in-group and out-group. In addition, the findings of the study conform with the Theory of Political Propaganda that posits that the purpose of propagandist is to intensify the

attitudes favorable to his own desired purpose. The theory therefore, elaborates more on various aspects of propaganda.

Stereotype Messages and Ethnic Intolerance

The descriptive statistics for stereotype messages results had an average mean and standard deviation of 3.8587 and .84038 respectively, implying that the respondents who were the voters agreed with most of the statements regarding the stereotype messages effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. However, the responses varied. These results showed a positive relationship between stereotype messages and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. This positive relationship demonstrated therefore, that to a greater extent, stereotypes used by political class during campaigns can lead to ethnic intolerance among voters both ingroup and outgroup that results conflict. The findings were found to concur with the findings by Ndonye et al., (2015) & Beelmann & Heinemann, (2014), who concluded that even though stereotypes have been used inform of jokes, they have become entrenched in Kenyan politics hence, employed as instrument to fuel vices in the society associated with social problems such as inter-group conflict.

Hate Messages and Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict

The descriptive statistics for hate messages results had an average mean and average standard deviation of 4.1006 and .902508 respectively, implying that the respondents were in agreement with most statements presented to them regarding effect of hate messages on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters, with varied responses. These findings were in concurrence with the provision of Article 20 (2) and Article 19 (3) of the ICCPR 1948 that demonstrate that hate speech include direct and public incitement to genocide, any advocacy of discrimination, hostility or violence, (ICCPR, 1948). The findings were also in accord with Article 19 (2) of ICCPR and Article 4 and Article 5 of the International Convention on Elimination of all Racial Discrimination (ICERD), that demonstrate that hate speech raises concerns interms of intolerance and discrimination, since expressions maybe inflammatory depending with the context in which it is applied. From the findings of the study, respondents agreed that hate message possesses a negative effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict and it can therefore, affect relationship between allies between different groups resulting into incitement and war. It was also found out that political actors can use hate messages to negatively influence supporters to vote along ethnic lines hence, ethnic intolerance and conflict.

Vernacular Radio Station and Ethnic Intolerance and Conflict

The descriptive statistics for vernacular radio stations results had an average mean and average standard deviation of 4.0938 and .85069 respectively, conjecturing that the respondents were in agreement with most of statements, even though there were spread out of responses about the mean. The discoveries were found to concur with conclusions by Gustafsson, (2016); Mogire et al., (2017); Onguny, (2019), who discovered that in the case of Rwanda genocide of 1994, local media reported in a manner that caused incitements that allegedly promoted tribal-based killings of Tutsi by Hutu. The findings were also in agreement with suppositions by (Kibet, 2015; Guyo & Godana, 2013). From the research findings, vernacular radio stations easens voters reach, they

can also be used to spread hate, stereotype and propaganda messages. These stations can also be taken hostage by politicians for their own interest. Failure to properly scrutinize vernacular radio programmes can lead to incitement among people. This was in agreement with Muendo, (2019), who found out that media may lead to conflict through incitements and propaganda which may in turn cause violence. This violence comes especially through failure to point out emerging intolerance situations and the delay to report on such related matters.

Conclusion

Based on the findings, the study concludes that there propaganda message is positively and significantly associated with ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. In addition, based on the results, there is a positive and significant relationship between propaganda message and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. This study further concludes that, propaganda message is utilised by the political actors during rallies and it is a source of division among ethnic communities. Propaganda message used during rallies is usually full of discriminatory aspects with potential to promote ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. When propaganda is utilized by political actors during rallies, the actors can easily influence supporters against another group not in support of their candidature and ideologies. This results into incitements hence, ethnic intolerance and conflict, since propaganda message is found to be misrepresenting the message conveyed. Propaganda is defined as information that is primarily used to influence audience and further the agenda which may not be objective and may present facts selectively to encourage a particular perception.

Based on the findings, the study also concludes that stereotype message is positively and significantly associated with ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. In addition, the study concludes based on results that there is a positive and significant relationship between stereotypes and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. The study therefore, concludes that, stereotype message is one of the promoters of ethnic intolerance and conflict. For instance when used to refer to another community from another during political rally. Stereotype comprises of negative or positive beliefs that one holds about the characteristics of a social group.

In addition, the study concludes that, hate message is positively and significantly associated with ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. In addition, the study concludes based on the results that there is positive and significant relationship between hate message and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County. Based on the findings of the study, it suffices to conclude that hate message is a source of incitement to war especially during political rally it makes voters to vote along ethnic lines. Hate message is that speech full of discriminatory epithets to insult and stigmatize others on the basis of their race, ethnicity, sexual orientations, gender and form forms of group membership.

Finally, the study concludes that there is positive and significant moderating effect of vernacular radio stations especially on the the relationship between political messages and ethnic and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. The study also concludes that there is positive and significant moderating effect of vernacular radio station on the relationship between political rally messages and ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya. It

shows that politicians take advantage and capture vernacular radio stations in many ways including financing them, aimed at getting support in terms of airtime broadcasts from them during political rally. This enables them to reach people easily and utilize this opportunity to spread messages considered propaganda, hate and stereotype which possess the potential to promote ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters in Migori County, Kenya.

Recommendations

The study recommends that, government agencies such as National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and IEBC to consider putting into action certain mechanisms to help curb political rally messages including hate, propaganda and stereotype messages. The study findings also recommend that more studies in future to establish the political rally messages effect on ethnic intolerance and conflict among voters. Finally, the study recommends to the policy makers such as Media Council of Kenya (MCK) that there is need for legislation formulation which ensures that vernacular radio stations are not taken captive by politicians for their own use during political rallies in order to avoid spread of hate, stereotype and propaganda messages that interfere with existing peace in among voters.

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