

Peace Education and Cultural Diversity: Focus on Kenya's Post-Election Crisis

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Abstract: *It is not difficult to understand the relationship between peace and education. We can recover it from a more disciplined approach when we begin to seek the ultimate causation of the need for peace. As such peace will often remain a political hot potato; it is a factor, though neglected in the Kenyan education system, of major educational importance and often demands careful, sensitive and intelligent approach. We must perceive it as a lifelong process which starts in the family, continues at school and must be practiced thereafter in our professions and way of life. In this way all people should become 'conflict literate,' thus aware of what may cause conflict and its negative consequences that often times poses a formidable threat to the social fabric and sanctity of the society.*

Keywords: *Peace Education, election violence, systematic discrimination, co-existence, community*

1. INTRODUCTION

Practically peace often manifests in moral values such as love of homeland, family, relatives, friends, neighbours, responsibility, honesty, patriotism, solidarity and diligence. These values become apparent in language use among the people and politicians because of their sharing of a moral order. Indeed language use is central in politics, for it engenders peace but may also predispose people to conflict, yet holds the key to conflict resolution. Thus at the heart of peace process, language use prevails to provide knowledge about each other, recognition of the equality of all languages, an awareness of and respect for cultural difference, and belief in peace. Ostensibly, Kenyan politics has remained blind to the power of language use and how such use has been able to create "a community out of diversity" in other countries just as Kiswahili has done in Tanzania and English in Great Britain.

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For this reason therefore, we can conceptualize Peace education simply as a way of setting and guiding actions that realize opportunities that enable a country to take advantage of important opportunities that arise out of peaceful co-existence and de-emphasize the emergence of consequential political and environmental threats. In such circumstances no languages compete to intensify degree of diversity. Such situations form scenarios of peace education that hinge on consensus-building to create a negotiated social construction that influences the need for a new vision that shapes peace (i.e. sense - making activity). Out of such activities, an abstract vision of a changed conception of a peaceful community evolves and permeates every section of society. The events that characterised Kenyan politics between December 27, 2007 and end February of 2008, points to the need for abstract vision of a changed conception.

This is because the triumph of the populace about peace, must be "considered ...in retrospect"¹ Such a vision guided the marred election of the 11th parliament in April, 2013, where the clarion call for the message of peace preceded voting dates. Whether the purpose was to placate the public or clear the ground for shaping the electoral results in advance, remains a question for political discourse. The peace clarion call of 2013 still boggles political minds. Thus, for the Kenyan public today, any election times evokes the 2007 polls violence, but they calm their memories, for example, in the words of Orwellian double think: forgetting an episode "that has

¹ Chomsky, N. and Herman E.S Manufacturing Consent, London: Vintage Books, P112

become inconvenient, and then, when it becomes necessary again,... draw it back from oblivion for just so long as it is needed”²

Kenya, a country covering 580,367sq km and where more than 40 languages are spoken, held its general election for the 10th parliament on 27th December 2007. The electoral system of the Kenyan Government during this time stood to satisfy:

1. Freedom of citizens to exercise their political rights under article 54 of the constitution of Kenya.
2. Free and fair elections which are: -
 - (a) Devoid of violence, intimidation, improper influence and corruption;
 - (b) Conducted by an independent electoral body; and
 - (c) Administered in an impartial, neutral, transparent, accurate, efficient and accountable manner.³

The support for this law seemingly was marred on the vote tallying dates which began on 28th and ended on 30th December, 2007. Indeed the gap between rhetoric and reality emerged. It was a day the Kenyan politicians who make pretence of being bound by the rule of law flouted the very law, and those who insisted to enforce it cried foul and saw its compliance mechanisms rendered weak. The occasion smacked of a questionable judicial system failing to fight impunity when laws of the nation are rendered ineffective. It was a day the siege engines shook the nation, when the rhetorical expressions directed the practical results and elements of intended truth ignored.

2. THE GAME OF POWER IN POLITICS

The situation set power and politics into play, where power loomed as a benefit for the passion of position and resource to influence the results; politics then polarised itself as the deployment of influence or leverage. The situation was so intense that the separation of the two became difficult. Eventually, the labyrinth of power was suspected to have played most part, way beyond politics, to the extremes of influencing the flow of polls information. Seemingly those who wielded government power and other resources obtained their required outcome, surprisingly in a situation where people were in no uncertainty and descensus about choices. Like many games, powerful tactics associated with those in power do influence elections, because by their own nature of survival over a period of time, they will continue to make decisions that will perpetuate their own safety and security. And this often sets on a political power game where legitimate discipline begins to decline and illegitimate discipline begins to strangle the government.

In effect, the post-polls events of December 2007 saw the marvellous coherence of Kenyan communities indubitably challenged. The relaxed ambience in which historical life among Kenyans swirled and mixed began to experience unease. Desolation engulfed Kenyan people, giving rise to anger and animosity among communities. The integrity of the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) was questioned, the announced results disputed and the integral vein of Kenyan security thinly broke loose. The various communities resorted to coalesce into their own specific wholes and agitate against one another on the basis of how the announcement of results impacted upon them.

More ominously, the situation gave rise to violent conflict accentuating an environment of apprehension among the people of Kenya. The anger among the people triggered violent activities resulting in the destruction of properties and lives, which ultimately tended to assault social capital and undermined peace and trust among various communities. More than ever before, the electoral commission, one of the mechanisms and institutions that strengthen the citizen’s voice and transparency in an election failed to build a consensus; it virtually failed the people of Kenya. Surprisingly the academic community in the country, after the 2007 episode, looked at the

² George Orwell, 1984 (New York: Signet,1950), P. 163

³ Government of Kenya, Kenya Gazette, Nairobi, Kenya: Government Printer, 2007, P. 39

occasion with trepidation. This stance created demand for, as Cohen (1981) once suggested “more information about, and explanation of, what is happening in Africa?”⁴

3. THE ROLE OF THE SECURITY FORCES

Since effective legal and judicial institutions are pillars for efforts to help people emerge from crises, the security forces often work in tandem with them to establish the rule of law in a crisis. The Kenyan political crisis experienced after the December 2007 polls saw over-deployment of security forces to the extent that it became accused of edging towards fuelling instability and violence. Their participation was suspected to pour oil on the flames of violence rather than quell them as was witnessed in various Kenyan cities including the capital city of Nairobi, the coastal and lakeside cities of Mombasa and Kisumu respectively, and alongside other towns in the Rift Valley such as Eldoret, Nakuru, and Kericho.

The security forces were ominously deployed upon bellicose groups which ran amok crying that our right had been denied, which translated into Kiswahili as ‘*haki yetu*’. In such a shaky political situation, the ensuing activities functioned to guarantee and create a connection between two events – the violent response to the dispute and agitation for political change, such that the first signified not only itself but also the second, while the second fulfilled the first. How the cascading events of 2007 polls polarized, saw pockets of communities rise against one another and repercussions were fatal. Violence spilled into the wrong hands of the youths. Houses were burnt in rural areas, roads were barricaded along the highways and in cities, commercial and residential buildings were torched, people were killed, women were raped and children traumatized.

Of course as human beings we have emotions that can be expressed through violence, hate or anger, but we are each responsible for the way we express them. However, security forces during the 2007 turbulent post-polls perceived the youthful mass commotions as events articulated by the youth inevitably disposed to violence or war. Though lacking the fundamentals of peace education, the youth had a part to play as citizens of Kenya. Unfortunately, the government through its long arm of the security forces also lacked the same fundamentals which would have enabled it to listen and understand the unpalatable opinions which characterized the youth demonstrations.

Indeed the continued role of the security forces was questioned especially where the brutal youth ganged up to confront the police or the police chasing unarmed civilians; these activities negated the basic fundamental human rights. A number of unarmed civilians met their death from gunshots when the situation degenerated into confusion. An extended deployment of military personnel in the crisis raised eyebrows about the government’s involvement in controlling violence in various affected parts of the country.

4. A HISTORY GONE WRONG

Man is by nature a social animal and often fends through natural instinct to foster and preserve the society in which he finds himself. He lives aware that human organization must be regulated by laws. Historically, human inhabitation of various parts of Kenya was a result of a wave of movements from northern and the forested western parts of Africa. However, history has all along portrayed a cohesive living among all these variegated community groups in Kenya. Their coexistence meshed well the peace that Kenya has enjoyed for long, peace that hinged on consensus building for a negotiated social construction where symbolic action of hate was rare.

As a nation-state, Kenya got its independence in 1963, and it is during this time that an expansion movement among communities within the country took a different pattern. It was a time that an expansion movement among communities took an intriguing possibility also. Of course major internal movements within the country became prominent before independence, mostly during the beginning of colonial period. It started during the building of the East Africa railway line from Mombasa to Kisumu (Port Florence 1898 - 1901) when the local population provided cheap unskilled labour force for the building of the railway, and subsequently during the settlement of

⁴ (Cohen (1981 : 85)

European farmers in the Rift Valley. However, later on, the internal movements soon after Kenya obtained its independence became overloaded with political calculations.

What is happening at present is that the track record of the co-existence among Kenyan communities in general is beginning to appear as having been shrouded in dark passages of time. For too long, sustainable peace and security in the country have failed to be maximally secured and nurtured. The situation in some parts of the country has slowly degenerated to systematic discrimination and exclusion between the communities and a political denial of access to public assets and services, causing extreme poverty concentrated in some communities. This has continued to create hostile unemployed youth organizations. Thus Kenyan history had cheated democracy. Coexistence among different communities has politically changed to appear as an adventure that hangs unnoticed and able to confront pent-up energies that are capable of blowing history off course.

The European classifications and inventions of tribe, language or dialects of a language in effect created bounded walls but without contents. In Africa, the tribe issue gelled well in 1970s when tribes began to politically agitate against one another in Kenya.

It is clear from such issues that Europeans perfected ethnic grouping among Kenyans, with missionaries and European administrators demarcating boundaries on the basis of geographical locations/areas and distinctive tribal languages as administrative units. With these, they formed locations, districts, and provinces. This administrative approach to group Kenyan people into ethnically separate groups has remained a factor in political struggle. Yet not to be forgotten, these demarcations are typical of African collectivistic cultural socialization. The African culture serves as a metaphor for social protection and the construction of solidarity within the framework of a community. Such culture holds that the individual rights remains confined to particular communities. For example, in Kenyan political context, the community forms a citadel clustered strongly by unique values of expression, political opinion and socio-economic gratification. To this end, there is a resemblance to the view once expressed by Geertz (1973): “man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun.”⁵ thus a person is not that of an isolated individual, but someone belonging to a large group sharing kinship and loyalties with others in a spirit of solidarity forming a labyrinth of a community.

For history to be in the tandem with national capacity for maintaining harmonious difference among communities in Kenya there will be need to cross over ethnic and socio-economic dividing lines. Much will depend on the availability of jobs for the Kenyan youth in the inner cities and creation of income generating activities in rural areas. If unemployment remains high and the economic situation continues to dwindle in some parts of the country, political action will fail to mitigate ethnic tensions, and peace will remain threatened and Kenyan communities will turn back to their individual strength and conceive of other communities as ‘them.’

The political crisis Kenya witnessed on 27th December, 2007 therefore was a radical contradiction of the Kenya we know as famed more for pristine coastal beaches, its people’s hospitality and for being Africa’s eastern hub for touristic attraction. For history to be in tandem with national capacity in containing tribal differences in Kenya, there is need to cross over tribal lines. Much will depend on the availability of means of empowering the young people to an extent of making them build on inclusive society. Or else, with political action failing to mitigate ethnic tension, lack of employment among the young people may create a means of ethnic gerrymandering for a political influence. Hence, all this will lead history to cheat democracy – the coveted idealism for perfecting the representative government, party competition, and the secret ballot, all founded on guarantees of individual rights and freedoms.

5. REFLECTIONS FOR PEACE

The post poll chaos of December 2007 and early 2008 appeared to have unfolded against the backdrop of several decades of peaceful coexistence among various communities in Kenya. Rather, one may suspect it stemmed from the weakness on the present constitution in the country

⁵ Geertz, C. *The Interpretations of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p5

that has allowed political domination, corruption and political courts. This may be a flammatory rhetoric, but it continues to echo across the political divide in the country.

The events that unfolded after the polls revealed that bad data can produce bad decisions and many people were left puzzled as to why the virus of truth, for which there is no antidote, was eroded and fate befell the nation as historical unity vanished. This gave rise to oblique nationalism, the idea of striving reliance on the politics of divide and rule rather than displaying a pious hope for a mutual assimilation of a political order.

Oblique nationalism has left Kenya in a difficult situation. Latent tensions have grown with a multiplicity of ethnic agendas which blur boundaries between those who are disaffected and those who are not. For a number of reasons, living under the pressure of violence containment during the period of 2007 polls violence period required more than how to maximize the best in human nature. Kenyans demonstrated their knowledge of distinguishing between democratic principles of selecting the political leadership and humane principles, including stabilizing the family and security from social violence and strived to establish a condition of non-ethnic hatred.

And therefore, the political task at hand in Kenya today is to characterise, through peace education, the key mechanisms through which identity, national identity in particular, is constructed and legitimized and eventually for people to locate the role of ethnicity. These are insights used as mythological tools which are needed to educate Kenyans drawn from different communities the benefit of peace among diversified communities, such that peace and stability, in the absence of desolation containment, may prevail in Kenya.

Indeed one may argue that there are many types of identities, both personal and collective, the latter including professional, regional and ethnic. For purposes of peace education, the former is not constructive; hence the focus needs to be on the collective, the national identity. The collective identity here then can be characterized, for purposes of peace education, as those qualities in the self-perception of a group whereby the said group members recognize, describe or identify themselves with the nation state as one people. Thus identity, like language, is perceived through categories of similarities and differences. And therefore, the important mechanisms that Kenyans need to use in constructing their collective identity would involve a way of defining themselves by recognising their national-identity in which the nation-state becomes their locus of identification. And here, the national language – Kiswahili, must play a role, as it will identify the people as Kenyans.

The concept of national identity should not be perceived to operate as an evocative metaphor but rather as a precise construct advanced to re-articulate the notion of cultural pluralism for purpose of national cohesion. The national identity would be a vehicle for political ideology to signify a nation of citizenship and the nation's politics in the best interest of Kenyans and in harmony with nationalist ideals. With this in mind, Kenya as a nation-state would gain from a common linguistic pattern of communication – Kiswahili, as a national language – a language that turns its words into shares cutting evenly across different ethnic groups for a level discursive landscape, albeit among other vernaculars, social and cultural institutions constructed for variegated 'collective memories.' With this conceptualization, the language use will oil the discursive landscape and as nation-state, subsume its citizens within its borders as 'we.'

Thus, all communities in Kenya need to continue to see each other as 'we.' Therefore the big question one may ask today is: could this have been the missing link that instigates the Kenyan communities to fail to perceive each other as 'we.' Is the missing link causing them to disintegrate and begin to perceive each other as 'them'?

If this is the case that emerged in the December, 2007 polls, then the seeds of ethno-political conflagration have been sown in Kenyan socio-political landscape. This conflagration may not augur well along the Kenyan long-term planning strategy proclamation of 'Kenyan vision 2030' – "a state in which equality is entrenched, irrespective of one's race, ethnicity, religion, gender or socio-economic status. A nation that not only respects but also harnesses the diversity of its people's values, traditions and aspirations for the benefit for all".⁶

⁶ Government of Kenya, *Vision 2030*, Nairobi, Kenya: Government Printers, 2004, p. 12.

This brings us to the idea that the government may have failed through its activities to weed out the distinctive thread that forms a socio-political separation labyrinth among the Kenyan communities. This has legitimized the ideal of national 'us' against the distant national 'other'; creating friends, enemies, and mystical others, in political discourses. The two factors of 'history gone wrong' and the polarized socio-political 'we' and 'others' in Kenya's political landscape must be seen as contributing to the fracturing of Kenyan nationhood. Along the perspectives of peace education, citizenry must desist from glorifying these and engrain the roots of sameness upon which to develop loyalty for national image.

For the purposes of peace, Kenyans need to outgrow the ethnic identity notion since over a long history this identity has failed to flatten the cultural surface to a one whole national discursive landscape. There is need for a reflection to bring us to the 'sense of place' which emphasizes the need to belong to a particular place 'Kenya', not to a competing society in the contrastive sense. The 'sense of place' subsumes Kenya as a discursive landscape of one region with a broad range of cultural and political activities, events, and images of history. All these engrain the symbolic fabric linking the self-understanding of the people with everyday practices of love of the nation-state. In this sense, the notion 'nation-state' becomes a 'historical container' of discursive landscape where economic, political and social changes have been experienced by the communities of a region.

The nation-state then begins to be perceived as a citadel of sense of integrity, values and a symbolic public sphere for the language Kiswahili, which has remained to unite the Kenyans in market places, offices and homes. These places form points where processes of representations of collectiveness are effected and moulded to give a strong symbolic overtone of the existence of a Kenyan nation-state.

6. THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PEACEMAKING

The Servile Statement on violence spearheads peace education in educational institutions and was drafted by an international committee in 1986. Its content, though scientific, has the purpose of dispelling the wide-spread belief that human beings are inevitably disposed to war as a result of their innate and biological predispositions determining their aggressive traits. The UNESCO adopted the statement in 1989 for promotion of peace worldwide.

The Statement clearly indicates that peace is possible and wars and violence can be ended. Relating the 2007 crisis to Servile statement, a throwback question that emerges: are Kenyans ready to continue embracing peace? Most importantly, Kenyans must believe that they are ready. Just as wars begin in the minds of men, peace also begins in our minds - the hallmark of sense-making. The Kenya's Churches fraternity needs to teach its members the necessity of living in peace. In seeking to build relationship with their folk, the Churches need to emphasize this mental model. The sense - making model would require the Churches to play their role in actualizing their involvement in peace education through the process of organizing seminars for training peace educators and disseminating the message of Christ's peace into the world.

The civil society and the Church are conceptually interrelated; therefore they need to exert a mutual influence on each other to sustain peace. Though they are independent, functionally, their interrelatedness makes them close to each other. In Kenya, the political crisis of 2007 had appeared to separate them much more to the intrigues of Church flock. Without a Church and its teaching for sense-making and love, the civil society is dead, hence without civil society based on an understanding that human understanding and action are based on love, the Church remains lame. The Church, as a supreme moral institution, should not stand isolated from the social, political and cultural environment which indeed makes it. It stands to provide an opportune platform for peace education and role casting to subdue affectlessness when traditional cultures clash leading to opposing politics because of diversity.

Moreover, the Church should not perceive traditional differences and cultural diversities as the only cause of problems in Kenyan politics or that understanding the problems alone would be the successful solution. In a social world, problems abound, and they are normally obstacles to peace education for the Church. The Church then stands to contend that a number of psychopathological problems of every day life in contemporary Kenya are real. The problems include the persistent desire of individuals or groups to maintain power over others through unequal social

relations, the plain lack of empathy and sympathy and the urge for unrealistic expectations. The legitimacy of this problem often spills into people's politics and erodes the fabric of peace and love.

The Church can fortify itself against these problems to fend its flock off these inclinations to avoid resemblances of the Kenya 2007 political crisis. Attempts of this nature constitute an interpretive scheme for creating social content where love, care and concern for one another prevails. Peace in modern times demands active participation of the Church, opinion leaders, civil society and the government to create a cohesive community in diversity for peace to abound.

7. REFLECTIONS FOR PEACE EDUCATION: THE SCHOOL

Peace education has not been made a topical issue in Kenyan curriculum development, yet the teachers today are aware of the dangers of lack of peace in a nation. Probably this problem could be arising from the country's pedagogical practice that follows a strictly structured curriculum making teachers not flexible to use other resources besides the textbooks provided. Indeed schools would provide good grounds for the teaching of peace education since, as Benjamin Franklin once said: *Tell me, and I forget, teach me and I remember, involve me and I learn.*⁷

Similarly, a culture of peace will only be realized when children and the citizens of the world understand global problems through sharing their responsibilities in five topical issues as indicated in the table below:

Table1. *Activities for children to help in understanding global problems (Adopted from Freudenstein, R (1997), in Peace Education Newsletter, No.16)*

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | Respect of life | Respect of life and dignity of every person without discrimination or prejudice. |
| 2 | Rejection of violence | There is need to practice non-violence, rejecting violence in all its forms: physical, sexual, psychological, economic and social and in particular towards the most deprived and vulnerable, such as children, women and the elderly. |
| 3 | Sharing with others | Share time and resources in the spirit of generosity to put an end to exclusion, injustice, political and economic oppression. |
| 4 | Listening to understand | This leads to defending freedom of expression and cultural diversity giving preference always to dialogue and listening rather than fanaticism, defamation and rejection of others. |
| 5 | Rediscover solidarity | The aim here is to contribute to a nation-state community, with respect for democratic principles, in order to create together new forms of solidarity in a milieu of cultural diversity. |

The political situation in Kenya seems to have existed precariously in 'negative peace.' Latent tensions have been left to grow with a multiplicity of ethnic agendas which blur boundaries between those who are disaffected and those who are not. For a number of reasons, living under the pressure of violence containment requires more than how to maximise the best in human nature. Of course Kenyans continue to demonstrate their knowledge of distinguishing between democratic principles of selecting the political leadership and humane principles, including stabilizing the family and security from social violence, political violence episodes and sporadic of terrorism but what has only remained not effected, is peace education.

The task at hand in Kenya today is to maintain a pluralist integrity through peace education, the key mechanism through which identity is constructed and legitimised, and eventually located to function for the role of a nation-state. The test of this integrity would become evident when two methods of analysis are applied – structural analysis and the psycholinguistic analysis. These are tools which are needed for use to educate Kenyans drawn from different communities; such that peace and stability for peace to prevail. In more recent years, a number of African countries have witnessed increase in civil disturbances, manifested in protracted civil wars, riots and social unrest creating problems of refugee crisis. The 2007 polls made Kenya witness a civil unrest in which over 300,000 people were displaced from their homes and 1,000 others lost their lives. The

⁷ Freudenstein, R. Peace Education: No Thank You, Newsletter issue number 26, 1997, p. 15.

witnessing of continued presence of the Internally Displaced Persons form a factor of lack of peace in a country.

8. CONCLUSION

In discussing peace education and cultural diversity in this article, we have focused on the post 2007 poll events in Kenya. The intention was to show how political crisis can break peace lose and erode it. Peace that created social cohesion among the people of Kenya over a long time seemed polarized to deny tolerance of difference. In the 2007 post polls events, peace saw the security forces overstretched creating space for situations of abuse and social breakdown. Thus they exposed the latent political anger that for long hid in the souls of many Kenyans. New developments in peace education and the merits of unlearning for the purpose of maintaining peace would require that the Kenyan identity remains important for the nation-state, peace, coexistence and space for civic dialogue.

Seemingly however, the value recognition of Kenyan identity has not improved for the harmonious co-existence, socio-economic and political well-being of the Kenyan people. Against this failure, there are a number of assumed contributing factors which include long-term corrupt governments that have ruled, the irresponsible opinion leaders who misconstrue contained desolation as peace, and people seeking power and materials to sustain their political status quo.

The relevance learnt from the Kenyan 2007 post-polls chaos therefore indicates that there is need for government to work in tandem with the Church and education institutions to develop a political, economic and cultural milieu sensitive to a creation of shared meaning and values among Kenyans. This will only succeed when Kenyans remain to respect and even celebrate diversity. In essence, This may level the field for political power relationship and rectify a limited view of culture as a commune heritage in collective knowledge that would reside in every mind, or as Hall has suggested, "The sharing of structures of relations that are lived and experienced."⁸

I see a stint of combative culture not as an obstacle that cannot be overcome. It is often advanced by stakeholders to create disintegration and trigger political differences. People are the stakeholders in peace process as they have the capacities to drive the social integration, whether towards fragmentation, exclusion or polarization. If the Church can understand the values of local people and their ways of thinking, then it can help them understand values inherent in peace education and also develop their ways of solving problems that may arise due to lack of peace education.

Like mass media, the Church can define what political and social problems at different times and shape these as certain agendas for peace by prioritizing certain issues and particular conflicts in their sermons. By doing so, the Church will strive to bring its flock into the 'knowledge of the public.'⁹ And so, a cultural milieu will be created for peace and a manageable contingency that forms a 'vehicle for development' or towards co-existence, collaboration and cohesion may emerge.¹⁰

Again, it has been suggested that the Seville Statement has good reading which provides tools to create value discussions in which peace can be constructed. The statements will make a good reading for schools such that children would grow up with ideals of respect for peace and value of all people and cultures. It is surprising that attainment of positive peace has evaded the last nine Kenyan parliaments between 1963 and 2007. Mass gatherings of 1970s and 80s led by politicians and activists still appear in Kenyan streets. The hallmark was a social drama that demonstrated a culture lacking peace education. The protestors in the mass commotions were not "social deviants" but valid voices that longed for a levelled political landscape where peace could mature. These were the voices capable of constructing and mediating messages of reality for harmonious co-existence among Kenyan communities. Such social drama forms a dialogue approach in public

⁸ Hall, S. *Cultural studies: Two Paradigms*, IN T> Bennet. et al., (eds) *Culture, Ideology and Social Press*, London: Batsford in association with Open University Press, 1981, pp.19-38.

⁹ Ishinda, S. 'Globalising and Environmental Conflict:' *Journal of intercultural communication*, Vol. 8, 2002.

¹⁰ Weaver, C. "Intercultural Relations," in *Journal of intercultural Communication*, 2003.

sphere and functions as “a means for channelling and facilitating peaceful and social relations . . . that, enhance the embedding of a truly democratic culture across the society.”¹¹

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¹¹ Bloomfield and Ropers, N. *Dialogue and Social Integration: Experience from Ethno-political Conflict Work*. Paper presented at the United Nations Expert Group Meeting entitled “Dialogue in the Social Integration Process: Building Peaceful Social Relations – By, for, and with People,” 21-23 November 2005, New York, 2005, p. 4.