

**THE IMPLICATIONS OF TELEVISED COMEDY FROM ‘CHURCHILL LIVE SHOW’
ON INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KENYA**

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DECLARATION AND APPROVAL

DECLARATION

This project report is my original work and no one has presented it for the award of any degree in any other or this University.

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APPROVAL

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Almighty God for using people and institutions to see me through my childhood dream of pursuing higher education. I made a prayer to God; He heard, promised and has fulfilled His promise. He is my Greatest Reward!

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ABSTRACT

There has been a growing need to establish the role of media content in shaping inter-ethnic relations in Kenya. Ethnic jokes from televised shows such as ‘Churchill Live Show’ are supposedly major determinants of inter-ethnic relation in Kenya, since the television as mass media tends to serve in amplifying stereotyping; which people take as models of representation; and thereafter use them for inclusion and exclusion of particular members of the society. This is justified by the current study that examines the implications of televised ethnic comedy from ‘Churchill Live Show’ on inter-ethnic relations in Kenya. The objectives of the study are to analyse the representation of ethnic groups in ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes; determine audiences’ responses on representation of ethnic groups; and find out whether accumulated ethnic stereotypes from ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes shape audiences’ relations. The study is informed by stereotyping and accumulation theories of mass media, premised on a case study design; which is one of the qualitative approaches of descriptive research. The data was obtained through Excerption of ethnic jokes from past ‘Churchill Live Show’ editions, from focus group discussions (FGDs) and from in-depth interviews with ‘Churchill Live Show’ audiences. The researcher targeted 30 participants, constituting people from 9 ethnic groups frequently stereotyped in ‘Churchill Live Show’. The transcribed jokes were analysed for representation of ethnic groups, while the responses from FGDs and in-depth interviews were analysed for charecterisation within and outside the depicted groups. The stages of analysis involved data grouping and information labeling, analysis for meaning through theory and establishing the meanings and emerging themes. The study found out that ‘Churchill Live Show’ uses ethnic jokes to portray some ethnic groups in both positive and negative light. It was found that most ethnic groups portrayed negatively do not like the depictions. On one hand the study found that people believe in ethnic characterisations and use them to treat the outer groups as depicted. While on the other hand, members of the society believe in the depictions of outer groups and described the characterisation of in-group as inaccurate. The study also found out that Kenyan audience take televised ethnic jokes seriously by believing in their representation. The study, therefore, affirms that ‘Churchill Live Show’ acts as an instrument of ethnic stereotyping in Kenya; and Kenyan use the stereotyping in relating with members of other ethnic groups. Given the tension and misunderstanding created by ethnic stereotyping in the jokes, finally the study recommends that televised comedy be critically evaluated and regulated by the government and media regulatory bodies.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The position of the mass media in the 21st century as the most influential institution is significant in understanding why television remains atop all other mass media in terms of social, economic, cultural and political influence (Fujioka, 1999; Gataullina, 2003). Being the most influential medium, television guarantees stand-up comedy as a popular genre in the mass media, attracting more viewers than any other television genre worldwide (Hamamoto, 1989; Druckman, 2003). Particularly in Kenya, the stand-up televised comedy in the entertainment industry has pronounced itself as the centre-stage, which shapes perceptions about other groups in the society as presented in ‘Churchill Live Show’, thereby playing a significant role in the society.

The ‘Churchill Live Show’ sources jokes from cultural, geographical, social, religious beliefs, economic and behavioural patterns of society members. Such jokes have been institutionalised as ethnic stereotypes as reproduced today by television comedians. Onyango (2008) analyses that the ethnic stereotypes are not new; they date back to colonial times when colonialists used them as tools for divide and rule policy.

During the colonial period, zones of confluence between the various ethnic groups were systematically frozen, mainly because of the divide and rule tactic that was employed by the colonialists (Ochieng’, 1975). Moreover, careful social engineering attached some negative ethnocentric labels among some Kenyan ethnic groups (Wamwere, 2008; 2003). The process of passing ethnic stereotypes has taken political and cultural course and in most cases, the most popular ethnic labels, such as those based on people’s cultural and behavioral pattern, are highly socialised to some extent that they are institutionalised in the society.

In their institutionalisation of ethnic labels, colonialists for example labeled the Luo ethnic group as genetically lazy, the Kamba as sex maniacs, the Kikuyu as cheeky, the Maasai as trustworthy albeit savage natives and so on (Ochieng’, 1975). After independence, the Kenyans were already conscious of ethnic labeling. Most radio and television dramas such as *Vitimbi*, *Vioja Mahakamani* and some radio talks employed ethnic labels as instruments of humour.

Since then, ethnic labeling has been taken lightly in Kenya and especially when communicated in the form of humour in discrediting and disassociating an in-group with an out-group member. For example, it is supposedly true that some community members discourage intermarriages with the Kikuyu because they are depicted as thieves, money lovers albeit aggressive in business. Others dissuade their relatives from marrying from Swahili community, as their women are supposedly lazy and dependent. More worrying is that the ethnic labels are being reproduced by the entertainment industry and served to the society in form of comedy that is channeled through television shows during prime times. For example, ‘Churchill Live Show’, which has majority of viewers in Kenya and internationally.

‘Churchill Live Show’ is the most popular televised stand-up comedy show, aired on Nation TV (NTV), which is one of the leading private TV channels in Kenya. The Show has two segments, presented on two different days for continuity purposes. On the one hand, there is the *Churchill Show* as the main segment aired on Sunday between 8 pm and 9 pm, which features the experienced comedian. On the other hand, there is the *Churchill Raw* aired on Thursday between 8.15 pm and 8.45 pm, which features the upcoming comedians. Due to its popularity and uniqueness of the content, ‘Churchill Live Show’ has received acclaim and numerous awards as one of the best of comedy shows in Kenya, East and Central Africa. The Show has also gained momentous international interest from comedy enthusiasts in the US, the UK, India, Germany, and rest of the world. It is highly successful and has been seen as a groundbreaker in the Kenyan comedy and entertainment industry (Kenyamoja.com, 2010-2014). As a manifestation of its success, according to the *Intermedia* survey on most watched TV programmes in Kenya, it is approximated that five to seven million Kenyans watch ‘Churchill Live Show’ (Audiencescapes.org, 2010). Today this figure could be slightly larger.

Regardless of its success and popularity, ‘Churchill Live Show’ employs ethnic humour sourced from ethnic depictions whose implications are worth investigating. ter Wal (2002) adduces that ethnic humour, although widely accepted in comedy, should not be used to disadvantage an identifiable ethnic group or their relations. He argues, “Humour builds bridges, but naturally it should not be at the expense of some groups. While Kroeger (2012) claims that in ethnic relations, television is a major influence in reproducing stereotypes, amplifying them and instilling cultures

that have far-reaching implications. The reality of the televised comedy as explained in the foregoing background calls for a critical examination of its implications on inter-ethnic relations.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

While studies exist on the psychological impact of ethnic stereotyping in general, little is documented concerning the implications of televised ethnic comedy. Televised comedy is a fast growing genre in Kenya's entertainment industry and televised ethnic jokes are considered naively harmless source of laughter. Against such stands, the researcher claims that television amplify the already existing stereotypes in form of comedy, which end up reconstituting the behavioral patterns in regard to inter-ethnic relations.

1.3 Broad Objective

The broad objective of the study is to examine the implications of televised comedy from 'Churchill Live Show' on inter-ethnic relations in Kenya.

1.3.1 Objectives

- i. Analyse the representation of ethnic groups in 'Churchill Live Show' jokes
- ii. Examine audiences' responses on representation of ethnic groups in 'Churchill Live Show' jokes
- iii. Find out whether ethnic stereotypes from 'Churchill Live Show' jokes shape audiences' inter-ethnic relations

1.3.2 Research Questions

- i. How are members of ethnic groups represented in 'Churchill Live Show' jokes?
- ii. How does the audience respond to representations of ethnic groups in 'Churchill Live Show' jokes?
- iii. Do ethnic stereotypes from 'Churchill Live Show' jokes shape audiences' inter-ethnic relations?

1.5 Justification of the Study

In Kenya, the growth of entertainment industry and particularly comedy calls for better understanding of ethnic jokes given that recently it has become the major ingredient for comics.

Televised comedy shows from the leading television channels in Kenya have attracted huge audience. A critical examination of ethnic jokes from the Kenyan televised comedy shows is fundamental in understanding the value of the growing entertainment industry in Kenya. The study is of benefit to the government-established institutions such as the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), the Communication Commission of Kenya (CCK), the comedians and the society as it sheds some light on the value of televised ethnic jokes to Kenyans and possible implications on inter-ethnic relations. The study could enable policy makers to formulate policies that ensure entertainment content that helps Kenya to build a more cohesive society that celebrates its ethnic diversity. It contributes to knowledge in media studies, specifically in humour studies in understanding implication of humour in human relations.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

The Study only analyses ethnic jokes from ‘Churchill Live Show’ in Kenya as primary texts. It was also from these jokes that audiences’ responses on the representation was sought and then established whether the jokes shape audiences’ inter-ethnic relations. The criteria for selecting the ethnic stereotypes involved identifying those jokes, which contained ethnic portrayals either in positive or negative way. The researcher obtained data from the audience drawn from Nakuru municipality.

There were limitations of the study; for example, it was difficult to obtain all Churchill live show episodes on a single compact disk because of the volume. To overcome this, the researcher, compiled his own edition by extracting only those jokes thought to be relevant for the study. The researcher also sourced episodes from the YouTube page where all episodes are found and can be downloaded. It was also difficult to have people from the targeted ethnic groups attend in their number. The researcher made sure for the groups which were not well represented, their results were not presented unless they were reflective of the general sentiments of the other members in the discussions. Last, it was challenging that some group members were basing their judgments of the questions on already existing stereotypes. The researcher, being the moderator, ensured every response was from the clips and specific jokes projected for their viewing.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms

‘Churchill Live Show’: This is the leading stand-up televised comedy show in Kenya aired by Nation Television (NTV).

Ethnic: Pertaining to or common characteristic of a people, especially a group (indigenous group); sharing a common and distinctive culture, religion, and language.

Ethnic Joke: A remark attempting humor relating to an ethnic group and often referring to a stereotype of the group in question for its punch line.

Ethnic Labels: Generalised behavioral patterns and/ or characteristics that are attached to a certain ethnic group and that are believed to be true. They are used to define such a group by another group or by a member of the same group.

Inter-ethnic Relations: The social, cultural, political and economic relations between ethnicities at all levels of the society.

Ethnic Stereotyping: A (mis)representation of an ethnic group using what are thought to be representative characteristics of members of that group.

Implication: The conclusion that can be drawn from something although it is not explicitly stated.

Stereotypes: these are used to refer to fixed and over-generalised beliefs about a particular group or class of people.

Stereotyping: To characterise a group in a conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified way by forming a conception, opinion, or image.

Televised Comedy: A comic relief put before an audience through a television medium

Stand up Comedy: A spontaneous amusing entertainment done on TV or any other stage.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is all about the review of literature related to implications of televised comedy on inter-ethnic relations. It has two major sections. The first section entails three subsections each representing the literature related to the three objectives of the study. The first subsection is a review of the literature on ethnicity, ethnic labeling and Stereotyping in comedy in comedy. The second subsection is a review of literature related to audience and inter-ethnic relations in television comedy; and the third subsection is a review of the literature related to implications of televised comedy and ethnic stereotyping. The second and last section of the chapter is the theoretical framework that informs the study.

2.1 Ethnicity, Ethnic-stereotyping and Ethnic Labeling

Ethnicity is defined by oxford dictionary as a classification of society members with regard to their supposed natural characteristics like language, physical features, color, place of origin, and accents among others. According to Kroeger (2012), ethnic-stereotyping is a misrepresentation of an ethnic group using what are thought to be representative characteristics of members of the ethnic group. Ethnic stereotyping employs ethnic labels — the images that misrepresent an ethnic group, and they relay underlying messages about cultural norms, status, behavioral patterns and groupthink of an ethnic group. Ethnic stereotyping is very common in ethnic comedy, which in most cases is considered offensive to in-group and in other cases a comic relief to out-group. In the analysis of Hilton and von Hippel (1996, p. 238), stereotyping serves multiple purposes in the society, which is cognitive, motivational or both, and they emerge in “various contexts to serve particular functions necessitated by those contexts”. In their study on stereotypes, Hilton and von Hippel (1996) further identify situations that inspire formation and adoption of stereotypes such as group conflict, power differences, or a desire to justify the status quo. This position is also supported by other scholars (Casey *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, Gutierrez & Chao, 2003) who argue that in media industry, stereotyping is born of the need to convey information about characters in a simplified way and to inculcate in the audiences expectations about the actions of portrayed characters.

There are studies such as by Bowes (1990) and King (2002) that have identified stereotypes as significant in comedy because they not only help to establish instantly recognisable behavioral

patterns, but the portrayals of such patterns constitute a comic relief. In fact King (2002) argues that the society needs to pay critical attention on the implications of the stereotypical treatment of ethnic groups in comedy. In his argument such attention should provide an insight as to whether stereotypes are “read as a symptom of existing social relations or as a more active component of the politics of representation” (p.129).

Bowes’ (1990) further concern is whether the viewers of the comedy shows laugh at the stereotyped group or laugh with them. In his analysis, Bowes (1990) argues that although ethnic comedy can sometimes be offensive to some groups, there is usually the right time for them. To him, ethnic comedy is acceptable as far as the portrayals are made when it is clear that the group being stereotyped will be laughing alongside others. Although ethnic jokes are considered a comic relief because of their realistic caricatures of various cultures, in a profound sense, Park, Nadine and Ariel (2006) argue that the comical aspect of such jokes emanate from the significant cultural differences among groups, and therefore they are products of conflicting differences.

2.2 The Audience and Inter-ethnic Relations in Televised Comedy

In his study of stereotypes in comedy Kan (2004) argues that there is no way people can ignore the implications of ethnic jokes they watch on television comedies in their lives. Although most people would argue that they do not believe in stereotypes or they do not take them seriously, it has been agreed by researchers such as van Dijk (1984), Radway (1986) and others, that they cannot avoid doing so because they have it in their minds. For example, van Dijk (1984) contends that the society pretends that ethnic jokes are not harming them, but they do. Radway (1986) supports the position by arguing that ethnic comedy works on audiences’ subconscious and harbors in their *id*. The argument is that televised comedy stereotypes are suppressed and repressed, and they come out when provoked. This argument by Radway could be reflected in the Kenyan situation where politicians exploit ethnic stereotyping to down play their opponents or bring members of other ethnic groups in bad light during campaigns. Yieke (2008) has given an association resultant of this exploitation in Kenya in a study of the 2007/2008 post election violence thus:

Before and after the general election in Kenya, there was a lot of hate speech in both the private and public domain. In most cases, this was meant to incite people against members of the ‘Other’ ethnic community, or to intimidate members of an ethnic community (p.15).

In the above quotation, what Yieke implies is that the hate speech is based on stereotypes that ethnic communities hold for the each other. In the same line of thought presented by Yieke, stereotyping on television comedy reproduces comedic ethics that have become popular in Kenyan entertainment industry and when politics present a chance for these ethics to be utilised in politics; politicians do so in ways inimical to the country's peaceful coexistence. Yieke (2010) further argues that, "in Kenyan multiparty politics, ethnic labels have acquired more salience than either policy or ideology" (p.14). Further, she contends that, "A Kenyan voter today is a member of an ethnic group first and a citizen of his/her country second" (p. 14). This is not a happenstance given that in Kenyan politics, ethnicity dominates and politicians use ethnic labels as a recipe for ethnic misrepresentations of other groups that are not of their origin. Kroeger (2012) affirms that it is important to find out the implications of living with stereotypes inculcated as ethnic labels through the mass media. This can be seen in Kenya's televised comedy; as presented in the 'Churchill Live Show', where the actors use a comic form; a psychological satiety that affects the way the audience relate, refer and define members of depicted ethnic groups.

In a critical claim, Kan (2004) argues that the possible effect of stereotyping in comedy and entertainment industry is not scientifically proven through a study. Challenging this position by Kan, the researcher claims that even though there is no study suggesting that ethnic stereotyping in comedy is harmful, does not mean that there is no such harm. In line with this claim, studies carried out by Park and colleagues (2006), and Katz and Braly (1933) demonstrate that ethnic jokes constitute comic elements, but they inculcate ethnic stereotypes whose impact goes beyond the laughter. The need to understand more about the impact of ethnic stereotyping, as suggested by Park and colleagues (2006), and Katz and Braly (1933) calls for further research in different settings to establish the nature of televised comedy and its implicit but significant implications.

In reiterating the arguments raised by Kan (2004), Park and colleagues (2006), and Katz and Braly (1933), Krueger (2012), affirmatively argues that the comical stereotyping in itself is not negative given its natural occurrence. To him, people use stereotypes to reduce effort involved in thinking about something. This view is derived from van Dijk's (1984) position that stereotyping is a simplified mental picture of an individual or group of people, who share certain stereotypical qualities, and therefore find stereotyping entertaining and the exaggerated portrayals are easy to understand. ter Wal's (2002) also agrees with van Dijk's (1984) position that ethnic label usage in

jokes could be justified especially when the jokes are expressed by an insider member of a group. The standpoint by van Dijk leads to a fundamental truth especially considering that any simplification produces poor models and people are complex entities. Moreover, the fact that stereotyping is not negative does not necessarily mean it is not harmful; their implications are worth some examination.

2.3 Implications of Ethnic jokes used in Comedy

In order to understand the implications of ethnic stereotyping in various comedies, such as ‘Churchill Live Show’ the fundamental question to ask is whether people believe in the stereotypes they see and hear in mass media. van Dijk (1984) argues that in most cases, people accept the ethnic stereotypes because they amuse them and in this way, they subconsciously believe in their characterisations. However, Leda and Mark (2009) argue that, even though people laugh at stereotypical portrayals, it does not mean that they are comfortable with them. In this case, the consequences of ethnic stereotypes could be substantially negative since the viewers take them as accurate representations. Some writers in this literature review, (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996; Fujioka, 1999; Leda & Mark, 2009; Kroeger, 2012) converge on the point that ethnic stereotyping in comedy gives distorted images of people; and that the distorted image is mostly misguided. On the same note, Wamwere (2008) and Onyango (2008) hypothesise that media content, sometimes, could be sources of ethnocentrism and negative ethnicity, hate speech, and ethnic attacks, and demeaning, which could contribute to inability to coexist and tolerate other people and their cultures.

Ethnic stereotyping according to Dovidio and Gaertner (2010), has a fundamental problem when it comes to how much people rely on it to inform their behavior and reaction to members of the stereotyped groups. While to Gataullina (2003), stereotypes tend to be more harmful and dangerous when they are mainstreamed through media because it is then when they are accumulated and institutionalised in our minds. The harm is more pronounced when transmitted verbally as in stand-up comedy (Limon, 2000); or through mainstream media like television, which is the most influential mass media (Gataullina, 2003; Ndonye & Nabea, 2014). Emphasizing on the profound implications of stereotyping, Kerrigan (2011) argues that this becomes more visible when it directly affects the audience such that, when they encounter the stereotyped persons they already have a preconceived notion and relate with them based on the representations.

On the social dimension, Leda and Mark (2009) posit that comedy producers exploit ethnic stereotyping because they know people love and laugh at the portrayals. The same position is held by the critics of humour studies such as Oring (2011) and Gillot (2013) who argue that the entertainment industry exploits ethnicity at the expense of the hurt ethnic group. In the same line of thought, Kan's (2004) position is that people involved in the production of comedy shows justify stereotypes as a reflection of deeper seated upon injustices in the society, and therefore, the society mirrors itself through them. More significant in these arguments is that the comic industry justifies the intentions of ethnic stereotyping, but they do not deny the fact that the portrayals could harm some society members. In the analysis of Park and colleagues (2006) one way comedians do is try to ridicule ethnicity by pointing out some absurdities; or trying to ridicule members of an ethnic group by showing some irregularities in their communicative and discursive patterns. This position is emphasized by Rappoport, (2005) who asserts that in order to make the portrayals understood as falsification of truth, they exaggerate ethnic behaviors or points of view showing how ridiculous some ethnic groups truly are. However, the problem with these claims is that, many people do not differentiate between comic relief and serious talk. Consequentially, as tested by this study, people do not understand the comic stereotypes, nor do they differentiate them from truth.

In conclusion, like the distortion in ads where the audience believe in them; and companies increase sales, they also believe in comic images and imbibe stereotypes, which they later use as determinants of how they relate with colleagues from portrayed ethnic groups. However, the fundamental question is: How does the mass media expect people to be influenced by distorted ads and then expect them to not believe distorted portrayals of ethnic groups? It is undisputable that mass media content, like televised comedy, has implications on the inter-ethnic relations in the modern society and Kenya in particular.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Two media theories inform this study: the stereotyping theory of mass media as proposed by Gordon Allport (1954) and later developed by Fiske and colleagues (2002); the other theory is the cultivation theory of George Gerbner (1998), also referred as accumulation theory of mass media. The latter is used to buttress stereotyping theory. In this particular research, stereotyping theory is appropriate in evaluating the comic contents from 'Churchill Live Show'. This is basically because

the theory claims that the mass media tend to reinforce the attitudes and behavior of the powerful and influential segment of society toward the minority groups. The mass media does so by perpetuating rigid and usually negative portrayals, which can have the result of keeping minorities in subordinate positions (Fiske et al., 2002). This implies that whenever a minority group is stereotyped, the majority assumes this to be true, particularly when members of the society use the same ethnic labels for exclusion purposes, which can flare up anger, insults and discrimination. Under such aspect, the theory views ethnic stereotypes as a way of reinforcing negative or positive perception of an ethnic group, whether majority or minority.

The second is Gerbner's theory of accumulation of mass communication (1998). Gerbner contends that the impact of any one message on any specific person can be minimal. But, with consistence, persistence and corroboration between different media, it may result in considerable change of behaviour and attitude among the audience. The theory has it that these minimal impacts gradually add up over time and produce significant changes in society's relation, behavioural, and cultural patterns. In the context of this study, it is evident that in Kenya, the mass media has corroborated in such a way that almost every television channel has a comedy program that repeatedly and consistently airs ethnic stereotypes in form of jokes, to the extent that no particular audience of the mainstream television channels is spared of such ethnic labelling.

Applied to the case of televised comedy shows, the two theories have three progressive levels regarding the implications of media content. The first level concerns the portrayals, especially ethnic labels, which are consistently negative, depicting certain ethnic groups as possessing undesirable traits and few positive ones than members of other ethnic groups. These are for example, the anger associated with Gusii and Meru ethnic groups; the witchcraft associated with Kamba and Gusii community members and the affinity to terrorism associated with Somali ethnic group. The media consistently and persistently continues with such negative regard of other ethnic groups whereby respective comedians exploit such negativity for their own jokes. This does not only happen in the traditional media, since ethnic stereotypes are so abundant in the society and have spilled over to the new media, which bring a similar portrayal of ethnic groups. Through this, ethnic stereotyping becomes a socialised and a discursive discourse in the society.

The second level is the discursive construction and socialisation of ethnic stereotypes. This tenet becomes more evident when the portrayals of particular ethnic groups become basis for constructing meaning for the audience, especially those with limited contact with the referred group (Dovidio et al., 2010; Cox *et al.*, 2012). In this tenet, the individual members of society increasingly become aware of ethnic stereotypes and, on person-by-person basis, a growing comprehension develops on the interpretation of the topic presented by the media (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010).

The last level is where the audience inculcates ethnic stereotypes into their memories as relatively inflexible representation (Cox *et al.*, 2012). These *schemata* are actually the stereotyping interpretations that people use when dealing, thinking about or responding to individuals of a portrayed group without regard to their actual personal characteristics. This is reflected in some comedies, which tend to direct how one should behave when dealing with the stereotyped group member. For example, keep your hands on your pockets when dancing with a Kikuyu woman — meaning she can steal from you anytime. In this example, it can be seen that the mass media supplies the intended messages through comedies, whereby its apprehension begins to form and modify beliefs and attitudes that serve as guides to behavior toward members of the society (West & Turner, 2010).

In conclusion, ethnic stereotyping through television-comedy-shows passes through these three stages as explained in the above theories, which are used in the study to examine the way ethnic comedy inculcates stereotypes and the way such stereotypes shape the behavioral and relational pattern of Kenyans.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology employed in the study, which is qualitative and descriptive. The chapter entails the research design, the location of the study, the target population, the sampling procedures and sample size, the data collection tools and the data interpretation and analysis. Every selected method has a justification as to why it was preferred for the study.

3.1 Research Design

The research employs a case study analysis, which falls within qualitative approach of descriptive research design. According to Newman (2006) a case study examination is reliable in obtaining in-depth description of the experiences of groups of people and individuals through observation and interaction, which was the task of the current study. Through this design, the researcher was able to observe, interact and examine the implications of inter-ethnic televised comedy in ‘Churchill Live Show’ as the case study. This was done through in-depth descriptive techniques such as Focus Group Discussions and in-depth interviews.

3.2 Location of the Study

The study was carried out in Nakuru municipality, Nakuru County. Nakuru municipality was preferred because it is a cosmopolitan town, where Kenyans from different ethnic, cultural, religious and racial backgrounds are found. Moreover, Nakuru town is at the centre of the Rift Valley region and historically, the region has experienced ethnic tensions and violence for a long time. The hallmark of such tensions was the 2007/2008 post election violence, which hit the region the most. Therefore, it was significant to examine the way ethnic jokes shape audience inter-ethnic relations in the region.

3.3 Target Population

The study targeted residents of Nakuru municipality which has a total population of 307,990 (Kenya Open Data Survey, 2014; Census, 2009). The Nakuru residents were preferred because the population of the town includes people from various ethnic backgrounds, representing almost all the 42 tribes in Kenya. From this target population representatives from selected ethnic groups took part in the study.

3.4 Sampling Procedures and Sample Size

Purposive sampling technique was used to select the participants that could lead to the realisation of the objectives of this study. In purposive sampling, respondents are selected based on specific characteristics that guarantee the attainment of the set objectives (Boxill *et al.*, 1997). A preliminary study of the target population shows that, out of the 42 tribes in Kenya, members from the Kikuyu, Luo, Kalenjin, Kamba, Luhya, Gusii, Meru, Swahili, Maasai and Somali ethnic groups are frequently depicted in ‘Churchill Live Show’ ethnic jokes. Therefore, the researcher chose to focus on these 9 (nine) ethnic groups, and purposively picked 4 participants to represent each of them. This adds up to 36 participants as sample size, which was enough for such study as justified by Orodho (2004) who argues that part of a population can form representative samples convenient for case studies. To achieve credible results, the researcher acted as the moderator who motivated the participants in the research process, until the total sample was achieved.

3.5 Data Collection Tools

The primary data in the study is grouped into two. The first data is obtained by selecting the jokes from ‘Churchill Live Shows’ with references to ethnic groups in Kenya, as per objective one, which was to analyse ethnic jokes from the show for ethnic representation. While the second group of data is collected through focus group discussions (FGDs) and interviews with the targeted respondents as per objectives two (which examined audience responses to the representations in the viewed jokes) and three (which was to find out whether the stereotypes from the jokes shape audiences’ inter-ethnic relations). Each focus group discussion had a maximum of twelve and a minimum of six participants, where only 1(one) participant representing each of the above 9 (nine) mentioned ethnic groups was interviewed. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, which have the ability to tap into human tendencies have been proved to observe how audience create meaning from mass media content as they converse and interact with each other (Krueger *et al.*, 1994); thus presenting “ways of eliciting, stimulating, and elaborating audience interpretations”, required in this study (Hansen *et al.*, 1998: 258). In Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews held, the participants were able to share their positions and interpretations of televised ethnic jokes from ‘Churchill Live Shows’. Therefore, the tools used in data collection suited the purpose of the study because attitudes, perceptions and meanings that formed the interpretation segment could not be examined in a social vacuum; they could only be formed by bringing people to interact with one another and subjecting them to in-depth interviews.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher uses two sets of data: the textual data in form of transcribed jokes from ‘Churchill Live Show’ and field data from the respondents (i.e., focus group discussions and in-depth interviews based on the viewed jokes) based on the reactions from projected clips containing jokes extracted from ‘Churchill Live Show’ before they were engaged in the discussions.

3.7 Data Interpretation and Analysis

The researcher analyses 31 excerpts of ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes as primary data. The excerpts, which only contained ethnic jokes, are obtained from selected episodes of the comedy show of between 2008 and December 2014. The interpretation and analysis of the intended collected data was carried out in stages. In the first stage, the transcribed data, in form of ethnic jokes, was analysed for representation of ethnic groups in ‘Churchill Live Show’ (this constituted interpretation based on both positive and negative depictions). In the second stage, the data obtained from FGDs and the interviews (inform of notes and audiotapes) was grouped and labeled based on each question in the data collection tools. The researcher then analysed the data for interpretation of ethnic jokes through the theories of stereotyping and accumulation as indicated in the theoretical framework, and thereafter drew their implications on inter-ethnic relation by establishing emerging themes. After all steps of analysis, the researcher presented the results and the discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

The chapter outlines the results and discussion on the collected data. The data constituted the excerpts of ethnic jokes from ‘Churchill Live Show’, which the audience viewed prior to FGDs and in-depth interviews. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is based on objective one and two: the stereotypical depictions of the nine ethnic groups (Kikuyu, Luo, Kalenjin, Kamba, Luhya, Gusii, Meru, Swahili and Somali); and audiences’ responses on each ethnic group’s representation. The second is the discussion of the results as per objective three, which was to discuss how ethnic stereotypes from ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes shape audiences inter-ethnic relation.

4.0.1 FGDs and Interview Return Report

The researcher invited all 36 targeted participants from the nine ethnic groups (Kikuyu, Luo, Kalenjin, Kamba, Luhya, Gusii, Swahili, Maasai, Meru, and Somali) to take part in the study. However, only 31 participants turned up because none of the four Meru participants turned up, while only one out of the four targeted Swahili participants turned up.

Since Meru participants did not show up during the entire focused group discussions, their interview results are not presented. However, the jokes from ‘Churchill Live Show’ that depict them are analysed for representation as per objective one and two both of which did not require the Meru’s in-put. On the other side, the jokes for Swahili people, even though only one participant turned up were analysed, and discussed in the FGDs, since the one participant formed a threshold for in-depth interview necessary for the exercise.

To realize the goals of the study, the researcher carried out the FGDs from Monday 18 to Friday 22 of August 2015, where four focus group discussions were formed and scheduled as follows: the first FGD had 7 (seven) participants, the second had 8(eight), the third had 10(ten) and the fourth had 7(seven). Each FGD took between 45 minutes and one hour in the discussion.

4.1 Representation of Ethnic Groups in ‘Churchill Live Show’ Jokes

Reiterating the stipulated objectives stipulated for this study in chapter one, where the first objective was to analyse the representation of ethnic groups in ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes and the second was to examine audiences’ responses on representation of ethnic groups in Churchill jokes, the findings reveal three basic elements: 1) there is a lot of ethnic stereotyping in ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes, 2) the purpose of ethnic jokes is both cognitive and motivational, and 3) that the content of ethnic jokes function both positively and negatively as necessitated by the contexts upon which they are set.

4.1.1 Jokes on Kikuyu People

The Kikuyu form the largest ethnic group; constituting up to 21% of the total population in Kenya (KNBS, 2009). The members of Kikuyu community are highly vulnerable in ethnic jokes because almost every Kenyan has a contact with them. The ethnic group dominate central province, where their myth of origin traces their first parents. In most cases, since they live near Mount Kenya, the tallest mountain in Kenya, they are associated with the mountain and comedians refer to them whenever they refer to this mountain. The Excerpt 1 joke captures them based on their geographical location:

Excerpt 1: *Baba yetu alikuwa anatumjali sana. Alikuwa anatumia anatumia mawaidha juu ya kuoa.*

Anasema “Ukitaka kuoa, usiangalie mlima Kenya. (Our father used to care a lot. He would call us and advise us saying, “If you want to marry, do not face Mount Kenya”).

Although it sounds innocent, the joke is highly symbolic regarding the Kikuyu people. For those who are aware of the implied meaning, which will be the gist to crack the joke know the sensational stories from Nyeri in Mount Kenya region and particularly in central where women are portrayed as men batterers. The joke bases on this long-standing stereotype that woman from Nyeri and by extension, Kikuyu women; beat their men against the chagrin of the societal expectations where men wield power over women. As a sound father of the comedian, he would advice them not to try to marry from that region because immediately they do that, they will be literary emasculated. The joke serves to entrench the stereotypes regarding Kikuyu women and the way they relate with men. The Kikuyu are also portrayed as thieves and avaricious as in the following Excerpt 2 joke:

Excerpt 2: *Ukienda kudance na msichana Nairobi uliza yeye Jina Lake. Akisema Wanjiru, dance like this...* (If you dance with a woman in Nairobi, ask her name and if she says Wanjiru, dance like this...) [The comedian dances to the tune of a music with both his hands holding the positions of his pockets].

Since most people are familiar with stereotypical portrayals of the Kikuyu as inherently thieves, they understand the signified meaning. Given that the woman has identified herself as Wanjiru; a Kikuyu name and definitely a member of Kikuyu community, the implication is that she could steal or make off with her partners wallet. The audience is already aware why the dance involved securing the pockets — He better watch his wallet, and not only watching but also literary keeping his grip on it.

Members of Kikuyu community are also depicted as avaricious due to their aggressiveness in business and readiness to engage in any exploit to make money and profits. This characteristic is mostly packaged in Excerpt 3 jokes as:

Excerpt 3: *Yesu angekuja central afanye maji kuwa wine; the following day ungeona biashara 'Kamau and Jesus wine and spirits'* (If Jesus came to central and turn water into wine, the following day you could have seen on business ads, 'Kamau and Jesus Wines and Spirits').

Another close example, presented in form of a powerful dialogue, is as in Excerpt 4 below:

Excerpt 4: Jesus was crucified alongside two thieves. If that happened in Kiambu, Central and the thieves happened to be Kinuthia and Njoroge Muturi *hatungepata ukombozi* (we would not have received salvation). Their conversation would have been like this:

Kunuthia: *wee, ukienda mbinguni usinisahau* (You, remember me when you are in heaven)

Njoroge Muturi: *tuachane na maneno ya mbinguni, tumalizane hapa hapa. Wee yesu unajua tumelalia pesa, hii msalaba ni hardwood. Si wewe uko na nguvu, vuta customer.* (Let us forget about heavenly things as for

now, let us sort issues here on Earth. You Jesus, do you know we are leaning on money; this cross is made of hardwood. Since you have powers, attract customers)

These jokes base their punch lines on the widely known depiction of members of Kikuyu community as fierce business people. The jokes are sourcing their punch lines from the stereotype that members of Kikuyu community are avaricious, creative and opportunistic businesspersons, but also exploring their tendency to exploit any opportunity to make money. That even in danger of death, a Kikuyu man is thinking about money.

Politics is also another exploit used to characterise members of Kikuyu community. The first president of Kenya was a Kikuyu and history has it that he consolidated his ethnic group as a political stronghold block. The fourth president of Kenya is also a Kikuyu and in Kenya, it is believed that for one to win an election, they must woo votes from their ethnic group. Therefore, a vote is highly valued by members of this ethnic group. An example of such jokes that shows Kikuyu's value for votes is Excerpt 5 below:

Excerpt 5: *In Europe, mama akipata mtoto, anapata sifa kutoka kwa bwanake kwa sababu mtoto anaweza kuwa engineer ama doctor. In central, mama Njoroge amezaa, baba; Njoroge anauliza "Mama Njoroge ameongeza kura"? (In Europe, when a mother gets a child, she receives a lot of attention from the husband because the child could be an engineer or a doctor. In central, if Mrs. Njoroge begets a baby, Mr. Njoroge would remark, "So my wife has added a vote!")*

4.1.1.1 FGDs and Interviews on Kikuyu Representation in 'Churchill Live Show'

The Kikuyu-based jokes function to expose certain characteristics and behavioral pattern supposedly inherent in members of this community. The depicted characteristics borders on their supposed avariciousness, affinity to steal, their value for votes and the Kikuyu women's courage to fight men (Ochieng', 1975). It was interesting to hear how the members of the society thought about these representations (from focused group discussions).

On the question of their general perception on the way ethnic groups are represented in ‘Churchill Live Show’ comedy, the participants in the focused group discussion felt that while some groups exhibit some characteristics as depicted, these characteristics are not a preserve of an ethnic group. It was a general feeling that members of Kikuyu ethnicity for example are depicted as avaricious (*Watu wanaopenda pesa na biashara kupindukia*). The participants agreed that all people love money and no one hates being successful. Participants were for the view that the Kikuyu are aggressive in business and they succeed in business because of their culture of risking in investing. As to whether members of Kikuyu ethnicity are inherently thieves as depicted, the participants’ opinion was divided. A group argued that they are thieves but others argued that thievery is a practice of certain individuals noting that stealing happens allover the world and that the Kikuyu are not involved. Participants accused the jokes for generalising the character of the Kikuyu and felt that much of this belief is immortalised by the jokes. As to whether Kikuyu women from Nyeri barter their men, the participants seemed to agree that such cases have been reported but the cases are exclusive. One man said his childhood friend married a Kikuyu and the family has lived happily. The group felt to the idea that men in Nyeri are bartered because of drinking and irresponsibility but not because they are overpowered.

As to whether the participants takes the depictions about the Kikuyu as accurate, the general feeling was that somehow, seems to be accurate. The second group gave a standing ovation to a participant who said “*litemwalo lipo, kama halipo laja*” (what has been said exist and if it does not, it surely will). However, a few participants expressed their opinion that even if the representation could be true for some Kikuyu members, it was not all of them; there are many Kikuyu and are not thieves. There are kikuyu women who do not assault their men and others who are not business people. The participants felt that members of other ethnic groups exhibit avariciousness a sharp nose for business opportunities.

The Kikuyu felt that there are thieves among their ethnic group, like any other ethnic group. They agreed that the representation is only true for some members. They were concerned, however, that the characteristics were not a preserve of the Kikuyu. The Kikuyu agreed that people treat them as thieves and money lovers. They agreed that the depictions have made people to believe in the characterisations. They felt that the repetition of the depictions make people to believe in them and develop an ethnic stereotype.

Non Kikuyu Participants in the FGDs felt that these depictions are believable and in most cases, relate with some ethnic groups based on these representations. One participant said that he has been made to believe that the Kikuyu are thieves and avaricious because this has been repeated many times in the jokes. One participant retorted, “*Ingekuwa ni uongo si wangepinga*” (if it were a misrepresentation, they could have come out to contest it), which seemed to attract some affirmation from the group.

The Kikuyu agreed that sometimes they take advantage of others and give their avariciousness as reasons. One participant said he always warned his colleagues not to trust him with money because he is a Kikuyu. The Kikuyu cited that other ethnic groups fear their women as they are termed as men batterers. One participant raised an issue that others seemed to agree with, “I have a brother who was disowned by my parents because he married a Kikuyu. My parents always believe that a Kikuyu woman will kill her husband after they get rich so that she can be left with the wealth”. Another man reported that he could not marry a Kikuyu woman because “a Kikuyu woman will steal your money or dominate you”.

The Kikuyu also cited that they are not trusted with money and wealth. However, they are preferred for business advices and engagements although with suspicion because they are said to exploit and con to earn it. The Kikuyu believed that the repetition of the jokes regarding their perceived characteristics makes people to continue to believe in these depictions. They felt that the only way to survive with them is to accept them and take them positively although the treatment by other ethnic groups is unfair and sometime unjust especially when they are not trusted and lose in their ability to relate well with others.

On how the members of Kikuyu community perceive the depictions themselves, interviews revealed that they are associated with thievery and success in business. The Kikuyu interviewee also reported that they are depicted as highly political and coordinated ethnic group when it comes to politics in Kenya. They also reported that they are seen as people who can do anything to get and secure their wealth and money. Each of the interviewed Kikuyu said “myself I am not interested in business; I work in an industry as a supervisor”. Another said he has grown to live on his sweat and never thought of conning or stealing from people. As to whether there are members of Kikuyu with

depicted characteristics, the interviewed participants said that the Kikuyu have some of the characteristics. They agreed that they are aggressive business people, they are highly mobile in their settlement, and they are positively opportunistic but were against the idea that they overdo it. The interviewees contended that they like the energy associated with their group especially when it comes to entrepreneurship. They however, said every time they are depicted as avaricious and thieves, they do not like it.

4.1.2 Jokes on the Luo People

The Luo dominates the region popularly known as the Luo Nyanza in Western part of Kenya. From independence, the Luo community has engaged in a tough criticism with the ruling regimes, and especially the Kikuyu (Ogot, 1967). Therefore, the community is popular all over the country. Members of the Luo community are not spared in the jokes used in ‘Churchill Live Show’. The Luo people are said to engage in conspicuous consumption, live like kings and associate themselves with the most expensive living, technology and popularly expensive lifestyles, in addition to public display of pride. The associations have given the Luo an upper hand as they pride that Luo is not an ethnic group but a lifestyle. Members of other ethnic groups refer to the Luo lifestyle as a ‘killer pride’ and they constantly joke *Ujaluo unauwa* (the Luo lifestyle kills). *Ujaluo* (Luoism) in the context of a Kenyan is synonymous to pride.

They are also associated with hooliganism especially stone throwing, demonstrations, refusal to accept defeat and loyalty to one political leader at a time. On their pride and conspicuous consumption, one comedian posed the joke in Excerpt 6:

Excerpt 6: *Do you know it is only in Luo Nyanza where a person can tell you the difference between the car you ignite and the car you start?*

Yet, another comedian put another punch line as in Excerpt 7:

Excerpt 7: *Mjaluo afadhali anyeshewe kuliko kukubali lift from a Probox; patia yeye lift kwa Mercedes Benz, atakubali.* (It is better for a Luo to be rained on than to accept a lift from a Probox, but from Mercedes Benz, they will accept).

Cars are symbols of power and wealth. However, power is not there when everybody can access it and therefore, the brand of the car matters a lot to the Luo people. Probox is a Toyota brand of car that has been associated with cheapness and criminals; it has also been reportedly used for illegal escapades as well as being involved in most of the accidents in the country. As a result, the car's image has been purportedly spoiled. Members of Luo community do not like associating themselves with such bad image brands. They associate themselves with supposedly classic brands as Mercedes Benz; a Benz is not a car for every Tom, Dick and Jerry. It is damn expensive to purchase and maintain. The technologically perceptive Luo are able to know that this car is 'ignited' and this one is 'started'. Although both means the same, the term 'ignite' sounds sophisticated and therefore, their choice of vocabulary because 'start' is too mechanical for their techno-association. In these jokes therefore, the Luo are portrayed as people who associate themselves with expensive and 'classy' things like Mercedes Benz and not cheap Probox cars. In fact, many comedians have found a rich content when portraying the Luo as conspicuous consumers; people who can spend all they have and not build a house in their rural areas. A stand up comedian who comes on stage as an archetype of Luo community once accused the leading mobile provider of discriminating the Luo in their "*Bonyeza Ushinde*" promotion in Kenya. The promotion tagline literally translated to "press the keys of your phone and win". While on stage, he removed a touch-screen smart phone from his pocket. He poses a question as in Excerpt 8 below:

Excerpt 8: *Sisi tunabonyeza nini hapa? wangesema guza ushinde* (What are we being told to key in from this? They could have said touch and win).

"We" in this context meant the members of the Luo community. The idea is that keying in numbers is only possible from old low class technology phone and with the sophisticated modern touch screen phones, which all Luo community members presumably have because of their techno-consumption class; they should not be associated with key phones. They belong to another class and thus the promotion discriminates against them, as they do not have low class phones. However, the Luo people have their share of negative ethnic representation as in Excerpt 9 below:

Excerpt 9: *Mawe yana kazi tofauti Luo Nyanza; kuna ya kuita mtoto na ya kupiga adui* (Stones have different tasks in Luo Nyanza, there are stones for calling children and stones for attacking enemies).

This joke portrays Luo people as unruly community that uses stones as it has been believed for long in Kenya. In fact, their associated football team *Gor Mahia*, named after the Luo legend is believed to have funs pester their opponents with stones every time the team loses in a football match. The joke also instills a stereotype that communication in Luo community is through stones and thus making it seem like their inherent behavioral pattern. In another joke, a comedian demonstrates how expensive it is to belong to Luo ethnicity, drawing a motif from the biblical creation story:

Excerpt 10: *Ujaluo ni gharama. If Adam was a Luo, angeuliza Mungu: God yawa, even if you are the creator, should you create me using soil? (To be a Luo is costly. If Adam was a Luo, he could have bothered God. ‘Even if you are the creator, should you create me using soil?’)*

In the above joke, the implication is that the soil is a cheap matter to be used to create a supposedly ‘high valued’ member of the Luo ethnic group. To them, it would be unfair to create them out of such cheap, available and demeaning raw material. Moreover, the members of Luo community are associated with pleasure-seeking tendencies. As a result, the comedians represent them as people who live for today and do not care about tomorrow. For example, they can buy a car for public display and neglect their rural homes. In African setting rural homes are extremely significant for rural development and cultural bondage. A responsible man is valued when he works at the urban and develops and connects with those at the rural area from where he grew up. Members of the Luo community are believed to stay in urban centre and enjoy high standard of living while neglecting their rural areas. To illustrate this case, Excerpt 11 joke from one comedian has contrasting symbolism:

Excerpt 11: *Ukienda Luo Nyanza utashangaa kukuta Range Rover karibu na nyumba ya nyasi. ukiuliza mwenyewe anakwambia ile nyumba ya nyasi ni kitchen; bedroom ni kwa Range Rover. (If you go to Luo Nyanza, you will be surprised to find a Range Rover outside a Shanty and if you ask the owner; he would tell you that the shanty is the kitchen and the range rover the bedroom)*

In this case, a car is a symbol of social class and wealth. A shanty is a symbol of poverty; an opposite of an apartment that wealthy people live in. For a person to live in a shanty and drive a Range Rover □ it is supposedly a life of public display and unsound choice due to clamor for sophisticated display. Therefore, based on the foregoing depiction of the Luo in the jokes, the created picture is that the Luo live like kings in poverty.

4.1.2.1 FGDs and Interviews on the Luo Representation in ‘Churchill Live Show’

Based on the foregoing depiction of the Luo in the jokes, the created picture is that the Luo live like kings in poverty. So the study probed the following: Are the characteristics accurate in the first place? Do other members of the society relate to them based on these characteristics? Asked to comment on the way the Luo are depicted the participants contended that the Luo are done justice. The participants felt that sometimes, the Luo are represented in both positive light and negative light. The moderator probed further to know whether the representations of the Luo are accurate. The participants were excited on this and most felt that the representations such as the Luo being conspicuous consumers and proud classy people are true. They also contended that in most cases, the Luo have thrown stones especially during demonstrations. Some participants referred to Gormahia football team, others mentioned political rallies and so on.

The Luo in the FGDs agreed that they are proud of their culture and person. That they are brought up to be so, but the comedians exaggerate this. For example, upon probing, they posited that they do not own Mercedes while sleeping in shanties. That they also own phones, which are low class and that although they like big things as their culture, that is only attainable by a few working-class who can afford it. The Luo agreed that in most cases, they are treated as being proud. That people listen and laugh at them when they talk because their discourse displays power. *Mjalu akiongea anaongea bila woga hatujuagi* (When a Luo speaks, our voice has power but we do not deliberately do it, it is not deliberate). Another Luo felt that sometimes some depictions are far too much. For example, he cited a friend who was forced by his bride on the wedding day to swear that he will build her a house in their locality if she married her.

The Luo agreed that they depend on these depictions sometimes to survive. For example, one of them reported that he once wanted to purchase a phone and had no enough money to purchase a classic phone. He then told his friend that it would be shameful for them to see a Luo buy a cheap

phone. So they topped up his money and he was able to buy a better phone than all of them. Members of other ethnic groups contended that they do not like the Luo because of their pride and their love, sometimes, for an expensive life they struggle sustaining. Upon probing, one participant argued that she needed a husband who could work but not one who is always in suits and trying to brag in town without thinking of tomorrow. Another participant said that the Luo are smart people and that they fit to be supervisors but they are tough when they revolt.

All participants agreed that they first heard these representations in their childhood from their close relatives and friends. However, they felt that their spirit and belief in these representations are kept alive by the representations in ‘Churchill Live Show’ comedy and other comedy shows.

Do members of the Luo community like these depictions? During the interviews with the Luo respondents, they said they are said to be proud, troublemakers, conspicuous consumers and negligence of their future life especially when it comes to investing. They also said they are depicted as people who like ‘big things’ like expensive cars, expensive living, and kinglike lifestyle. The respondents agreed that they have some of the characteristics. They agreed that they have big dreams and are always confident of their identity. One respondent argued, “I like big phone and suit because in my place these are items of honor”. The respondents agreed that the Luo have this behavioral pattern of fanciful lifestyle but they are misunderstood. They however cautioned that not all the Luo are wasteful and proud themselves with classy things. It was established by the respondents that somehow they like some depictions and hate others. They said they hate it when they are seen as people who live for today and fail to invest for the future.

4.1.3 Jokes on the Kalenjin People

The Kalenjin is a Nilotic ethnic group inhabiting the Rift Valley Province in Kenya. Their present-day homeland is Kenya’s Western highlands and the Rift Valley. They are nationally and internationally renowned for their athletic prowess and they have won the description of Kenya’s running tribe (Warner, 2013). The Kalenjin have also had their share of popularity given that one of them, Daniel Arap Moi ruled as the second president of Kenya for over two decades. However, the aspect that has given them an upper hand in their dexterity in athletics than all the other ethnic groups in Kenya combined. In most jokes, the Kalenjin are associated with long distance race and

hence; as people who do not fear long distances. In one of the jokes (Excerpt 12) that characterise their nature of athletics and long distance race champions, a comedian punched:

Excerpt 12: *Jana mlienda Kitwek night? Wa! wa! wa! the car packing ilikuwa empty! Kesho yake wakale wanatoka dance, unawauliza Chepkorir unaenda wapi; akiwa Nairobi anakwambia hapa tu Eldoret.* (Did you attend Kitwek night yesterday? *Wa! wa! wa!* the car pack was empty. Today morning I was asking Kalenjins as they came out of the event, *Chepkorir* where are you going; he answers from Nairobi “just here, Eldoret”).

The joke employs a number of symbols well understood by Kenyan audience. First, the distance between Nairobi and Eldoret is approximately 313 kilometers. It takes a public vehicle traveling at 80 Kph approximately six hours to travel between the two towns. First, the impression is that the car park was empty and given the distance between Eldoret and Nairobi town, the Kalenjin came running thus never needed vehicles. Their ability to run long distance defies this ‘short’ distance. Asked about their destination in the morning after the cultural night Chepkorir (a Kalenjin by nature of the name) says, ‘just here Eldoret’, meaning that the distance between Nairobi and Eldoret is too short for them to come by vehicles. The members of Kalenjin ethnicity reduce a long distance of 313 kilometers to be ‘just here’, from Nairobi, Eldoret is just ‘here’.

The Kalenjin have come to be accepted as inherently talented in athletics more than any other ethnic group in Kenya. Just to emphasise how this characteristic has been accumulatively accepted, when ‘Churchill Live Show’ held its second round of county editions in Eldoret, which is termed as home of champions, something became evident. During the *Totos Corner* (children’s corner) segment dedicated to children where the show crew outreaches to schools, one comedian asked the children a question and he go as answer as in Excerpt 13:

Excerpt 13: *Uhuru na Ruto wakikimbia, ni nani atashinda?* (If Uhuru and Ruto were on a race, who would win?) One child answered “Ruto”. Asked the reason behind her answer she said “*Kwa sababu Ruto ni Mkalenjin* (Because Ruto is a Kalenjin)

Uhuru Kenyatta (a Kikuyu) is the fourth president of the republic of Kenya and Ruto (a Kalenjin) is his deputy president. In this case, it is clear that even children are already aware of the characteristics associated with the Kalenjin people with regard to athletics. There are many jokes that have defined the characteristics of the Kalenjin in this way: one comedian posed in Churchill show the joke in Excerpt 14 below:

Excerpt 14: *In Eldoret, the best way to be romantic is to tell your girlfriend to join you in training*

Another joke acted by the rib crackers group in Churchill raw derived from the value that Kalenjin give to the Olympic Games and compares this to their families and other possessions. In Eldoret, the police catch an armed thief and order him to put the gun down and surrender under some conditions.

Excerpt 15:

Police: *Chepkemos, weka bunduki chini!* (Chepkemos put your gun down!)

Chepkemos does nothing...

Police: *Kumbuka mashamba yako!* (Remember your land and surrender your gun!)

Chepkemos does not surrender...

Police: *Kumbuka familia yako* (remember your family and surrender!)

Chepkemos does not respond...

Police: *Kumbuka Olympics inakuja!* (Ok, remember the forthcoming Olympic games!)

Chepkemos puts the gun down and surrenders quickly.

To the comedian, and the punch line of the joke, the Kalenjin value athletics more than their families and other possessions. In a similar depiction, a comedian posed in another show a joke as in Excerpt 16:

Excerpt 16: *For a musician, vocals are very important and valuable. To a Kalenjin, it is the legs. Ukifanya makosa umkanyage, umekanyaga gold medal* (If you make a mistake of stepping on a Kalenjin's leg, you have trodden on a gold medal)

4.1.3.1 FGDs and Interviews on the Kalenjin Representation in ‘Churchill Live Show’

It was important to establish whether these depictions are taken as accurate. Do other people relate with them in line with these depicted characteristics? What value do these depictions have on the Kalenjin relation with members of other ethnic groups in Kenya? On the way the Kalenjin are depicted, the participants felt that they are portrayed positively. However, they are neutral as to whether some representations are positive, especially when in the jokes, the Kalenjin are depicted as people who always think, act, walk, decide and live on athletics.

As to whether the depictions are accurate, participants in all FGDs shared the view that the representation is accurate. They cited that majority of athletes are Kalenjin. They however, were not sure that the Kalenjin do not require cars to travel or they value gold medal and their legs more than other parts of the body.

Kalenjins who participated in the FGDs believed that their ethnic group is talented in marathon racing. They however, contended that they value gold medal than their families or their legs more than other parts of their body. The Kalenjin said that sometimes they are praised for their prowess in athletics. They did not mention instances of being misinterpreted especially when it comes to their love for gold medal, or the supposed value for their feet. They were for the opinion that they have never exploited their representation for the sake of relation with other ethnic groups.

Members of other ethnic groups felt that the Kalenjin are treated as achievers and people who have done proud to this country. One Kalenjin, though, said at one time, he was fired as a home guard by a Kikuyu businessman and dismissed him saying, *Nyinyi wakale hamjui kazi; kile mnajua ni mbio tu* (you Kalenjins cannot work, what you can do is only racing.)

As to whether the members of a Kalenjin community consider themselves as naturally talented and gifted in athletics and whether they are pleased or hurt by the depictions required an in-depth interview with them. The Kalenjin respondents interviewed said that they are associated with athletics, and people who do not consider distance a threat. All respondents agreed that they are not themselves interested in athletics. The respondents also said they use vehicles like any other person. They also could not name a member of their family who is an athlete. They agreed that many athletes in Kenya are Kalenjin. They were for the opinion that may be the athletes depict the

representations of doing everything like sportsmen and women. The respondents reported that they like the depictions because they are positive and help them to punch their identity as gifted and talented. One respondent said that he always encourage his children to work hard and aim to be athletes because “*Mko na damu ya mbio*” (You have the blood of racing). The respondents did not identify any characteristic that they do not like as far as depictions in ‘Churchill Live Show’ are concerned.

4.1.4 Jokes on the Kamba People

The Kamba community in Kenya forms a large ethnic group that dominates the semi-arid formerly Eastern Province of Kenya stretching east from Nairobi to Tsavo and north up to Embu County (Lewis, Gary & Fennig, 2014). This region is popularly known as *Ukambani* constituting Machakos, Kitui, and Makueni Counties. This community has been associated with some unique characteristics and a culture of witchcraft and magic powers derived from their powerful charms. They have also been associated with sexual virility as their men were considered sex maniacs in post independence narratives (Ochieng’, 1975). The ethnic jokes on Kamba come coded in symbolism and style. One comedian from ‘Churchill Live Show’ explored the common believes that Kamba women are highly protected by their husbands using charms to keep off other men and if she has cuckolds him, the other man mysteriously sticks in the act until they are found:

Excerpt 17: *Ukienda kwa night club, kwanza uliza mrembo utakayepata jina lake? Akisema Nduku ama Mwendu mwambie acha nifike hapa kidogo halafu toweka. Kwa sababu akiwa ni bibi wa mtu, tutakusoma kwa magazeti.* (When you go to a nightclub, ask the woman you will happen to dance with her name. If she says Nduku or Mwendu, request her to excuse you and then disappear because if she is someone else’s wife, we will read you in newspapers).

This joke sounds incomplete, but it is ready for cracking from the disclosure of the names of the woman. Nduku and Mwendu are common Kamba names. The Kenyan audience will find humour in it because they are aware that the comedian was talking about the Kamba in association with witchcraft. These names are commonly used in comedy to describe women from Kamba community. In most cases, ethnic jokes are hinted and since the listeners have already inculcated the stereotypes, they decode the intended message and laugh. The power of comedy, as the power of

any literary discourse, lies in decoding and realising that you have been told what you already knew but you realised late; it is as if you have been tricked and caught unaware. Another joke associating the Kamba with witchcraft comes as a comparative analysis between the popular Nigerian *Juju* and the Kamba's *Kamuti*. One stand up comedian, who represents the ethnic group and jokes about them posed:

Excerpt 18: *Ukambani hatuogopi manaigerians, juju inakuja namba two, kamuti namba one. Ni wapi ulishawahi ona maji yakipanda mlima wewe kama machakos?* (In Kamba land, we do not fear Nigerians. Their charm (referred to as *Juju*) comes number two, our charm (referred to as *Kamuti*) comes number one. Where else have you ever seen water going uphill like Machakos?)

Machakos is the centre and hometown of the Kamba people. *Kamuti* is a charm in Kamba and is believed to have magical powers that can be used by people to achieve their desired purposes. Likewise, *juju* is a Nigerian charm popularised by Nigerian's literature and films and serves the same purpose of applying magical powers for desired purposes. In Machakos, there is a place called Kituluni hills (The Anti-Gravity Hill), 12 kilometers east of Machakos town, and 60 kilometers east of Nairobi where water goes up the hill due to some forces of gravity that has never been proven elsewhere. The comedian associates this against-the-gravity movement of water to the powers of Kamba's charm.

The region where the Kamba people populate also has worked to their disadvantage. The place is dry and has been associated with fierce perpetual famines and draughts. They are therefore, depicted as people who have braved the worst hunger pangs in the history of Kenya. Not once or twice have mothers from Kamba land reportedly fed on a dog or cat delicacy because of hunger. Therefore, the issue of water in Kamba land is crucial because water is rare in this semi arid area. To exploit this natural misplacement, a comedian once commented that:

Excerpt 19: *Ukambani hawaambiwi waandike insha juu ya maji. Watakuuliza iko wapi?* (In Kamba land, the schoolchildren are not given a composition about water. They will ask where it is?)

4.1.4.1 FGDs and Interviews on the Kamba Representation in ‘Churchill Live Show’

As to whether Kamba people live in witchcraft, live on charms, and are always under the miasma of famine is something needed exploration. It was interesting to establish how these depicted characteristics influence the way people from this ethnic group are treated and viewed by members of other ethnic groups, and the implications of such relations. The moderator probed to get the view of participants regarding the way the Kamba are depicted. The participants contended that the Kamba are portrayed negatively. Some participants felt that some of the representations of the Kamba work to their advantage. The participants posited that the Kamba are known for witchcraft. One participant said he comes from a place where witchcraft is highly regarded, but she was not a Kamba. The participant said she heard about the Kamba and their strong witchcraft of making people eat grass or catching adulterers using charms from the media. Upon hearing it severally in the Churchill show, the participants said I somehow believe it could be accurate and I would treat the Kamba with caution.

The Kamba in the discussion reported that there is witchcraft in *Ukambani*. They also agreed that their place is dry but they contended that not all Kamba people practice witchcraft. One of the participant said “*wengine tumeokoka na hatufanyi kazi na urogi*” (some of us are saved and do not work with charms). The Kamba were quick to say that in most cases they are intimidated and angered when members of other ethnic groups treat them as people who depend on charms to survive. One member narrated a case where she was requested by her neighbour to take her to *Ukambani* to fetch a charm that would protect her neighbor’s husband. When she refused, the neighbour started accusing her of planning to snatch her husband and using a charm to lure him.

The study participant argued that they believe in the depictions about the Kamba people and that there is no way they can prove it otherwise. One of them said *siwezi tembea na bibi wa mkamba hata ikiwa sina string attached* (I cannot dare walk with a Kamba wife even when there are no string attached). Another said I avoid eating from a kiosk *ya wakamba kwa sababu wataniwekea kamuti* (cannot eat from Kamba food outlet because he fears they can charm him).

The participants said that ‘Churchill Live Show’ comedy and their depiction of Kamba have instilled what one member laughingly called “*ukweli kuhusu wakamba*” (truth regarding the Kamba people). Majority of participants said they would not have known about these characteristics were it

not for ‘Churchill Live Show’ comedy. They contended that they take the jokes as true representations, not just laughter.

During in-depth interviews, the way Kamba people take these characterisations was probed. To members of Kamba ethnic group, they are associated with witchcraft, charm, and hunger. The respondents agreed that although they come from dry place, they are not famished. Moreover, they said they do not use charms on people. The respondents agreed that like any other community, there are Kamba who believe in charms and use charms for their unknown reasons. They also agreed that the Kamba in places, which are hunger stricken sometimes, are reported killing their children for food or giving them dog delicacies. However, such cases are also reported elsewhere in the country. The respondents did not mention any representation they like about the Kamba people regardless of them having many positive things. They reported that they do not like it when the jokes concentrate only on the charms and dryness of their land.

4.1.5 Jokes on the Luhya People

Members of Luhya ethnicity constitute the second biggest population in Kenya, forming 14 percent according to the 2009 national census. They live in Kenya’s agriculturally fertile western region. Members from this ethnic group are among other things considered loyal and therefore fit to be security men and women and trusted cooks. As a result, they are said to like food and security jobs such as guards and general unarmed security jobs. They are portrayed as gourmands who take great pleasure and value in food. One joke that exploits the stereotype on Luhya’s value for food was posed by a comedian thus:

Excerpt 20: *Commemoration in Luyha land is very different. Mluyha akifariki, wanaulizana; wafula alikufa saa ngapi, akiambiwa saa saba, anasema ako na bahati alikuta lunch. akimbiwa saa tatu usiku anasema hana bahati, alikuta vyombo zikioshwa.* (Members of Luyha ethnic group commemorate their dead very differently. When a member of the group dies, others ask; at what time did he/she die? If the member died at 1 pm, they say that he is lucky he will find lunch; if he died at 9 pm, they say he/she arrived too late and missed the supper and found plates being washed)

Another joke that exploits their characterisation as gourmands explains the dominant business in their major town, Kakamega:

Excerpt 21: *Ukienda Kakamega, biashara ile nyingi ni ya kusaga mahindi na hoteli.* (If you go to Kakamega, the dominant business is grinding maize and hotels)

Moreover, members of Luyha ethnicity are portrayed as people who work as guards. This stereotype has made other ethnic groups believe that every guard is a Luyha and speaks with a Luyha accent. A joke posed by a Luyha stand up comedian in one of the ‘Churchill Live Show’, in which he and his male Luyha characters are thieves and are laying down policies on how to go about their escapades explains these depictions:

Excerpt 22: *Ili tukuwe standi, tuliweka sheria kuhusu job yetu ya kuiba... Sheria ya kwanza, hatutapora soja, anaweza kuwa ni mtu wa kwetu* (In order to be perfect, we agreed on the rule of stealing...the first rule; we should not rob a guard, he could be our brother).

The comedian is a Luyha and derives his jokes from the ethnic stereotypes associated with the community including their accent. In this joke, the comedian was trying to show that there is a higher possibility that a guard is from Luyha ethnic group. The audience, being privy to this association, discovers the punch line and break into laughter.

4.1.5.1 FGDs and Interviews on the Luhya Representation in ‘Churchill Live Show’

Do Luhya people take a lot of pleasure in food such that they are always thinking about it? Are members of Luyha ethnic group best in cooking and being guards? Are all guards from Luyha ethnic group? The moderator required the participants to give their opinion on the portrayal of the Luhya people. Participants contended that sometimes, the Luhya are brought out in good light and sometimes in bad light. A participant said that when they are depicted as food mongers, some do not like it. Another mentioned that they have believed that most guards are Luhya because they are loyal. *Ukiweka mkikuyu awe mlinzi, si mnajua tu* (if you put a Kikuyu to be a guard, you all know...).

The participants, upon probing, felt that not all Luhya people are food mongers, not all are loyal and not all are always thinking about food. The Luhya participants in the discussions agreed that they value their local food *Ugali* and chicken but did not agree that they are always thinking about eating. They also mourned that they are depicted as guards and cooks. One of them said I hate being a guard. In one of the discussions, one participant hilariously recounted a case where his neighbor who operated a hotel denied him food, only to sell it to another customer. Upon asking why he could not sell to him, the owner told him that he felt it would be a disservice to give a Luhya little food.

Participants from other ethnic groups felt that they somehow treat the Luhya based on the representations in the jokes. One participant said his neighbor requested him to find a Luhya guard. He said that whereas I needed the job, the owner insisted that he wanted a Luhya person. He remembers asking one Luhya about his take on the offer and he almost assaulted him for “*kufikiria sisi waluhya kazi yetu ni kuwalinda*” (always thinking that we Luhya can only work as your guards). One participant reported that her child, who is a fan of ‘Churchill Live Show’ comedy, refers to Luhya people as *washamba* (naïve).

The participants said that the representations are common in televised comedy and that they believe in them. They take them seriously and that the jokes help them to know about the characteristics of other ethnic groups. *Hii show inatusaidia kujua kabila zingine ili tukuwe rada* (the show helps us to know and understand other ethnic groups and how we should relate with them). The participants were for a general feeling that the show has helped to pass on the characteristics of some people.

As to whether members of Luhya community like the depictions, the Luhya interviewees said they are associated with binge eating, their being cooks and guards. They said the society looks at them as naïve and people who are founded on outdated cultural practices and values. The respondents declined having the depicted characteristics. They said they share characteristics with other ethnic groups. One interviewee noted that not all guards are Luyhas and everyone likes food. The respondents agreed that some people in their ethnic group are guards, are naïve because they live outside towns and closed up in the village. For the *Ugali*, the interviewee argued that this is their staple food like any other community. One interviewee noted that this is a characteristic of all ethnic

groups. The Luhyas said that their strength are not made public or used in ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes. They said all the depictions in the jokes are negative and they do not like them.

4.1.6 Jokes on the Meru and Kisii People

Some ethnic groups, although their geographical settlements are far apart, are depicted as having similar behavioral patterns and characteristics. An example is the Meru from the upper eastern and Gusii from western province. The meru people inhabit the Meru region of Kenya on the fertile lands of north and eastern slopes of Mount Kenya, in the former Eastern Province of Kenya (Thuranira, 2010). The Kisii inhabit two counties: Kisii (formerly Kisii District) and Nyamira in Nyanza Province, Western Kenya. Gusii is the fond reference to their homeland and Mogusii is culturally identified as their founder and patriarch (Ochieng’, 1986). Members of these two ethnic groups are always represented as violent, brutal, and quick to anger. One comedian brought out this general representation by analysing the reason as why a Gusii cannot make a football match commentator. He posed a joke in Excerpt 23:

Excerpt 23: *Mkisii hawezi kukomentate mpira...kwa sababu ya hasira* (A Gusii can not commentate football game because of anger).

In a similar depiction, members of Meru ethnicity are represented as inherently and unconsciously violent. The stereotype is meant to mean that the Meru’s anger is so uncontrolled that the action goes before their decision. This way, they are to be understood as inherently violent and that the violence has been naturalised:

Excerpt 24: *Mmeru akikwambia nitakukata; anakuanga ashakukata tayari* (When a member from Meru ethnicity tells you I am going to chop you, he already has chopped you).

Members of Gusii community are said to value burials very much. However, they do so while remaining backward in their sanitation. One joke tries to bring to the picture of other Kenyans, what happens in a Gusii burial ceremony:

Excerpt 25: *Huko kisii wakati wa mazishi MC anasema; watu wa Nairobi choo iko pare, imeandikwa iko choo. Watu wa nyumbani, ninarudia watu wa nyumbani msituni iko*

upande ure. (In Kisii during the burial ceremony, the master of ceremonies says; people from the urban areas, your washrooms are on this side; people from the locality and family members, the forest is on this side)

4.1.6.1 FGDs and Interviews on the Meru Representation in ‘Churchill Live Show’

As to whether other ethnic groups believe in these depictions, the FGDs participants felt that although this is a small group found in the root of Mount Kenya, they have been represented in ambiguous light. The participants were for the opinion that Meru people, like the Kisii are quickly angered as in the jokes. One participant, however, contended that these depictions could be inaccurate because he has met few Meru who are humble and patient. He, however, said upon seeing the representation on the television, he tends to believe in them now that the person who brings out the depictions is a member of the community.

There was no member of Meru community in the discussions conducted and therefore, it was not possible to get their take on the representations and the treatment by other groups. However, a participant said if he met people from such community, he would take time to learn them and treat them with suspicion to avoid conflicting with them. Another participant expressed his opinion that he would avoid being under a Meru at work because if they are anger-driven characters; he cannot keep up with such characters. The participants said they have heard about the Meru and their character on ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes. All participants expressed a feeling that the show enables them to come into contact with characters of people they have never met so that when they meet them, they know how to handle and relate with them. The researcher did not get any member of Meru ethnic group and therefore, their take on the way they are portrayed was not captured.

4.1.6.2 FGDs and Interviews on the Kisii Representation in ‘Churchill Live Show’

Responding to the question, on the way the Kisii people are portrayed in the comedy, the FGDs participants were for the opinion that like other ethnic groups, the Kisii are depicted in both positive and negative light. The participants felt that the depictions are not generally accurate. However, upon further probing regarding the fiercest portrayals like witchcraft and anger, the participants were divided in their opinion. One participant said that indeed people from this ethnic group have explicit anger and there are cases of burning witches alive in Kisii.

The Kisii in the discussion felt that there are some members in their ethnic group whom explicit extreme anger. However, they said this is not particular to them because everyone has an element of anger. On witchcraft, they admitted that they strongly believe in it but also hate it. One participant said “*si mnasikianga vile tunawachoma huko Kisii, hatuchezi na wachawi*” (you hear the way we set them on fire in Kisii we do not entertain witchcraft).

The Kisii participants contended that there are instances where they are treated as depicted. One participant recounted an instance where he was entangled in a feud and their area chief was to judge. The area chief ruled that he was on the wrong because *wakisii wanafanya vitu kwa hasira bila kufikiria* (the Kisii act out of anger, without reasoning). He said he felt treated unjustly because of his ethnicity. Another participant said his rental houses in a place called Kaptembwo in Nakuru is deserted and shunned by people from other ethnic groups because they say the Kisii landlords use charm to protect their property.

Participants from other ethnic groups argued that it is true the Kisii are quick-to-anger people. They said they believed in the depictions on the Churchill comedy and agreed that television comedy is reproducing what has been known over a long time. One participant said he fears the Kisii for their witchcraft in business and their property. Another reported that the Kisii people strongly believe in witchcraft even if they are not witches themselves, “*wanaamini uchawi na wanaidhamini*” (they believe in witchcraft and have faith in it)

The participants felt that televised comedy shows like ‘Churchill Live Show’ repeatedly spread the portrayals about the Kisii people. One Kisii participant contended that he likes hearing about his people in the show but fears that other listeners believe in the representations. Upon further probing, the participant added “*hakuna vile utaweza kuambia watu wasiamini vile wanaona kwa TV*” (there is no way you can convince people not to believe what they see on television).

As to whether members of the Kisii like these representations, Kisii interviewees said they are associated with quick anger, witchcraft beliefs, and people who eat dead people after burials. The interviewees disagreed that they have these behavioral and cultural practices. They said that there are people in their place who reportedly exhibited these characteristics but not all of them. No

respondent noted any depiction that they like concerning their ethnic group. They however noted that they do not like the way the Kisii are associated with witchcraft and uncontrolled anger.

4.1.7 Jokes on the Swahili People

The Swahili people are an ethnic group that populate African great coastal region (Frawley, 2003). The Swahili people in this study are the ones who reside in the coastal Kenya. In ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes, Swahili people are represented as people who are lazy, slow and hate work. They are depicted as dependents and people who are waiting to be driven. Everything has to happen for Swahili people and they take no initiative to act in situations. One comedian once described how a woman from the community does when a mango gets ripe on a mango tree. He posed:

Excerpt 26: *Wamama wa coast unakutanga wameketi chini ya mwembe, ukiwauliza wanafanya nini wanasema tunangojea embe lianguke; ‘hawawezi kupanda mti wakachume’* (When you go to coast, you find women seated under a mango tree and if you ask them what they are doing, they will tell you that they are waiting for the mangoes to fall; they cannot climb and pluck the mangoes).

Modeling the joke in the form of the way Isaac Newton discovered the law of gravity; another comedian reasoned that whenever such a mango falls and finds Swahili women under the mango tree; they discover that the mango is ripe. They do not discover the law that can be of any help to the world. This is trying to express their plasticity of mind derived from their depiction as too lazy to discover, invent or innovate.

The other common response to their inaction is:

Excerpt 27: *Tunafanya kwa raha zetu* (We are doing at our own pace).

Other jokes that are directed at representing members of Swahili in their perceived characteristics are for example: those that depict them as people who like sleeping always:

Excerpt 28: *Huku Nairobi mnapi ganga nduru mziki ukibamba. Huko mombasa wanasemanga, ikibamba sana weka mkeka tulale.* (In Nairobi, you usually call for ovations when music interests you; in Mombassa we pick a sleeping mat when we are excited)

In another joke, a comedian based on police recruitment where the recruits are required to run for selection. The comedian illustrates the picture in Mombassa where people supposedly do not like being tired:

Excerpt 29: Did you see police recruitment? The way they recruit is very unfair. They went to Mombassa. *Watu elfu moja walijitokeza na hakuna mtu alikubali kukimbia. waliungana wakasema, chagueni watu wawili mtakao pitisha msituchokeshe bure!* (One thousand people in Mombassa turned up for recruitment. none of them accepted to take part in the running exercise. they told the recruiters to select a few who will qualify instead of having them tired without assurance of being considered)

4.1.7.1 FGDs and Interviews on the Swahili Representation in ‘Churchill Live Show’

As to whether other ethnic groups believe in these characterisations and treat Swahili people as characterised was sought during focused group discussions. The participants in FGDs generally felt as one participant said *“hawa watu wanaonewa sana, hasa wanawake”* (these people are represented in bad light, especially women). As to whether the participants take the depictions as accurate, the general feeling was that they take the representations as accurate. One participants hilariously described *“hawa watu hata kuongea kwao ni polepole, mikono yao haijafanya kazi ni laini”* (these people even the way they talk, they talk slowly; even their hands are soft for not working).

The discussions managed to have one Swahili man who said their women and men are not lazy. He said the depictions are not accurate and it hurts him whenever such portrayals are mediated on a television show like ‘Churchill Live Show’. He, however, expressed his apathy and said he can only keep up with the depictions. His opinion agrees with the opinions of other interviewees on their views of stereotyping.

The Swahili participant said in many occasions, he has been treated based on the depictions. He recounted an event where his boy reported that his teacher at school refused to grant him a chance to participate in games as he was told he could not run. The son was probing his father to explain to him why it that he cannot run like other children is. He also said since his wife is a homemaker, she

goes looking for laundry jobs at the Neighbourhood. However, many prospective clients cannot give her clothes to wash as they say “*waswahili hawana mikono ya kufua vizuri*” (that Swahili women do not have strong hands to wash thoroughly). He further said “*sasa watu wakiona hii mfano kwa TV, wanatudharau, wanadharau wake zetu*” (when people see these depictions on TV, they demean us, they disrespect our women).

Participants from other ethnic groups agreed that they use the characterisations to relate with the Swahili people. The general feeling was that after such representations, they have expectations and treat the group as characterised. All participants agreed that much of the information regarding Swahili is popularised by ‘Churchill Live Show’ comedy. These jokes either are cracked by people from other ethnic groups or invited comedians from Mombasa.

Asked their opinion of the depiction of laziness and their reluctance at work, the Swahili interviewees said that they are depicted as lazy, easy to compromise and slow to think people. One respondent said that we are also represented as people who know how to cook for our husbands and who knows how to take care of them and respect them. However, as a woman, I am always thought of as a dedicated house maker. The respondents said that they do not possess these characteristics. Although they agreed that Swahili women know how to treat their men as household heads, they said Swahili women also do business and work. The interviewees agreed that there are Swahili people who are lazy, but this they said is true for all other ethnic groups because laziness is a personal attribute rather than a group behavioral pattern. The respondents said they like the depiction regarding the family hierarchy and value for family sustenance. They however, hate being depicted as lazy and dependent on others.

4.1.8 Jokes on the Somali People

The Somali people are an ethnic group that first inhabited the horn of Africa, a part popularly known as Somali peninsula and later spread to Kenya with most becoming Kenyan citizens (Abdullahi, 2001). Due to the strife in their country, majority of Somali people have come to live in Kenya and acquired citizenry (Hanley, 2004). The Somali people have a lot of impact in Kenya’s social life, political and economic life. The Somalis are aggressive in business, in their religion and their culture. They are learned and intelligent. However, they are associated with terrorism based on the history of their country of origin Somali that has been brought down by terrorist insurgents such

as Alshabab. In ‘Churchill Live Show’, Somali people are depicted as people who are used to violence and civil war. One comedian explained the reason as to why Somali cannot win marathon, after the 2013 Moscow Marathon, the comedian was at it punching:

Excerpt 30: *Somalia haijawahi kushinda medal kwa sababu wakati gun imepigwa waanze wanawachwa kwa start point, kisha wanauliza; aye; kwa nini msirushe kitu mzito; hiyo mlio ni environment yetu; nothing to show me nianze kukimbia* (Somalia has never won a medal in athletics because when a start gun is fired they are left at the starting point and they demand that the game be started by blowing a powerful weapon because guns are their environment).

In another joke, Somalis are portrayed as people who are used to war and by extension terror. One stand up comedian posed:

Excerpt 31: *Kandanda ya wasomali haiwezi kuisha. Kwa sababu wakati mpira umeshika utasikia commentator amesema, kuna kampira kengine kameingia uwanjani; aye si kampira ni grenade!* (Somali football cannot get to the end because at the middle of the game, the commentator says, there is a small ball that has rolled into the pitch; oh, it is not a ball, it is a grenade!)

4.1.8.1 FGDs Interviews on the Somali Representation in ‘Churchill Live Show’

On the way members of Somali ethnic group are depicted in the jokes, the participants said that the name itself connotes a “terrorist” just as depicted. The participants generally felt that they take the depictions as somehow accurate. However, they said although majority of terrorists especially Alshabab are Somali, not all Somali are terrorists. Therefore, participants were for the opinion that the depictions cannot hold as generally accurate.

A Somali participant reported that Somalis are business people and no one talks about it. She said that the negative part of it is when they are associated with arms. The participant contended that the Somali in refugee camps have an experience of war in Somalia and know about guns, but that is not their deserved environment as in the joke. He said it was unfortunate that a joke can be made

regarding a grenade, which is a killer weapon. Upon probing and direction by the moderator, the participant said that Somali are not terrorists and that they are not used to grenades and fire arms.

The Somali participants agreed that it is true other people treat them as such. A participant recounted an event during Westgate mall terrorist attack of 21 September 2013 when he would be scanned thoroughly compared to other people at public place entries. He hilariously described how, during that high alert period, he was coming from a mosque in Njoro, Nakuru County. He reported that while returning to Nakuru town on a public vehicle, passengers were highly tensed in his presence *“sijui waliona kama niko na grenade ama ningejilipua; wanafikiria sisi ni terrorists”* (I do not know whether they thought I was carrying a grenade or they thought I would detonate myself).

The participants in the house were for the opinion that they really treat Somali with suspicion. One participant said *“Si kwa ubaya lakini tunawaogopa sana, hata wao wanajua”* (truly, we fear them and they also know that). The moderator probed further and one participant said *“enywewe kama wakati wa Westgate, singeingia mahali nimeona msomali, sanasana kama hafanyi biashara”* (during Westgate Mall attach period, I could not risk mixing with Somali people especially when he was not doing business). Another participant said he has warned his boys not to mix with Somali youth, as he feared his boys could be recruited into Alshabab terror group.

The participants agreed that jokes used in Churchill were sources of the information regarding Somali people. It was noted that although people fear talking about it elsewhere, the jokes simplifies things and makes them normal. The participants, however, felt that they take the representations and characterisations seriously although they are meant for laughter.

The Somali interviewee said they are seen as terror group members. They are also depicted as necessary intruders who are targeted by the government whenever security issues are compromised especially those involving terrorism. The respondents said they are not terrorists in the first place and they cannot allow their children to be recruited into the militia groups. They agreed that it is true Somali youth are the most targeted by say for example Alshabab recruiters and radicalisms. The interviewees said all depictions function to entrench the view that they are terrorists and or are

prone to terrorism. They reported that they do not like the depictions and reported that they can just watch and laugh at their perceived characteristics.

4.2 Ethnic Stereotypes and Audiences' Inter-ethnic Relations

As the researcher's objectives stipulate, the third objective was to discuss how ethnic stereotypes from 'Churchill Live Show' jokes shape audiences' inter-ethnic relations. To respond to this objective, the researcher relied on the literature reviewed, the theory employed, and the responses obtained from the participants in the FGDs and interviews with ethnic group members. This is to establish how ethnic stereotypes and the audiences' inter-ethnic relations are reconstituted.

The literature review established some standing arguments that the society pretends that ethnic comedy is not harmful to them (van Dijk, 1984), but in real sense ethnic comedy works on peoples subconscious through accumulation of stereotypes which shape their relation either positively or negatively (Radway, 1986). The participants revealed that some ethnic groups, which are portrayed positively, are proud of the depictions, and later use them to exclude other groups. The audience argued that almost every ethnic joke has some positive element regarding the implied group, however, in its negative sense; generalising ethnic labeling is misleading and provocative. This is reflected in the writings of researchers like (Park et al., 2006; Kan, 2004; Katz & Braly, 1933) who claims that although ethnic jokes make the audience laugh, they also inculcate ethnic stereotypes whose impact go beyond the laughter.

The findings from the literature and the participants can be synthesized by the stereotyping and accumulation theories, which emphasize that in mediated comedy the audience members accumulatively, inculcate meanings into their memories as relatively inflexible *schemata* (Cox et al., 2012). These *schemata* are actually the stereotyping interpretations that people use when dealing, thinking about or responding to individuals of a portrayed category without regard to their actual personal characteristics. For example, one participant in the study expressed that 'guards can only be Luhyas because you know what will happen if it were a Kikuyu'. The rest of the audience laughed, including me because we all knew what he meant. This was a perfect example of how rigid the portrayals have gotten into our minds and shape the way we respond to issues and individuals in the society. Descriptive jokes such as 'keep your hands on your pockets when dancing with a

Kikuyu woman’ — meaning she can steal from you anytime; or you do not need a car parking to host a Kalenjin cultural night, are a result of these meanings.

Further, the audience acknowledged that they use the characterisations found in ethnic jokes to determine the way they relate with a particular ethnic group. For example, some respondents appreciated the fact that jokes inform them about some ethnic groups so that they are armed when relating with them: ‘*Hii show inatusaidia kujua kabila zingine ili tukuwe rada*’ (the show helps us to know and understand other ethnic groups and how we should relate with them). The interviews with individual members of ethnic groups portrayed in the jokes cited cases where they were treated as depicted in the jokes. For instance, the Kikuyu said they are often suspected as thieves, the Kamba reported being treated with suspicion or overtly believed to possess charms and the Luhya members cited being perceived and constantly likened with guards.

The study revelations challenge the Kan’s (2004) assumption that the possible negative effect of stereotyping in comedy and entertainment industry is not scientifically proven through a study and therefore, it may not exist. The existence of a social phenomenon cannot hold to be true only when it is studied and proven. In this study, the audience undeniably agreed that they use the characterisations in the televised jokes to include and exclude others in their social, political, religious, economic and cultural engagements. This does not mean that the effect has not been there. Inclusion and exclusion for whatever purpose is a harmful social phenomenon and it is negative in whatever form even when not scientifically proven. Emphatically, the interviewees were for the view that comedians are not doing enough to bring out the positive aspects of some ethnic groups. This is anchored on the understanding that every ethnic group has a positive aspect that can be highlighted alongside the negative aspects. This shockingly goes in line with a position that comedians use stereotypes to reduce effort involved in thinking about something given the van Dijk’s (1984) position that stereotyping is a simplified mental picture of an individual or group of people who share certain stereotypical qualities.

Most authors (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996; Fujioka, 1999; Leda & Mark, 2009; Kroeger, 2012) agree that ethnic stereotyping, as that from ‘Churchill Live Show’, dwells on distorted and mostly misguided images of people. Along this line of thought, the study participants in the FGDs expressed their common view that there is no single behavioral pattern, which is a preserve of a

community, while the interviewees reported that the characteristics supposedly associated solely with their ethnic groups are found in all societies. For example, the Kikuyu members asserted that thievery is a social evil found in all societies in the world and any member of an ethnic group can be a thief.

Against the claims that comedians from an ethnic group can stereotype without much negative impact, the audience expressed their opinion that even when a comedian from an ethnic group becomes an actor in its positive or negative characterisation, this does not make the depictions less or more accurate. This finding challenges Bowes (1990) position that ethnic comedy is acceptable as far as the portrayals are made when it is clear that the group being stereotyped will be laughing alongside others. But, then, Bowes' (1990) argument is apparently inaccurate because in communication, what is more important is not the conveyor of the message, but its content. The findings in the study was that, whenever the depictions are negative, the audience laughs at the stereotyped group; while the members of the group 'fake' their laughter and repress their bitterness and discomfort.

In general, it was established that members of any referred group argue that they are depicted inaccurately, while they hold that depictions about other groups are accurate. For example, the Non-kikuyu were excited during FGDs when one participant said that "*Ingekuwa ni uongo si wangepinga* (if it was a misrepresentation, they could have come out to contest the representations)". Even though the accuracy of the representations is not established, the relation among the groups still remains vaguely established in that such relations are consciously and/or unconsciously anchored on stereotypes about other groups.

In the position of Kan (2004), Leda and Mark (2009) explained earlier, those involved in the production of comedy Shows defend that stereotypes can be used to reflect deeper injustices in the society, which depends on the way the audience interpret the jokes. For example, there has been a general feeling that there is injustice to the Somali people in Kenya when they are treated as terrorists by the security agencies. However, the audience, which represents the rest of the Kenyan society, in this study admitted that they regard Somali as terrorists. From this example, and the rest of similar nature, it can be argued that even though ethnic jokes in positive sense tend to neutralise

the tension that exists between groups, but when accumulated over time they really institutionalise the implied ethnic labeling, which can be used for inclusion and or exclusion purposes.

On the question of the origin of ethnic labels and their resultant stereotypes, the audience acknowledged that ‘Churchill Live Show’ does not generate ethnic stereotypes, but it only recreates and brings them in a new, hilarious form that appears innocent. Nevertheless, when closely examined, such a Show is a catalyst of either positive or negative stereotypes that shape inter-ethnic relations in Kenya. This is in agreement with Kroeger’s (2012) contention that television is a major influence in recreating and instilling even non dominant cultures that could have far-reaching implications. This works through accumulation theory of mass media underlined earlier, taken up by this study, which reveals that the minimal impacts of ethnic jokes slowly add up over time and produce significant influence on the audiences’ inter-ethnic relations.

From its far reaching effects, ‘Churchill Live Show’ comedians exploit cultural differences and other factors such as the ethnic group’s geographical location, religious affiliations, economic status and activities to derive their punch lines that constitute the joke ‘nut’. This is evidenced by the audience’s appreciation of the fact that ‘Churchill Live Show’ informs them about the characteristics of other ethnic groups, which enhances their understanding of each other a position also held by Meyer (2000). They were also for the position that there are ethnic groups depicted positively while others negatively. This is in agreement with the seemingly naïve position of Kroeger (2012) that comical stereotyping in itself is not entirely negative because it occurs naturally. However, the analysis in this research is that ethnic jokes are deliberately constructed and are sometimes negative in nature, which is also supported by the audience who posited that majority of ethnic groups in Kenya are depicted negatively and a few groups positively. For example, the Kalenjin are depicted positively as remarkable athletes because of their ability for sports. The analysis of the audiences’ interpretation of the jokes therefore confirms that there are positive characteristics of their ethnic group but such characteristics are not used in jokes. In the researchers view, the participants were pointing a kind of discrimination in representation and the laxity of the comedians in their exploration of basis of constructing ethnic jokes. It is also a test to the impact that mass media such as television has over time through the perspective of accumulation of such depictions in the audiences minds without an attempt to balance the positive and negative depictions.

In line with the stereotyping and accumulation theories, televised stereotypes function to reinforce false attitude regarding a specific ethnic group, whether majority or minority. The theories have that the discursive construction and socialisation of ethnic stereotypes becomes more evident when the portrayals are used as basis for regarding members of ethnic groups, especially those with limited exposure (Dovidio *et al.*, 2010; Cox *et al.*, 2012). For example, a Kalenjin member narrated how at one time, a member of another ethnic group denied him an employment opportunity, and instead was told that *Kalenjins* only succeed in athletics. This confirms that the society members take seriously the representations employed in televised jokes, and use them as tools for regarding members of the stereotyped groups.

On the functions of jokes, the study findings take on King's (2002) probe, that if ethnic representation in any case should provide an insight as to whether the stereotypes will be read by the audience as symptoms of existing social relations or as a more active component of the politics of representation, the fact is that, members of the society use these depictions for inclusion and exclusion purposes as established by the in the study. The media takes up this to create an environment in which the audience fully understands the depictions and stereotypes associated with identifiable ethnic groups. For example, the audience is able to relate names from identifiable ethnic groups such as Mwendu from Kamba, Chepkorir from Kalenjin, Onyango from the Luo, Wanjiru from the Kikuyu and Nkirote from Meru among others. These names are used as signifiers of identifiable ethnic groups. Moreover, the regions such as Mount Kenya for Kikuyu, Ukambani (there is no geographical area earmarked by Kenya called Ukambani), Luo Nyanza to differentiate it from other Nyanza where other ethnic groups live and so on; are used as signifiers of identifiable ethnic groups. The coded language and innuendoes that go hand in hand with current affairs help the comedians to reproduce the ethnic jokes in a new way that qualifies ethnic depictions as ethnic jokes. In fact, the usage of the jokes and what makes people decode them is the understanding of the perceived characteristics and symbols that associate with identifiable ethnic groups. For example, 'a person from coast' is associated with Swahili, the image of Mount Kenya associated with Kikuyu, while *Ugali*, chicken and a guard are used to refer to Luhya. Geographical locations have also been appropriated by comedians as sources drawing information regarding a group. For

example, one audience member claimed that he has never been to Mombasa yet he knows how people in the coast region behave based on the representations broadcast in ‘Churchill Live Show’.

It was also found that comedians draw jokes from political affiliation, social and cultural life, economic status and activities, geographical locations and other factors such as shared behavioral patterns of an ethnic group. This can be well illustrated by the jokes on Swahili people from the coastal region and the Kisii from Western Kenya. The representations in the jokes, when constantly aired in ‘Churchill Live Show’ may serve to form some unrealistic pictures of the depicted groups, and when the society accepts such depictions, they become stereotypes, which catalyse group conflict, power differences, or desires to justify their *status quo*.

The stereotyping and accumulation theories of mass media have that these portrayals are consistently negative and depict certain ethnic groups as possessing more undesirable attributes and few positive characteristics than members of other ethnic groups. This association was confirmed in the study because most ethnic groups such as the Kikuyu, the Kamba, the Swahili, the Kisii, the Luhya and others were portrayed negatively while some like the Kalenjin and partly the Luo were portrayed in some ways they would appreciate and be proud of.

Finally, as argued by Morgan and Shanahan (2010), through the converged media, the individual members of the society increasingly become aware of implied ethnic connotations, whereby on person-to-person basis, a growing comprehension of the interpretation of the topic presented by the media develops. This is true because ethnic labels from the ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes continue to be reproduced in advertisement, songs and so on, thereby becoming more believable in a way that the audience agree with the depictions such as the Kikuyu are thieves, the Kisii are quick-to-anger, the Somali are terrorists, and the Kamba are people of charms and so on.

4.3 Key Finding of the Study

The way ethnic jokes from ‘Churchill Live Show’ are packaged and broadcast, proves that the media industry under certain aspects functions as a means to portray certain groups in a simplified way and to instill in the audiences’ minds expectations about the behavior of the portrayed ethnic groups. From the analysed jokes, there are positive and negative representation of ethnic groups and the generalisation of behavioral patterns of a group, and that people use these depictions for

inclusion and exclusion purposes. The jokes are found to guide people on how to regard and treat members of stereotyped ethnic group as supported by the stereotyping and accumulation theories, which emphasise that mass media reinforce dominant segment of society's existing patterns of attitudes and behavior toward some identifiable groups.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is intended to give a recap of the main findings; to realize that, it is divided into three major parts: the summary, the conclusion and the recommendations. The underlining principle in these three parts is that ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes tend to capture the attention of many people who use the depictions from such jokes as forms of group representation.

5.1 Summary

After analysing the way ethnic groups are represented in ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes, which was the task of the first objective of the study, it is found that other ethnic groups are depicted in a positive light, while others in a negative light. The findings also show that most ethnic groups in Kenya are misleadingly depicted negatively; however, the groups that are given such depictions tend not to agree with them. In the general sense, it was also established that comedians appropriate geographical location, cultural beliefs and practices, religious affiliations or economic activities and status of ethnic groups in their jokes.

With regard to the second objective, which was to examine the audiences’ response to ethnic representation in ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes, the findings show that at least every joke has some provable elements with regard to individual members of a depicted ethnic group. However, the generalisation of ethnic group behavioral pattern is found to be misleading. It was also established that consistent depiction of a group in a certain light, whether positive or negative in ‘Churchill Live Show’ ‘blows up’ above underlined stereotypes and also ‘speeds up’ formation of ethnic stereotypes among the Kenyans. The findings clarify that when a comedian from an ethnic group becomes an actor in its representation (positive or negative), it does not make the depictions less or more accurate. It was also established that ‘Churchill Live Show’ informs its audience on the behavioral patterns of various ethnic groups, which, at least, enables them in understanding each other.

On the third and last objective, which was to find out the way ethnic stereotypes from ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes shape audiences inter-ethnic relations, the study established that the audience use the implied depictions to relate with members of referred ethnic groups. In most cases, such characterisations are found to be used to either include or exclude other groups in social, political,

religious, economic and cultural engagements. At this point, the study affirms that ‘Churchill Live Show’ does not generate ethnic stereotyping, it only recreates the existing ones and ‘serves’ them in a seemingly neutral form.

5.2 Conclusions

The researcher drew conclusions based on the objectives of the study.

After analysing the representation of ethnic groups in ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes, some conclusions were drawn. It was established that ‘Churchill Live Show’ utilises ethnic jokes targeting some ethnic groups and representing them in either positive or negative light. Comedians in ‘Churchill Live Show’ uses ethnic groups’ specific aspects such as geographical location, cultural believes and practices, religious affiliations or economic status and activities to derive their punch lines for jokes. Most ethnic groups in Kenya (the Kikuyu, the Kamba, the Swahili, the Meru, the Kisii, and the Luhya) are given negative characterisations in ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes and they do not find it accurate. Some ethnic groups such as the Kalenjin are represented positively and covertly in a negative way, while the Luo are portrayed overtly in a negative way and covertly in a positive light while.

The audiences’ responses on representation of ethnic groups in ‘Churchill Live Show’ jokes revealed that Kenyans are aware of ethnic jokes from ‘Churchill Live Show’, and they take them seriously and as accurate representation of groups provided those groups is not their in-group. Those ethnic groups portrayed in negative light do not like the portrayals; but those given positive attributes are proud of the representations.

As per the third, objective, the ethnic stereotypes from ‘Churchill Live Show’ shape audiences relation in different ways the audience uses the ethnic portrayals in the jokes to determine the way they relate with other ethnic groups. It was clear that economic, cultural and social relation among ethnic groups is based on ethnic stereotypes inculcated by the televised comedy. The fact that the ethnic labels are aired on television and the television show has been consistent, the show has played a role in entrenching ethnic stereotypes and therefore significantly contributed in the way ethnic groups relate in Kenya.

5.3 Recommendations

After analysing the ethnic jokes, seeking audiences' responses and drawing the way jokes shape ethnic relations in Kenya, some recommendations are made. 'Churchill Live Show' should avoid ethnic jokes targeting any ethnic groups regardless of whether they portray them positively or negatively. The comedians can draw their jokes from other aspects of life other than sensitive cultural beliefs, religious affiliations and other sensational ethnic specific characteristics that constitute elements of inclusion and exclusion in the larger society.

Based on the audience responses, the audience should be made aware that ethnic jokes are meant for comical purposes and are not to be taken seriously. The media and other stakeholders should be active in this awareness so as to minimise the effect of ethnic jokes in stereotyping and shaping ethnic relations that could result to negative ethnicity.

The media, the CCK, and MCK alongside nongovernmental agencies should be aware of the implications of ethnic jokes and work with comedy industry to ensure any content that shapes the ethnic relation (economic, cultural, political, social or otherwise) in a way that compromises coexistence is censored and where possible prevented.

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APPENDIX 1: FDGS AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (Based on the Video Shown)

The researcher used twelve questions to fulfill the three set objectives of this study.

Focus Group Discussion Questions	
1	After watching the video, what is your position on the way an ethnic group is depicted?
2	Do you regard the depiction as accurate representation of the group?
3	Do you agree that your ethnic group has the representations as depicted in the jokes?
4	Do you consider that people treat you as having the depicted representations?
5	Have you ever treated a person based on these depictions?
6	Outline some of the elements that show people believe in ethnic depictions

Interview Schedule Questions	
1	What is your ethnic group?
2	What characteristics are associated with your ethnic group?
3	Do you believe you have these representations? Why?
4	Do you think some people from your ethnic group have these representations?
5	Are there some depictions of your ethnic group that you like?
6	Are there some depictions of your ethnic group that you do not like?

APPENDIX 2: EXCEPTS OF THE JOKES

Excerpt 1

Baba yetu alikuwa anatumia sana. Alikuwa anatumia anatumia mawaidha juu ya kuoa. Anasema “Ukitaka kuoa, usiangalie mlima Kenya. (Our father used to care a lot. He would call us and advise us saying, “If you want to marry, do not face Mount Kenya”).

Excerpt 2

Ukienda kudance na msichana Nairobi uliza yeye Jina Lake. Akisema Wanjiru, dance like this... (If you dance with a woman in Nairobi, ask her name and if she says Wanjiru, dance like this...) [The comedian dances to the tune of a song with both his hands in his pockets].

Excerpt 3

Yesu angekuja central afanye maji kuwa wine; the following day ungeona biashara ‘Kamau and Jesus wine and spirits’ (If Jesus came to central and turn water into wine, the following day you could have seen on business ads, ‘Kamau and Jesus Wines and Spirits’).

Excerpt 4

Jesus was crucified alongside two thieves. If that happened in Kiambu, central and the thieves happened to be Kinuthia and Njoroge Muturi *hatungepata ukombozi* (we would not have gotten salvation). Their conversation would have been like this:

Kinuthia: wee, ukienda mbinguni usinisahau (You, remember me when you are in heaven)

Njoroge Muturi: tuachane na maneno ya mbinguni, tumalizane hapa hapa. Wee yesu unajua tumelalia pesa, hii msalaba ni hardwood. Si wewe uko na nguvu, vuta customer. (Let us forget about heavenly things, let us sort issues here on Earth. You Jesus, do you know we are leaning on money; this cross is made of hardwood. Since you have powers, attract customers)

Excerpt 5

In Europe, mama akipata mtoto, anapata sifa kutoka kwa bwanake kwa sababu mtoto anaweza kuwa engineer ama doctor. In central, mama Njoroge amezaa, baba; Njoroge anauliza “Mama Njoroge ameongeza kura”?

Excerpt 6

Do you know it is only in Luo Nyanza where a person can tell you the difference between the car you ignite and the car you start?

Excerpt 7

Mjaluo afadhali anyeshewe kuliko kukubali lift from a Probox; patia yeye lift kwa Mercedes Benz, atakubali. (It is better for a Luo to be rained on than to accept a lift from a Probox, but from Mercedes Benz, they will accept).

Excerpt 8

Sisi tunabonyeza nini hapa? wangesema guza ushinde (What are we being told to key in from this? They could have said touch and win).

Excerpt 9

Mawe yana kazi tofauti Luo Nyanza; kuna ya kuita mtoto na ya kupiga adui (Stones have different tasks in Luo Nyanza, there are stones for calling children and stones for attacking enemies).

Excerpt 10

Ujaluo ni ngarama. If Adam was a Luo, angeuliza mungu: God yawa, even if you are the creator, should you create me using soil? (To be a Luo is costly. If Adam was a Luo, he could have bothered God. ‘Even if you are the creator, should you create me using soil?’)

Excerpt 11

Ukienda Luo Nyanza utashangaa kukuta Range Rover karibu na nyumba ya nyasi. ukiuliza mwenyewe anakwambia ile nyumba ya nyasi ni kitchen; bedroom ni kwa Range Rover. (If you go to Luo Nyanza, you will be surprised to find a Range Rover outside a Shanty and if you ask the owner; he would tell you that the shanty is the kitchen and the range rover the bedroom)

Excerpt 12

Jana mlienda Kitwek night? Wawa wawa packing ilikuwa empty! Kesho yake wakale wanatoka dance, unawauliza Chepkorir unaenda wapi; akiwa Nairobi anakwambia hapa tu Eltoret. (Did you

go to Kitwek night yesterday, the car park was empty. Today morning I was asking Kalenjins as they came out of the dance, *Chepkorir* where are you going; he answers just here, Eldoret).

Excerpt 13

Uhuru na Ruto wakikimbia, ni nani atashinda? (If Uhuru and Ruto were on a race, who would win?) One child answered “Ruto”. Asked the reason behind her answer she said “*Kwa sababu Ruto ni Mkalenjin* (Because Ruto is a Kalenjin)

Excerpt 14

In Eldoret, the best way to be romantic is to tell your girlfriend to join you in training

Excerpt 15

Police: *Chepkemos, weka bunduki chini!* (Chepkemos put your gun down!)

Chepkemos does nothing...

Police: *Kumbuka mashamba yako!* (Remember your land and surrender your gun!)

Chepkemos does not surrender...

Police: *Kumbuka familia yako* (remember you have a family and surrender!)

Chepkemos does not respond...

Police: *Kumbuka Olympics inakuja!* (Ok, remember the forthcoming Olympic games!)

Chepkemos puts the gun down surrenders quickly.

Excerpt 16

For a musician, vocals are very important and valuable. To a Kalenjin, it is the legs. Ukifanya makosa umkanyange, umekanyaga gold medal (If you make a mistake of stepping on a Kalenjin’s leg, you have trodden on a gold medal)

Excerpt 17

Ukienda kwa night club, kwanza uliza mrembo utakayepata jina lake? Akisema Nduku ama Mwendu mwambie acha nifike hapa kidogo halafu toweka. Kwa sababu akiwa ni bibi wa mtu, tutakusoma kwa magazeti. (When you go to a nightclub, ask the woman you will happen to dance with her name. If she says Nduku or Mwendu, request her to excuse you and then disappear because if she is someone else’s wife, we will read you in newspapers).

Excerpt 18

*Ukambani hatuogopi manaigerians, juju inakuja namba two, kamuti namba one. Ni wapi ulishawahi ona maji yakipanda mlima wewe kama machakos? (In Kamba land, we do not fear Nigerians. Their charm (referred to as *Juju*) comes number two, our charm (referred to as *Kamuti*) comes number one. Where else have you ever seen water going uphill like Machakos?)*

Excerpt 19

Ukambani hawaambiwi waandike insha juu ya maji. Watakuuiza iko wapi? (In Kamba land, the schoolchildren are not given a composition about water. They will ask where it is?)

Excerpt 20

Commemoration in Luyha land is very different. Mluyha akifariki, wanaulizana; wafula alikufa saa ngapi, akiambiwa saa saba, anasema ako na bahati alikuta lunch. akiambiwa saa tatu usiku anasema hana bahati, alikuta vyombo zikioshwa. (Members of Luyha ethnic group commemorate their dead very differently. When a member of the group dies, others ask; at what time did he/she die? If the member died at 1 pm, they say that he is lucky he will find lunch; if he died at 9 pm, they say he/she arrived too late and missed the supper and found plates being washed)

Excerpt 21

Ukienda Kakamega, biashara ile nyingi ni ya kusaga mahindi na hoteli. (If you go to Kakamega, the dominant business is grinding maize and hotels)

Excerpt 22

Ili tukuwe standi, tuliweka sheria kuhusu job yetu ya kuiba... Sheria ya kwanza, hatutapora soja, anaweza kuwa ni mtu wa kwetu (In order to be perfect, we agreed on the rule of stealing...the first rule; we should not rob a guard, he could be our brother).

Excerpt 23

Mkisii hawezi kukomentate mpira...kwa sababu ya hasira (A Gusii can not commentate football game because of anger).

Excerpt 24

Mmeru akikwambia nitakukata; anakuanga ashakukata tayari (When a member from Meru ethnicity tells you I am going to chop you, he already has chopped you).

Excerpt 25

Huko kisii wakati wa mazishi MC anasema; watu wa Nairobi choo iko pare, imeandikwa iko choo. Watu wa nyumbani, ninarudia watu wa nyumbani msituni iko upande ure. (In Kisii during the burial ceremony, the master of ceremonies says; people from the urban areas, your washrooms are on this side; people from the locality and family members, the forest is on this side)

Excerpt 26

Wamama wa coast unakutanga wameketi chini ya mwembe, ukiwauliza wanafanya nini wanasema tunangojea embe lianguke; 'hawawezi kupanda mti wakachume' (When you go to coast, you find women seated under a mango tree and if you ask them what they are doing, they will tell you that they are waiting for the mangoes to fall; they cannot climb and pluck the mangoes).

Excerpt 27

Tunafanya kwa raha zetu (We are doing at our own pace).

Excerpt 28

Huku Nairobi mnapiganga nduru mziki ikibamba. Huko mombasa wanasemanga, ikibamba sana weka mkeka tulale. (In Nairobi, you usually call for ovations when a music interests you, in Mombasa we pick a sleeping mat when we are excited)

Excerpt 29

Did you see police recruitment? The way they recruit is very unfair. They went to Mombasa. *Watu elfu moja walitojitokeza na hakuna mtu alikubali kukimbia. waliungana wakasema, chagueni watu wawili mtakao pitisha msituchokeshe bure!* (One thousand people in Mombasa turned up for recruitment. none of them accepted to take part in the running exercise. they told the recruiters to select a few who will qualify instead of having them tired without assurance of being considered)

Excerpt 30

Kandanda ya wasomali haiwezi kuisha. Kwa sababu wakati mpira umeshika utasikia commentator amesema, kuna kampira kengine kameingia uwajani; aye si kampira ni grenade! (Somali football cannot get to the end because at the middle of the game, the commentator says, there is a small ball that has rolled into the pitch; oh, it is not a ball, it is a grenade!)

Excerpt 31

Somalia haijawahi kushinda medal kwa sababu wakati gun imepigwa waanze wanawachwa kwa start point, kisha wanauliza; aye; kwa nini msirushe kitu mzito; hiyo mlio ni environment yetu; nothing to show me nianze kukimbia (Somalia has never won a medal in athletics because when a start gun is fired they are left at the starting point and they demand that the game be started by blowing a powerful weapon because guns are their environment).