

Shujaaz Audience Assessment

Case Studies

Draft Report

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Research Overview

The objective of the ethnographic case study was to understand the readers of the comic – in particular those on whom reading the comic has made an impact, including people who may have changed their minds and attitudes as a result, and people who tried out some of the ideas or techniques described in the comic.

The case studies consisted of an immersion period whereby a researcher was required to spend two consecutive days together with the respondent in his /her environment. The research was based on participation, interaction and observation, as well as open-ended interviews with the respondent and short closed-ended questionnaires with other members of their social network, which will be used for a simple social network analysis. The main purpose of the immersion was to gather information on:

- The everyday life and day to day activities of the reader
- The social background and culture of the reader
- The social networks and relationships
- Their self-determination and leadership abilities
- Their views on topics around national cohesion, and how reading Shujaaz may have had an influence
- The technology they have adopted

Case studies were conducted with 8 pre-selected readers of Shujaaz¹ between the ages of 13 and 35 years. Of these, 4 were male and 4 were female. The sample was split between four readers who had been influenced by national cohesion themes (peace building) and four who had tried out practical innovations (e.g. making a business plan or soaking seeds).

During the immersion, six ways of collecting data were used:

1. Observation
2. Unstructured interviews
3. Semi-structured scenarios and questions

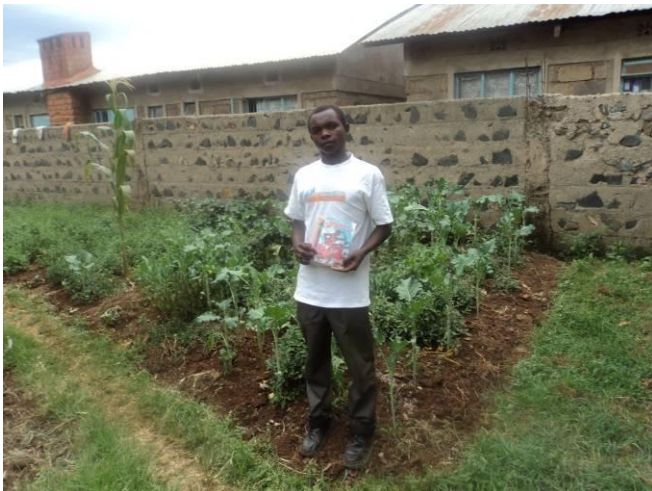
¹ One of the eight readers (in Malindi), who had agreed to be portrayed, declined participation on the first day of the immersion, because of a death in the family. This person had to be replaced with another reader, and the remaining case study will be carried out on the weekend of October 30st

4. Structured interviews
5. Listing of members of the social network their relationship
6. Photographs

Fieldwork for the seven completed case studies was conducted between 3rd and 11th October, 2010, with interviews administered in both Kiswahili and English.

Abraham: Business Plan/Vegetables

Abraham Juma is a 19 year old male living in Eldoret. He is from a very humble background, but thanks to *Shujaaz*, he has been able to draw up a business plan and sell vegetables from his small garden for profit. Abraham aspires to gradually expand



his small farming business, save enough money to buy a big piece of land, acquire enough capital to enable him to venture into other types of profitable projects and to eventually become “a well known businessman all over Kenya and even abroad.” One of the people who he is most inspired by is Mike Sonko (the newly elected Member of Parliament for Makadara who is

also among the youngest sitting MPs) because of his business acumen and success. Abraham believes that he himself can make it in life if Sonko is an example to go by. Abraham is confident that despite his humble beginnings, his future is bright. He adds, “I would love to be able to travel all over the country and also abroad. I would also like to be able to improve the lives of the people around me.”

Abraham lives with his sister in a two-bedroom semi-permanent house; there are few permanent buildings in the surrounding area. The house and surrounding property



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belonged to Abraham's parents, but his father was retrenched from his place of work a few years ago, and now his parents live in their rural home in Bungoma. The small property which they left behind in Eldoret is now occupied by Abraham and his older sister. Abraham decided to till the small piece of land around the house and grow a few crops which he could sell. He currently grows maize, sukuma wiki, managu (a traditional vegetable), potatoes and tomatoes.

Abraham's father regularly comes to Eldoret for medical treatment. He suffers from diabetes, and on this particular weekend, he is in town. Abraham spends most of his time at home taking care of his sick father since his mother is not around. The family shares the two chairs, single table and stool which are found in the house. Abraham's father owns one transistor radio which is operated by him primarily, and which Abraham listens to occasionally. When he does listen to the radio, he listens to *Sayare FM*. He has no access to television or internet at home, and neither do they have electricity. His family is withdrawn particularly from their neighbours, and they do not take much interest in Abraham's extracurricular activities. Abraham says that he prefers to spend time on his own so that he is not influenced by activities that do not benefit his life.

On most days, Abraham likes to spend a considerable amount of time by himself. He usually takes a computer course in Eldoret town, but he is currently unable to afford the fees. Usually, his parents contribute to his school fees, while he uses his earnings from the garden to supplement the remaining balance. However, he makes occasional trips into town to visit his friends who are still in school. He also enjoys reading during his time alone, usually old newspapers that he gathers from his regular trips to Eldoret town. He spends most of the remaining time tending to his garden. Abraham gets most of his information from the radio and from his friends, including those he interacts with during church activities and programs. Once in a while, he enjoys watching football at his local shopping centre, although the opportunity only comes occasionally. A few of

his friends have access to both television and newspapers so he sometimes accesses these media through his friends.

In terms of discrimination, Abraham has experienced prejudice due to the fact that he comes from the Sabaot² community, a sub-tribe of the Kalenjin. When he was in high school, he and a few other friends were treated differently at sporting events because of the stereotype that all Sabaots were associated with Wycliffe Matakwei's brutal forces. He recalls another occasion when he experienced discrimination: "I used to [go to] school in Mount Elgon and there was a notorious rebel group that existed there called SDLF that used to kill people. During the post election violence, I went to a shop in Kakamega wearing my school uniform and the shop keeper refused to serve me because I was from Mount Elgon." Abraham reacted calmly by leaving the store and going to another shop, but says "I felt very bad then because I was treated as if I was not a human being." Although he shared the experience with some of his schoolmates, he never discussed the incident with his parents. He instead sought advice from a leader at church who advised him to ignore such acts and continue living peacefully. From his experiences, Abraham would "encourage people who are mistreated not to give up and tell those who mistreat others to stop."

Abraham believes that "the government should be advised to see all communities as equal and give them equal opportunities and equal distribution of resources." He believes that government resources are not always distributed evenly, and people's needs are not met. He talks about the particular area in which he lives, saying: "there is no tarmac road within Mount Elgon district and [the government] should develop one. Schools are also not well developed and some students study under trees. Also markets are not well developed. We should have good governance and MPs should

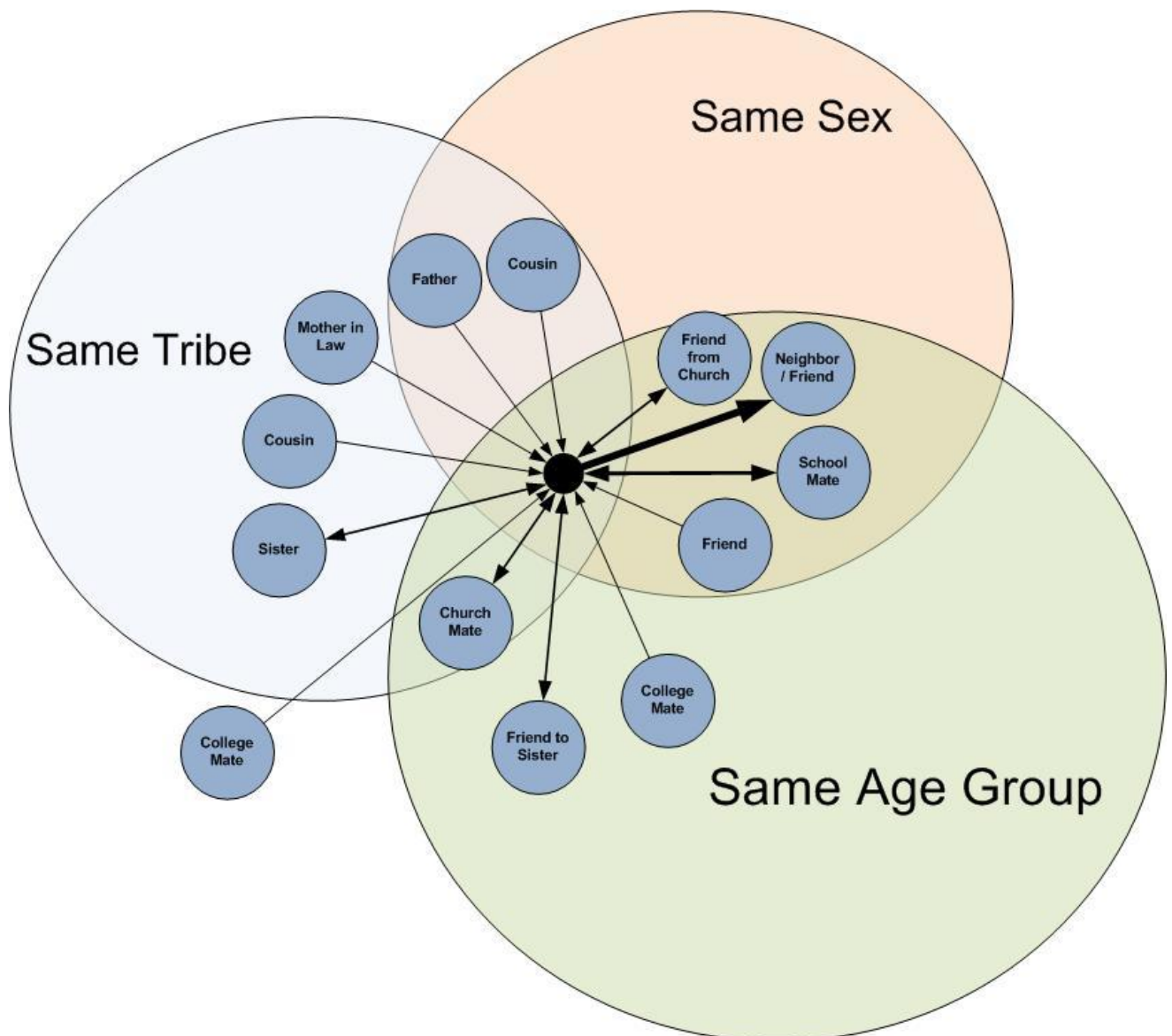
² The Sabaot Land Defence Force (SLDF) is a guerrilla militia that has been operating in the Mount Elgon District of Rift Valley province since 2005. It has been accused of killing more than 600 people, and of committing a variety of atrocities including murder, torture, rape, and the theft and destruction of property. The group draws its members from the Sabaot people, who are a sub-tribe of the Kalenjin. They were led by Wycliffe Matakwei Kirui Komon, who has now been killed by security forces, who claimed to command 35,000 soldiers and scouts. (Source: Wikipedia)

visit the constituencies and meet the people so that they can understand their needs.” He believes that Mount Elgon is home to people of different tribes including Kalenjin, Luo, Luhya, and Kikuyu, and their livelihoods should be supported. He also feels that the government can “advise people to read magazines like *Shujaaz* which will empower them and give them ideas.”

When asked what he would think of a Mosque being constructed in the neighbourhood, he said: “I would not have a problem because they [Muslims] have freedom to worship and if there are Muslims around, they deserve to have a mosque.” He believes that people of other religious backgrounds “will not interfere with [his] faith” because regardless of their creed, they have a common belief in God. In an ideal country, he would like to have peace, freedom of expression and development.

Even though Abraham says that *Shujaaz* has changed his life, he has not shared much of what he has learned from the comic with his sister. Abraham relies on well-wishers at the Mpesa agent to supply him a copy of the *Shujaaz* comic. He does not usually buy the newspaper and is not a regular user of M-pesa services; he usually collects old newspapers when he is in Eldoret town. For Abraham, the comic is not easily accessible, and he keeps his copies safely after reading them. Nevertheless, he feels that the makers of *Shujaaz* are “improving the lives of people by giving them ways to solve their problems.” He also enjoys the comic because it has “tips on how to solve conflicts [which are] helping me to handle people.” He suggests that the distribution of the comic be improved so that more people have access to it, especially in the area in which he lives. He would also like to see the comic distributed in schools because he believes secondary school students in particular can really benefit from the comic’s messages and ideas.

Social network analysis



When looking at the social network of **Abraham**, it is interesting to see that of all the people we met, none of them share the combined attributes of age/gender and tribe with Abraham. He lives in a heterogeneous environment and is constantly around people who are different in one or the other way. In his own subjective view, Abraham is more influenced than an influencer: There is one friend he influences, three people

where the relationship is two-way, and in all the remaining relationships it is more the other person who influences Abraham.

Chris: Making Peace



Christopher Wandera is a 13 year old resident of Dagoretti, the peri-urban township located in the western outskirts of Nairobi. One of the first things you will probably notice about Chris is his short physique – when standing amongst his friends or his classmates, he is always the shortest among them. Despite this

fact, Chris is always the most opinionated and commandeering among his peers. He is a “straight-talker” as his father says, and many will attest to this, including his teachers. He also has a noticeable stammer in his speech. However, Chris says that his stammer has never stopped him from doing or saying anything. He describes himself as an “ordinary boy” who is “fearfully and wonderfully made by God.” Chris dreams of growing up to become an engineer or a scientist. He is fascinated with the science of flight: he likes birds because of the way they flap their wings, likes aeroplanes, and is particularly inspired by the inventor of the Apollo 24 rocket.

He and his family live close to the Dagoretti market, in a small estate comprised of houses made of iron sheets and poor drainage, despite the fact that they do not have piped water. Chris lives with his father Wilson, his mother Margaret, and his younger brother Evans, in a two bedroom house. Chris’ father is a mason who spends the week working away from home, while his mother is a hairdresser. Chris watches the 7pm and 9pm news on the family’s colour television. He also watches lots of movies and

cartoons, his favourite being Ben 10, Batman, Home Alone, Spy Kids and a variety of religious movies. Chris attends church every Sunday with his family, particularly Sunday School which he looks forward to every week, and his Christian faith is an important part of how he sees himself and how he treats others. For fun, he reads magazines, comics and story books such as Red Chicken, Superman, The Gingerbread Man and City Mouse. He enjoys newspaper pullouts like Shujaaz.



Chris has many friends in the neighbourhood, and together they usually play a very unique football game they call *sita*. The game involves tying a football made of polythene bags to a tree, and then kicking it as high as possible in a very consistent manner. Chris and his friends really enjoy playing *sita*, and he feels that kicking the ball in

the air serves as good exercise for his legs.

Chris says that in his neighbourhood, most young people drop out of school to work in the local slaughter house. He says that many of them end up spending their free time at the market getting drunk on alcohol. Alcohol abuse is a major problem in the immediate area, especially among adult men and women. Chris talked his father into giving up alcohol, his father admits. Although he continues to smoke, he does not do so in the presence of Chris as Chris



repeatedly tells him: “Stop smoking, I hate it!”

One time when his parents were away, Chris called upon the village elder to put an end to late-night arguing between a drunken man and his wife next door. He hates it when his neighbours quarrel noisily with one another when they are drunk, and many times he has talked to them and asked them to peacefully resolve their problems. His neighbours know that Chris is not afraid to intervene in such situations even where adults are involved. He does not like the idea of destruction and fighting among families, and this compels him to speak against any kind of conflict he sees. He also dislikes fighting because, according to the Bible, it is not a good way of resolving conflicts.

Chris’ younger brother is 7 years old, and both boys attend the same primary school – St. Luke’s Academy, a small private school which is within walking distance of where they live. On a regular school day, he listens to the radio while he prepares to go to school. However, for the last one month Chris has been too ill to attend school as he has been suffering from acute ulcers. In fact, he is only just resuming school. His class teacher describes him as the best mathematics student in his class. When he finishes his primary school education, Chris would like to major in the sciences.

Chris has experienced discrimination on the basis of tribe on two particular occasions. His fellow classmates used to speak ill of students of other tribes repeatedly, and once when he asked them to stop, they decided to take his bus fare away from him and beat him. Although the incident only happened once, Chris told the school head teacher the following day. This resulted in a summoning of the entire school whereby the head teacher warned all students against such behaviour and urged them not to discriminate against one another on the basis of tribe. Chris forgave his classmates and used the incident as an opportunity to preach peace. As a result, he also began distributing his copies of Shujaaz in class so that others would be able to share the messages of tolerance and unity. Chris also recalls another experience of tribalism: “we were

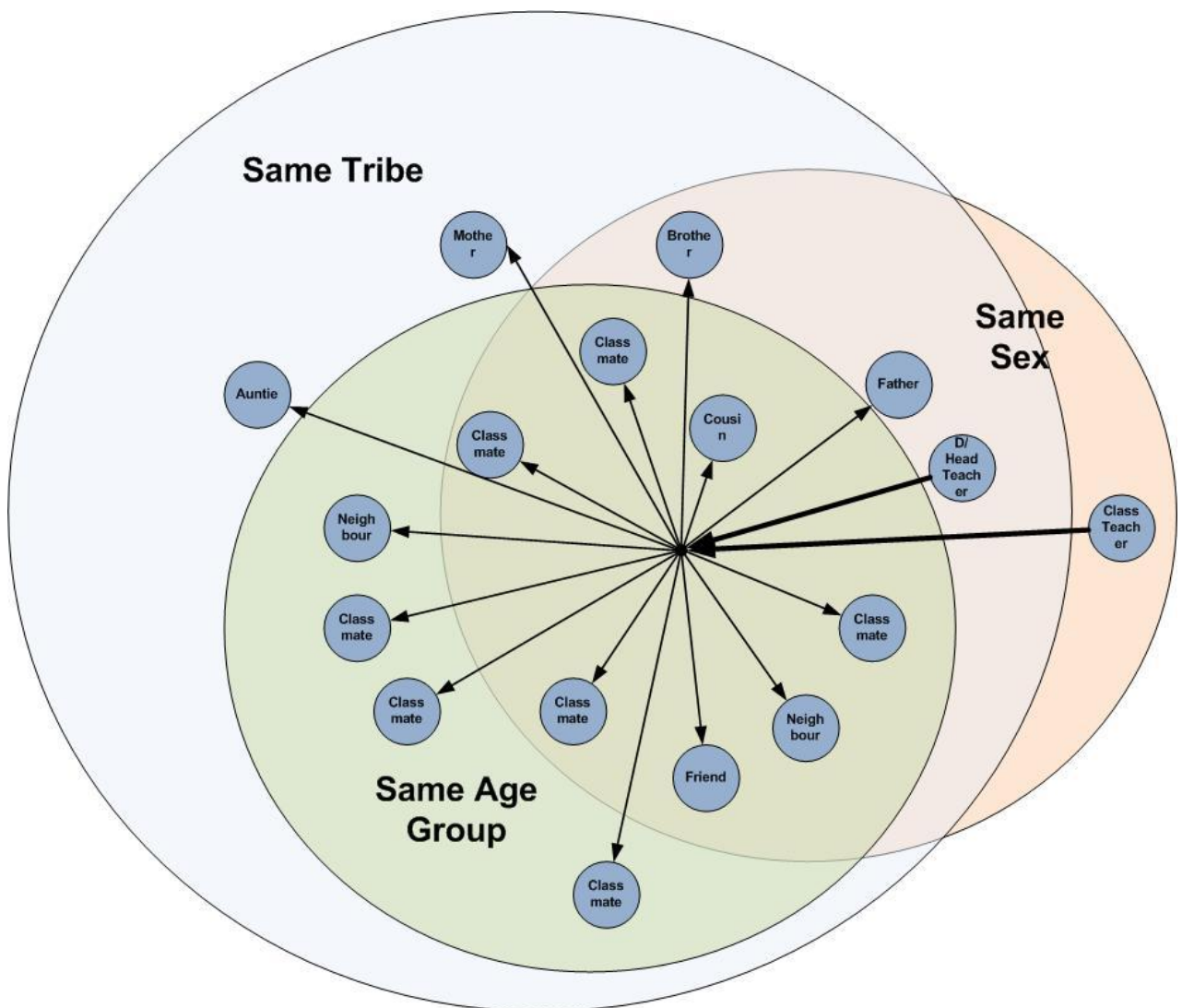
playing and a boy who was not a Kikuyu locked me up in a chicken house.” Chris did not take these experiences lightly, but feels that anyone who acts in this way “should be given guidance and counseling” and that “they should stop tribalism.”

Chris does not condone tribalism or discrimination on the basis of religion. He says, “I would not want someone not to respect other tribes or even insult someone from another tribe.” He believes that “people should learn to work together and live together peacefully. If for instance I have a problem in a certain subject for instance mathematics I [should be able to] comfortably go to someone who is not necessarily of my tribe for assistance.” Although he is a Christian, believes that “Muslims are also human.”

Chris received his first copy of Shujaaz from his dad, and usually gets his copy from the newspaper. He reads it alone first then shares his copy with his cousins and classmates. Many of them have read the comic courtesy of Chris. He also listens to the Shujaaz FM show on the radio sometimes. He thinks the comic is “great” because it is educative, and it teaches against tribalism and violence, topics which he feels are relevant to him. He however suggests that the makers of Shujaaz introduce more characters to the comic, and also include messages on HIV/AIDS and abstinence in the storylines.

In an ideal country, Chris would have no violence, corruption, bribery, tribalism or gossip. He likes to read a bit of politics in the newspaper even though he says Kenyan politics is something like a “joke book.” He admires President Jomo Kenyatta for leading the country to independence. In his own words, he says “I am young but in my heart I know I am a big person” and he believes that is how others see him, as a small yet “big” person.

Social network analysis



When looking at the social network of **Chris**, one notices that apart from his class teacher, all the people in the list of his network are from the same tribe. They are more or less in equal parts male and female. At least in his own subjective view, Chris is a big influencer: all the people he interacts with, with the exception of the two teachers, are influenced by him rather than the other way round.

Patricia: Soaking Seeds



Patricia is a 21 year old real estate agent who lives and works in Meru. She works at Mosmark Agencies in Meru Town and loves her job. She constantly points to new houses in the area and makes her guess of how much they will sell for in the market. She enjoys work-related challenges such as dealing with

angry tenants and impatient landlords, and in such situations, she usually responds calmly. She aspires to be a professional accountant, and alternatively, she would like to work in the tourism industry since she loves animals, national parks and travelling. One of her goals is to go back to school, either to Meru University or Kenya Methodist University, to have a stable job, to own a big house, and to start her own restaurant business on the side.



Patricia currently lives at home with her parents and younger sister in Kaaga, a hilly village about 3 kilometres from Meru Town. She comes from a well-to-do background. She and her family live in a nice brick and wooden house, with flowers, neatly cut grass and a natural fence. Though

Patricia describes the neighbourhood as a middle class one, she insists that it is home to people from different socioeconomic backgrounds who manage to co-exist peacefully – most are Meru and Christian just like herself. The home is huge with various structures within it and lots of room for family activities, one of which is baseball. Baseball is a family favourite. Her whole family loves to play baseball; they are extremely enthusiastic about sports generally, but more so this game: they even have a sports office in the compound. The small garden is also home to Patricia's beans, which grew out of the seeds she had carefully soaked before planting. Patricia says she adopted the idea from reading Shujaaz FM and it worked, as her mother also testifies.

Patricia is the third-born child in a family of four. Her older brother is studying in Japan, while her older sister is studying at Meru University. Her younger sister commutes from home to a nearby high school. At home, Patricia is a very influential person and a real decision-maker. In addition to helping with household chores, she usually decides what the family is going to have for lunch or dinner. Her mother says: "Patricia does not like to see me working. She even hires somebody to do the laundry for us." Patricia's mother describes her as a role model to her siblings, especially to her older sister. She also says that Patricia advises her siblings on how to spend their money.

On Sundays, her family usually spends the afternoon at a garden hotel having lunch. However, recently the family schedules have been too busy for the regular lunches. Nowadays, Patricia spends most of her Sundays at home. On this particular Sunday, she spent her afternoon watching soap operas at home. She is a huge fan of Facebook and she accesses the site everyday via her dad's laptop. She is also trying to learn how to use Skype so that she can communicate with her brother in Japan. Her favourite radio station is Kiss FM, although she cannot listen to it while she is at work. During her free time she also enjoys reading Parents magazine and weekly pullouts such as the Saturday Magazine, DN2, Zuqka, and Pulse where she can also catch up with the latest fashion trends. Patricia has a love for shoes, and during her free time

she enjoys walking through the aisles of Budget Supermarket to have a look at the latest shoes.

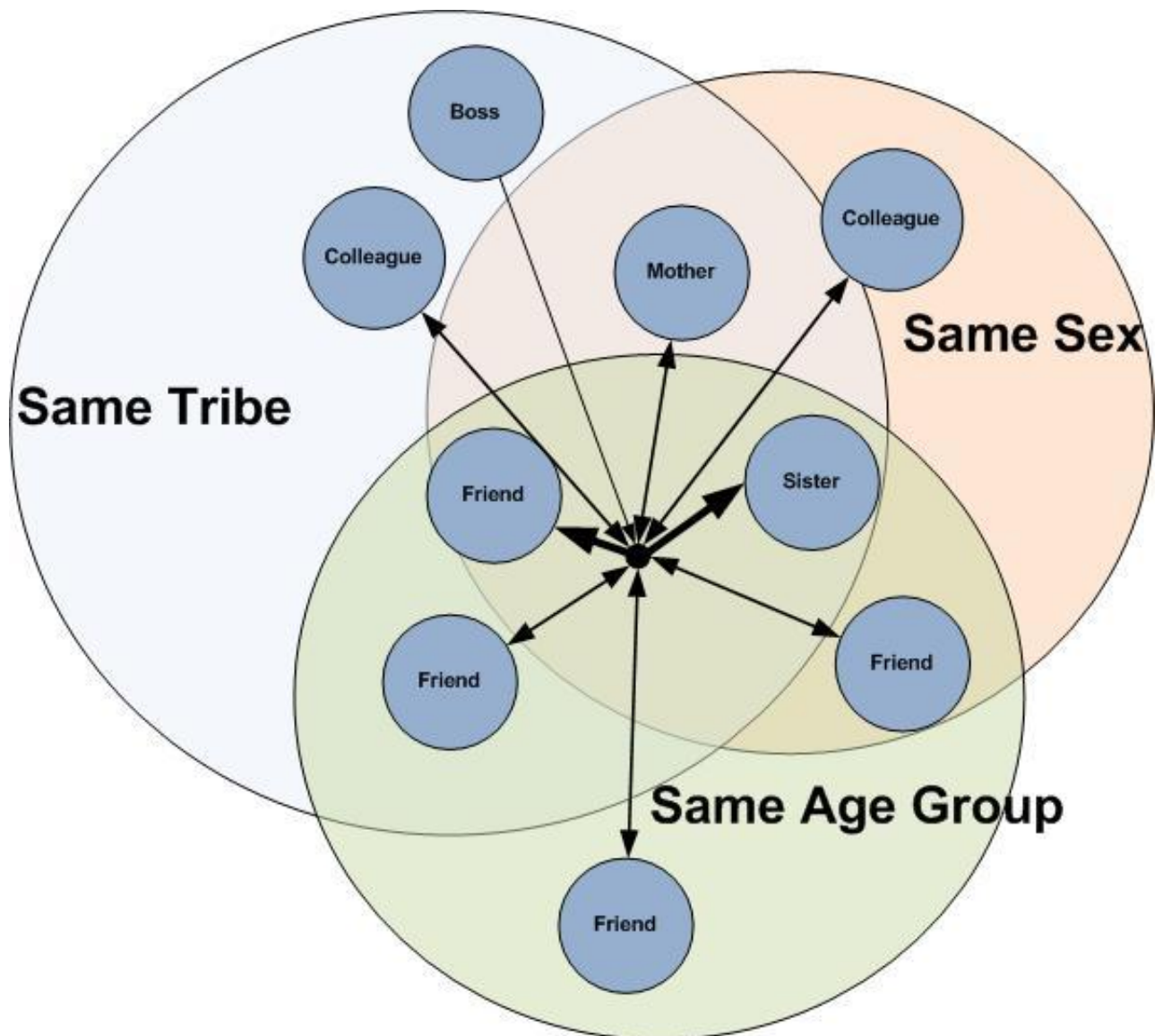
Patricia interacts with her neighbours, though she agrees most are not very different from her. However she says, “I can say I am not used to all of them and I cannot be open to all of them. You know openness can sometimes bring trouble, because if someone knows too much about you, he/she can be jealous of you and that brings about enmity and conflicts.” She also thinks that situations that require you to disclose your tribe can bring about conflict. She says, “you find that in a job interview you are asked your tribe, and if you are not of the same tribe with the manager, you lose the job and another person of the same tribe [as the manager] gets it.” Patricia thinks this kind of favoritism does not promote cohesion, and says that she tries to overcome tribalism in her own life by having friends of different tribes. She also thinks that one move which would really quell tribalism in the country would be to have MPs represent people who are not from the same ethnic community as themselves, for instance having an MP from Taita represent Meru constituency in parliament, and vice versa. In her opinion, leaders usually provoke violence among their constituents by speaking negatively about people from other communities. With regards to the new constitution, Patricia said she did not support it because she believes the idea of Kadhis courts favors Muslims while Christians, who comprise the majority, do not have an exclusive court. Of the new constitution she also says: “I was particularly against the counties because I am thinking they will bring more ethnic clashes, if with the districts we already have trouble, how about the counties?” However, she likes the human rights aspects of the new constitution and states that the new document will be better once it has been amended.

Patricia usually gets her copy of Shujaaz from the Saturday Nation which she shares with her sister and later carries to her place of work. She keeps them in the top drawer of her desk at the office and frequently offers them to visitors and colleagues to read. Though her mother has never read it, she says “I normally hear her and her sister talk

about it.” Even though she cannot really explain why, Patricia’s favourite Shujaaz character is DJ B. She feels that Shujaaz is a positive comic as it encourages young people like herself to engage in constructive activities. She thinks the comic should be published weekly because people are often free on Saturdays and have ample time to read. She is yet to listen to the Shujaaz radio show, but says that she will be visiting the Shujaaz Facebook page very soon. Though she enjoys all the stories generally, she particularly likes the mchongoano page.

Even though she is fond of Shujaaz, Patricia feels that some of the stories in the comic are common knowledge and not particularly novel. She laughs at the idea of dyeing chicken pink and is not fully convinced that the innovation works; she believes that people would think she was crazy if she tried it out because the idea is so “abnormal!”

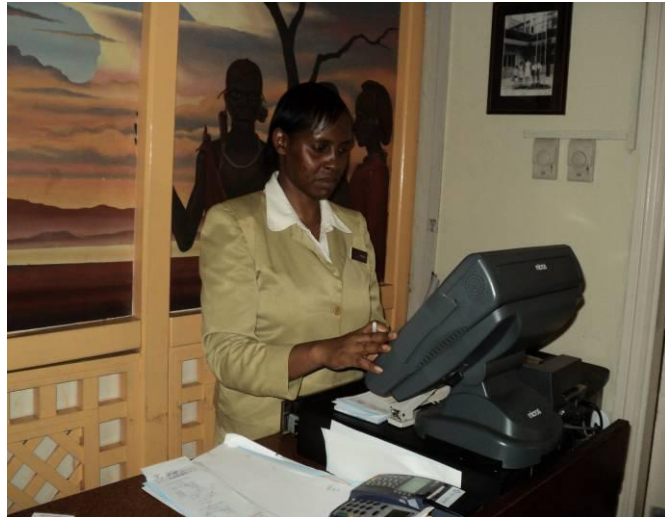
Social network analysis



Patricia influences those people who are most similar to her: her sister and her friend, who are of the same age-group, gender and tribe. Among the people we listed as important in her life, she has two friends and a colleague from other tribes, and she interacts a lot with people of the other sex and other age groups. In many of her relationships, the influence goes both ways.

Helen: Knowing your rights

Helen is a 35 year old single parent who is employed as a cashier at the Sarova Stanley Hotel, Nairobi. Her job keeps her extremely occupied, even on weekends, as she spends the better part of six days at the hotel. Her work usually requires serious concentration and a clear mind, but she is very efficient and works hard to ensure that she



fulfils all her responsibilities. On these days she usually works for half the day, either morning or afternoon, and then goes to Buru Buru where she attends art school for the rest of the day. Helen is a talented craftswoman who enjoys making table mats, door mats, curtains and other creative designs. She dreams about refining her art skills and marketing her designs, and is currently in the process of creating a business plan that will hopefully help her in achieving this dream. Somewhere in the future, she would also like to be a mathematics teacher and to also have more time to share some of her skills and knowledge with the less fortunate people around her.



Helen has an only child, a 12 year old son. She usually spends her day off with him, and looks forward to her annual leave from work which allows her to spend even more time with her son. In her immediate family, she is the eldest among her siblings and has 2

sisters and 2 brothers. Helen is particularly close to her mother and regularly seeks her advice on all matters including career and relationships. For instance, many years ago she had two options in terms of her career path: law and hotel management, and it was her mother who convinced her to get some relevant training at the Utalii Hotel and search for a job in the hotel industry. Helen also says that it was her mother who helped her through a difficult relationship with the father of her son, advising her to take her time before pursuing another relationship.

Helen lives in a two bedroom house in Buru Buru estate and earns a decent living. On this particular day, she gets her hair and make-up done at a salon located at the Hilton Hotel, and buys a pair of shoes and handbag from the nearby Hilton Bata shop. Helen is a devout Catholic and she frequently participates in seminars and church-based activities. Her main social activity revolves around her church activities, and her craft also takes up her extra time.

Helen usually listens to the radio on her way to work each morning while she is in the public service vehicle and enjoys reading the fashion, business and sports pages of the daily papers. She also watches TV on most evenings when she is home.

Helen enjoys reading Shujaaz, and usually gets her copy from the office newspaper. Despite being one of the more mature readers, Helen does not mind the 'sheng' aspect of Shujaaz. She is able to follow the stories in English and Kiswahili quite well and feels that the centre page, which has the most educative information, definitely targets readers of all ages. She often shares this copy with friends and colleagues. In fact, she usually keeps copies of the comic at her desk at work for others to read, and also keeps some at the reception where visitors can read while they wait. For Helen, reading the comic is an enjoyable pastime, but she has also learned some important messages and skills from the comic which she finds educative. Helen says Shujaaz helped to empower her on her rights in situations involving the police. She says, "whenever I meet up with police at night, I remind them that I know my rights and they can't harass me at all." Despite having reacted on that particular issue, Helen has also

tried out other ideas from Shujaaz including soaking beans and growing sukuma wiki in a sack. In addition, she has also gathered ideas about developing a business plan from Shujaaz, and is in the process of drawing up a good plan for turning her art and craft into a successful business.

Helen has a number of views concerning tribe, religion and the new constitution. She says “I think every constituen[cy] should have a leader who is not from that particular community.” She believes such an idea would foster more cohesiveness among people of different tribes. In terms of religion, she is also relatively tolerant. She says that she has “no issues with Muslims” despite the fact that she does not live close to any. She however says “I think having Kadhis courts [in the new constitution] was a bad idea. All religions should be treated equally.”

Though she has never experienced any discrimination as a result of her tribe, she has been treated unkindly because of her Catholic faith. She explains, “they speak ill of the rosary but I don’t mind them because nothing they say can take me away from the church.” She asserts, “I believe that I have to stand up for my faith.” Helen believes that in order for peaceful coexistence to prevail among people of different tribes and faiths in the country, “people should be educated especially through radio and taught how to live with each other. They should also use magazines like Shujaaz to educate people and we citizens should talk with our friends.” Her ideal country would have plenty of employment opportunities particularly for the educated youth who often resort to idleness and unlawful activities. Her ideal Kenya would also be peaceful and safe for foreign investors.

Note: We were unable to conduct a social network analysis for Helen as we were not introduced to an adequate number of her friends, colleagues and/or relatives during the immersion period.

“Danex”: Resolving Conflicts



Duncan Ochieng' is a 30 year old youth from Oyugis. He is a well known individual in the area, although most know him by his popular nickname “Danex.” He is known as an active peacemaker in the area, especially at the Oyugis bus stop which is located close to where he lives and works. The bus stop serves the Kisumu – Oyugis – Kisii route, and whenever there is

an argument between matatu touts of different tribes, Danex is often called to intervene. He is a champion of peace and many of friends attest to this. Of himself he says, “I am man of good reputation and every day I work hard to feed myself.”

Danex’s life did not begin in Oyugis – he was born in the Karachuonyo area towards Kendu Bay, where he spent most of his childhood. He grew up not knowing his mother (a Luhya woman), while his father (a Luo man) passed away over 10 years ago. Orphaned at a young age, he was forced to drop out of school before he could finish his secondary education, as he could not afford to continue. As the oldest among 4, Danex was required to bear the responsibility of raising his younger siblings, 2 brothers and a sister, in the absence of his parents. At an early age, he became responsible for making sure that his siblings grew up to a point where they could each support themselves. Danex then moved to Oyugis township to start his own family.

He and his family live just outside Oyugis town centre, in a one room house built of mud, with no access to electricity or piped water. He is married to 22 year old Everline Akinyi, and together they have 3 young children between the ages of 1 and 5 years old.



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Danex dreams of building his own house, offering his children the best of which he did not have, becoming a renowned farmer and also selling seeds to other farmers. However, he currently makes his living by working in a handcart business. Together with a group of friends, he transports various goods on his wheelbarrow,

from about 6am to 6:30pm every day except Sundays. The group is comprised of men from different tribes, including Luo, Luhya and Kisii, all natives of the Nyanza/Western Kenya region. On Fridays, the local market day, they transport vegetables to and from the market. The market happens to be shared between the Luo and Kisii community, as Oyugis is located on the border of Luo and Kisii Nyanza.

In 2006, Danex and some friends formed and registered a youth group called New Oyugis Jasho Youth Association, which Danex is the current chairman of. The group has a membership of roughly 28 young men from the jua kali sector around Oyugis, and he is actively involved in coordinating it. Earlier this year, Danex formed a 'merry go round,' an idea he adopted from reading Shujaaz. The group, named Self Help Group, has 14 members and every week they each contribute 500ksh into a shared kitty. Danex is committed to these activities, and his friends are able to see firsthand how Shujaaz has impacted his life and the lives of those around him as a result. Importantly, Danex has also learned the values of tribal tolerance and peaceful coexistence from the comic. He says, "we have been encouraged to work together and we now have the Kisii people coming to work amongst us."

On the issue of discrimination, Danex speaks about a particularly personal experience where he faced prejudice on the basis of his socioeconomic status. A few years ago,

he was involved in a relationship with a young woman and they had a child together. Although they were from the same tribe, the girl's family rejected Danex because of his humble background and refused him from ever contacting the girl, his child and the family. This experience really affected Danex, and established his current commitment to his own family and also to tolerance more generally. He also recalls a time when he was discriminated for being a Luo while he was selling maize and working as an off-loader in Western province during the post-election period. He says "when I got to Chavakali in Western that community [Luhya] came and started saying that Raila had rigged votes and I as a Luo should not work amongst them." He was surprised at this treatment because he believed he should have been treated as a Kenyan, and not as a Luo. One of his colleagues intervened in the situation and matters were resolved calmly.

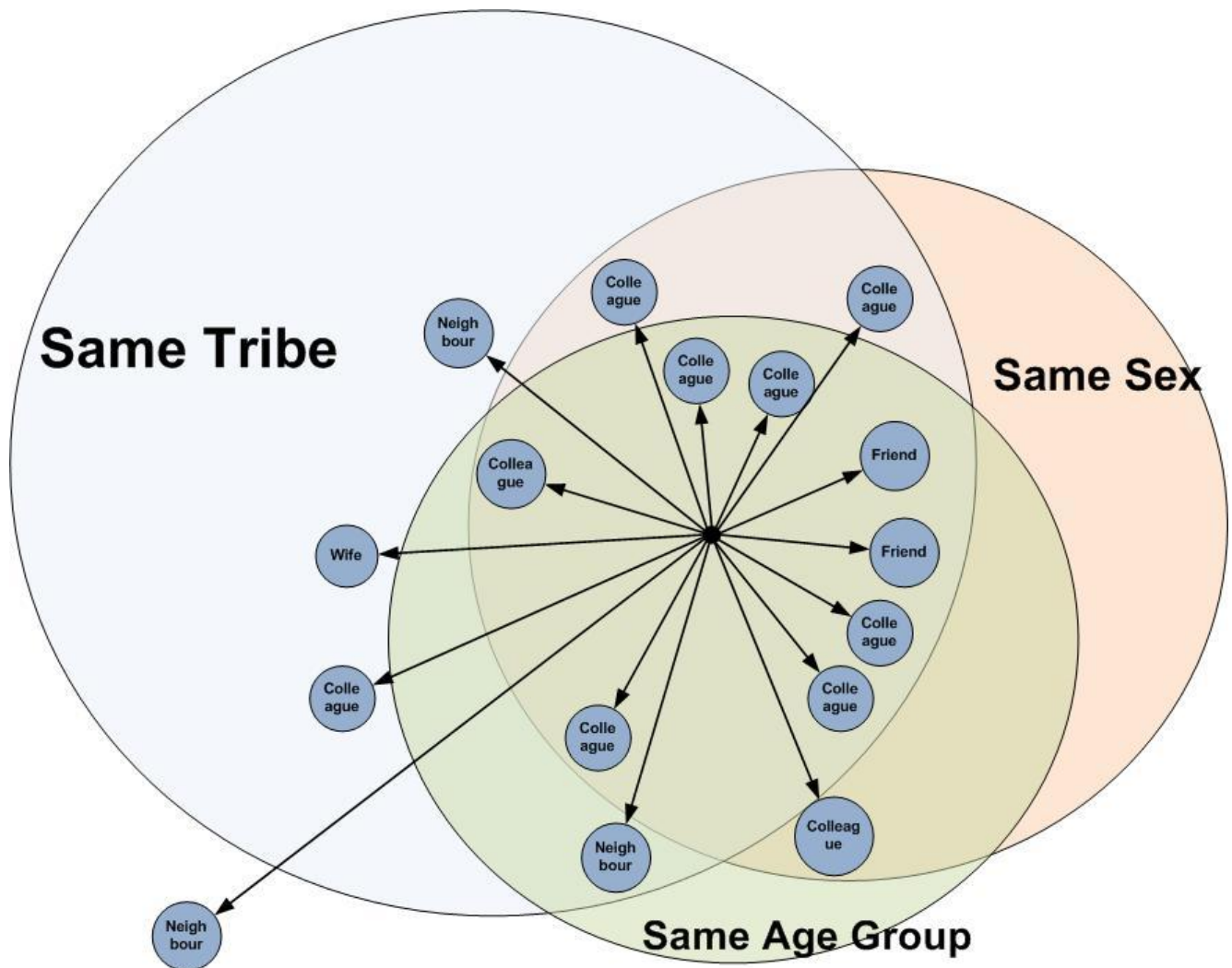
Danex tries to practice peacemaking on a daily basis, and he is known for regularly mingling and actively interacting with people of different tribes even at his church. He says that following the post-election clashes 3 years ago, Kikuyus and Kambas who resided in the area were evicted, but now they are back to living and conducting their businesses peacefully. Many of his relatives have married outside their tribes, and though he identifies himself as a Luo, he strongly believes that everyone should live in harmony and no tribe should look down upon another. He says he has been trying to preach peace by "trying to speak to the youth that I work with because we have Luhyas, Kisiis, Luos, Kambas and I encourage them to work together and I befriend all tribes so that we can forget about our tribes and work as Kenyan youth and not on tribal lines."

Danex is an avid reader of Shujaaz and his enthusiasm for the comic is striking. Though he is not a keen follower of the radio show, he has read every chapter at least once, and often flips through them when he needs to. He keeps his copies safely in a mabati suitcase in his house and quotes different stories and messages from the comic, referring to each of them by their respective chapter. He says the comic

“enlightens us as youth regarding life because there are some youth who just idle around and at night they engage in crime.” He loves the comic because he believes that “when you read when you read Shujaaz, it encourages you as a youth to engage in any other activity that will help you generate income instead of engaging in crime.” He appreciates the Shujaaz ideas and says: “I am now in chapter eight and I have not seen any misleading ideas.” His friends are well aware of Danex’s love for Shujaaz and its ideas, and they envy the ‘Shujaaz FM’ t-shirt (which he received from the writers via courier) and which he often wears proudly. Danex likes each of the main characters, DJ B, Malkia, Charlie Pele, and Maria Kim for different reasons, but he identifies with Boyie most and feels that “he is a hero to most youth.”

Danex suggests that the Shujaaz FM radio show be aired at a time when people are less likely to be preoccupied with various activities, for example Saturday mornings. This way, he would have a higher chance of tuning in to the show. He adds, “they could make it like for two hours, that would really benefit us so that those who don’t read the newspaper can listen to the radio.” In addition, he thinks that the show could also be translated into local languages so that the messages could be relayed to more Kenyans.

Social network analysis



Danex has the most homogenous social network from the readers we have portrayed. The majority of the listed people are of the same age-group, gender and tribe as himself. He has a colleague and a neighbour who are from different tribes, his wife, some colleagues and two neighbours who are from different age-groups. No one influences Danex, in his view; rather, all these people are influenced by him.

Eunice: Texting for Peace

Eunice Mwangi is a 20 year old youth from Dandora. She describes herself as God fearing, social individual who is trying her best to achieve her goals and dreams. She works as an attendant at an Mpesa agency in Dandora, where she spends most of her day, 8am to 9pm. On Sundays she attends church, but returns to work immediately after. One of Eunice's greatest aspirations is to attend university. Last year, she completed her secondary education exams and though she passed with top marks (a B+), she was unable to finance the next phase of her education. She spends the majority of her time working, with little time for other activities, struggling to save up enough money to study accounting at the university. In her own words, "I would like to be a bank manager - that is why I am working so hard so that I can save and go back to school."



Eunice comes from a large family, and is the eldest of six children. She lives at home with her parents and younger siblings. They have a modest home in Dandora, which is one of the large slums located within the city. She lives and works in a crowded environment where most people live humble lives and earn a living from casual jobs. The

community is quite diverse in terms of ethnic backgrounds and in her opinion, most people coexist fairly peacefully.

While at work, Eunice enjoys listening to the radio and reading the current affairs, business and fashion pages in the daily newspapers. She says that many people perceive her as "proud" and "not so smart" but that she believes this is because she

always chooses to do things according to her principals and not just to please people. She is careful about the people she interacts with and prefers having “responsible friends, [who are] principled and don’t follow the crowd, [are] caring and understanding and appreciate [her] and correct [her] whenever [she goes] wrong.”

She remembers that when she was in high school, she experienced some discrimination because she was not Catholic like the majority of her classmates. Eunice, in a proactive manner, decided to write a note about her experience and drop it in the school’s suggestion box. However, the principal, who was also Catholic, responded by saying that “whoever was not satisfied with the way things were being run should leave the school.”

In talking about the violence that happened after the 2007 general election, Eunice says that the conflict “really took [the Kenyan] economy way behind because many people lost their sources of income and [a lot of] property was destroyed.” She adds, “before we used to listen to our leaders but the leaders did not fight, it is us who hurt each other so we have learnt a lesson to vote wisely and peaceful[ly] and not fight our neighbors and we should continue living in harmony the way we used to live before because after the fighting we are the ones who suffered.” When it comes to peaceful coexistence among people of different tribes, Eunice believes that each person should accept themselves and this will subsequently lead them to accepting others, her reason being that “in case of an emergency and you scream for a help it is not the Kikuyu who will come to help you but your neighbor, so we should not think on tribal lines.”

Eunice says that in 2007, there was a lot of palpable ethnic tension in the Dandora area, particularly between Luos and Kikuyus. However, things are much more peaceful now. Eunice speaks of one incident where she had a minor confrontation with two clients at her place of work. They arrived at the same time, but when Eunice began serving the client who she believed to have walked in first, the other customer accused

her of giving priority to the other client because he was Kikuyu like herself. Unknown to her were the tribes of the two customers, but the unhappy customer, a Luo man, insisted that Eunice was wrong for favouring this particular customer. Eunice managed the situation calmly and maintained that her decision was not based



on any tribal bias. She says, “I told them that [my decision was not based on] tribalism but on a first come first served basis and that when a customer comes here I serve them regardless of their tribe.”

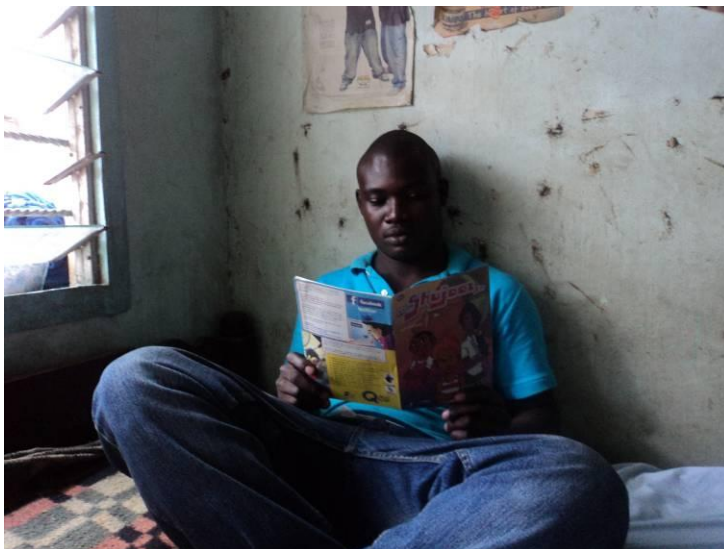
Initially, Eunice used to get her copy of Shujaaz when the Mpesa staff would deliver it to the shop, but that has not happened recently. She now relies on the Saturday Nation for her copy of the comic. She shares it with her sister, a few of her friends as well as a colleague who works at a neighbouring Mpesa store. Her favourite character is DJ B – she likes him because he is able to relate to different problems experienced in the community. She also enjoys the centre-page for its different lessons and innovations, including the educative pieces such as the ones on knowing your rights, making a business plan and vaccinating chickens against air-borne diseases.

The first time Eunice read a copy of Shujaaz, she came across topics of relationships, hate speech, and discrimination. She then read the special editions which focused on the constitutional referendum, and she found these messages particularly valuable. She recalls that the information presented in the comic helped her make a wise and informed decision when it came to voting on the constitution. She says that she found the information in the comic beneficial because it reminded her that voting is everyone’s right. Shujaaz, she says, taught her that she should “make a decision that

will not take our country backwards because it helps to push our country forward and not discriminate and have problems during elections.” The comic also taught her that “we should vote peacefully and let whoever wins be the leader.” Besides these messages of peace, tolerance and citizenship, Eunice also admits that Shujaaz has empowered her with new skills that have helped her in planning and thinking about her future.

Note: We were unable to conduct a social network analysis for Eunice as we were not introduced to an adequate number of her friends, colleagues and/or relatives during the immersion period.

Duncan: School Council



Duncan Oduori is a 21 year old youth from Changamwe, Coast province. He is currently taking a business course at a college in Mombasa, where he is training on entrepreneurial skills that will hopefully help him in achieving his dream of becoming “a very powerful businessman.” He is also

partly involved in a family business which deals with clearing and forwarding of goods, and he dreams of expanding the client-base of the company and growing this particular business. Duncan admires his father because he has achieved a lot and sustained a successful business, even when times were very tough. He is fond of his father for being encouraging and loving, and loves the fact that his father is more like a big

brother to him. One of the other people who Duncan admires is Prime Minister Raila Odinga because he is friendly, fearless and always speaks his heart.

Duncan lives with his parents and 5 siblings in Changamwe, in a comfortable home in a middle-class setting. During his free time, he helps his mother at her shop which is located in the neighbourhood. He also spends a lot of time with his father at his place of work as he enjoys taking the time to learn relevant entrepreneurial skills from his father. He is a social and outgoing individual who spends most of his weekends with friends, either at the beach or in the ocean swimming, or at his house watching movies and listening to music. His favorite genres of music are 'Bongo' and 'Rumba,' while he enjoys watching Nigerian films on Citizen TV every Sunday. He also watches local news regularly as he likes to stay informed on current affairs, and normally reads the Standard newspaper and the Star. He and his family love to discuss political issues together and Duncan often participates in these conversations.

In terms of tribal discrimination, Duncan recalls one experience where he was treated with hostility by people from a different tribe. He recalls: "in January 2008 we were at a funeral and we were attacked by another tribe because I'm Luhya and they were Kikuyu. In fact they wanted to kill us – it was in Naivasha." As a Luo, Duncan has also experienced discrimination at the coast where he lives. He says: "I studied here in



Boma Primary school, they thought I was a Luo and we have a lot of businesses. So when they hear Oduori they say 'You are not circumcised, you're black, go to where you came from,' and you don't feel comfortable." Although he used to get angry with these comments, he refused to express his anger to his classmates. He

thinks that in order for school children to be more tolerant of classmates from other tribes, each school should be diverse and not be dominated by one ethnic group. He also thinks that this should apply for school teachers. Duncan says that if he was ever in the midst of ethnic clashes, he would report those who were tormenting people of different tribes to the relevant authorities: “I’d be very angry and if I have the clues and evidence I’d take them, if the police cannot help them I’d find a box number like the one for the hate speech - I’d send the evidence there.”

Duncan believes that in order to promote peace among people of different ethnicities, “people should intermarry to avoid those things, the other thing is people must work together.” He supports the idea of intermarriage and says that one of his cousins has intermarried and has not experienced any kind of adversities as a result. In terms of his own peacemaking initiatives, Duncan says: “in my school we used to have different tribes and when someone started saying that we are different tribes, I used to say that we are all Kenyans and we must stay together.”

In terms of religious discrimination, Duncan thinks that people of different faiths should not treat each other with hate or disrespect. He remembers his experience studying at a Muslim primary school saying: “it was a Muslim school so when we used to talk about Christianity they used to ask what religion that was [and say] that we don’t worship God, we are not straight forward, something of the sort.” However, Duncan decided to keep praying according to his Christian faith and not to allow the bullies to ruin his life. He feels that Muslim schools should tolerate Christian students, while Christian schools should do the same for Muslim students. He thinks that all hateful acts “must be stopped because we all serve one God, I think everyone must stick to their religion and not interfere with [that of] others.”

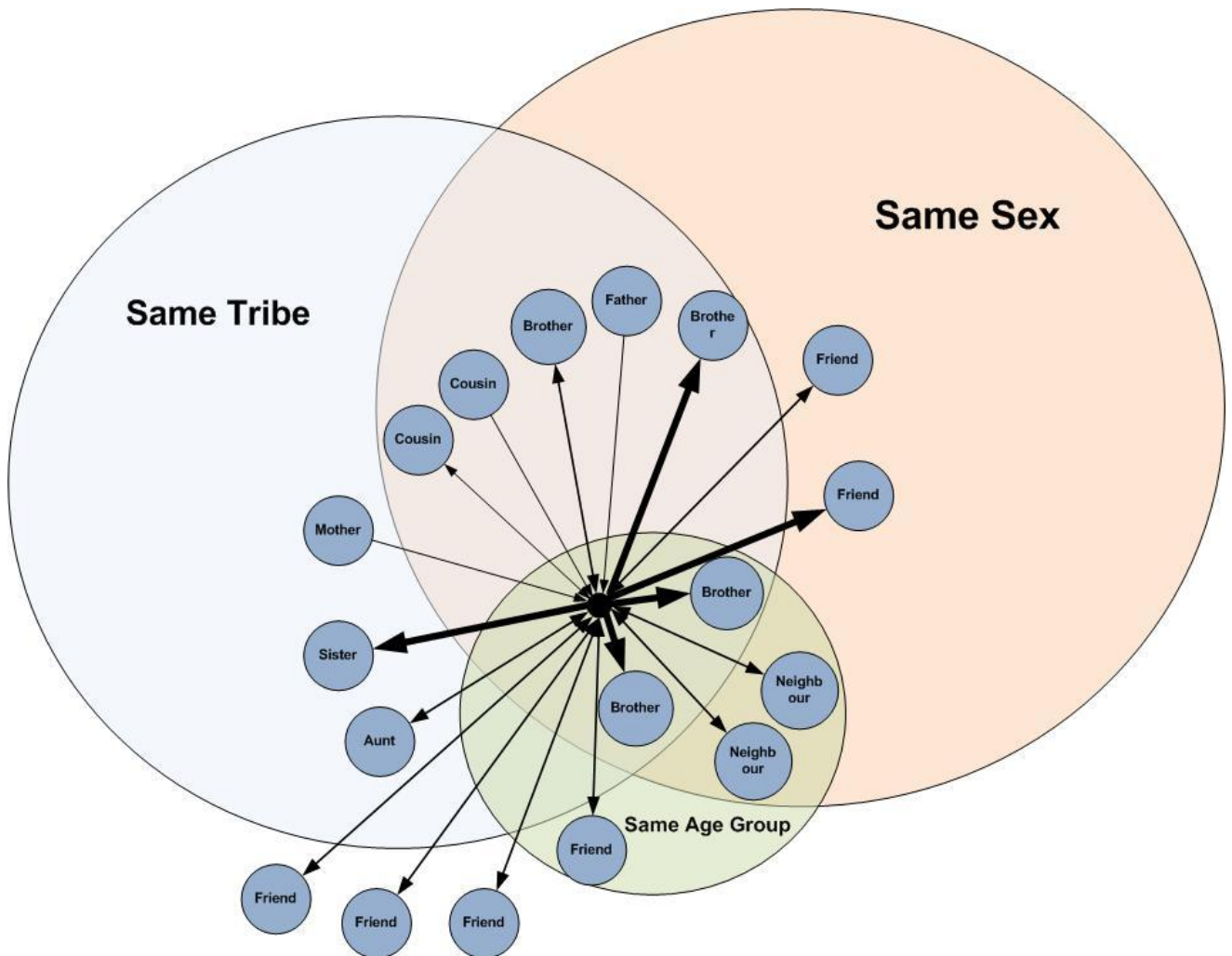
Usually, Duncan gets his copies of Shujaaz from an Mpesa agent, and normally shares his copy with his friends and relatives. He likes to keep his comics in a safe place so that he can refer to each chapter easily when need be. Duncan has visited the Shujaaz

website, though he has not yet had a chance to listen to the radio show since he is usually in school when it airs. He finds the topics relevant to his life, and he admits to liking “everything” about the comic, including DJ B and all the stories which generally encourage the youth to do something instead of sitting around waiting for jobs. He has enjoyed the educative pieces on farming and agriculture, saving, and forming student councils. However, Duncan has a few suggestions. He thinks that the comic could do better with more jokes and believes that the magazine should really including a guidance and counseling page for the youth – this could take the form of an ‘advice’ section whereby young readers write in with a problem, and the writers respond with a possible solution.

Although he has only read Chapters 1 to 3, Duncan says that Shujaaz has added value to his life and introduced him to ideas “like finding odd jobs like opening small businesses [and] applying for loans.” He says the comic has taught him how to be self-reliant, “not to rely on others” and “to stand on my own two feet.” He talks about sharing the idea of applying for a loan with a friend: “I told a friend about it and he gave it a trial but he’s still waiting for a reply, but I think he’ll get because he wanted to start a small business. He was idle and didn’t know what to do, so he needed capital to start.” He believes that Shujaaz has contributed positively to his own life and those of his friends who have been willing to adopt messages from the comic. Duncan has also used knowledge from the comic to encourage the youth not be used by their politicians to create chaos at political rallies. He says, “I used the idea to tell the youth to stop being used by politicians to endanger their own lives.” Duncan says that he has seen the messages making an impact in other people’s lives. He says that he has talked to a number of his friends who have also been inspired by ideas from the comic: “there were some [of my friends] who started a company of garbage collection and they doing great.” Duncan also talks about an idea he shared with his brother: “I told him to start a student council and he’s already talked to the principle and [the principal has] said that he’ll check on it.”

In an ideal Kenya, Duncan would like to see a society where the youth have plenty of opportunities and are motivated to engage in activities that steer them away from idle behaviour. In addition, he would also like to see “leaders who can be approachable and free with people [whereby] there are even lines which you can talk to them directly, and there are also suggestion boxes which must be looked at all the time.” Duncan would like to see a system where leaders are honest and accountable, and one where government systems are equally transparent.

Social network analysis



Among the portrayed people, **Duncan** has the most friends with different attributes than himself: Three of them are of the different sex, age-group and tribe. From the remaining people, they are also heterogeneous mostly having at least one different attribute. Duncan thinks that he exerts influence on his siblings (three brothers and one sister) and on one of his friends, while in most other cases the relationship is two-way.

Discussion

Social Background

In terms of demographics, the ages of our adopters ranged between 13 (Chris) and 35 years (Helen), reflecting the fact that readers and adopters were found across the spectrum of the 'youth' category. From these case studies, we can see that people of different ages are willing to try the innovations and also adopt the messages of peace and national cohesion.

Participants of the case studies were also diverse in terms of their socioeconomic backgrounds. Some like Abraham, Eunice and Danex came from very poor settings, while Patricia, Helen and Duncan were currently living in relatively stable financial backgrounds. Social status did not play a major role in determining whether these particular respondents would adopt ideas from Shujaaz or not.

In terms of education, respondents were also quite diverse with respect to their educational backgrounds. All had been exposed to primary and/or secondary school education, though Danex was unable to complete his secondary school education as a result of financial difficulties. A good number of the respondents had also been exposed to post-secondary education through various courses such as business (Duncan), computer training (Abraham), hotel management and art (Helen), while Patricia and Eunice were both keen on pursuing university education.

Identity of people in the social network

To gauge the way people in the environment of the portrayed readers see themselves, their identity, we asked them to describe themselves, and looked at which of the categories *gender, age, nationality, tribe/ethnicity* and *religion* the respondents spontaneously mentioned.

For Abraham and Duncan, gender and nationality were almost universally mentioned. When asked which aspects of their identity they would give up most easily, most of them were willing to “give up” their gender. The aspects of their identity that people around Abraham and Duncan would be least willing to give up are *tribe* and *age*.

The situation for both Chris and Duncan, our respondents with the most homogenous social environment in terms of ethnicity, the situation looks quite different: gender, age and tribe were all key elements in the identity of people around them. Interestingly, in both cases, tribe/ethnicity this is also the part of their identity that most people would be *willing to give up most easily*, while gender was the most important aspect to their identify.

Finally in the case of Patricia, none of the five aspects of identity in our list was spontaneously mentioned by people in her environment when describing themselves. About one of two people she interacts with often are willing to give up their tribe, but there is no pattern for other aspects of the identity, which suggests that people around Patricia are very diverse in the way they see and describe themselves.

Self-efficacy

As far as ambition, most had some sort of entrepreneurial spirit and expressed a variety of aspirations including owning successful businesses and owning homes. Some of the other ambitions included becoming a scientist/engineer (Chris) and a bank

manager (Eunice). Danex and Abraham in particular aspired to rise above their current circumstances of poverty. Eunice was especially self-reliant at a young age with hopes of financing her own university education. Some were also quite influential in their social circles and/or communities, particularly Chris and Danex. In one way or another, the ethnographies revealed that adopters were interested in making positive changes around them by sharing the messages of peace and unity they learned through Shujaaz, or by sharing the innovative ideas they picked up from the comic.

Opinion leadership

For all the people our researchers were introduced to during their immersions – family members, friends, teachers, neighbours, church mates and so on – they asked them, before leaving them, to complete a very short closed-ended questionnaire with some questions that aimed to assess, from the point of view of their social environment, to what degree the individuals were considered as someone to approach for advice, and how much he/she influences others' thought and opinions. This was asked with a 4-point Likert Scale (never, sometimes, often, always) for two questions: *“Do you ever ask “X” for his her opinion, or for advice?”* and *“How much does “X” influence the thoughts or action of other people around him/her?”*

The replies that people around our respondents gave were in line with their own subjective assessment of their influence on their environment, which can be seen in the visualized social network. Duncan and Chris got very high ratings for both questions and an average score 3.4. They clearly *are* opinion leaders. While people thought Abraham and Patricia influence people around them, at least sometimes, they do not ask them for advice as much as people ask Duncan and Chris.

For the five readers where we were able to collect questionnaires from their social environment, half of Patricia's family, friends, neighbors' and colleagues indicated that they were aware of projects or ideas that could have been inspired by Shujaaz; in the

case of Chris, these were two out of three, for Duncan three out of four, and finally for Dunex and Abraham 9 out of 10 people said they knew of such projects or ideas.

Attitudes and beliefs

Respondents generally believed in the principles of peace and unity, and all took a stand against negative ethnicity. Importantly, all but Patricia and Helen had been victimized on the basis of tribe or religion, or had been accused of acting in a biased manner towards people of other tribes. However, each of them discussed the importance of tolerance and peaceful coexistence, and did not express revengeful attitudes towards those who had treated them badly. Their attitudes towards matters of conflict resolution and national cohesion were remarkably hopeful and encouraging.

Interaction with Shujaaz

Overall, the ethnographies revealed that the respondents had an interesting relationship with the comic. All of them shared it either with family members, colleagues, classmates or friends. While most of them were able to acquire their copy from a newspaper, Abraham relied on well-wishers at an Mpesa for his copy of Shujaaz. Few had visited the website or listened to the Shujaaz FM radio show.

Respondents all received the comic extremely well, and agreed that it was a valuable tool for communicating useful information and constructive ideas for the empowerment of Kenyan youth. The respondents also had a variety of suggestions for the improvement of the comic, mainly: expand the geographic distribution of the comic, increase the frequency of publication, and diversify the messages in the comic as well as the languages in which it is published in.