



Universität
Bayreuth



Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies

Kenyan Community Radio: Players, Production Processes and Participation

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy (Dr Phil) in Media Studies awarded by BIGSAS at the University of
Bayreuth**

By

Rose Nyakio Kimani

Research Area (B): Knowledge, Communication and Communities in Motion

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Jürgen E. Müller

Prof. Levi Obonyo (Mentor)

Dr. Ulf Vierke (Mentor)

July 2017

STATUTORY DECLARATION

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Bayreuth, 24.07.2017

Rose Nyakio Kimani

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My appreciation goes to the individuals and institutions that have been a part of this journey. I acknowledge Kenya's National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) and Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) for providing the scholarship that enabled me to undertake my studies. The Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS), University of Bayreuth and Chuka University have each provided administrative, networking and other support, without which it would have been infinitely more difficult to take on and complete this project.

I also thank the backbone of this project: my research contributors. The individuals and organisations who availed their time and effort to be interviewed, to provide documents, to fill in questionnaires, to secure programme copies, and to allow me to watch them at work. Without them this research would not have been possible. My research assistants at each location, who did an excellent job of questionnaire administration with minimal supervision, and specifically Peter Kibe for both questionnaire administration and data input. My deepest gratitude especially goes to both the people working in and living around Kangema FM, Koch FM and Mugambo Jwetu FM for their role as the research focus.

On the academic front, I appreciate the people who have walked alongside me on this journey and provided different kinds of support. I mention only a few here: My supervision team – Prof. Dr. Juergen E. Mueller, Prof. Levi Obonyo and Dr. Ulf Vierke, for the feedback and fruitful discussions that shaped my work. Academic seniors including but not limited to Prof. Dr. Ritzer, Prof. Dr. Fendler, Prof. Odhiambo and Dr. Maseno, for insightful comments and perspectives. Friends, both near and far, and BIGSAS colleagues, for companionship, laughter, draft-reading, perspective and critique when needed.

And last but certainly not least, my family: words are not enough to encompass what an anchor your constant support has been.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

STATUTORY DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
TABLE OF FIGURES.....	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
1 THE KENYAN MEDIA LANDSCAPE AND COMMUNITY BROADCASTING	1
1.1 Introduction: The Kenya Media Landscape.....	1
1.2 Defining Community Broadcasting.....	3
1.3 A History of Kenyan Community Radio.....	4
1.4 Situating the Study: Constraints facing Kenyan Community Broadcasters	6
1.5 Research Focus.....	7
1.6 Research Questions.....	8
1.7 Research objectives.....	8
1.8 Research Contexts.....	9
1.8.1 Kangema RANET FM, 105.2.....	9
1.8.2 Koch FM	10
1.8.3 Mugambo Jwetu FM	10
1.9 Research Design	11
Design Limitations.....	11
1.10 Significance of the Study	12
1.11 Conceptual Framework	13
1.12 Conclusion	17
2 MEDIA AND SOCIETY: PARTICIPATION, SOCIAL (RE)FORMATIONS AND POWER	
NEGOTIATIONS.....	20
2.1 Introduction.....	20
2.2 Society and the Media	21
2.2.1 Global Trends and Media Policy.....	23
2.2.2 Media for Development as a Kenyan State Policy	25
2.2.3 The Place of Culture in Media Roles	27
2.3 Content and Content Production Practices	28
2.4 Audiences, Communities, and Publics	34
2.4.1 Communities or Publics?.....	35
2.4.2 Publics and Counterpublics.....	37
2.5 Why Radio	40
2.5.1 Negotiation of the Public and the Private.....	42
2.5.2 Transformations of Radio.....	43
2.5.3 Radio in Development.....	45
2.6 Community Media as Alternative Media	46
2.6.1 Towards a Definition of Kenyan Community Radio	50
2.6.2 Participation in Community Media	52
2.6.3 Community Media and Power	54
2.7 Media, Participation and Power.....	57

2.8	Conclusion	59
3	METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS, CHALLENGES AND APPLICATIONS.....	61
3.1	Introduction.....	61
3.2	Rationale for Selected Radio Stations.....	62
3.3	Data Collection and Analysis Methods	67
3.4	Quantitative Methodology: Survey	73
3.4.1	Questionnaire Design and Administration.....	73
3.4.2	Sampling considerations	74
3.4.3	Kangema FM	75
3.4.4	Koch FM	76
3.4.5	Mugambo FM.....	77
3.5	Qualitative Methodology: Focus Group Discussions	78
3.5.1	Kangema FM	79
3.5.2	Koch FM	80
3.5.3	Mugambo FM.....	80
3.6	Field Data Generated	81
3.7	Conclusion	81
4	DISCOURSES AND ACTORS IN THE KENYAN COMMUNITY RADIO SECTOR	83
4.1	Introduction.....	83
4.2	Kenyan Broadcast Legislation	84
4.3	Regulation of Community Broadcasters: Kenyan Broadcast Regulation since the 1990s. 84	
4.3.1	Community-Media-Specific Legislation	87
4.3.2	Negotiations around Community Broadcasting Legislation	92
4.4	Regulation of Community Media Personnel: The Media Council of Kenya	95
4.5	Implications of Community Broadcasting Legislation	97
4.6	Kenya Meteorological Department: Weather and Development Stations.....	99
4.7	Norwegian Church Aid (NCA): Climate Change, Community and Governance	103
4.8	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO): ICT for Development	109
4.9	Capacity-building for Community Broadcasters: Training and Representative Organisations.....	112
4.9.1	Democracy, Governance and Health: Internews Kenya and BBC Media Action	113
4.9.2	Reaching Community Radio's Canaan of the Five Pillars: KCOMNET	114
4.10	Organisational Structures at Community Radio Stations	117
	Documentary Review at Station Reception Areas as Hints of Networks and Organisational Cultures	117
4.11	Kangema FM: Central Government Funded, Community-Run	118
4.12	Koch FM: Fully Donor-Funded, Community-Run	126
4.13	Mugambo Jwetu FM: Donor and Local Government Funded, Community-Run	135
4.14	Conclusion	144
5	WHO IS LISTENING TO KENYAN COMMUNITY RADIO AND HOW?	147
5.1	Introduction.....	147
5.2	Who are the stations' communities?.....	148

5.3	Kangema FM	150
5.3.1	General Radio Listenership Statistics	150
5.3.2	Radio Listening Times.....	151
5.3.3	Reasons for Listening to Radio at Selected Times	151
5.3.4	Who Is Listening to Kangema FM.....	153
5.3.5	Age and Gender of Listeners.....	153
5.3.6	Frequency of Listening to Kangema FM.....	154
5.3.7	Favourite Kangema FM Content	155
5.3.8	Kangema FM Non-Listeners	156
5.3.9	Fan Clubs	157
5.4	Koch FM	160
5.4.1	Listening Venue.....	160
5.4.2	Listening Times.....	161
5.4.3	Koch FM Listeners	161
5.4.4	Listening Frequency	162
5.4.5	Favourite Koch FM Content	163
5.4.6	Koch FM Non-Listeners	164
5.4.7	Listener Groups	164
5.5	Mugambo Jwetu FM	167
5.5.1	Radio Listening Times.....	168
5.5.2	Reasons for Listening to Radio at Selected Times	169
5.5.3	Mugambo FM Listenership	170
5.5.4	Listening Frequency	171
5.5.5	Location of Mugambo Jwetu FM Listeners.....	171
5.5.6	Favourite Mugambo Jwetu FM Content	173
5.5.7	Mugambo Jwetu FM Non-Listeners.....	174
5.5.8	Fan Groups	175
5.6	Conclusion: Discussion of Listenership Trends and Social Formations	176
6	KENYAN COMMUNITY RADIO CONTENT: ARTICULATIONS OF AUDIENCES, COMMUNITIES, PUBLICS	180
6.1	Introduction	180
6.2	Influences on Content – Funding, Security context, Socioeconomic Context, and Technology	181
6.3	Programme Content and Audience Participation	183
6.3.1	Early Morning Show	183
6.3.2	Mid-Morning Show	191
6.3.3	Lunchtime and Afternoon Show	194
6.3.4	Early Evening Show	202
6.3.5	Late Evening Show	203
6.4	Content Formats and Functions	205
6.5	Community Radio as a Performance Site: Greetings and Calling in	207
	The mediation of access to on-air space: Recognition and Status as Resources.....	211
6.6	Conclusion: Content and Audience Articulations	213

7	PRODUCTION PRACTICES AND JOURNALISTIC CULTURES IN KENYAN COMMUNITY RADIO	215
7.1	Introduction	215
7.2	News Beats and Specialties for Hyperlocal Content:	216
7.3	Kangema FM News Production	219
7.4	Mugambo FM News Production	222
7.5	Koch FM News Production Process	225
7.6	Accessing Sources	229
7.7	Producer Profiles	231
7.8	Radio Producers' Self-conceptualization and Roles	233
7.8.1	Mediation	235
7.8.2	Mobilisation	236
7.8.3	Space-creation	238
7.8.4	Information	240
7.8.5	Entertainment	242
7.9	Volunteerism Model, Professionalism and Management Style	244
7.10	Conclusion	247
8	CONCLUSIONS – BEING KENYAN COMMUNITY RADIO	250
8.1	Introduction	250
8.2	Ideological Aims in Kenyan Community Broadcasting	252
8.2.1	Funding Model	252
8.2.2	Socio-Political Context of Community Radio Operations	254
8.3	Organisational Structures in Kenyan Community Radio	255
8.4	Kenyan Community Radio Content	256
8.4.1	Community Radio Content and the Imagined Audience	258
8.4.2	Content Production Processes in Kenyan Community Radio	259
8.5	Community Radio Listenership	261
8.6	Content-Related and Structural Participation in Kenyan Community Radio	262
8.6.1	Affective Relations and Celebrity in Participation	263
8.6.2	Structural Participation	264
8.6.3	Community Radio and Social Organisation	265
8.7	A Political Economy of Kenyan Community Radio Broadcasting	266
8.8	Reflections and Implications for Future Research	268
	APPENDIX A: EPILOGUE - UPDATES ON STATION DEVELOPMENTS	272
	Koch FM	272
	Kangema FM	272
	Mugambo FM	272
	APPENDIX B: FIELD INTERVIEW LIST	274
	APPENDIX C: SAMPLE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE	277
	APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDES	286
	Bibliography	290

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Rationale for Selected Stations.....	67
Figure 2: Actors in the Community Radio Sector.....	69
Figure 3: Kangema FM Organisational Structure.....	120
Figure 4: Koch FM Organisational Structure.....	128
Figure 5: Mugambo FM Organisational Structure.....	137
Figure 6: Frequency of listening to radio.....	151
Figure 7: Radio listening times.....	151
Figure 8: Reasons for radio listening times.....	152
Figure 9: Where I listen to radio.....	152
Figure 10: Respondents who mentioned Kangema FM among stations listened to.....	154
Figure 11: 'Do you listen to Kangema FM' listenership figures.....	154
Figure 12: Frequency of listening to Kangema FM.....	155
Figure 13: Favourite Kangema FM content.....	155
Figure 14: Reasons not to listen to Kangema FM.....	157
Figure 15: Radio listening venue.....	161
Figure 16: Koch FM listeners by age.....	162
Figure 17: How often Koch FM is listened to.....	162
Figure 18: Favourite Koch FM programmes.....	163
Figure 19: Reasons for not listening to Koch FM.....	164
Figure 20: Radio listenership by age in Mugambo area.....	167
Figure 21: Frequency of listening to radio.....	168
Figure 22: Radio listening times in Mugambo area.....	168
Figure 23: Reasons to listen to radio at specific times.....	169
Figure 24: Radio listening venue.....	169
Figure 25: Age and gender of Mugambo FM listeners.....	170
Figure 26: Frequency of listening to Mugambo FM.....	171
Figure 27: Mugambo FM listenership by location.....	172
Figure 28: Favourite Mugambo FM content.....	173
Figure 29: Reasons not to listen to Mugambo FM.....	174
Figure 30: Overview of functions of community radio content in Koch FM, Mugambo FM, and Kangema FM.....	206

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMARC	The World Association of Community Broadcasters
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
C4D	Communication for Development
CA	Communications Authority of Kenya (formerly the CCK)
CCK	Communications Commission of Kenya
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CMC	Community Multimedia Centre
CRAK	Community Radio Association of Kenya
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KCA	Kenya Communications Act
KCOMNET	Kenya Community Media Network
Kentel	Kenya Telkoms Link
KICA	Kenya Information and Communication Act
KMD	Kenya Meteorological Department
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
NCA	Norwegian Church Aid
NCKK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OSIEA	Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa
RANET	RADio and interNET
SMS	Short Messaging Service
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VOK	Voice of Kenya
WIPO	World Intellectual property organization

1 THE KENYAN MEDIA LANDSCAPE AND COMMUNITY BROADCASTING

1.1 Introduction: The Kenya Media Landscape

The media landscape in Kenya has undergone dramatic developments in the past two decades, not only with regard to the growth of commercial broadcasting, but also with the introduction of community broadcasting. How community broadcasting fits into the Kenyan media landscape is the primary objective of this study. To contextualise this section of the broadcasting sector, I begin with an overview of the general media landscape in Kenya.

The Kenyan media scene has experienced tremendous growth especially after the liberalization of the media sector in the 1990s (Odhiambo 2002; Gathigi 2009; King'ara 2011; Mudhai 2011; Ugungu 2012, 2016). The 1990s were marked by a growing freedom of the press, owing to a changing political landscape, and this freedom was cemented following the multi-party elections of 2002 which ushered in a new democratic government after 24 years of one-party rule. It is against this backdrop that the idea of community radio¹ was revived² in the early 2000s, and the first community broadcasting licenses applied for and granted between 2003 and 2004.

In addition to a boom in the number of commercial players in the media sector, policy-wise, one significant change was the amendment of the Kenya Information and Communications Act in 2009 to delineate three tiers of broadcasting: public service media, private or commercial media, and community media. Over a decade before this legislation, scholars such as Heath (1997) described the 'triple heritage' of the Kenyan press; that is, three schools of thought under which Kenya media functioned at the time: the liberal or commercial tradition, the authoritarian or development tradition, and the advocacy or protest tradition.

In the Liberal or Commercial tradition, the media are owned or financed in part by foreign individuals or companies, they may or may not be critical of the government, and they exist primarily to make profits from advertisements. The second heritage is the Authoritarian or

¹ I use the terms 'community broadcasting' and 'community radio' interchangeably in this study. In Kenya, community radio – rather than television or other forms of broadcasting – exemplifies the community broadcasting sector.

² The first radio station going by the label 'community radio' was established in 1982, as will be outlined in more detail in the following section.

Development tradition. Under this tradition, the ruling party and the government have ownership of the media station. The media have the duty to educate the population. The state broadcaster, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), which was started in colonial times, exemplifies this and to date airs, for example, school broadcasts for several hours every weekday.³ The third ideology is the Advocacy or Protest tradition. This was mostly in the form of publication such as magazines. Before independence there were newspapers in African languages, and in the 1980s there were magazines backed by political and other organisations such as the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) and the Law Society of Kenya. Many of these publications were banned in the 1980s, and their editors harassed by the government of the time. The commercial press commented on and made paraphrases of articles from the advocacy press, thus extending and legitimizing the voices of protest (Heath 1997, 41). However, these magazines were all in English, and therefore excluded the uneducated.⁴

While the above three traditions do not exactly tally with the public service, commercial and community media structure now existent, one sees a continuation of these schools of thought in the Kenyan media sector. Commercial media, while more often characterised by fully local ownership and financing, still primarily pursue a profit motive, much as they also carry some development-related stories. The state broadcaster took on the role of public service broadcaster, but continues to pursue a primarily pro-government agenda. Advocacy or protest media are now visible mostly in new media, with social media activism playing an increasingly more significant role in the media landscape.⁵ It is not clear where community broadcasting fits in these three traditions, but it is differentiated from commercial media by its non-profit operation, and is mandated to carry out community communication purposes, as per the existent legislation. It is often a part of community development projects.

The rest of this chapter offers a history of community broadcasting in Kenya, which sets the stage for introducing the research focus, questions and objectives. The theoretical approaches

³ However, the effectiveness of this station (and of, for instance, Kenya Times, which belonged to the ruling party of the 80s and 90s) is challenged by the perception that it is not a development tool but rather, a propaganda tool of the government. It was even referred to as ‘Kanu Broadcasting Corporation’ (KANU was the ruling party at the time).

⁴ Munene (African Intellectuals in a Hostile Media Environment 2009) provides examples of the Kenyan alternative press in the 1980s and highlights how three of them – Finance, Nairobi Law Monthly, and Society – acted as a voice for dissenting intellectuals and set the stage for multi-party politics in Kenya. He also acknowledges that these alternative publications were founded by ‘the elites’.

⁵ See for example Ushahidi.com, Kaigwa, 2013; Pointer, Bosch, Chuma, & Wasserman, 2016 for reports on social media activism

to be employed will be introduced, as will be the methodological tools. The rationale behind choice of research settings and overall data collection strategy will be laid out, before giving an outline of the structure of the rest of the thesis.

1.2 Defining Community Broadcasting

A one-sentence definition of community broadcasting has been elusive, but over the years, as the community broadcasting movement has developed over the world, The World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC) members have described community broadcasting as local, non-profit, participatory broadcasting with a development agenda (EcoNews Africa, BBC World Service Trust and UNESCO 2008). Various researchers have defined community media and specifically community radio in ways that reflect these concepts, such as small scale media “owned by the community for coverage of the community, using participatory, democratic governance structures, which are gender-sensitive, and use local languages in their work” (Muzyamba 2009, 2), and “forms of communication created specifically to serve a geographical area inhabited by a people with generally common interests who own and control the media structure” (Lobulu 2011). Lobulu further adds that this media structure, though owned and controlled by the community, could have the financial support of donors. In this definition, Lobulu conceptualises community from a geographical perspective, excluding communities that may be geographically dispersed but share a common interest. As well, this definition explicitly creates room for donor funding, which reflects the organisational arrangements in many community radio stations in Africa. However, how much ownership and control a community can in fact retain when operating under the auspices of donors from outside the community is not interrogated. Considering that a majority of Kenyan community broadcasters are donor funded, this is an important aspect to probe, which this study aims to do as one of its goals.

The local as a characteristic of community broadcasting is implicit in other definitions of community media. In contrast to commercial and national radio which broadcast to majority groups of listeners, community radio serves small or minority populations (Gordon 2009; Christians et al 2009; Howley 2010). This focus on the local has resulted in community radio sometimes being referred to as local radio, but with the advent of internet-based broadcasting, the need to rethink community beyond geographical bounds is raised, for instance by Chiumbu (2014). According to Kenyan broadcast legislation, community is either “geographically founded...or any group of persons or sector of the public having a specific, ascertainable

common interest” (KICA 2009, Section 6 of Part I). However, the existent community radio stations hold FM licenses and broadcast over a geographically limited area, thus adhering to the idea of geographically-based community rather than an interest-based one. Hence, I focus on non-profit, small scale radio transmitting to geographically-delineated communities as my provisional definition of community broadcasting for the following section, pending a more detailed definition in the literature chapter.

1.3 A History of Kenyan Community Radio

A historical overview of the development of community radio in Kenya offers insight into the importance of the current study. Kenya was the first country on the African continent to launch a radio that was tagged as a community radio, in the form of Homa Bay Community Radio in 1982 (J. P. Ilboudo 2003) . This station was launched in a joint initiative between UNESCO and the Kenyan Government. Homa Bay Community Radio, situated in the Nyanza Province of Kenya, on the shores of Lake Victoria, ran on a partnership arrangement with the then-state broadcaster, Voice of Kenya (VOK). The station operated on an idle VOK FM frequency and the station’s technical personnel were seconded from the Voice of Kenya (Quarmyne 2006).

Measured against the concept of community radio as a ‘community owned and community run’ station, Homa Bay Radio would not be categorized as a community radio today. However, like other community radios, it was designed to serve a particular community and to deal with community-specific issues. It was an experiment in establishing a radio station using low cost equipment and local labour, with the station’s transmitter designed such that it could use solar energy. Broadcasts were held in the local language, Luo, and consisted of local news, as well as information on topical issues such as family planning (J. P. Ilboudo 2003).

From the preceding description, this station was apparently based on the logic of the modernisation paradigm from the 1960s, which theorised that information was the key to developing a society and employed a top-down communication model. Although this paradigm had already been revitalised in the 1970s following critiques of the top-down diffusion model, it was still prevalent in development projects. Homa Bay Community Radio was shut down less than three years after its inception, due to disagreements between local people and the authorities (J. P. Ilboudo 2003). This was not surprising in view of the political climate then. As was the case with many African governments at the time, the state broadcaster was the only entity authorized to broadcast in the country. Not only was the concept of a community-run

broadcaster foreign on the country's media landscape, but also, following an attempted coup by the Kenyan military in August 1982, the Kenyan Government tightened its grip on the media (Ugangu 2016). At the time, there was no legislation in place recognizing community broadcasting, and vernacular broadcasts at certain hours of the day by the national broadcaster were the closest one got to hearing localized content. These strict regulations were relaxed following the advent of multi-party politics in 1992, and, subsequently, a more open broadcasting landscape from the 1990s.

Following the closure of Homa Bay Community Radio, community radio was next launched in Kenya over 20 years later, when Radio Mang'elele began operations in 2004. Although it was still started with foreign government funding,⁶ it was run by a collective of community women's groups, thus not a top-down initiative. At the time, however, there was still no legal framework recognizing the concept of community radio, and this remained the case until 2009. This lack of early recognition might explain why despite there currently being over 100 operational radio broadcasters (Communications Commission of Kenya 2011) and a vibrant radio industry in Kenya, there are only a handful of community radio stations. As of 2008, there were only 9 licensed and operational community radios (EcoNews Africa, BBC World Service Trust and UNESCO 2008); (Myers 2011). This number has gradually risen, with about 25 licensed community broadcasters as of 2016.⁷ The majority of community radio stations are located outside major towns and cities, being found in locations such as Tigania and Makueni (former Eastern Province), Narok (former Rift Valley Province), Budalangi (former Western Province), and Rarieda (former Nyanza Province). There are however at least three in Nairobi, Kenya's capital, located in low income suburbs of the city (Fairbairn and Rukaria 2010). Most of these stations were typically initiated as part of donor-funded development projects. The licenced broadcast radius for community radio ranges from 3 kilometres to about 50 kilometres.

Vernacular radio stations in Kenya have sometimes been miscategorised as community radio stations, when in actual fact they are commercial radio stations broadcasting in Kenya's local

⁶ Radio Mang'elele received its first funding from the Swedish development agency, SIDA

⁷ Based on Communications Authority of Kenya (CA) statistics 2016 and Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET) 2016 statistics. Because the list of radio broadcasters available at the Communications Authority of Kenya is not demarcated by community/public service/commercial categories, the stations referred to here are those that explicitly have 'community radio' in their name and those which have registered with KCOMNET as community radios.

languages. At least 11 of these vernacular radios are under one media owner's umbrella, Royal Media Services (Mbeke, Okello-Orlale and Ugungu 2010); (Mulupi 2010). Broadcasts are beamed from Kenya's capital city, Nairobi, and they often have country-wide reach. Despite the use of local languages, these stations do not fit the community radio bill as they are not non-profit, owned and operated locally by members of the community; rather, they are profit-driven enterprises owned by individuals or large corporations. Nevertheless, they are popular with the diverse ethnic groups in Kenya, with many listeners especially in rural areas opting to tune in to these stations⁸ rather than to the English or Kiswahili (Kenya's official and national languages) stations.

1.4 Situating the Study: Constraints facing Kenyan Community Broadcasters

Despite its seeming value as the newest entrant in the broadcasting landscape, community broadcasting in Kenya is faced with challenges in the legislative environment, funding, identity, ownership, and community participation. To start with, regarding the legislative environment, as outlined above, it is only in 2009 that community broadcasting was recognized as a separate broadcasting tier. This is despite the first community radio station going on air five years earlier, in 2004.⁹ While the legislation on one hand recognizes community broadcasting, it on the other hand limits the funding options for these media, creating issues around financial sustainability. Community broadcasters in Kenya are prohibited from carrying major advertisements, and should instead sustain themselves through sponsorships, grants and membership fees. This often results in significant financial constraints, since such stations end up relying on donors – usually external to the community - for funding, and ultimately, for survival. Consequently, many community broadcasters struggle to survive once the cycle of donor funding runs out.

In some instances, due to the donor intervention, it has been the case that the community “expects to benefit financially from the station, rather than seeing it as an information channel that they can contribute to” (Kitoo 2012). When this benefit is not forthcoming, the station loses the community's trust and goodwill (Conrad 2011). The reliance on external financing raises questions about community ownership and control of these stations: does it exist and function in the face of funding from donors external to the community? As per the literature

⁸ See statistics such as (AudienceScapes, 2010)

⁹ This excludes the first station to go on air under a ‘community radio’ label in 1982 - Homa Bay Community Radio – as outlined in the previous section.

that defines community broadcasting, participatory, democratic governance structures should characterise community radio. However, there has been little empirical research on whether such organisational structures actually exist at these stations and how they function, especially if the stations are externally funded. Given that community radio stations have often been founded with the financial support of institutional donors and powerful individuals in society, questions arise about what exactly a community radio station in the Kenyan context is; is it a donor project? An implementing organisation for donor funding? A community project?

In the communities they serve, there seems to be unclear audience understanding of what community radio is, and limited community participation and ownership (Fairbairn and Rukaria 2010); (Conrad 2011). Several studies on the Kenyan community media sector also note that almost all the community radios in Kenya do not have an audience research mechanism, and rely on anecdotal evidence to judge their effectiveness in their target communities (Fairbairn and Rukaria 2010); (Jallov 2007). Consequently, questions of who exactly the audiences of community radio are, and if and how they participate in the stations in their midst are vital to explore.

Finally, the Kenyan radio industry is growing in leaps and bounds, with numerous commercial radio stations broadcasting in vernacular languages in all parts of the country, including areas that were previously the domain of community radio. This has resulted in stiff competition for audiences between community radio and other stations. To survive, small community stations have often resorted to inexpensive music formats to keep the audiences entertained, at the expense of development-oriented content that is usually more expensive to produce (Myers 2011). Given the similarities between community radio and commercial radio content, it is not clear what sets out community radio content as unique. Thus, it is necessary to delve into community radio content and its defining characteristics. This is more so because studies on Kenyan radio content have tended to either focus on commercial broadcasters, or to conflate vernacular and community broadcasting.

1.5 Research Focus

With community radio in Kenya facing serious sustainability challenges that come from multiple sources to do with funding, identity, and competition as outlined above, this research investigates what niche community radio fills in the Kenyan media landscape. To do so, it explores the content, listenership, operations, and relationships with communities, funders and

regulators in community radio stations. The study aims to understand community radio as the newest entrant in the Kenyan broadcasting scene, and to contribute to ongoing debates about the sustainability of community radio in Kenya. Accordingly, it raises the research questions detailed below.

1.6 Research Questions

The research sets out to investigate the role(s) and functioning of community radio within different contexts in Kenya, as exemplified by three selected stations. It is of interest as to whether the physical context, funding and station structures differentiate how community broadcasters function, and thus, the roles they play in the multi-faceted Kenyan media landscape. In addition to identifying the players in the community broadcasting sector at the national level, the research is oriented around exploring the following sub-questions for each station:

1. Who are the key players in Kenyan community radio and what ideas do they hold about what community radio should be?
2. What station management structures exist in community radio?
3. What does community radio content consist of and how is it produced?
4. Who is listening to community radio?
5. How do communities participate in the content production and station management of community radio?

Through exploring these interrelated questions, the research aims to delineate community radio's niche in the Kenyan media landscape. In doing this, it seeks to offer insights into community broadcasting growth, challenges and survival in a Global South context, in an ever more digital and interconnected age.

1.7 Research objectives

Based on the above research questions, the general objective of this research is to define community radio's niche in the broadcasting landscape by looking at the players, processes and participation at various levels of its diverse stakeholders.

The Specific Objectives are as follows:

1. To identify the stated ideological aims under which community radio functions
2. To explore the organisational structures that characterise community radio
3. To describe and analyse community radio content

4. To describe and analyse content production practices at community radio stations
5. To assess the listenership patterns and participation practices taking place in community radio

In order to answer the above questions and attain the objectives, this research explores three community radio stations located in varying contexts and possessing different organisational structures. Two are located in rural areas and the third is in an urban area,¹⁰ the latter of which is hypothesised to be a media-rich context.

1.8 Research Contexts

In addition to selecting stations based on my provisional definition of community radio, I made several other considerations in order to settle on the three stations. These include broadcast language that I could access without needing substantial translation, social context of the stations to account for diversity, and how long each station has been in existence, such that it has a stable operational structure. In the following section, I describe the three stations selected for my research.

1.8.1 Kangema RANET FM, 105.2

Kangema FM went on air in 2008. It is recognized as a project of Kenya's Meteorological department, and consists of two stations in one: a weather station and a radio station. The project is staffed by members of the Kangema community. In addition to broadcasting on weather issues, Kangema FM acts as an information centre for the community about government services and initiatives. For instance, the station contacts other government ministries to get information and resource people to inform the community about e.g. best seeds to plant per season, how to stop livestock disease, and where to go in case of lost livestock. The station manager is a meteorologist by training, seconded from the Kenya Meteorological Department (KMD). The station staff are paid as government casual workers. This station specifically focuses on disseminating farming and climate information as a way of improving the region's food security. This is because the region is prone to mudslides which have in the past taken lives and destroyed property. The station receives text messages from KMD daily with the weather forecast, as well as seasonal forecasts via email, and broadcasts these to the community. Station staff are trained in reading of weather instruments, which are located at

¹⁰ Selected according to language considerations, as detailed in Chapter 3 (Methodology)

the station. In this way, the station stays up to date with weather patterns, warns the community of impending mudslides and advises them on actions to take.

1.8.2 Koch FM

Koch FM is located in Nairobi's Korogocho slum. This station was begun by a community youth group with funding from Norwegian Church Aid, which is still the station's main donor. The station also gets funding from what they refer to as 'social advertising' – announcing community events and projects. Koch FM is located in the chief's camp in the slum, and shares its compound with the community social hall and local hospital. It has a core team of 10 staff supplemented by interns from media training institutions, who work at the station for an average of three months. Koch FM targets the youth, and prides itself as the first ghetto radio in Kenya, having gone on air in 2006. As outlined by Javuru (2011), "The radio's mission is to make the youths feel they 'belong' and are part of the socio-economic and political processes by facilitating their effective participation. It is a channel through which young people can be heard. Its programs focus on human rights, governance, gender, health, environment, entrepreneurship, religion, sports, and child welfare amongst others" (Javuru 2011, 10).

1.8.3 Mugambo Jwetu FM

Mugambo Jwetu FM was established through funding by the UNESCO and the government of Finland, and received support from the local government via the Constituency Development Fund (CDF)¹¹ kitty in the form of premises in which to set up the station. The station has been on air since 2008. It is part of a Community Multimedia Centre (CMC) located in the CDF offices of Tigania West County. The CMC is a project of a community group known as 'Mugambo Jwetu' (meaning 'Our Voice'), from which the station derives its name. It is this group that manages the centre, in the form of a management board consisting of community representatives drawn from different sectors such as gender, religion, and culture. The committee meets at least three times per year, and more often if necessary. The station manager runs the station's daily affairs. The CMC offers computer, internet, phone, fax and

¹¹ Now called 'NG-CDF' - The National Government Constituencies Development Fund (NG-CDF). As per <http://www.ngcdf.go.ke/index.php/about-ng-cdf>: it is "a fund established in 2003 through an Act of Parliament, the CDF Act 2003. The Act was later reviewed by the CDF (Amendment) Act 2007, and repealed by CDF Act, 2013 which was succeeded by the current NG-CDF Act, 2015. The Fund is domiciled within the ministry in charge of national economic policy and planning, currently the Ministry of Devolution and Planning. The main purpose of the Fund is to enhance infrastructural and socio-economic development at the grass root level in order to reduce poverty by dedicating a minimum of two and half per cent (2.5%) of all National Government's share of annual revenue towards community projects identified at constituency level by the communities."

photocopying services to the community with the aim of “community empowerment through ICT” (Mugambo Jwetu CMC 2013). It also offers training in computer literacy both to the community members and to members of the civil service working in the surrounding government offices.

1.9 Research Design

This research makes use of mixed methods for data collection. The qualitative section adopts a case study approach, examining specific radio stations to serve as a microcosm of the wider community broadcasting sector in Kenya. For each station, ethnographic methods including in-depth interviews, group interviews, observation and documentary review are employed. The quantitative section, on the other hand, consists of three surveys, one per station, conducted in the communities around the stations. The surveys are a valuable way to chart the listenership patterns of the communities and their access of community radio content. The mixed method approach allows for an investigation of not only the internal workings of the stations, but also of the contexts in which Kenyan community radio operates. The detailed research design is further discussed in the methodological chapter.

Design Limitations

This study focuses on three stations out of the now approximately 20 community radio stations existent in Kenya, about half of which were established after commencement of the research project. These stations were selected for in-depth study in order to carry out adequate research considering time and funding constraints. While at the start of the research three stations represented about a quarter of the Kenyan community radio sector, as of 2017, they represent slightly over ten percent of the sector. Thus, the research findings may not account for the whole community radio sector, but they nevertheless offer an understanding into roles of community radio in the Kenyan context. An added advantage is that the three stations selected are among the longest existing in Kenya, therefore they offer insights into the ingredients that make for long term community radio sustainability.

Since community radio is a relatively new and rapidly growing portion of the Kenyan broadcast sector, there are continuously evolving funding and organisational models of stations. These may not all be reflected in the three identified models that make up the sample studied. Therefore, future research into other Kenyan community radio stations would be valuable in

developing a broader typology of community radio funding models and organisational structures in the Kenyan context.

1.10 Significance of the Study

Research on community radio in Kenya and in Africa has included its role in non-formal education (Moemeka n.d.), community empowerment (Jallov 2007), peace building (Ngui 2009), and food security (Farm Radio International 2011). Studies have documented changes within the community following the introduction of community radio projects, mostly in the form of impact assessments by donors funding the community radio. Unfortunately, much literature about the impact of development communication (including radio) often consists of case-studies which are written by stakeholders, and therefore often crafted ‘to reflect positively on the implementing NGO or their funder(s) - or both’ (Myers 2008, 30). This study hence aims to interrogate the intersections between community radio and the communities in which it is located, apart from evaluating its ‘development impact’ as intended by its funders. It seeks to trace if and how media power is devolved through the existence, content and operations of community broadcasting.

The failure of the first community radio in Kenya can be viewed as an example of top-down communication which does not succeed as a result of failing to take local context into consideration. Mansell (1982) alludes to this when she points out that the ‘new dominant paradigm’, developed in the 1970s, was “little more than superficial revisionism” (Mansell 1982, 42). As per Mansell, in this paradigm, development communication was still based on the top-down diffusion model, only with relabelled terms and with two-way communication added. Further, development communication was designed to meet the project priorities of northern hemisphere research organisations. In its focus on linking availability of technology to development, the new dominant paradigm ignored the contextual factors which play a bigger role in determining the eventual outcome of a communication intervention. Given the sustainability struggles faced by Kenyan community radio in the present day and the continued involvement of donor organisations in the sector, it is of value to interrogate the paradigms under which community radio operates. Thus, this study examines the ideas behind the inception of community radio in Kenya as laid out in legislation, funding organisation requirements, and station mission statements. Understanding the schools of thought behind the stations will shed light on their operational decisions, which impacts on their functions and their long term survival.

Although few, community radio stations in Kenya exist in diverse contexts, which impact on their operations, participation possibilities and content. The survey section of the research sheds light on the diverse settings in which community radio is located, and the unique advantages and challenges that come with each. The study also engages with the content-context nexus when it comes to media production.

In addition, in view of the ubiquity of commercial radio stations in Kenya, this study aims to shed light on how community radio co-exists with them, and whether it plays a complementary or a competitive role in diverse communities. By illuminating the practices and processes at different levels in Kenyan community broadcasting, the study seeks to interrogate existing assumptions about community radio stations, the regulatory framework and participation processes. The study aims to contribute to further understanding of the roles that community radio plays in its communities, in the Kenyan media landscape, and to contribute to global debates on community radio functioning and sustainability.

1.11 Conceptual Framework

Kenyan legislation defines community broadcasting services as those that “deal specifically with community issues which are not normally dealt with by other broadcasting services covering the same area”¹², implying that these media occupy the ‘space between’ (Hallett 2009) commercial and public service broadcasters. In view of this expectation, I assess if Kenyan community media operate in a unique way that is characterised by alternative organisational structures, content and content production processes. I examine Kenyan community radio on two levels; the micro level and the macro level. I view Kenyan community radio as a small scale media institution impacted at the micro level by the community in which it is located, yet at the same time operating in the context of a larger economic, social and political system at the macro level. Addressing these two broad levels of analysis aims to provide a more complete picture of the functioning of community radio in the Kenyan context, given that “power is located at different levels, in ownership structures, hierarchies and political alliances of media corporations, as well as in access and reception” (Biltreyst and Meers 2014, 430).

¹² Section 13(1)(b) of the Kenya Information and Communications (Broadcasting) Regulations of 2009

For the micro level, I draw on concepts from alternative media and communication for development. In alternative media, producers engage in ‘native reporting’ (Atton 2001, 112), where the journalist is not apart from or above those being reported on. Rather, the native reporter is at the centre of things as a participant. In the Kenyan context, the community plays three overlapping roles: providing the individuals who work in the radio stations, providing the audience that listens to the radio programs, and being the social context in which the radio stations operate. I therefore examine the engagement of various individuals and groups in the community radio stations as producers, managers and audience members keeping in mind the concept of native reporting. Native reporting is about the power of representation, and gaining power through self-representation (Atton, 2001, 115).

The concept of voice expands this idea further. Couldry conceptualises voice as being both process and value. Voice as process is “the process of giving an account of one’s life and its conditions” (Couldry 2010, 45), that is, the process of making narrative about one’s life and the world in which they live. For voice to play this role, it has four characteristics. One, it is socially grounded, that is, it is more than individual expression; it consists of expression made possible through shared material and social resources. The possibility to engage in media production and distribution is a key part of the “materiality of voice, the ‘matter’ without which voice is impossible” (Couldry 2010, 45). Secondly, voice is a form of reflexive agency, in that it is a way of self-expression that involves agency and reflection on the kind and adequacy of narratives about oneself. Thirdly, voice is an embodied process, meaning it is a result of lived experience, and emanates from a distinctive subject position. It is never a single story but rather, each voice is characterised by internal diversity. Fourthly, voice requires a material form which may be individual, collective or distributed. It does not only require social resources such as language, but a material form such as specific programmes or channels. When people lack control over their means of expression then their voice can be muted. Hence the importance of media which are open to the participation of ‘ordinary’ people. Voice as value refers to the practice of treating voice as important, and deliberately ensuring that no voice is devalued, regardless of one’s views on democracy and justice. Thus, voice as value involves taking “account of people’s capacities for voice (that is, to participate in voice as a process)” (Couldry 2010, 45).

Couldry specifically points out neoliberalism, colonialism and postcolonial continuations of power as some of the social and political organisations that limit voice. He couples narrative

and storytelling with ‘the social process of listening’ (Couldry 2010, 50), arguing that for voice to matter, it must be met with listening and dialogue with the different identities of others, and that “community media literally become the collective processes for the production, sustaining and enacting of collective voice, so transforming our sense of the values at stake in media production” (Couldry 2010, 51). I utilise the concept of voice to explore the discursive space created in and through community media, and to analyse the ways in which it is employed. In using this concept I seek to engage with the values apparent through media production processes and content in community radio. Since ordinary people are envisioned as the ones taking part in community media, I make use of the concept of participation as an analytical tool.

Communication for development emphasises the importance of participation in giving communities voice. Participation is also one of the requirements outlined in Kenyan legislation for community broadcasters. However, participation is not a fixed term, and has been called a ‘floating signifier’ (Carpentier 2012). Carpentier (2014) suggests two ways of viewing participation when it comes to media. One is participation *in* the media, that is, non-professionals taking part in content generation (content-related participation), or in decision-making about the running of a media institution (structural participation). It is envisioned that when people are active in this sphere that is so relevant to daily life, they exercise their right to communicate, and they learn and adopt a democratic or civic attitude. Ideally, the adoption of a participatory attitude at the micro level leads to a participatory, democratic society at the macro level. The second aspect is participation *through* the media. This refers to the opportunity to engage in public debate and represent oneself in public. It creates the opportunity for citizens to engage in dialogue, debate and deliberation, which are vital elements for participation in public spheres. Thus, media participation is tied to the enhancement of a participatory culture, which strengthens democracy.

Carpentier (2012) however argues that not all engagement with the media should be labelled as participation. He suggests that it is more accurate to categorise such engagement into either access, interaction or participation. He defines the three aspects as follows: access is *presence*, including presence to technology or media content and presence within media organisations in terms of providing feedback or having one’s content published. Interaction is *the establishment of socio-communicative relationships*, which can include audience interactions with each other, interactions between audiences and content, and interaction between audiences and media

organisations. Participation is *the degree to which there are equal power relations in decision-making processes*. Participation ranges from minimalist (major power imbalances in the relationships) to maximalist (egalitarian relationships), borrowing from Pateman's (1971) concept of full participation (Carpentier 2012). I use these delineations of participation as a lens through which to trace the involvement of community members in the stations. I explore the engagement between the communities and the stations through evaluating community members' access to the station, interaction with the station, and involvement in content and management decisions. However, while Carpentier here limits participation to being equality of power relations, I use the term in a broader way to refer to the engagement between the communities and the stations in different aspects.

To complement the foregoing, I conceptualise the communities served by community radio stations as audiences, publics and participants. To capture community media audiences' active, interactive and creative practices, I borrow from Livingstone's proposal that audiences engage with media content from different but interconnected spheres, as summarised by Biltreyst and Meers (2014) below. These authors recommend that critical audience study look at audiences through considering the intersections of these spaces:

- i. In relation to the state, as citizens, public, object of media education
- ii. In the public sphere, as active, engaged, informed and possibly resistant
- iii. In the personal/intimate sphere, as selective, interpretative, pleasure-seeking and creative in doing identity work
- iv. In the economy, as commodity or market, characterised through ratings, market shares, and consumerism (Biltreyst and Meers 2014, 423)

These four spaces form the basis of the analysis of the community audience engagements with the stations and their content and may be viewed as an extension of Carpentier's above proposed 'interaction' aspect of engagement with media. In interaction, audiences establish socio-communicative relationships with each other, with media content and with media organisations. However, these relationships are neither homogenous nor mutually exclusive. Rather, at different moments, audiences may act as citizens, as members of the public sphere, as a commodity or market, or as private individuals. I therefore trace communities' public and private engagement with community radio and community radio content in view of their placement in these four spheres. Delving into the communities' 'media-related practices' (Willems and Mano 2016), not only allows for an ethnographic approach to media use, but also includes the possibility for a connection to larger structures and processes, through

“a fuller appreciation of....how media texts, processes of production, and reception link up with local concerns and priorities” (Willems, 2014, p. 15).

To address the macro level and production practices, I examine the legal framework, the actors, and the discourses which form the bounds for the existence and operations of community radio stations, and the resulting content production practices. For this section, I make use of Shoemaker and Reese’s (1996) hierarchy of influences model. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) put forward the idea that news content is the result of various forces, which can be viewed as a hierarchy of influences. Although they focus on news content, I make use of the model to explore media content in general, not restricted to news. They argue that the content carried by a media organisation is not the result of any one single factor, but rather, is impacted by individual and institutional factors. To delve into this, they propose a hierarchy of influences model, divided into five tiers. The first tier is the individual level, which refers to a news worker’s psychological characteristics and background such as training, while the second tier is the routines level, which looks at work practices within a media organisation. Third is the organisational level, which explores the work structures in a media organisation and how control is exerted along them, and fourth is the extra-media level which focuses on the impact of other institutions outside of the media institution, such as advertisers. Last is the ideological level, which tackles how the system of meanings in a society are created and their impact on the media’s symbolic content. These interrelated levels are useful in understanding how community media producers conduct their day to day work, the constraints they work within, and the factors that come together to result in the production of specific community radio content and not others. Making use of this approach provides the possibility to evaluate both intra- and extra- organisational factors that impact on how Kenya community radio stations carry out their work.

Thus, my research design delves into **players, participation, content, and production processes** as key factors at work in the functioning of community radio in Kenya.

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced my research focus: government legislation, funder expectations, station management, programme production and audience engagement with the station as intertwined areas that contribute to the current state of community radio in Kenya. The research questions and objectives make explicit the foci of the research, and inform the choice of

methodological tools presented. I have introduced my conceptual framework, which draws from the alternative media and development communication fields to address reception and participation, and from the hierarchy of influences model to address legislation, management and production practices. In exploring the interplay between institutions such as legislators, funders and regulators, individuals such as managers and producers, and the communities which make up the audiences, the study aims to trace how they come together to shape the nature and functions of Kenyan community radio.

As outlined in this chapter, community radio is the youngest section of the broadcasting sector in Kenya. It is faced with sustainability challenges, as well as what may be termed as an ‘identity crisis’ especially regarding its content and functions. Additionally, unclear audience understandings of what community broadcasters are have been noted in previous research, as well as a paucity of research on these stations’ audiences. In outlining the constraints facing community broadcasters, this chapter has provided justification for the need to further understand how community radio operates in the Kenyan context. Therefore, this study focuses on three long-running radio stations, exploring the paradigms and organizational structures under which they operate. The content of these stations and how it is produced are studied, in a bid to understand what distinguishes community radio content as unique. At the same time, community participation is a legal requirement for community broadcasters. This study therefore seeks to understand what forms of participation are taking place in the Kenyan community broadcasting context, if any.

The rest of the thesis engages with the issues raised above. Chapter two consists of a thematic review of relevant literature, focusing on radio, media roles, the intersection between community media and alternative media, production and participation concepts, and communities, audiences and publics. In that chapter I also outline the relevant concepts for analysis of the data. In chapter three I explain my research procedures and limitations – that is, how I went about selecting my samples, gathering data, and the challenges I faced while doing so. As well, my considerations in choosing methods of data collection are laid out. From the fourth chapter onwards the data is presented and analysed based on the research objectives as follows: the fourth chapter focuses on the ideas behind community radio and resulting organisational structures, and community engagement with these structures. The fifth chapter delves into the communities of the stations studied, analysing their self-organisation and describing their listenership characteristics. The sixth chapter discusses the content carried in

the three radio stations and its functions, and proceeding from this, the seventh chapter evaluates the content production practices per station, and conceptualises the roles that the producers play in their communities. In each of these discussion chapters, participation processes by the communities are also highlighted. The final chapter encapsulates the major findings with discussion of the theoretical and other implications of the study.

2 MEDIA AND SOCIETY: PARTICIPATION, SOCIAL (RE)FORMATIONS AND POWER NEGOTIATIONS

2.1 Introduction

Since community media are conceptualised as part of the communication for social change movement (Dagron 2009; Salazar 2009; Ngugi 2015; Berrigan 1979), I borrow ideas from this school of thought as a background to explain the creation and functioning of community radio stations in Kenya. In addition, I keep in mind that community broadcasters exist within a larger legal and economic broadcast landscape which impacts on the content they produce, and therefore employ a hierarchy of influences approach to explore this aspect. Given that I am looking at both the producers and audiences of the selected radio stations, I find it useful to draw on ideas both from production research and audience research. And since community media now form yet another site for the application of notions of participation, participation as a multi-faceted concept is used to explore the relationships with and between the media and the communities they exist in. I expound further on these interrelated ideas below.

In the first section I introduce some categorisations of media roles in society, starting with a general overview of categories of links between media and society. I discuss which of these schools of thought are visible in the Kenyan context, and use them to set the ground for raising the key question of this study: what roles do community media play in their communities, and how? I then narrow down to a Kenya-specific view, discussing how context has impacted on the evolution of media roles, especially with regard to media for development as part of State policy. The next section of the literature review focuses on production practices and concepts of community. This is followed by a discussion on radio and its specificities: the roles it has played in various contexts but especially in Kenya, and the kinds of spaces that it creates. Community radio is then defined, and is anchored in alternative media. Arising from the literature reviewed, I lay out my operational definition of Kenyan community radio. In the final section, the literature delves into the concepts of participation and power, which act as the basis for the existence of community broadcasting.

In this chapter I thus lay out the analytical concepts that inform the rest of the thesis, and give my operational definition of community radio. With a focus on radio and specifically on community media, I discuss the concepts that are of relevance in evaluating the research data.

2.2 Society and the Media

The link between media and society has been studied over the years from diverse perspectives. The various research approaches adopted reflect the evolution of paradigms in conceptualizing the role of media in society. Such paradigms can be studied within the ideological level of Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) hierarchy of influences model. Christians et al (2009) argue that different societal formations bring about different kinds of media structures and functions. They lay out four main traditions.

One is the corporatist tradition, which views the world as one body. In this tradition, the media are collaborative with the authorities because they operate from a shared set of values. Such societies tend to have a high degree of development mobilisation, with the media focused on national welfare and less critical of economic enterprise, religion and education. "Media elites are likely to be closely aligned to social, political, and cultural elites and dominated by a policy of national cultural unity" (Christians et al 2009, 22). In this case, the media does not play the role of the fourth estate that keeps the government accountable; rather, it is more of a development partner. This way of approaching media functions in society has been prevalent for instance in the Asian context.

Another world view is the libertarian tradition, also called the 'liberal-individualist' tradition. This tradition "elevates the principle of freedom of expression to the highest point in the values hierarchy that the media are expected to uphold" (Christians et al 2009, 23). It draws from the late middle ages and renaissance in Europe as a response to the entrenched monarchies and religious institutions. This world view is prevalent in many western democracies, and is also reflected in media development projects in the Global South. Such projects are often funded by international NGOs or government agencies in the global north, and push for the freedom of expression as a core value in media practice. This specific value is further supported by being enshrined in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.¹³

The next tradition that Christians et al propose is the social responsibility one, which "...retains freedom as the basic principle for organizing public communication, including the media, but views the public or community as also having some rights and legitimate expectations of

¹³ Article 19: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." Available on <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

adequate service” (Christians et al 2009, 24). There are minimalist and maximalist versions of social responsibility. While a minimalist version expects the media to regulate themselves chiefly based on concern for professionalism and in response to requests from the public or the government, the maximalist version is more interventionist, with measures such as laws to ensure diversity or innovation, and creation of public service media tasked with serving the public good. It is under this tradition that public broadcasters such as the BBC are instituted.

Last is the citizen participation tradition, based on the idea that “...the media belong to the people, with an emancipatory, expressive, and critical purpose” (Christians et al 2009, 25). In this tradition, the media are instrumental in the struggle for collective rights. When these are achieved, the media in question may expire or “become institutionalized as the true voice of citizens, without being beholden to the market or government authority” (Christians et al 2009, 25). Local, small-scale and alternative media fit into this tradition. However, the authors see a challenge in applying this tradition’s thinking to more large scale and mainstream media such as national or international media. They instead advocate for mainstream media picking principles from these alternative media such as feedback and interactivity. In their summary and recommendations for this tradition, the authors conceptualise alternative media as ephemeral protest media which do not have a permanent place in the broader media scene; rather, they exist to serve a certain goal and then eventually die out or get absorbed into the mainstream. The authors also seem to assume that ‘feedback and interactivity’ amount to ‘participation’, and overlook the power dynamics inherent in all media systems which necessitate alternative media in the first place. Indeed, alternative media exist because there are certain grassroots concerns that are not addressed by mainstream media, regardless of opportunities for feedback and interactivity.

Hints of some of these four traditions are apparent on the Kenyan media scene in different time epochs. Immediately following independence in 1963, the media were conceptualised as State partners who would play a key role in promoting development through the building of national unity (Ogola 2011; Ugangu 2016). At the time, the authoritarian or development tradition (Heath 1997) was prevalent. It can be equated to the corporatist tradition, where media function to promote the good of the nation, and what constitutes that ‘good’ is agreed upon by both the political class and the media. Since the liberalization of the media sector in the 1990s, the liberal-individualist tradition is apparent, especially in commercial media houses which operate under the rubric of freedom of expression and seek to hold the state to account. However,

freedom of expression is not always welcomed by the powers that be, and legislation has been used to curtail it. For instance, the country's Official Secrets Act and the 1967 Preservation of Public Security Act limit information disclosure from the government to the media, and give the president power to censor any information deemed a danger to public security respectively. Pursuing the liberal-individualist tradition is made even more complex due to media ownership patterns in Kenya. Research shows that a majority of leading commercial media houses have ties to politicians, and editorial decisions catering to politicians' whims are made.¹⁴ Indeed, even with expanded media freedom, media houses opt to practice a degree of self-censorship rather than antagonise their political ties. Meanwhile, the state broadcaster continues with the corporatist tradition and adheres to government development priorities. Christian et al's (2009) citizen participation tradition has not characterised the Kenyan media context as such, but there is room for it in community broadcasting legislation, as will be outlined in the fourth chapter. As such, Kenyan media exist under hybrid traditions which have grown out of an evolving political context.

2.2.1 Global Trends and Media Policy

Global trends also impact on the paradigms under which media are envisioned. As MacLean (2014) points out, "Beginning in the 1960s and continuing into the 1990s, an economic paradigm that emphasized privatization, liberalization, competition, and globalization of carriage and content began to displace the public service paradigm that traditionally guided media and communication policy" (Maclean 2014, 40). Kenya was not exempt from this global wave of economic and political change, similar to most African countries (Nassanga 2009). As global viewpoints changed over time regarding the role of development communication and the role of the state as a key player in communication evolved, changes to accommodate this shift also took place in the Kenyan media policy.

However, even with the move to a more liberalized media sector, and, presumably, less of a top-down, development-oriented approach, voice is not assured for the everyday citizen. Munene (2009), drawing on examples from the Kenyan media industry, argues that African media, in promoting neoliberal values such as 'freedom of the press' are actually promoting 'freedom for those who own the press', most of whom are foreign owners. As such, African

¹⁴ See for example Freedom House 2015 report about Kenya's media freedom on <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2015/kenya>

media are involved in 'postmodern colonialism' which has had the net effect of suppressing home grown knowledge. Speaking from a global perspective, Manyozo (2011) points out that the diffusion approach to communication policy making has resulted in indigenous knowledge communication systems being ignored. The yardsticks to measure progress in communication are determined by international development organisations, which is a form of cultural imperialism.

Alhassan and Chakravartty make a related argument, pointing out that media policy in the Global South should be looked at in view of postcolonial considerations. They assert that "the postcolonial state in much of Asia, Africa and Latin America successfully has legitimated itself, not as an outcome of a negotiated product of civil society and capital...but as an institution that founds its primary purpose of existence upon the discourse of national development planning and modernization" (Alhassan & Chakravartty 2011, 367). Similar to Manyozo's views, they argue that in postcolonial nations, "communication resources of the nation are often discussed, not as resources for democracy but as those for 'development' in the technical sense of diffusion studies" (Alhassan & Chakravartty 2011, 371). They argue that "in the postcolonial milieu, development (and, by extension, development communication theory and practice) was as instrumental as political technologies in governmentalizing the Global South in international relations" (Alhassan & Chakravartty 2011, 378).

As a result of these historical factors, they argue, in the postcolonial setting, "the boundaries of state, civil society, and capital are often collapsed into a hegemonic relationship in which domestic policy outcomes often are borne under the shadow of the imperial requirements of capital" (Alhassan & Chakravartty 2011, 378). They propose that "a postcolonial information, media, and communication policy framework should consider how international capital goes through a process of localization within countries of the Global South and acquires domestic political instrumentality" (Alhassan & Chakravartty 2011, 378). They recommend using "public access, equity, and democratization" as benchmarks to evaluate policy, as opposed to invoking the idea of "development to justify information, media, and communication policy" (Alhassan & Chakravartty 2011, 379). However, much as they critique the rhetoric of 'development' as a way for the state to legitimize its paternalistic status, in proposing 'public access, equity and democratization' as more appropriate benchmarks, Alhassan and Chakravartty still draw on indicators originating in the global North as a way to evaluate information, media and communication policy in the Global South, as criticized by Manyozo.

In contrast to Alhassan and Chakravartty's (2011) proposal, Manyozo (2011) argues that "governments and civil society organizations in Africa and, indeed, the whole of the Global South should develop their own communication for development policies organically" (Manyozo 2011, 332), and that "To remove concerns about cultural imperialism, the ideologies of modernization, especially the concept of free information, should not serve as a universalized benchmark for communication for development policy-making" (Manyozo 2011, 333). Manyozo also calls for research into the political economy of media, communication and development policy, and a focus on the voices of the Global South in the ongoing debates.

In a similar argument, Willems (2014) critiques development communication approaches for implicitly overlooking the agency of the communities and individuals in which such projects are located. She argues that they tend to focus on communication interventions typically funded by a Northern non-governmental organization, usually to assess impact or to anticipate potential effects of such interventions. This approach ends up highlighting the agency of the Global North in the media landscapes of the Global South, instead of focusing on "*actually existing* roles of media and communication in processes of development and social change that are taking place outside the context of Western development interventions" (italics by author) (Willems 2014, 15). Looking at the Kenyan media industry, one traces both the ideas of media as development tools and those of media for democratization and free speech. This suggests a media industry straddling the middle ground, as aptly captured by Ugangu (2016).

2.2.2 Media for Development as a Kenyan State Policy

Following independence from colonial rule in the 1960s, the media system in Kenya was designed to support the government to achieve developmental goals (King'ara 2011; Ogenga 2010; Ogola 2011; Odhiambo 1991). In the 50 years since then, while the media system has expanded to incorporate commercial, non-government-affiliated media, the idea of the media as having a nation-building responsibility persists across the board (Ugangu 2016). This is not unique to Kenya. There is an assumed developmental role for the media held by many African governments ever since independence, with, for instance media in East Africa characterized by their 'nation-building' function (Ramaprasad 2001; Ogola 2011). The participation of the press in national development may genuinely aid the government's development efforts; however, it is also a way for authoritarian governments to ensure that only positive aspects of the leaders

and of the government's development efforts are emphasized, thus legitimating and extending such leaders' stay in power (Ramaprasad and Kelly 2003). This paternalistic approach ignores the dynamic nature of media and audiences, takes media audiences to be culturally homogenous, and defines these audiences in opposition to western culture (Tomaselli 2009). Tomaselli argues that this brings a disconnect between policy and reality:

The dilemma for Africa is that post-Fordist methods of production, marketing and consequent consumption practices tend to be in opposition to nation-building and culturally universalizing discourses. These are cemented in the modernist notion of the uniformity and integrity (economic, political, cultural, linguistic and cosmological) of the 'nation-state', national versus global citizens and cultures bounded by geographical considerations. (Tomaselli 2009, 11)

Thus, while the government conceptualizes media in a one-dimensional way and makes policies that reflect that conceptualization, the media growth and use on the ground reflects different realities. Nyamnjoh (2005) explores this discrepancy between universalising media discourses and actual realities on the ground. He argues that in Africa, individuals and communities take up the dual roles of 'citizens' who exist under the principles of democracy, and 'subjects' who opt to collaborate with the powers that be, whether at the community level or at the state level, for various reasons such as accessing resources. Consequently, conceptualising the media audience exclusively as either subjects or citizens fails to capture the complexity of the ways in which people interact with media and with the state. By the same token, Nyamnjoh argues, media practitioners carry out their work from both the citizen and subject perspectives outlined above, and one needs to keep this in mind in order to fully grasp the values under which media in Africa function.

For instance, while both commercial and state media provide information that supports the working of other societal institutions, specifically commercial media align themselves with the tenets of civic democracy, albeit in a limited way, given that most commercial media outlets are owned by the political class. Commercial media have acted as a voice of criticism to a certain extent in the Kenyan context, especially through investigative reporting. However, such exposés have led to journalists' lives being threatened and media houses being faced with high

fines¹⁵ based on libel charges.¹⁶ From these developments, one notes that in the Kenyan context, the State limits how much of a radical role the media can play, through instituting and enforcing legislation. Though the media have relative freedom in comparison to the pre-liberalization era, the State still uses legislation to delineate the bounds of media practice.

2.2.3 The Place of Culture in Media Roles

When it comes to community radio, an additional media role is the creation and maintenance of culture, expressed through the practices in and around such media. Indeed, it is not only the media content that determines the media role, but also the practices around the media institution in a community.

Carey's ritual view of communication asserts that the purpose of communication is not so much to transmit information as it is to create and maintain culture, that is, certain understandings of the world. According to him, "A ritual view of communication is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs" (Carey 2002, 5). In attending to media for example, people do not necessarily learn something new but rather, engage as observers in a ritual in which their specific view of the world is portrayed and confirmed.

Meadows et al (2009) see 'culture' as a useful term when examining the impact of community media processes. They assert that culture is "expressed, represented, reproduced and maintained through the media" (Meadows, et al. 2009, 151), although not exclusively so. They define culture as "our everyday frameworks for understanding and communicating our experience of the world and importantly our place within it" (Meadows, et al. 2009, 151). Therefore, community broadcasting is appropriately placed to perform the function of communicating culture. Especially due to the fact that community media broadcast in local languages, they play "a critical performative and mediating role" (Meadows, et al. 2009, 154).

¹⁵ In 2013, new media laws were passed which allowed for the possibility of heavily fining journalists and media houses for breach of a government-dictated code of conduct. See for example article "Kenya parliament passes draconian media laws" on the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) website: <https://cpj.org/2013/12/kenya-parliament-passes-draconian-media-laws.php>

¹⁶ Section 194 of the Kenyan Penal Code states that "Any person who, by print, writing, painting or effigy, or by any means otherwise than solely by gestures, spoken words or other sounds, unlawfully publishes any defamatory matter concerning another person, with intent to defame that other person, is guilty of the misdemeanour termed libel." This section of the law was declared unconstitutional by the Kenya High Court in February 2017. It was found to be contradictory to freedom of expression.

Since the media in general are central in the production and maintenance of cultures “through the broadcast of music, news, and information, representations of community and generally, a community’s ‘whole way of life’ – the participation by community members in media processes is recognised as a site of empowerment” (Meadows, et al. 2009, 156).

The authors argue that the power relations between audience members and media producers is “at the very least disturbed by the production and reception of community media” (Meadows, et al. 2009, 154), therefore solely studying the content of community media runs the risk of missing out the ways in which community media facilitate ‘community organisation’ (quoting Tomaselli and Prinsloo 1990, p. 156), and the cultural relationships between media workers and the communities from which they emerge (Meadows, et al. 2009, 154). It is thus important to study the ‘transformative processes’ that community media bring about in individuals and communities and to view community development not only as community empowerment enabled through media, but also the changes that take place in the community due to the ownership and management of a broadcasting station, such as training volunteers, creating networks with other organisations and so on. In this case, the communication process itself reflects and reproduces culture.

Still referring to culture and communication as intertwined, Faniran (2014) argues that myths and rituals add to the communalistic understanding of communication, with myths referring to “truths about society that are taken for granted and woven through everyday discourse”, and rituals being the “deeper emotional media of dramatic performance” (Faniran 2014, 153). In view of this proposal about the cultural specificity of communication ideals, it is of interest to evaluate how similar or dissimilar the narratives and practices in community radio in the three researched contexts is. In other words, can one trace the same myths and ritual styles across the three stations, or do they differ? What community cultures and values could one infer from community radio content and the practices around it? Therefore I examine not only media content, but the practices in and around community media, as a window into community traits. In the next section, I focus on content and content production practices.

2.3 Content and Content Production Practices

Content is the key product of a media channel. Radio content refers to the programmes offered by a radio station. It consists of the programme schedule, which indicates the time allocated

to each programme, as well as the format¹⁷ of each programme. Format gives a clue as to what content to expect in a certain programme, as certain characteristics make up specific formats. However, increasingly, there is genre hybridisation and content mixing across formats. Therefore it is fruitful to examine not just formats as listed on a programme schedule, but also the specific content carried within each.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) see media content as the basis of media impact, and argue that content is of interest not only in its own right, but also because it is an indicator of underlying forces. They propose that the study of content offers a window into the people and the organisations that produce it in the first place. Drawing on Lasswell (1948) and Wright (1986), they identify four main functions of media content. One is surveillance, which refers to information about one's environment that may be used in determining one's future actions. This is similar to the monitorial media role proposed by Christians et al (2009), and refers to news items and coverage on everyday activities such as the stock market. Second is correlation, which refers to the interpretation of events and suggesting possible action that the audience should take based on the information provided. Propaganda and editorial content fall into this category. The third suggested function of media content is transmission, which refers to the passing on of values and norms. Media content that fulfils this role could be of various genres, but includes the reinforcement of societal standards explicitly or implicitly. Fourth is entertainment, which denotes content designed for relaxation, leisure, and escape from everyday problems. The bulk of music played in a radio station, for instance, would be an example of such content.

However, despite the above delineations of content functions, content does not fit exclusively into one box and not another. For instance, hybridised genres such as infotainment – information and entertainment – fall into both the surveillance and entertainment functions. An example of these is news-based talk shows. Thus, content genres and formats are not neatly demarcated but rather, are combined to create new forms, which, arguably, result in new functions for the media.

In the Kenyan radio context, apart from studying the making of news, exploring radio content as a whole offers insights into the nature and ideology of the radio station. This is because for

¹⁷ While television and film use the word 'genres' to refer to types of content, radio studies uses the term 'formats'. In this section, I refer to both formats and genres, since I draw on texts that address genres.

the average Kenyan radio station, news bulletins make up only about one to two hours of the content aired, out of a 24 hour schedule. Therefore, the content carried the rest of the time is equally important as it is what differentiates each station from the others, and is what keeps the audience tuned in. Especially when it comes to music, which makes up the bulk of the radio content in the selected stations, examining the various genres of music aired, their target audience and how the music is sourced, offer insights into the impact of local and global music industries and distribution patterns as forces that play a part in determining the content that is eventually aired in any given station. At the same time, since media content is neither arbitrary nor self-generating, but rather, is the result of the work of individuals and organisations involved in media production, the study of the production processes around media content is also used as an entry point into understanding and accounting for what is aired by a specific media institution. Production practices in journalism are used here to illustrate how such practices impact the nature of programme content.

Hanitzsch (2006) points out that much as “professional ideologies and the actual conduct of journalism display a great deal of similarity across cultural boundaries” (Hanitzsch 2006, 169), there are differences noted across various journalism cultures, and offers a taxonomy of the same. He categorises journalism cultures in six ways. One is territorial, that is, based on spatially defined systems such as nations, and second is essentialist, that is, based on intrinsic characteristics such as race and ethnicity. Third is milieu-specific journalism culture, based on lifestyles of journalists, that is, “socially distinctive practices in everyday life that signal identity, identification and distinction” (Hanitzsch 2006, 172). Fourth is value-centred journalism culture which is based on underlying values, attitudes and beliefs, which spring from, for example, individualistic versus collectivistic cultures. Fifth is organizational journalism culture, based in specific organisations - the “collective values and practices that distinguish the members of one organization from another” (Hanitzsch 2006, 173); and sixth is professional journalism culture, which refers to the “values, orientations and predispositions of a group of professionals” (Hanitzsch 2006, 174), and is regulated by, for example, members of the said profession joining their professional organisations and agreeing to codes of conduct generated there. Hanitzsch also argues that these various strands of journalism cultures are not independent of each other, and often overlap in the same individual or organisation to shape the ideology and day to day practices of the journalist. As such, it is important to look at journalism cultures as multi-layered rather than homogenous.

Nyamnjoh (2005) on the other hand argues that there is a universalism in journalistic values, because of factors like shared training approaches in different regions of the world. He contends that as the technical aspects of journalism are taught, attendant global values from specific schools of thought are transmitted, resulting in similar approaches to news work across the globe. He proposes the development of home-grown curricula in journalism training schools as a way to create more context-appropriate journalism.

However, in a study on journalistic values carried out in Tanzania, Ramaprasad (2001) argues that context-specific journalistic values exist. Based on the idea of collectivism as key in African thought, Ramaprasad identifies several journalistic roles that are specific to developing country contexts, such as development journalism, citizen education, public advocate, culture promotion, positively portraying the country, and news as a social good for national development (Ramaprasad 2001; Ramaprasad and Kelly 2003). In subsequent studies of Nepal, Ramaprasad and Kelly (2003) noted similarities in these specific journalistic values across the two countries, and linked it to the shared postcolonial background of the two countries. From these findings, one can surmise that it is not only training that informs journalistic culture. Rather, social and political contexts create distinctive journalism cultures. It is of interest to examine the journalistic cultures existent at community radio stations, in view of their shared national setting yet different social contexts. Of interest is whether there are notable differences between the different contexts, or there is a somewhat homogenised national journalistic culture at play.

Zelizer (1993) proposes viewing journalism “not only as a profession but as an interpretive community, united through its shared discourse and collective interpretations of key public events” (Zelizer 1993, 219). She posits that among other factors, informal networking among reporters informs their day to day behaviour without its formal codification. She argues that “journalists function as a community, even if they do not organize solely along lines of the profession” (Zelizer 1993, 222), and that they are united through their shared interpretations of events through discourse with each other.

On the other hand, Berkowitz and Terkeurst (1999) view sources as interpretive communities based on residing in a given geographical area, and “characterized not just by the socioeconomic background of their members, but by the common modes of interpretation of their social world” (Berkowitz and Terkeurst 1999, 127). Therefore, media workers interpret

community occurrences not through the prism of unlimited possible meanings determined by the media organization, but rather, “through shared social experiences” (Berkowitz and Terkeurst 1999, 127). That is, the experiences that both they and their sources share. Therefore, all through a reporter-source relationship, there is always a negotiation depending on the relative power of the source and reporter, as well as their efforts to each make meaning of events as they occur.

Nyamnjoh and Zelizer focus on journalistic values that arise from training and those transmitted through relationships among journalists themselves. Hanitzsch however takes a broader approach, focusing on personal and societal characteristics, relationships, and organizational rules. Ramaprasad and Kelly bring further nuance into journalistic values, suggesting that social and political context have an impact. Of the above authors, Zelizer brings out the impact of informal relationships and practices among journalists, which are not necessarily verbally discussed, but are transmitted nevertheless. Berkowitz and Terkeurst add the important variable of relationships with sources, and how these shape the eventual media content produced.

When it comes to the production practices at community radio stations, it is of interest to examine if there are strands of various overlapping journalism cultures. As well, influences by sources and the influence of social milieu are an important consideration in the eventual content that is produced. These macro- and micro-level factors fit into the hierarchy of influences model proposed by Shoemaker and Reese (1996). Thus, it will be used as an explanatory tool for the data collected.

Molotch and Lester (1974/2009) provide a useful framework. They argue that news does not consist of naturally occurring events which stand as objective reality, but rather, it is a reflection of the interests of those who generate the news. They delineate three groups of people involved in the news process as follows. News promoters are those individuals and their associates who identify an occurrence as special (and therefore worth bringing to public attention), news assemblers are those who work with the materials provided by the promoters to transform occurrences into public events through broadcast or publication, and news consumers are those who attend to certain occurrences made available by the media (Molotch and Lester 2009, 291). Thus, researchers should not look for reality in media content, but rather, “for purposes which

underlie the strategies of creating one reality instead of another” (Molotch and Lester 2009, 300).

Molotch and Lester argue that occurrences go through three processes so as to become news. First is *promoting*, in which a certain event is created or attended to by an actor and brought to the attention of others. This includes public relations activities, political activity such as press conferences, or citizen campaigns about health dangers (Molotch and Lester 2009, 291-292). Promoters tend to be in influential positions in society, and are thus assumed to have more knowledge and credibility. Because they are taken to have things of importance to say, they often have easier access to the media. However, once in a while, the less powerful, who usually do not have easy access to the media, can stage disruptive non-routine events to attract media coverage and make their voices heard. For instance, campaigns by citizens about the health dangers posed by a certain factory’s operations. These events, due to their non-routine nature, get media coverage. However, the views and interpretations of the more powerful (such as the factory owners) are brought to bear on such events, and those who staged the disruption may eventually not have their views receive extensive coverage.

The second step in news making is *assembling*, which refers to the process via which media personnel select which happenings to air. It refers to the process of researching on a story, verifying the facts, and negotiating the pressures exerted by the various promoters to highlight some stories and not others (Molotch and Lester 2009, 292-293). In this process, the news media seek to balance various interests, including their own, and to come across as objective. Alternative media, however, do not necessarily seek to be viewed as objective in their news assembling function. Rather, they privilege creating room for ordinary community members to report on their lived experiences and struggles, that is, the practice of native reporting (Atton 2002); (Atton and Wickenden, Sourcing Routines and Representation in Alternative Journalism: A Case Study Approach nd).

The third step in the news process is *consuming*, which refers to what the audience does with the news presented to them. It refers to the audience’s selection of which news to attend to or not, and their interpretation of news items in light of their already existent repertoire of information. What they do is procedurally identical with what promoters and assemblers do. However, there are two key differences. One is that they are selecting from a significantly reduced stock of occurrences, because these have already been truncated through the newswork

of other agencies. The second is that unlike assemblers, consumers ordinarily have no institutional means through which to broadcast their newswork. It is with these definitions of promoters, assemblers and consumers in mind that I explore the news production processes at the three stations.

Thus, to investigate how producers work as individuals to produce news and other content, I adopt concepts from the promotion-assembly-consumption process proposed by Molotch and Lester (2009), journalistic cultures as described by Hanitzsch (2006) and Ramaprasad (2001), and the idea of journalists and sources as interpretive communities (Zelizer 1993 and Berkowitz and Terkeurst 1999). These concepts are considered in light of the broader social and political context in which journalists work. They offer tools to examine individual-source-organisational-societal relationships that inform day to day work at the three stations studied. They provide insights into how and why community media producers do their work, and why some content is produced and other content not. At the same time, producers work with an imagined audience in mind. The following section therefore addresses the audiences of community broadcasting.

2.4 Audiences, Communities, and Publics

Atton (2015) points out that audiences seem to have disappeared when considering alternative media practices, as the focus is on participation in media production; on the producers, as it were. He makes a case for considering audiences in their multiplicity of media use, stating that “we should not assume that audiences for alternative media will be necessarily distinct from other audiences, or that the former will never engage with other media products...we need to take account of the situatedness of these media. We should examine them from the perspectives of history, geography, culture, politics and economics”(Atton 2015, 8-9). Willems and Mano (2016) also argue for audiences. They contend that the audience is not dead, even in the face of prosumers and produsers. Rather, audiences participate in content production and did so even before the introduction of digital media, e.g. through letters to the editor. Willems and Mano therefore propose a media cultures approach: moving from a media-centred focus: a focus on media institutions, texts and audiences - to a society-centred one, which examines media-related practices in the social, economic and political contexts in which people live daily. Reception analysis should not only be confined to the domestic context, as has been done in previous studies (such as Morley, Ang, etc.), but should be approached in the broader framework of social and political context. Focusing on audience and user engagement

within the larger context of state and market sheds light on issues such as people's experience of the state and the growing role of the market, which is a relevant concern in both the African and the western contexts.

Fiske (1992) also emphasises the importance of looking at the practices of audiences – which he refers to as ‘audiencing’ - as a way of understanding culture. He defines culture as “the social circulation of meanings, pleasures, and values” (Fiske 1992, 353). Audiences can be considered as ‘social formations’ which occur around a shared activity, such as audiencing a programme together (Fiske 1992). Fiske differentiates between social categories and social formations as follows. While a social category is stable and based on who one is, a social formation is fluid and based on what members do, not what they are. Thus, one can be a member of various social formations simultaneously. As such, audiences are many things - a market segment to be reached, a commodity to be traded, a site of acculturation or socialisation, and "when located in the materiality of everyday life the audience stops being a social category and becomes a process, a constituent element in a way of living" (Fiske 1992, 354). These diverse social formations co-exist in the same people, have continuities between themselves, and are not separate except in analysis. These moments, instances of culture, are important to study not because they are representative of the whole audience, but because they are part of the 'practice of a system' - an indicator of both the system and the ways of living that people come up with in the system, that is, a glimpse of culture in practice.

2.4.1 Communities or Publics?

Milioni (2009) points out that community media are closely associated with identity politics, which usually consists of groups that define themselves as ‘communities’ exercising their right to exist in the public space. She defines communities as either being ‘space-bound’ or ‘space-independent’ (also referred to as ‘imagined communities of interest’). Space-bound communities are ‘organic’, and distinguished by common lived experience, homogeneity and stability, strong ties, firm boundaries and internal consensus. The public and the imagined communities of interest differ in terms of their publicity, discourse and identity. In terms of publicity, while a public is formed around a text and seeks to extend its circulation, communities “tend to mark their ‘territories’ and delimit their boundaries” (Milioni 2009, 274). According to Milioni, the public does not require co-presence, has uncertain boundaries and accommodates internal differences and heterogeneous perspectives. As far as discourse is concerned, the public allows for a diversity of worldviews, much as the public is created

through attention to the same text and common ways of thinking about it. In contrast, community “depends on an objectified similarity, which, even when it is not there, is being invented”; it undergoes symbolic construction which takes place “through the ideological or emotional rallying around common concepts or symbols” (Miloni 2009, 275). For communities, identity is a relatively permanent, solid bond, is often predefined, and is the reason for people joining the community. In publics, however, social identities are formed and enacted, but contain the possibility of “self-transformation towards a non-predefined direction” (Miloni 2009, 275).

Nyamnjoh (2005) offers a nuanced view of African publics, arguing that they simultaneously identify with their ethnicity/culture – ‘ethnic cultural citizenship’, and with their national belonging, that is, their ‘civic citizenship’. While the former focuses on group, cultural or collective rights and interests, the latter focuses on individual rights. Thus, all action whether at individual level or organisational level is taken in consideration of these two aspects. However, this may not be an exclusively African trait, as suggested by Nyamnjoh.

Writing from a Western perspective, Calhoun (1993) contends that neither nationalism nor ethnicity is about to disappear. Rather, he views both as modern categorical identities invoked by elites and others in political and social struggles. These identities shape everyday life, because they offer tools to grasp pre-existing homogeneity and difference, as well as constructing specific versions of such identities. Ethnic solidarities and identities are most often claimed where a group isn't seeking national autonomy but rather, recognition internal to or cross-cutting national/state boundaries. Calhoun further posits that there is no homogenous society; rather, there are “multiple and overlapping networks of social relations” (Calhoun 1993, 215).

He points out that while the cosmopolitan elite do not need ethnicity and resist being mobilised on the basis of it, the less privileged depend on social solidarity - communal, ethnic, national solidarities - to get things done. Asserting cultural difference for the latter then becomes not just a matter of taste, but of mobilizing to, for example, agitate for redistribution of power and resources (Calhoun 2003). Calhoun proposes six kinds of social solidarity, based on different unifying factors.

- i. One is mutual interdependence on one system, such as the economy
- ii. Second is common culture, for instance speaking same language, having same referents,

sharing the same 'ground rules'

iii. Third is membership in culturally defined categories such as nation, class, race, gender, clan etc.

iv. Fourth is networks, that is, structures of social relations. These could be direct relationships e.g. being an in-law, that is, parties clearly known to each other as persons, or indirect relationships, that is, without face to face interaction and mutual awareness, but still linked to each other, such as distant relatives through marriage.

v. Fifth is public communication – people may be strangers yet knit together through public communication into a sense of common undertaking, for instance the audience addressed by a leader's speech

vi. Sixth is material power i.e. groupings created of the powerless by the powerful, e.g. people who are evicted from their traditional land and relocated into a new settlement. It was not a result of their choice, they may not share a common culture or have pre-existing networks, but they develop collective self-understandings based on their situation.

These types of social solidarity and the aims which they seek to achieve offer tools into looking at the kinds of communities around the three stations.

Milioni's definitions of community as having an objectified similarity, common lived experience, and firm boundaries are similar to Calhoun's definition of social solidarity created through common culture and membership in culturally defined categories. As well, the definition of a public as being formed around a text is similar to social solidarity based on public communication. However, the key difference brought out by Milioni between publics and communities is that publics accommodate heterogeneous perspectives while communities focus on creating consensus. In community radio contexts in Kenya, there is a constant formation and reformation of communities and publics at different moment in the participatory processes. As such, the above outlined contrasts between communities and publics, and the different kinds of social solidarity, are further tools in examining the various formations around, and participation in, community radio in Kenya.

2.4.2 Publics and Counterpublics

Coleman and Ross (2010) define the public as both social actor made up of people, and as a stage – a zone of social openness and transparency. While crowds are based on congregating, publics are defined by their social presence, which is not reliant on congregating. The public

as a social space is “a set of spatial relations within which social action takes place”, and it should not be merely thought of “in a narrowly topological sense, as a physically dimensional place, but as a social configuration comprising practiced and experienced relationships of interaction” (Coleman and Ross 2010, 21-22). According to these authors, the public as a social space is characterised by three things. One is accessibility, that is, freedom for all to enter (and this refers to both physical spaces such as parks, as well as civic processes such as voting). The second is universality, which refers to dealing with collective priorities agreed-upon in the minds of people who constitute that public. This universality is however fluid, as the boundaries between public and private matters are constantly negotiated. Third is visibility, which refers to availability for observation and scrutiny, such as televised parliamentary proceedings, such that power no longer operates in seclusion.

Based on these definitions of the public, Coleman and Ross (2010) conceptualise public spheres as “spaces of publicness” (Coleman and Ross 2010, 29), which could take three forms, with each form favourable to certain media philosophies. One is a homogenous public sphere as conceptualised by Habermas, open to bourgeoisie all thinking in one way, but also closed to all who don't fit the characteristics of “well-governed citizens” (Coleman and Ross 2010, 29). In this space the media are free of private interests, and thus not run for profit. However, the exclusion of some from the public sphere and running of media for business challenges the sustainability of this type of public sphere. Another form of the public sphere is as a listening audience under tutelage, as exemplified by BBC's early programming which had the aim of improving rather than reflecting public tastes. In this kind of public sphere the media adopts a paternalistic mode of address. It is a space dedicated to “cultural management” (Coleman and Ross 2010, 38) rather than autonomous expression. The third form of public sphere is a democratic space where active citizenship is practiced. It is a space “based upon the principles of participation and reciprocity” (Coleman and Ross 2010, 43). Here the media act as a space through which “the public – or publics – can shape their own culture, without state power or economic inequality constraining their capacity to act” (Coleman and Ross 2010, 39). This kind of public sphere aims to transcend the division between the production and the consumption of public knowledge. Concepts such as active audience and alternative media fit into this conception of the public sphere. However in all three types of public sphere, the public's voice in the media is managed, that is, not just anyone can say anything in the media. Rather, access is controlled through filtering for instance through journalistic values, source selection, and creating specific spaces for the audience voice, such as letters to the editor.

These traits of the public and control of who can say what is evident in the Kenyan media scene.

According to Fraser (1990), however, the concept of a public presupposes a plurality of perspectives (and therefore internal differences rather than reified blocs). Because publics are unbounded, they allow for people to participate in more than one public, and memberships in different publics may partially overlap. She posits that public spheres are not only arenas for the formation of discursive opinion; they are also arenas for the formation and enactment of social identities and of participation, which she defines as “being able to speak “in one's own voice” (Fraser 1990, 69), constructing and expressing one’s cultural identity. Self-expression is therefore vital to the concept of the public sphere(s). However, as Fraser points out, Habermas' conception of the public sphere assumed that social inequality could be bracketed to achieve participatory parity in public spheres. Such participatory parity is not possible “when...discursive arenas are situated in a larger societal context that is pervaded by structural relations of dominance and subordination” (Fraser 1990, 65). Having a single public sphere results in subordinated groups having no arena to deliberate among themselves about what they need and how to get it, and consequently makes them less able “to articulate and defend their interests in the comprehensive public sphere” (Fraser 1990, 66).

It is within the above context of a dominant public that counterpublics spring up, as a means of giving voice to other perspectives. Fraser (1990) defines counterpublics as “parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs” (Fraser 1990, 67). She stresses the dual character of subaltern counterpublics: “On the one hand, they function as spaces of withdrawal and regroupment; on the other hand, they also function as bases and training grounds for agitational activities directed toward wider publics. It is precisely in the dialectic between these two functions that their emancipatory potential resides” (Fraser 1990, 68). As per Coleman and Ross (2010), counterpublics do not exist independently of the public sphere, but rather, within it, and therefore are simultaneously insiders and outsiders. Similar to Fraser’s argument, Coleman and Ross conceptualise counterpublics as having a dialectical relationship with the ‘general’ public: on one hand they have their own characteristics and therefore stand apart, but on the other hand, they seek to infiltrate, influence and reconfigure the wider public. Coleman and Ross argue that since it is difficult to get these alternative perspectives into mainstream media,

alternative media are a way to air the voice of counterpublics. And not only should alternative media function as a space for counterpublics to be created and reflected as audiences, producers and consumers; it should also seek to expand the norms and practices of the public sphere, in order to prevent “peripheral mainstreaming...in which counterpublics accept a sidelined status within the general public sphere” (Coleman & Ross, 92). These authors therefore view alternative media as existing chiefly to serve the interests of counterpublics. Kenyan community broadcasters are tasked with airing issues not covered by the mainstream media, which are relevant to the local areas in which the stations exist. Whether these function as counterpublic spheres for the circulation of counterdiscourses, or whether they function more to draw the people at the local level into the broader national, public discourses, is of interest when considering community broadcasters’ functioning. These discourses give an indication of the kinds of public and counterpublics that are created in the context of community broadcasting, and which forms of participation are available to whom.

In view of the above authors’ observations about audiences, communities and publics, this research aims to tease out the ways in which the people engaged with the radio stations take on various roles as audiences, publics and communities, not only in what they listen to, but also in how they listen to community radio and interact with radio content. As well, there is an acknowledgement that they are not exclusively community radio audiences, but rather, are simultaneously accessing other radio channels and other media. As such, engaging with the practices of the communities around community broadcast stations offers an entry point into understanding the ways in which they are constituted as communities, publics, and audiences in relation to radio. In the next section, I focus on radio and the multiplicity of functions that it has been found to have the potential to play.

2.5 Why Radio

Since its invention, radio has been recognised as an important communication medium globally. Initially, radio was an experimental two-way medium through which anyone with the necessary equipment could transmit and receive information. However, starting in the early 1900s and especially following the Titanic¹⁸ disaster, regulation of radio transmission was instituted on both sides of the Atlantic. It generally created more room for larger state and

¹⁸ The capsizing of the Titanic in 1912. Investigations determined that most of the passengers who drowned could have been rescued if the radio distress signals had been received by other ships (which were close by) on time. In that era, there were no set regulations for maritime radio transmissions. See Aitken 1994, Friedewald 2001 for a history of the disaster.

commercial players, and less room for amateur or hobby broadcasters (Aitken 1994; Friedewald 2001; Leroy 1938; Whittemore 1929). As such, early in the 19th century, Bertolt Brecht called for radio to be “a means of communication for public life” (Brecht 1967, 30), that is, not to merely be a transmitter of entertainment that retains the power in the hands of a few, but rather, offer possibilities for public debate and democratic communication. He envisioned radio reverting from one-way to two-way communication, not only for leaders to address their people, explain and justify their actions, but also to be a means through which people address their leaders and question them. Thus, the idea of radio as a democratic space for participation, empowerment and engagement in the public sphere is not a recent concept.

In the African context, various authors have outlined the potential of radio to create new publics and counterpublics, and corresponding public and counterpublic spheres (Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo 2011), (Odhiambo 2011), (Mudhai 2011). In the Kenyan context, radio has historically been regarded as an important communication channel that transcends literacy and language barriers. It is hailed as creating new public spheres as well as offering previously unavailable participation possibilities, being a key source of information, a resource for sociability, enabling citizen journalism, identity creation and enhancing the democratic process (Gathigi 2009; Gustafsson 2013; Kijana 2012; Ogenga 2010; Ogola 2011; Ojwang 2015; Okoth 2015; Wekesa 2015). As a result of “...the loosening of the state’s grip on the broadcast sector in African countries post-1990, through the licensing of several private FM stations – though mostly in cities – has rekindled ‘radio culture’”(Mudhai 2011, 253). However, radio in Kenya has also been accused of fostering violence (Howard 2009; Mercier 2009) through inflammatory broadcasts. It remains questionable, however, if this is actually the case, given that some reports indicate that mobilization of people to commit violent acts was mostly done through mobile phone short messages (Nyabuga and Booker 2013). In addition, audience research has over the years demonstrated that audiences are not passive and merely reactive to media content, but rather, they are active and creative in their uses of media content (Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013; Livingstone, 2004, 2007, 2015; Mchakulu, 2007; Pettit, Salazar, & Dagon, 2014; Vokes, 2007; Willems, 2013).

Mano (2011) points out that radio is especially popular in Africa because it is highly adaptable to living conditions on the continent. Although the technology did not originate in Africa, its uptake has been widespread because it meets genuine, pre-existing social and cultural needs. Using the example of Radio Zimbabwe, Mano illustrates how radio conveys important

information such as death notices, which would otherwise not reach relatives of the deceased in good time. The case is similar in Kenya: radio intertwines with daily life, and is a popular media choice. Indeed, research on the Kenyan media audience shows that traditional media (radio, television and print) are more widely used for news and information than the internet and the mobile phone (AudienceScapes 2010).

2.5.1 Negotiation of the Public and the Private

Loviglio (2005) describes radio's ritual power to create a previously non-existent social space that is characterised by dualities such as public and private, national and local, as people engage in "collective acts of reception" and the "public space of the street" is turned into an "intimate space of reception" (Loviglio 2005, xiv). Although written from the viewpoint of American history, the idea of new spaces created by radio is applicable in the Kenyan context, especially in view of the participation affordances created by new media and their interaction with radio (Mudhai 2011). Loviglio argues that public and private spheres were simultaneously transgressed and reinforced by "...radio's ritual power to transform the anonymous space of towns, cities, the nation itself into a new site of reception, a momentary extension of the private space of the family car or home" (Loviglio 2005, xv). When radio was first introduced, audience reception was characterised by collective listening in public spaces, with strangers listening to radio together in public rather than each privately tuning in within the confines of their home. Thus, an intimate public was formed in "the site where public and private...temporarily merged to form a national community" (Loviglio 2005, xv). "Radio...was an apparatus that helped produce a new kind of social space – the intimate public – in which the terms "public" and "private" came to represent a complex web of social performances perpetually in play rather than distinct and immutable categories" (Loviglio 2005, xvi). Loviglio thus argues that radio's main cultural work in its first two decades of existence was negotiating the preoccupation with public and private, transgressing social boundaries and re-creating them.

Loviglio (2005) thus proposes viewing electronic media as cultural sites in the negotiation of public and private speech and space. In Kenya, radio plays this role of negotiation between public and private speech, especially in morning shows. Radio is collectively listened to in public spaces, such as public transport during the morning commute. At this hour of the day, on commercial radio channels, shows typically feature people calling in with personal problems, frequently relationship-related, seeking advice from fellow listeners and the

presenter. The issues raised revolve around moral dilemmas or ‘taboo’ topics which were previously not discussed in public (Media Council of Kenya 2014; Odhiambo 2011).

This morning show format first appeared in top Kenyan commercial radio stations following the liberalization of the media sector in the late 1990s. Prior to this liberalization, the closest sensitive topics got to being featured on radio was via the ‘moral play’ (Ligaga 2011). In contrast to the new morning shows which act as a sort of personal confessional, the moral play format focused on general themes drawn from everyday life addressed via theatre. After the media sector liberalization, radio content became bolder, not only challenging the state, but also challenging the boundaries between private and public matters. Such content first raised indignation, but was subsequently emulated by numerous radio stations when it became clear that talk shows on such matters attracted wide listenership. The trend has taken such hold that it has been tracked by media regulators, out of concerns that these shows breach ethical standards for radio talk (Media Council of Kenya 2014). Following these concerns, in early 2016, adult content was banned on radio between 5am and 10am by the Communications Authority of Kenya (CA).¹⁹ This intervention by the regulator illustrates the ongoing negotiation and renegotiation between what belongs in the public sphere and what stays in the private domain.

2.5.2 Transformations of Radio

Dale and Naylor (2005) argue that the internet has now taken the place of broadcast media in creating a public, social space for dialogue and therefore development, through the notion of cyberspace, because cyberspace offers the possibility for dialogic communication to all regardless of location, while broadcast media now face the challenge of an increasingly fragmented public space due to a focus on local rather than national broadcasting. However, a focus on the local in broadcasting is not necessarily a disadvantage. It allows for highly specific, hyperlocal content, and offers increased possibilities for community building because those engaged in local media share similar material conditions. As well, cyberspace is not the only venue for dialogic communication. Through audiences calling in and texting to broadcast programmes, dialogic communication takes place.

¹⁹ Featured in news articles such as ‘Kenya cracks down on sex talk and preacher shows’ (08 Jan 2016) on <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35261898> and ‘Kenyan government bans 'seed' preachers, sex-talk shows’ By Alphonse Shiundu (08 Jan 2016) on: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000187391/kenyan-government-bans-seed-preachers-sex-talk-shows>

Indeed, despite predictions that traditional media would die out in the face of new media, radio has not only survived the emergence of the Internet, the computer and digital mobile entertainment; it has adapted their affordances to create new platforms that extend its reach (Mollgaard 2012). As technology has developed, radio has moved from a non-participative medium to a participative one. Bonini (2014) traces out how over the years, audiences have evolved from being publics that were invisible, in the early days of radio when there was no possibility to respond to broadcasts, then audible publics, when it became possible for audiences to call in, then readable publics, as audiences sent letters to radio stations, to today where they are networked, as participation possibilities have expanded with the affordances of social network sites. However, each new public has not phased out the preceding ones, rather, these four kinds of publics all exist today.

Social networking sites have caused audiences to become more visible and audible, changed the speaker-to-listener relation, listener-to-listener relation, and the value of publics. While social network sites run primarily on social capital, mass media are structured around economic capital, thus both create very different kinds of publics. As well, in the face of co-creating audiences, radio authors have changed from producers to curators who manage the co-created content. Important in this conceptualization is the idea that radio has become a phatic medium, that is, it is mainly used as a means to socialize, rather than to pass messages across (Bonini 2014). This builds on Jenkins' (2006) conceptualization of the convergence culture, where audiences are actively engaged in creating, appropriating and recirculating content. Similar to Anderson's (1981) imagined communities that were created through newspaper readership, radio also has the power to create new social spaces based on audience listenership and participation practices. The use of radio as a phatic medium in the Kenyan context is seen in a longstanding feature of Kenyan radio programming: greetings programmes. In these shows, people salute each other either through greeting cards read out by the presenter, or through calling in to radio. As such, even before the affordances of the internet, radio was already being used as a dialogic space, and this kind of use continues to evolve. This greetings aspect of radio at the community broadcasting level is further addressed in the chapter on radio content.

2.5.3 Radio in Development

Radio has often been regarded as a ‘tool’ in development projects; as a channel through which to provide communities with information that they need in order to develop. This approach draws from the diffusion of innovations and the modernisation theories that were prevalent in the 1960s (Rogers 1962; Lerner 1958; Schramm 1964). In diffusion of innovations, communication was proposed as a key factor in the transmission of technology that would transform poor societies for the better. The modernisation theory operated on much the same premise, with the idea that information was the key in transforming a society from a ‘traditional’ one to a ‘modern’ one. In both schools of thought, the underlying assumption was that communities are not developed primarily because they lack information, and therefore providing them with information will cause them to progress. In addition, it implies that the community itself is not aware of the information it needs. It is therefore the role of a development communicator to provide and package information that will promote development, and transmit this information through a widely available medium such as radio. Development was implied to be primarily economic, and used the urbanised Western societies as the yardstick. In this approach, radio is a communication tool in the hands of the more developed and educated to reach the underdeveloped. Indeed, as Orvis puts it, “the cheap transistor radio has become the only means of penetrating to remote regions, and it has become a potentially powerful instructional and development tool for the struggling masses” (Orvis 1978, 3).

Reviewing the Canadian context, Dale and Naylor (2005) trace the history of how radio was used from the 1940s to the 1960s as a tool to encourage education and dialogue through, for instance, farm forums and citizens’ forums. In these forums, groups would listen to broadcasts together, discuss the issues raised in the broadcast and then send feedback to their regional and national broadcasting office for incorporation into subsequent broadcasts. Through such participation, even though these forums eventually died out, the value of dialogue as a key mode of civic engagement and as a way of forming collective norms and values was entrenched in the national psyche. As such, participation in dialogue through the media is viewed as a way to cultivate civic engagement.

Despite dying out in the 1960s in Canada, the idea of radio listening groups as a means of education and dialogue has been applied in Kenya under the auspices of UNESCO and non-governmental organisations, especially in the context of development, health and agriculture

and civic education projects.²⁰ However, the communication for development approach has been challenged over time. This is especially since many development and communication projects have not produced the expected changes, despite the provision of information. It has become clear that information alone cannot change a given social, economic, and political situation. Information may simply make the poor realise their marginality (Dagron 2009). It is now more of a concern to look at how initiatives aimed for a community's development are run by the community itself. That is, not only that they exist, but more importantly: is the community involved in them? Is the community a part of spearheading and managing the initiatives? This new interest in the community's participation is based on the emergent view that rather than being merely channels of useful information, media – not restricted to radio - run by people at the grassroots offers the possibility of engagement in “communication, dialogue and self-expression, by which people can create their own knowledge and alternative sources of power”, and in this way create a community that is empowered and ultimately able to determine its own course (Pettit, Salazar and Dagron 2009, 444). Such small scale media have often been termed as ‘community media’ based on the fact that they operate in specific locales.

2.6 Community Media as Alternative Media

Community media is sometimes termed as alternative media, which, in the simplest terms, could be loosely defined as media that perform functions that mainstream media do not. However, exactly what these functions are is a continuing subject of scholarly discussion, and the exact definition of alternative media is not clear-cut.

Various media scholars have termed alternative media in different ways, for instance, ‘any media which fall outside the formal corporate mainstream media’ (Fairchild 2010), media that have the ability ‘to transform social relations and encourage innovative forms of cultural expression through new ways of organizing media production’ (Howley 2010) and media that have ‘participatory, collective organization, horizontal structures and non-commercial financing’ (Myers 2011). In the last two definitions, the idea of ‘ordinary’ people participating in media production is the basis for categorizing any media as alternative media. It focuses on

²⁰ See for example George, 1993 (Using Radio for Community Mobilization: Experiences in Zimbabwe and Kenya); Brown, 2012 (*Promoting Health and Entertainment-Education through Media*, in The Handbook of Global Health Communication); Association of Media Women in Kenya. (2006, October 08). *Strategies*. Retrieved July 15, 2013, from AMWIK Web site: http://www.amwik.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=18&Itemid=67

a management structure that is different from the mainstream media structure, which Fuchs terms as ‘self-organized production processes’ (Fuchs 2011). Howley distinguishes community journalism as featuring “the voices, opinions and perspectives of ordinary people, not just those in positions of power and authority.” (Howley 2010, 5) He views community media as a form of communication from below – as a way of challenging hegemonic communication structures.

In describing alternative and community media Atton (2001) refers to “media that bypass the usual channels of commercial production and distribution, and that are most often organised and produced by ‘ordinary’ people, local communities and communities of interest”(Atton 2001, 1) he further talks about “social and cultural practices that enable people to participate directly in the organisation, production and distribution of their own media, and how these media are used to construct and represent identity and community, as well as to present forms of information and knowledge that are under-represented, marginalised or ignored by other, more dominant media”(Atton 2001, 1). He points out that “Community media provide a signal example of how amateur media practices may be embedded in everyday life practices; they are already located in broader political, economic, social and cultural contexts” (Atton 2001, 7). He summarizes the key areas with which alternative media deals as “media power, representation, participation and citizenship” (Atton 2015, 9). Similar to other alternative media scholars, his focus is on the emancipatory possibilities created by ordinary people participating in media production.

Sandoval and Fuchs however question participation as the defining feature of alternative media, stating that the ultimate result of participation by communities in small scale media production may be fragmentation of the community voice through the creation of many small and disjointed publics, as opposed to creating a coherent alternative public sphere that challenges mainstream media (Sandoval and Fuchs 2010). Burnett and Grace echo this thought in cautioning that much as community media creates democracy in communication, their potential to offer ‘voice’ to everyone is also potentially disempowering. “There is the risk that community media will tend to ever more fragmentary, transitory and potentially destabilizing forms that do little to ‘build community’ as a cohesive whole and much more to facilitate a possibility of community negation” (Burnett and Grace 2009, 82). The implied definition of community negation here seems to be a destruction of community, or a fragmentation of community due to many competing voices. While this may hold some truth, it seems to

overlook the fact that communities are not homogeneous entities, but rather are made up of heterogeneous individuals who do not always agree, but do not necessarily stop being part of the same community.

Sandoval and Fuchs also share the idea that fragmentation of voice leads to a weaker rather than a stronger public sphere, and instead propose viewing alternative media not as any media which allows for participation, but rather, that which produces critical media content, regardless of its ownership and management structure (Sandoval and Fuchs 2010); (Fuchs 2011). Similarly, Mano and Mukhongo (2016) approach alternative media as critical media. They argue that alternative media consists of many actors and strategies which are sometimes lost in the focus on social media as the only form of alternative media. They suggest an expanded role for alternative media (apart from activism) to include media democratisation and media literacy. Focusing specifically on the African context, they point out that alternative media in the African context include “a variety of dimensions such as difference, independence, opposition and representation” (Mano & Mukhongo 2016, 27). They therefore suggest viewing alternative media as ‘critical media’, similar to Fuchs (2011).

While acknowledging the place of alternative media, Elghul-Bebawi points out that “alterity is not fixed, but rather a contextual concept that depends on time and perspective.” (Elghul-Bebawi 2008, 27) That is, alternative media may be taken to be a fluid concept that gains some stability only when looked at in relation to ‘mainstream’ media. In other words, “what is considered mainstream to one audience is seen as alternative to another. This implies that both alternative and mainstream media may be viewed as social constructs.” (Elghul-Bebawi 2008, 27). Elghul-Bebawi posits that alternative media and mainstream media are not operating at opposite ends of a spectrum, but rather, there is an existing flow between them. That “Alternative and mainstream media are not ontologically different; but are both understood through the relationship between them, which is mutually defining.” (Elghul-Bebawi 2008, 27).

Some scholars argue that ‘alternative’ is too broad a term to use to define a section of the media industry. This idea is succinctly put by Downing, who argues, "Everything, at some point, is alternative to something else" (R. D. Downing 2001). He instead proposes that it is more appropriate to call such media *radical media* – that is, media ‘that express an alternative vision to hegemonic policies, priorities and perspectives’ (R. D. Downing 2001). However, ‘radical’

media is often not a neutral term - it often implies revolutionary social change, making it a narrower term than alternative media, since not all alternative media carry out a radical function. Rodriguez (2006) argues for the term citizens' media. She posits that terming media as alternative leads one to differentiate it from something else, usually mainstream media, and its effectiveness is gauged by how well it counters mainstream media (Rodriguez 2006, 772,774). She suggests focusing instead on the power flows that are disrupted, transformed or created in the context of alternative media. She states that "Alternative media function as environments that facilitate the fermentation of identities and power positions...[they] spin transformative processes that alter people's sense of self, their subjective positionings, and therefore their access to power" (Rodriguez 2006, 773). She argues that thinking of alternative media as citizens' media offers the opportunity to conceptualise the ways in which alternative media transforms the societies that it is found in, which would be otherwise obscured if one only used the lens of 'alternative media'. However, there are counterarguments that the term 'citizens' excludes those who do not have the status of citizenship in a certain place (Elghul-Bebawi 2008).

Considering the preceding arguments, I view community radio in this study as 'participatory media', as this encompasses uses of the media to enhance citizenship and to achieve radical aims when the need arises, the creation of content different from that found in mainstream media, and the differently organized production and participation processes present in community media. This approach is useful to engage with the fact that in Kenya, community media is distinguished as a third tier of broadcasting that is distinct from commercial stations and the national broadcaster. It does not explicitly carry the label of 'alternative media', but it seeks to fill a niche that the other two types of broadcasting do not. At the same time, alternative media movements tend to encompass non-profit and community-run media, which describes the community media structure in Kenya. In addition, participation and community empowerment through engaging in the public sphere are logics that inform the creation of community media in Kenya. Thus, I find it useful to examine Kenyan community radio within the debates around alternative media and their function in society, especially the participatory aspect of such media. I use the above-discussed concepts of alternative media as a lens through which to situate Kenyan community radio in the Kenyan broadcast media scene.

2.6.1 Towards a Definition of Kenyan Community Radio

Drawing on definitions set out by AMARC, Gordon (2009) emphasizes the ideally symbiotic relationship between a community radio and its listeners, arguing that community radio “tries to avoid the notion of ‘us’ the broadcasters, doing it for ‘you’, the listener” (Gordon 2009, 63), in that the listener is also the broadcaster and vice versa. This position is reflected in the African Charter for Broadcasting, which defines community broadcasting as “broadcasting which is for, by and about the community, whose ownership and management is representative of the community, which pursues a social development agenda, and which is non-profit” (Windhoek 2001, 3). Tavhiso (2009) highlights community radio’s participatory nature as its most distinguishing characteristic, and states that not only should it be marked by community participation at all levels, but also that regardless of its formal ownership model, a community radio station’s policies, management and programming must be determined by the community, for it to be considered a true community radio (Tavhiso 2009). Community media enhance democracy and the freedom to communicate through being a forum where diverse, minority opinions different from the agenda set by the mainstream media are expressed (Gordon 2009; Burnett and Grace 2009; Christians et al 2009; Mano & Mukhongo 2016; Sandoval & Fuchs 2010). In this way they create a ‘community public sphere’ (Forde, Foxwell, & Meadows 2002). To assure editorial independence, community radio is run as non-profit (Gordon 2009).

The programming provided by community radio is considered to play a ‘complimentary and additional’ role to that provided by commercial and public service broadcasters in that it aims to meet community needs and accomplish wider public policy objectives which other media may be unwilling or unable to cater to (Hallett 2009). As such, community radio occupies ‘the space between’ in terms of programming, niche in the media landscape, in social structures, and in the broadcast spectrum (Hallett 2009).

According to the Communications Authority of Kenya (CA) guidelines for applying for community broadcasting service licences of 2011, “Community broadcasters differ from other broadcasting services in that they have a local focus and role in attracting community participation in broadcasting. This community participation is a crucial element which must be satisfied in order to qualify for the grant of a community service broadcasting licence”

(Communications Commission of Kenya 2011).²¹ The licensing body further defines community broadcasting services as those that represent community interests. From the legal perspective, therefore, community radio in Kenya is distinguished from other media by a community focus and community participation in broadcasting.²²

From the definitions above, several concepts are recurrent when defining community media. These are: media owned and run by the community, serving the needs of that particular community (geographical or otherwise), offering participation opportunities, creating a forum for minority voices to be heard, and operating a non-profit model. These characteristics contribute to my operational definition of community radio. In the Kenyan context, several factors are pertinent in the inception and operations of community broadcasters. These include geographically-bound broadcasting licenses, and legislation which prescribes specific types of funding, requires community participation, and limits community broadcasting to specific issues. From a global perspective, however, irrespective of funding models and geographical reach, community radio is most distinguished by community involvement in broadcasting and the creation of space for alternative media practices and discourses. Thus, my conceptualisation of community radio draws from the global and the local.

I delineate Kenyan community broadcasters as those legally operating under a community radio license, running a non-profit model (regardless of funding source), community-run, serving the information needs of a particular geographical community, and potentially creating a forum for minority voices to be heard and offering participation opportunities. These characteristics serve as my operational definition for community radio in subsequent chapters. They guided my selection of research sites, and inform my analysis of the selected community radio stations. While the first characteristic – legally operating under a community radio license – may be interpreted as locking out pirate broadcasters who have evolved to be alternative media in other contexts globally, I opt for this as part of the definition in view of the Kenyan context, where such pirate broadcasters have not been part of the media scene as such, and due to the fact that stations operating under a community broadcasting license are

²¹ Guidelines for Applying for Community Broadcasting Service Licence, previously found on Communications Commission of Kenya website, URL:
http://www.cck.go.ke/licensing/broadcasting/downloads/Guidelines_for_applying_for_community_broadcasting_service_licence_-_23_Sept_2011.pdf

²²See Kenya broadcast market structure at:
<http://ca.go.ke/images/downloads/BROADCASTING/MarketStructure/Broadcast%20Market%20Structure%20and%20Licence%20Fees.pdf>

subject to different requirements from those operating on a commercial license. The last section of the definition deliberately makes use of the term ‘potentially’ when considering community radio as a forum for minority voices and participation opportunities, because these two characteristics may not automatically exist just because a station is based at the local level. Accordingly, the presence or absence of these two characteristics in Kenya community radio is part of what is interrogated in this study. In the following section I focus in more detail on participation in community media.

2.6.2 Participation in Community Media

Participation is a key concept when it comes to community media. It is one of the features that distinguishes community media from other media, and is more and more conceptualised as a part of development projects. It is used in the field of politics and democracy, as well as in the field of communication and development. Participatory communication is conceptualised by communication scholars as part of people’s right to communicate (Thomas 2008), a tactic to challenge powerful discourses (Carpentier, Lie, and Servaes 2001), a way in which communities cultivate and exercise their citizenship (Rodriguez 2016; Jenkins and Carpentier 2013), and express their voice (Pettit, Salazar, and Dagrón 2009). Kenyan community media operate under the requirement of participation as one of their defining features.²³ However, exactly what participation entails seems to vary for each station.

Meadows et al (2009) point out that participation in community media enhances other broader societal concepts such as democracy and citizenship, because the production and reception of community media at the very least disturbs the power relations between audience members and media producers. They view community media participants as being more empowered to participate in democratic processes. They therefore argue that apart from focusing on a content analysis of community media, it is vital to examine how community media facilitate ‘community organisation’.

Taylor argues that for participation to be genuinely radical, “it is necessary for there to be a ‘challenge from below’ and a spontaneous coming together of different individuals and groups who see their common subordination to the social and economic power relations of capitalism...[however]...participation has (instead) been sponsored by the powerful...” (H.

²³ Section 46 (F) of the KICA (2009) Act

Taylor 2001). This certainly seems to be the case for community media projects in Kenya, most of which have started based on donor recommendation, or at the suggestion of a community leader, rather than as a spontaneous community idea. In some cases, community media projects have in fact commenced due to the presence of political goodwill from local political leaders.²⁴ Yet, despite method of commencement, these stations are still in existence, and, presumably, fulfilling certain functions in the communities they serve. It is therefore of interest to examine what sorts of participatory processes are present in the three studied stations, given their unique contexts.

However, participation has also been called a ‘floating signifier’ (Carpentier, n.d.), alluding to the fact that it is a term that has no fixed definition; rather, it is a label that has been used to refer to so many things that it has no stable meaning. To help ‘fix’ the term, Carpentier refers to Arnstein’s ‘ladder of participation’ which delineates levels of participation. Arnstein (1969), speaking from a political perspective about citizen participation in government projects, provides a scale that attempts to capture participatory intensities, escalating from non-participation, to tokenism to citizen power. For her, true participation occurs when the people who are usually marginalised have a say in the decision-making process on issues that affect their lives. In other words, it is about the sharing of the power to decide.

From a political perspective, Dahlgren (2012) views participation as linked to the exercise of democracy. He distinguishes between participation in cultural and social activities, and participation in the realm of civil society and politics. He describes participation in the latter sense as the expression of civic agency. For him, such participation is a political activity. He focuses especially on the affordances of the internet which have expanded the possibilities of participation, thereby creating a civic culture (Dahlgren 2012). He does not see participation in cultural activities as political in itself. Both Carpentier and Dahlgren distinguish between cultural and political participation, seeing the former as not really addressing the issue of power, and the latter as defined by its focus on power (Dahlgren 2012) (Jenkins and Carpentier 2013) (Carpentier 2016). However, the idea that participation in cultural activities does not deal with power is contestable, because any involvement in cultural production, and in

²⁴ Both Mugambo Jwetu FM and Kangema FM, covered in this case study, got their licenses when their respective area Members of Parliament at the time followed up with the Communications Commission of Kenya. For both stations, the managers stated that they later had to contend with community members viewing the station as a project of the Member of Parliament who was in office when the project commenced.

discursive activities in the public arena, ventures into the arena of engagement in the public sphere, which is linked to power. Even in development projects which are not explicitly political, the issue of power in terms of respect for local expertise and knowledge is a salient issue. Long conceptualises power and knowledge not as items to be possessed, but rather, as emerging out of processes of social interaction (Long 1992). In this case, the interactions are not explicitly political, but power and knowledge are involved. Such social interactions include those that take place in a community media setting. Thus I categorise the participation in Kenya's community media context in cultural terms rather than in explicitly political terms, but keep in mind the aspect of power, as this is a factor that comes into play in negotiating participation in community media.

Although participation in cultural activities does not explicitly fall into the realm of 'political participation', it engages with power and transformation. It thus stands to reason that from both a cultural and political perspective, participation is linked to the issue of equitable sharing of power, through the opportunity for everyone to have their voice and opinion heard, whether in the cultural arena or in the political arena. The idea behind the push for community participation is well summarized by Pettit et al (2009): "By having access to their own forms of media and communication, people can actually define, claim, and give meaning to their citizenship, and re-create the social and political openings and alternative spaces where their voices might be heard" (Pettit, Salazar and Dagrón 2009, 445). It is these concepts of participation that inform my analysis of participatory processes in Kenyan community radio.

2.6.3 Community Media and Power

Saeed (2009) sees the biggest challenge for media and public communication as its commodification/commercialization. For as long as it is catering to advertiser and state interests it does not represent the citizen at the grassroots. It is part of the capitalist economy and over time has focused on entertainment but not information and education. Indeed, it is impossible to disregard the power wielded by media institutions. Howley (2010) underlines their influential role: "In highly mediated societies, news organizations play a decisive role in setting the political agenda, framing the terms of the public debate, and shaping public opinion" (Howley 2010, 5). Given this state of affairs, Saeed (2009) sees community media or alternative media that produce different content, have different means of production, and are free of state or multinational corporation control, as the only hope for decentralization of communication and for giving ordinary citizens a voice. However, they face financial

sustainability issues, and need to find a way to cease their dependence on grants. This could be through attaining a critical mass of community media that is able to influence government policy, to be a stakeholder and therefore negotiate more favourable terms for their survival (the creation of an enabling environment) (Saeed 2009). Atton (2015) also views alternative media as a way to challenge the hegemony of dominant media, especially in terms of offering alternative viewpoints, stating that “The economic power of national and global media companies might be vast, but arguably it is secondary to their symbolic power, the power to construct reality. To study alternative media is to consider how the world might be represented differently” (Atton 2015, 2).

Thomas (2016) points out that the state plays a crucial role in allocating resources to the community broadcasting sector such as frequencies, equipment, training and funding. Like Couldry (2010, 2016), he argues that with the growth of neoliberalism there is less support for 'voice' and the enabling of voice. This is chiefly due to a neo-liberal framework for growth and development, which aims to drastically reduce the role of the state and increase that of the market, the latter of which does not necessarily value voice for all. As such, government policy determines possibilities for voice, as it delineates what is possible and what is not for the media sector. It is therefore important to examine the role of the state in enabling or disabling the community media sector, through its provision or withdrawal of resources (Thomas 2016). While Saeed's proposal for media completely free of state or multinational corporation control is hard to achieve, the idea of community media lobbying for more favourable policy is evident in the Kenyan community media sector. As already outlined in the introductory chapter, financial sustainability is an issue at the forefront of community media concerns in Kenya, and influences their networks and operations. Thus, negotiations for policy are part of the issues that I explore in this research.

Speaking from a Ugandan perspective, Nassanga (2009) points out, “...while initially the 'pure' or ideal community media were started in the 1990s, these could not withstand the global influence of media commercialization. What we have now is a hybrid of commercialized community media.” (Nassanga 2009, 53). The author argues that the development of community media should be encouraged, because they offer the possibility to provide local content to counter globalized media content which does not address local priorities (Nassanga 2009). Mazrui (2009) argues for the use of local languages in the media as a way to achieve democratisation of information. Through such democratisation of communication, more

people are enabled to participate in political reconstruction. When ideas are expressed in their own language, people are able to engage with and appropriate them, reinterpreting them to fit their realities and ideas (Mazrui 2009). In Kenya, broadcasting in local languages has been accused of promoting ethnic divisions (Mercier 2009; Howard 2009). However, local language broadcasting is not new – it was already taking place through the state broadcaster (King'ara 2011; Ogola 2011). As such, it can be argued that the issue is not that of using local languages, but that of airing xenophobic content – which could occur in any language. Indeed, commercial stations broadcasting in local languages have experienced phenomenal success in the Kenyan media scene since the 2000s, with audiences citing accessibility of content and the possibility for deliberation on public issues in their languages as the biggest incentive for listening (Ogenga 2010; Ogola 2011). As well, Straus (2011) makes a convincing case for limited, conditional effects of radio broadcasts on the Rwandan genocide, which can be extrapolated to other contexts.

Mudhai, in his analysis of Kenyan radio in the era of convergence, approaches the mushrooming of regional radio not as negative but rather, as the creation of a public sphere in the Habermasian sense, proposing that “A more useful perspective – rather than that of provincialism – is the role of these ethnic-based radio stations in the expansion of the public sphere in a manner that is more in tune with ordinary local populations and beyond. These stations may be seen as holding an emancipatory appeal in relation to open, free and fair discourse” (Mudhai 2011, 258). His focus is on the emancipatory potential of radio stations broadcasting in ethnic languages, thus ensuring participation by ordinary people in the mediated public sphere using their local languages. Similarly, Cormack argues that one of the values of minority language broadcasting is that it creates “a public sphere within a language community which allows a political community to develop and indeed allows the community to develop its own news agenda” (Cormack 2001, 2), and that such broadcasters play a vital part in representing the community both to itself and to outsiders, making them “important producers of cultural products in their own right” (Cormack 2001, 2).

As outlined above, community media have often been situated within alternative media, due to their role in opening cultural production to ordinary people and in critiquing dominant perspectives. In the Kenyan context, however, community media are not automatically alternative media. Especially after the advent of multipartyism in the 1990s, one key way to express critique and resistance to state power was through the use of satirical cartoons in the

press. These, arguably, acted as alternative media because they presented discourses counter to hegemonic viewpoints. It would be expected that community broadcasters, who began operations after the liberalisation of the media sector, would exist under the auspices of alternative, counter-hegemonic media. This was however not the case. Instead, most community media projects in Kenya have been started with the overt aim of supporting development in the community rather than as an alternative voice to mainstream media or as a challenge to political power. This non-combative approach may be partly explained by Mbembe's proposal of conviviality as a way of relating to power.

In his analysis of how power manifests in the postcolonial context, Mbembe (1992) argues that subjects manage multiple identities which they use to negotiate diverse circumstances. He posits that both the dominant and the dominated operate under a logic of not only control, but also of 'conviviality', which is characterised by a relationship of 'domesticity and familiarity' (Mbembe 1992, 10). As such, "pretence (le simulacre) becomes the dominant modality of transactions between the state and society, or between rulers and those who are supposed to obey" (Mbembe 1992, 26). This is to say that rather than openly oppose oppressive power, the dominated relate in friendly, even colluding ways with the powers that be, but express resistance through other avenues such as laughter. As outlined later in the thesis, the managers and producers at the community media stations, as well as the communities they serve, are acutely aware of the political contexts in which they exist and adapt their actions accordingly. For instance, as will be discussed further in Chapter 4, it is much easier to secure a community radio license when one cites development purposes rather than political purposes. However, this is not to say that there is no room for challenging hegemonic viewpoints in Kenyan community media. Rather, this role is carried out in covert rather than overt ways. The idea of conviviality as a way of relating to power offer insights into understanding how community broadcasters and community members negotiate their various political and social contexts.

2.7 Media, Participation and Power

To conceptualize the idea behind alternative media, of which community media are often taken to be a part, it is necessary to ask the question: do media possess power? If so, which kind of power? And why would it be important to contest this power? In this section I review the ideas behind the view of media as a powerful entity and an actor that shapes society. The discourse in and around a society constructs and shapes a society, and by extension, whatever

shapes that discourse, then, shapes that society. Media can be argued to be a shaper - or at the very least, a conveyor – of discourses, and in this way, acts to shape society in some ways and not in others. From Althusser who viewed the media as part of the ‘Ideological State Apparatus’ (ISAs) that shape the thinking in society and therefore shape society, to Hall who viewed the media as conduits of a hegemonic view, to Downing who views alternative media as radical media which challenge the status quo by offering an alternative voice, the underlying idea seems to be that whoever controls (and transmits) the discourse holds the power. But what kind of power is media power? Carpentier offers a suitable entry point in viewing the power of the media as discursive power, which shapes key ideas in society. He states “Discursive power functions within the world of ideas and has a close connection to notions of representation, ideology and hegemony.” (Carpentier 2014, 114). In reference to Althusser’s work, he states that “ideology offers overdetermined frameworks of knowledge that allow subjects to (actively) make sense of the social while, at the same time, pre-structuring the social and excluding other frameworks” (Carpentier 2014, 115). This idea of some frameworks or points of view being excluded is the niche that alternative media attempts to fill.

According to Fenton (2016), the question of power is central to defining alternative media, because the growth of the media industry has resulted in ever-bigger monopolies by fewer and fewer media players. That is, the power of multinational media corporations has been consolidated rather than dispersed, and in fact has been enhanced by digital technology, for instance. Commercial media advance private interests rather than the public interest, and the regulation enables this. Alternative media power should therefore be characterised by running counter to this neo-liberal power. Fenton hence argues for an approach to alternative media that focuses on context first (social, political, economic), and through “the lens of power” (Fenton 2016, 11). Atton also points out the centrality of discursive power when considering media power:

The study of media power is concerned with discourse and how discourses are constructed. Discourses matter because it is through them that we understand the world; they are social processes and as such are subject to the same conditions as other social processes: they are produced by people working together in groups, communities, organisations and institutions. Discourses are simultaneously ways of living in the world and modes of representing the world. (Atton 2015, 1)

Consequently, he argues that alternative media offer the possibility for seeing and representing the world differently. Couldry (2015), partly drawing from Atton, defines alternative media as

“media whose operations challenge the concentration of resources (particularly the symbolic resource of making and circulating images and information) in large institutions” (Couldry 2015, 43). He makes an argument for the importance of voice as a key characteristic of alternative media.

At the same time, it is not only discursive power that is at work in any society, and moreso in the communities served by community radio. Apart from the **discursive power** at play through the content of radio programs, there is also **financial power**, held primarily by the donors to radio stations, as well as the station’s finance manager, and the station manager, there is **regulatory power** held by the organisations drawing up the legislature that governs community radio, that is, the Ministry of Information and the Communications Authority of Kenya. There is also what I term as **collective/community power**, which is wielded by the communities in which the community radios are located. As such, I find it useful to keep in mind concepts of power in general and media power specifically when considering community radio and its functions in the communities in which it is found.

2.8 Conclusion

By focusing on the link between societal structure and media roles especially in the Kenyan context, and on the concept of alternative media, this chapter has discussed the analytical concepts used in the rest of the thesis to examine community radio stations, their management, production practices, audiences and content.

Especially in community broadcasting, it is of interest to reflect on how cultural norms are expressed through involvement in community radio content and in community radio as an institution. Such norms can be identified by analysing the processes and contexts of newsmaking and general content produced. Thus, I discussed the concepts of journalistic culture, journalists and sources as interpretive communities and news as the result of purposive behaviour by promoters, assemblers and consumers, as analytical tools to delve into the daily work of community media workers.

Participation takes place in various social contexts, and at the same time influences what social formations come up. These social formations have various labels such as communities, publics, constituents and audiences. Therefore, the literature review has also focused on concepts associated with communities, audiences and publics. From these, the concepts of

social solidarity, publics, counterpublics and audiencing came out as useful for delving into which kinds of social formations are constituted through participatory processes in the Kenyan community broadcasting context.

Based on the literature reviewed about alternative media and community media, I have laid out my working definition of community radio. Important as a theme in the literature is the idea of community broadcasting as a means of distributing media power through giving voice to the non-elite. It offers the possibility to imagine another version of media operations, characterised by ordinary people undertaking media production and engaging in media content. The rest of the thesis explores this broad theme, questioning if and how Kenyan community radio is changing the Kenyan media landscape and community interactions with media institutions. In the following chapter, I outline my methodological considerations and tools.

3 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS, CHALLENGES AND APPLICATIONS

3.1 Introduction

As set out in the introductory chapter, I selected three stations for in-depth research not only based on my operational definition of community radio, but also based on broadcast language that I could access without needing substantial translation, social context of the stations to account for diversity, and how long each station had been in existence, such that it had a stable operational structure. Additionally, at the beginning of the research, three stations represented approximately a quarter of the Kenyan community radio sector. In this chapter I discuss my methodological process and choices as the research evolved, starting from the pilot study to the main fieldwork and confirmatory fieldwork. I outline my rationale for selecting the three stations, and then proceed to a discussion of the design and execution of the quantitative methodology. This is followed by details of the qualitative methodology. The methods used are laid out per research objective.

A combination of both quantitative and qualitative methodology was used. For the qualitative section, I took a multi-site case study approach, selecting three specific radio stations to study in-depth, rather than making a general survey of all community radio stations in Kenya but not going in-depth into the relationships and factors at work in the life of the station. A case study is “a research approach that is used to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context” (Crowe et al. 2011). In view of the fact that I was examining not only radio stations but also the communities around them, I found the case study approach appropriate because of the possibilities it offers to go in depth into specific cases. It also allows for a variety of data collection methods, as outlined by Jensen and Rosengren (2008):

Case studies of the cultural and communicative practices of specific communities represent an opportunity to examine in detail the kinds of micro and macro social contexts in which most media use takes place. Case studies also lend themselves specifically to the combination of several modes of empirical analysis. They thus offer excellent opportunities to complement the limitations naturally inherent in each and every single research tradition. (Jensen and Rosengren 2008, 346)

In addition, a key advantage of a multi-site case study is that the validity of case study data can be checked by comparing one data source to another on the same phenomena (G. R. Taylor 2000). For each station, I examined staff work patterns, content and community interactions.

To gather this data, ethnographic methods consisting of in-depth interviews, group interviews, observation, and textual review were employed.

To complement the qualitative data, I employed quantitative methodology in the form of three audience surveys, one at each station. The surveys were designed to get a picture of listenership patterns in the communities in which the three stations are located, in terms of demographics, listening times and preferred content. Statistics are useful for description, generalization, and measurement of relationships since they “describe information when we wish to portray a large body of data in terms of its essential inherent characteristics” (G. R. Taylor 2000, 6). They help to order large groups of information and are useful in generalizing knowledge about a large population based on limited observations of a portion of it. The above mixed methods approach allowed for the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data, adding to the richness of information gathered.

3.2 Rationale for Selected Radio Stations

For the pilot study four stations were investigated – two in an urban area and two in rural areas. The four stations were initially identified based on a literature review of existing community radio stations. To select the final stations to focus on, I narrowed down based on four considerations.

Social context was the first consideration. Out of the four stations, my initial aim was to select two stations: one in an urban area and one in a rural area, for comparison purposes as far as community access of community radio content is concerned. This was working with the hypothesis that urban areas are more media-rich, and the idea that “radio seems to have less direct influence the more media-rich the context, and the more sophisticated and media-literate the audience” (Myers 2008, 37). Following the pilot study, however, instead of researching on two stations purely based on their setting in rural or urban areas, I decided to study three stations, not only due to geographical setting, but also based on their unique organisational features which were noted during the pilot study. As such, the final decision to study three out of the four stations – both of the rural stations and one of the urban stations – was due to the perceived value that they would add to the study in terms of diversity of organisational structures, as per maximum variation sampling and typical case sampling considerations, described in more detail later in this chapter.

The second consideration was the various funding and management structures in existence in the community radio sector. Given the unstable nature of the community broadcasting sector in Kenya, with stations going off and on air due to funding constraints, I was interested in stations which had managed to stay in existence for at least two years, such that they had relatively fixed, functioning management structures. Therefore, longevity of the station's life was another factor that I put into consideration. The four stations met this criterion.

Licensing was the third consideration. In Kenya, few stations operate under a community radio license. However, many vernacular stations, even those individually owned, term themselves as community broadcasters based on their language of broadcast or radius of coverage. Nevertheless, these individually-owned stations do not qualify as community broadcasters according to the existent legislation and therefore are not subject to community broadcast regulations. I opted to focus on the stations holding a community broadcasting license as defined in the legislation, as these would operate within one set of rules – the boundaries set out for community broadcasters in the law. Reports suggested the existence of 10-15 operational community radio stations across Kenya²⁵ as of 2010. Out of these, three were in Nairobi's slums, while the rest were distributed across the country.

The fourth factor was broadcast language used. Since I knew that content analysis would be one of my research methods, it was important to select community broadcasters whose content I would generally understand without needing substantial translation. This limited my choice to those broadcasting in either of Kenya's official languages, Kiswahili or English, and those broadcasting in three of the Bantu languages of central and Eastern Kenya: Kikuyu, Embu and Meru. This elimination narrowed my choice to six stations. Of these, three were in Nairobi: Ghetto FM, Pamoja FM and Koch FM, and three were located outside Nairobi: MMUST FM, a university station, Kangema FM and Mugambo FM. The pilot study revealed that of the three Nairobi stations, Ghetto FM was no longer operational, and instead, a commercial station, Ghetto Radio, was now running. This left the choice between Pamoja FM and Koch FM. Of the three stations outside Nairobi, MMUST FM was located in a university, set up mainly for student training purposes, and targeting university students rather than the community residing around the university. Since one of my research questions was the demographics of those

²⁵ See for instance 'Poised for growth: Community Radio in Kenya' report by Fairbairn and Rukaria (available on <http://www.developingradiopartners.org/kenya.html>), one of the few comprehensive community radio surveys carried out in Kenya since the sector's commencement in 2004.

listening to and participating in community radio, this station was considered inadequate for answering this research question, since its major listenership would in all likelihood consist of one demographic group – the student population of 18-25 years old.

The following rationale was applied when deciding which of the two urban stations to study. The two urban stations visited in the pilot phase of the research were Pamoja FM and Koch FM, located next to the Kibera slums and in the Korogocho slums of Nairobi, respectively. I eventually decided to study Koch FM, rather than Pamoja FM. Pamoja FM is the station near the Kibera slums of Nairobi. From visits to the station, it turned out that Pamoja FM is in fact located in the suburb near the slum and not actually in the slum. This already created a feel of disconnection from the slum. During the various research visits in the course of the pilot study, the station manager was not forthcoming in interviews, and seemed to have a ‘canned’ story, which had apparently been narrated many times, perhaps to donors and other researchers. Efforts to probe about underlying issues from the manager and other station staff did not bring to light much new information that had not already been noted in background reading on the station.

Incidentally, although it holds a community broadcasting license, this station was founded by three friends who pooled funds and applied for the license.²⁶ As such, it is technically not owned and run by the community, but rather, by several individuals in the community, making it an uneasy fit into the operationalised definition of community media as being community-run. In subsequent research visits during the pilot study, I noted that the people present at the station during most of the research visits were interns who were in the station short-term, and not actually community members who were ‘permanent’ staff at the station. The three people who were said to be regular community volunteers were rarely at the station, and seemed to be chiefly engaged in other pursuits outside the station. This meant that it was primarily the interns who were available for interviews. In-depth interviews with these interns revealed that they (the interns) do not hail from the surrounding community. Rather, they are sourced from

²⁶ According to a report on the community radio sector “Pamoja FM’s Managing Director was one of three friends who founded the station. On his retirement after 17 years experience as a photo-journalist in the private print sector, Mr Adam Hussein was looking for a way of giving something back to the community. With two friends, he applied for a community radio licence. The three invested money (Mr Hussein from his retirement fund) to pay for the licence, equipment and rent. After consulting with organisations and individuals in the community, the three friends developed a programme schedule and the station went on air.” (Fairbairn and Rukaria, *Poised for Growth: Community Radio in Kenya in 2009 2010*, 45-46)

colleges offering mass media studies both within and outside Nairobi. They stay at the station typically for three to six months. This resulted in interviews that were not from the perspective of community members, and which lacked insights from people who had been at the station long term. During literature review, I found a relatively large body of literature and news articles regarding this station, which holds the distinction of being a harbinger of peace in the slum during the 2007/2008 post-election violence. This, while positive, added to the feel of an over-researched station. In contrast, I found Koch FM was located in the heart of Korogocho slum, and not in suburbs nearby. As well, there were consistently available long term volunteers who had been at the station for two years or more, and who hailed from the community around the station. These informants offered insights from a community perspective. Based on the above factors, therefore, it was more fruitful to study Koch FM rather than Pamoja FM further.

For the stations located in rural areas, the original idea was also to select one between the two stations, Kangema FM and Mugambo Jwetu FM as a representative of community broadcasters in rural areas. However, during the pilot study, it became clear that much as the two stations carry the label 'community radio' and they are located in somewhat similar rural areas which have agriculture and small business as the main methods of subsistence for the population, they have distinctly different management and funding structures. While Kangema FM one station is government-funded, the other is funded by a mix of international donor and local-government funding. In view of my research question delving into station organisational structures, studying both stations offered the opportunity to explore whether different funding and management models in almost similar rural contexts have an impact on programme content, community perceptions and audience engagement with the station. Thus, I selected the three stations for in-depth study since from their characteristics, they stood out as those "from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research" (Patton 1990, 169).

As described in the decision-making process above, I used a combination of maximum variation sampling and typical case sampling to select the stations. Maximum variation sampling is sampling across, for example, diverse geographical regions or social strata. It helps to find details of differences on the one hand, and important shared patterns that cut across the differences on the other (Patton 1990, 172). I was interested in the stations' location in rural versus in urban areas, hypothesizing that audience access to other radio stations and to

technology such as mobile phones and the internet would be different based on location, and these would impact on audience engagement with the stations. Equally important for the selection were funding and management structures. In the pilot study I identified at least three distinct forms of community radio funding and management structure. One structure I tagged '*fully government funded and community operated*', the second I tagged '*jointly donor and government funded and community operated*', and the third I tagged '*fully donor funded and community operated*'. While the first and the last station structures are on opposite ends of the maximum variation sampling continuum, the second station lies somewhere in between. It was my hypothesis that funding has an impact on operations and on content produced by the stations, and I sought to prove or disprove this by selecting these particular cases and examining them in-depth.

Kangema FM (fully government funded and community operated) is funded and run by a government agency, but employs local community members for its running and holds a community broadcasting license. The station manager is a Meteorologist seconded from the government's Meteorology department. Funding for this station comes from a combination of government funding and revenues from community announcements. With its close government ties, this station lies at one extreme of maximum variation sampling.

On the opposite end of the spectrum in terms of funding arrangements, Koch FM is fully donor funded and community operated. It's funding and management were distinctly separate from government or private ownership, which is one of the qualities that is said to distinguish a community radio from other stations. It is a radio station located in a slum area and funded by Norwegian Church Aid, an international Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO). During the field visit, it was noted that this station has purposely decided not to apply for Constituency Development Fund (CDF)²⁷ funding so as not to be influenced by the government. It was therefore my second case for maximum variation sampling.

The third station, Mugambo Jwetu FM (jointly donor and government funded and community operated), lies somewhere between the previous two stations in terms of funding. It served as my 'typical' case of community radio station in terms of funding structure. Typical case

²⁷ Dubbed NG-CDF since 2013, as per webpage 'About NG-CDF' on <http://www.ngcdf.go.ke/index.php/about-ng-cdf>

sampling is illustrative; it seeks to describe what would usually be found; that is, the standard or the average. In operating a joint funding model, the station is neither overtly pro- or anti-government. It was started with funding from the Finnish Embassy and UNESCO, but was allotted government premises for its operation through the CDF. Until mid-2014, the station shared premises and even furniture²⁸ with the local CDF office. It offers an example of joint funding and operational structure. In my pilot study, I noted that each of these three stations has a unique relationship with the local government, although they all carry the label of community radio station. I therefore thought it would be of value to examine if the stations' content, as an expression of ideology, would be impacted by these differences in funding and management. A summary of the above-discussed characteristics of the three stations is laid out in Figure 1 below:

Station	Kangema FM	Koch FM	Mugambo Jwetu FM
Licensing	Community broadcasting licence	Community broadcasting licence	Community broadcasting licence
Broadcast language	Kikuyu	Kiswahili/Sheng	Meru
Funding Structures	Fully government owned and community run	Community owned and international donor funded	Community owned, jointly donor and government funded
Sampling	Maximum variation	Maximum variation	Typical case
Social Context	Rural	Urban	Rural

Figure 1: Rationale for Selected Stations

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis Methods

Having identified the specific stations for case study, I decided on specific data collection methods based on my stated research objectives which are:

- To identify the stated ideological aims under which community radio functions, and how these are reflected in production practices and community radio content;
- To observe the organisational structures that characterise community radio; and
- To assess the participation practices taking place in community radio.

²⁸ Observed during field visits in 2014: the station and the CDF offices borrow seats from each other when there is, for example a large group of visitors at either venue.

I broke these objectives down into their constituent parts so as to capture each element of information needed, and from these decided on the most appropriate data collection methods. To start with, in order to identify the specific individuals and organisations to interview, following the pilot study, I compiled a table of the actors in the Kenyan community radio sector (See Figure 2: Actors in the Kenyan community radio sector), and specifically in the three community stations identified for in-depth study. Having identified the relevant actors, I then proceeded to make a data collection plan for each objective. I start with the first one below.

Objective 1a: To identify the stated ideological aims under which community radio functions

For this objective, a review of station founding documents and in-depth interviews with station management were conducted. While the founding documents provide a written version of the station's goals, the interviews provide access to the perspectives of those involved with the stations regarding why they exist. At the station level, for all three stations, the intention was to interview the station's management as well as members of the founding Community Based Organisation (CBO). However, the structures and personnel on the ground necessitated an amendment of selected respondents. For Koch FM, the station manager is also a member of the station's founding CBO, and all the other founding members had apparently relocated from Korogocho. Therefore, I interviewed the station manager about the founding CBO's aims and the setting up of the station, and the programme manager on the day to day running of the station. In addition, I got an opportunity to interview the station's finance manager, also a member of the founding CBO, although he is now formally employed elsewhere. At Kangema FM, there is no CBO affiliated to the station; rather, the station's management board consists of the local Member of Parliament and appointed community leaders. For this station, therefore, I interviewed the station manager, who is seconded from the meteorological department, the station administrator who is responsible for the financial management and day to day running of the station, and the programmes officer, who manages the producers. It is only at Mugambo FM that there is an existent and active CBO affiliated to the station, but the station has no programme manager. Therefore, I interviewed the station manager and the chairperson of Mugambo Jwetu Community Based Organisation (CBO) which represents community ownership in the station. In summary, to address this objective at the station level, at Koch FM and Kangema FM I interviewed the station manager and the programme manager, while at Mugambo FM I interviewed the station manager and the CBO chairperson. For each station, although the people interviewed go by different titles, they were all categorised as being part of station management.

Category	Role	Specific Actors
Donors and sponsors - both local and international; includes foreign development agencies, international NGOs, government parastatals	- Provide technical expertise and financial support for the radio station	Kangema FM – Kenya Meteorological Department (KMD) Koch FM – Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) Mugambo FM - UNESCO
Skills Training and advocacy organisations	- Training station staff in technical skills - Lobbying government on behalf of community broadcasters	- BBC Media Action - Internews Kenya - Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET) - Community Radio Association of Kenya (CRAK)
Government – National and Local Government	- Local government - provide political support for the radio station through providing an enabling environment for the radio station to work - National government: provides the regulatory framework in which the stations operate, enforces legislation	-Communications Authority of Kenya (CA) -National Communication Secretariat (NCS) - Media Council of Kenya (MCK)
Community radio station management	- Day to day running of the radio station, working on partnerships especially to mobilize funds	- Station Managers - Community Based Organisation (CBO) management boards - Station management boards - Station administrators - Programme managers
Community radio station staff/volunteers – usually youth, from the community served by the radio station.	- Production of radio programs, collection of stories in the community	- Producers - Interns
Community members – those living within the reach of the community radio station	- Participants in the community radio project - Intended beneficiaries of the community radio project	- Fan club members - Group interviewees - Survey respondents

Figure 2: Actors in the Community Radio Sector

To gain a broader perspective on the ideas which impact community radio establishment and funding, I interviewed government officials from regulatory organisations, representatives of community radio advocacy organisations, and donors who fund the stations, as outlined in Figure 2 (Actors in the Kenya Community Radio Sector). For legislators and regulators of the community broadcasting sector, I interviewed government officials from the National Communication Secretariat (NCS), which is responsible for drafting broadcast legislation and advising the government on it²⁹, the Communications Authority of Kenya (CA), which is responsible for regulating the communication sector, including licensing³⁰, and the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), which is responsible for ‘setting of media standards and ensuring compliance with those standards as set out in Article 34(5) of the Constitution’.³¹ These three institutions play a key role in the licensing and regulation of the broadcast sector, which includes community radio. At each of the institutions I interviewed at least one person.

For donors and training organisations which engage with the community radio sector, I identified and interviewed those specifically involved with the stations studied, for time and resource management reasons. The specific organisations, as outlined in Figure 2, were Norwegian Church Aid, Kenya Meteorological Department, UNESCO, BBC Media Action, and Internews Kenya. For advocacy organisations, I interviewed officials from Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET) and Community Radio Association of Kenya (CRAK). Similar to the government institutions, at these organisations I interviewed at least one person per organisation. These actors were useful to contact not only because they all play a part in the operations of community media, but also because their ideas play a part in influencing funding and policy decisions around community radio in Kenya. In addition, they provided insights into the ideas circulating on the envisioned role of community radio, which complemented the pragmatic perspectives of the managers on the ground.

To access these institutions, I relied on snowball sampling. Snowball or chain sampling “yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest” (Biernacki & Waldorf 1981, 141). For some of the organisations, I made initial connections during a media industry event which happened to take place at the early phases of my research. The contacts made with those present at the

²⁹ See <http://ncs.go.ke/>

³⁰ See <http://www.ca.go.ke/index.php/what-we-do>

³¹ See <http://www.mediacouncil.or.ke/en/mck/index.php/about-us/who-we-are>

event directed me to other relevant informants. I also made use of personal associates from prior work experience. For all the institutions and individuals, government and non-governmental, access was relatively straightforward once I displayed my research permit and explained the purpose of my research.

Objective 1b: To identify content production practices at community radio stations

For this objective, in-depth interviews and observation were conducted at the stations. These interviews were conducted with programme producers focusing on how they go about their work, their choice of some types of content over others, and their intentions for it. Observation of typical workdays at the studio and sitting in at production meetings were also employed as a means to gather information. This was an attempt to distinguish between ‘espoused theories’ (what people say they do) and ‘theory-in-use’ (what people actually do) (Patton 1990). Among key strengths of participant observation in media production is that it makes the invisible visible, and it provides evidence for the dynamic as well as embedded nature of cultural production. It can however fail to grasp extra-organisational forces that also have an impact on news production (Cottle 2009). Therefore, the in-depth interviews were partly a strategy to mitigate this, through asking specific questions about external influences on production processes, such as official guidelines provided by the CA and the MCK on programme content.

Another shortcoming of the ethnographic approach in studying media production is that while it makes it possible to be personally involved with the subjects studied, thus providing in-depth knowledge, the short observation periods may obscure some information, and the presence of the researcher may cause distortion in the environment (Franquet 2014). For instance, the people being observed may change behaviour because they know they are under observation. This distortion lessens as the ethnographer becomes more integrated into the environment over time (Barbara B. Kawulich, 2005; Evans, 2012), and, as some researchers argue, is not necessarily negative as it may generate valuable field data (Monahan and Fisher 2010). However, in a media production context, the distortion is partly mitigated by the presence of pre-existing work schedules. Considering that I was observing producers engaging in their daily work routines, it can be surmised that my presence would not significantly alter the usual work flow. Nevertheless, to further reduce such distortion, I sought to allow a comfortable relationship to develop between the staff and myself by spending several days at each station and carrying out repeat visits to the stations. The repeated visits provided a general idea of a day’s ‘typical’ work flow. At each station, I introduced myself and the purpose of my research

in as much detail as possible to each of the producers I observed, informing them that I would be taking notes or recording information as they worked. I invited them to ask clarificatory questions at any point of our engagement, as well as allow me to ask questions on points that I needed more information on. Eventually, my engagement with the producers consisted of some moments of them continuing with their duties as if I was not there (that is, not engaging with me directly), and other moments where they verbally walked me through every step they were taking as they worked, sometimes on their own initiative and sometimes as a result of my questions. Apart from studio observations, mealtimes and other social activities were shared during the workday. Observation as a research method provided the possibility to compare the actual practice at the stations with the information provided during the formal interviews.

Objective 1c: To identify the genres of community radio content: For this objective, a thematic content analysis of the aired programmes was carried out. In addition to tuning in to the specific radio stations while in the stations' broadcast areas, programme samples and programme schedules were collected. To complement the live broadcasts listened to, from each station, I collected one full day of programme recordings for further analysis. There were however challenges with this method. At the time of the research, only Kangema FM kept audio records of its programmes. At both Koch FM and Mugambo FM, there was no dedicated computer to record the programmes, with the available ones being used during live transmission in the studio, and one at the reception area where the producers and interns typed news stories collected from the field. To get programme recordings from these two stations therefore, I made use of an audio recorder to record the transmissions as they were aired. Initially, the idea was to get programme records for the same day at each of the stations; however, this did not work, given the above-mentioned circumstances. Nevertheless, the recorded programmes, the programme schedules and tuning in to the three stations provided a composite picture of the content aired by the stations.

Objective 2: To describe organisational structures that characterise community radio

For this objective, a review of station organograms and interviews with management and staff were carried out. Observation of displayed documents at the station reception areas also provided valuable additional information, as these documents provided hints of the organisational culture and values.

Objective 3: To assess the listenership trends and participation practices taking place in community radio

For this objective, both quantitative and qualitative methodology was used. The following section details the quantitative and qualitative audience research procedures undertaken.

3.4 Quantitative Methodology: Survey

An audience survey was carried out in the communities surrounding each of the stations, using questionnaires as a tool. The survey radius was based on each station's identified signal-reach. The reach was identified by the stations, based on their transmitter strengths and the approved broadcasting radius.

3.4.1 Questionnaire Design and Administration

I designed questionnaires³² about media use and listenership in both English and Kiwahili, Kenya's national languages, to cater for those who may not understand English. The questionnaires consisted of closed questions which generated numerical data. After pretesting the questionnaire on ten respondents with demographics similar to those I expected to find in the field, I adjusted the wording of some of the questions for clarity, and the sequencing of some parts of the questionnaire. For each station 115 questionnaires were prepared, as a way to give a margin for those that would turn out to be unusable. The questionnaires were then orally administered at each research site with the aid of four research assistants in total. Oral administration overcame the possibility of a language or literacy barrier, and ensured that there were fewer unusable questionnaires. The research assistants each had a post-secondary education and one had prior research experience. They were drawn from each respective research area and were fluent in the local language. This allowed for the possibility to administer the questionnaire in the local language in case the respondent did not understand English or Kiswahili. To ensure effective questionnaire administration, a questionnaire administration practice session was held with each research assistant. In this session we went through each item on the questionnaire in the relevant languages, and discussed the coding of possible answers provided. In addition, explaining the purpose of the research and requesting consent before questionnaire administration was emphasized. At the end of each day of the survey, the research assistants and I held a debriefing meeting, where we discussed challenges and insights from the day and targets for the following day. These meetings were useful for

³² See sample questionnaire in Appendix

keeping track of, for instance, the number of males and females interviewed per day and adjusting accordingly, as well as designing strategies to overcome any identified research challenges.

One challenge noted in all three research contexts to varying degrees was asking for the age of the respondent, especially among older respondents. When this was asked as the first question, there was some reluctance in answering, and in one case even refusing to continue taking the survey. This was especially notable because it did not arise during pre-testing of the questionnaire. Following this observation, the research assistants and I chose to ask this question almost at the end of each questionnaire administered, although it was among the first questions on the printed document. This trend implies implicit sociocultural norms which surround the sharing of demographic information. While one may willingly share information about their media use habits, they are less willing to offer strangers information that they consider as personal. This is not a conclusive explanation, but it points to the need for reflection on the types of information that people freely share or not. An awareness of the existence of such norms in different contexts would offer insights in research design, especially on the framing of questions. It implies that there are some questions that may be framed directly, while some kinds of information might need to be more gently teased out through indirect questions.

3.4.2 Sampling considerations

Cluster sampling was employed in selecting the respondents for the questionnaires. Cluster sampling is a form of probability sampling in which, instead of sampling individual units which may be geographically dispersed, the sampling is done from groups that occur naturally in the population such as neighbourhoods or schools (Teddlie and Yu 2007). For each station, the sampling area was decided on based on the broadcast coverage of the station. These areas were then divided into clusters based on neighbourhoods or trading centres. Subsequently, an equal number of questionnaires were randomly administered in each of the selected areas, both in homesteads and in the trading centres. In the course of the questionnaire administration, which took on average four days per station, an effort was made to ensure that a roughly equal number of males and females were interviewed. Hence, an element of purposive sampling – “selecting units (e.g., individuals, groups of individuals, institutions) based on specific purposes associated with answering a research study’s questions”(Teddlie and Yu 2007, 77) - was

undertaken based on population characteristics. The aim was to get data across various demographic categories.

As mentioned in 3.4.1, for each of the three stations, 115 questionnaires were printed, with the goal being to administer a minimum of 100 questionnaires per station broadcast area, and a maximum of 115 questionnaires per area should time and resources allow. The minimum of 100 questionnaires was settled on in view of the population figures in each of the three areas. Each of the areas has over 5000 inhabitants,³³ who were all considered to be potential listeners. For large populations (categorised as more than 5000), 100 respondents offer a 95 percent confidence level, with a +/- 10 percent margin of error.³⁴ The ideal number of respondents for a minimal margin of error (+/- 2.5 percent) is 1000, and larger commercial stations making financial decisions based on listenership data may opt for this larger sample. However, in a community broadcasting context, 100 respondents can offer an indicator of listenership patterns and favourite programmes (Gordon 2012). Therefore, the sample size was partly grounded in time and resource considerations, as well as on a reasonable margin of error that this number would offer. This being an exploratory survey, the sample size was considered sufficient for the research purpose.

Following questionnaire administration, all the data was fed into Microsoft Excel, and then aggregated and analysed using pivot tables. These generated quantitative details on various questions such as who is listening to which community radio content, the ways in which they engage with it, trends in the demographics of those listening to the station, preferred programmes, and awareness of and participation in the station's management. Use of quantitative methodology made it possible to measure the reactions of many respondents to a limited set of questions, enabling comparison and data aggregation (Patton 1990). The survey also allowed for a comparison of managers' and producers' ideas of listenership versus actual listenership trends. In the below section I detail the research process for each station.

3.4.3 Kangema FM

Following a preliminary visit to Kangema FM in March 2014, further research was carried out on Kangema FM audiences and operations in November and December 2014. An audience

³³ Population figures for each area detailed per station in the following section

³⁴ Statistical calculation programmes indicate a margin of error of +/- 10 for random sampling sizes of 100 out of large populations (over 5,000). See for example <http://www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm>

survey was conducted the third week of November 2014. This was followed by group interviews with audience members from three fan groups in the area the following week. Other research activities between October 2014 and January 2015 included observation of operations at the station, listening to programme content, and interviewing staff at the station.

For the audience survey, a total of 115 questionnaires were administered in four sub-counties of Murang'a County based on the station's calculated signal reach: Kahuro, Mathioya, Kangema and Kiharu. In total these areas made up a population of 350,463 people, as per census figures of 2009. However, these are not all potential listeners because the signal does not evenly reach all areas, some even quite near the station, due to hilly topography. As such, the potential listeners were calculated as the whole of Kangema sub-county (77,917) where the station is located, and half the population of each of the other sub-counties (136,273), making a total of 214,190 potential listeners. The areas surveyed were selected with the assistance of the station's technician, who had the technical specifications of how far the station's signal should reach based on transmitter strength. The aim was to survey the nearest and furthest areas of the station's signal reach. Sampling was done in town centres and adjacent areas. More townships were sampled in Kangema sub-county, which is in the immediate vicinity of the station, where the broadcast signal should be strongest and most consistent. Of the administered questionnaires, there were 114 usable ones for analysis.

3.4.4 Koch FM

Following a preliminary visit to Koch FM in March 2014, further research was carried out on Koch FM audiences and operations in November 2014 and January 2015. An audience survey was conducted the first week of November 2014. This was followed by group interviews with audience members delineated by gender and age (youth, women, men) the following week. Other research activities between October 2014 and January 2015 included observation of operations at the station, listening to programme content, and interviewing staff at the station.

For the audience survey, 115 questionnaires were distributed within Korogocho, with the aid of two field assistants who reside in the area, and one independent field assistant who does not live in the area. The distribution took three days. Out of these, 107 questionnaires were usable for the analysis. The areas of Korogocho covered were the 9 villages that make up the settlement: Grogon A, Grogon B, Gitathuru, Nyayo, Kisumu Ndogo, Highridge, Korogocho A, Korogocho B, and Ngomongo. Population figures put the total numbers in Korogocho at

about 120,000³⁵ people. The questionnaires were distributed using simple random sampling, with questionnaires administered both in homesteads and in businesses. The aim was to distribute at least ten questionnaires per village. This number was achieved and exceeded slightly. As far as the homesteads were concerned, distribution was tricky since the homesteads are not built in a clear-cut manner, and in some cases each structure houses more than one family. In addition, given the distribution of questionnaires during the work day, it was noted that most of the people found in the homesteads were women, as the men were out in their places of employment, and in some homesteads only children under 16 were available, as the adults were out working. The choice was therefore made to select interviewees from both homesteads and businesses, in order to have a more accurate representation of the community members.

3.4.5 Mugambo FM

Following a preliminary visit to Mugambo Jwetu FM in March 2014, further research was carried out on Mugambo Jwetu audiences and operations in December 2014 and January 2015. An audience survey was conducted in the week of 1st to 6th December 2014. This was followed by group interviews with audience members in the area the following week. Other research activities between October 2014 and January 2015 included observation of operations at the station, listening to programme content, and interviewing staff and management at the station.

For the audience survey, 115 questionnaires were administered in 10 townships within the Mugambo FM catchment area that is, Tigania West. This area has a population of 135,980 people, as per Kenya National Bureau of Statistics census figures of 2009.³⁶ Sampling was done in the town centres and adjacent areas. On average 10 questionnaires were distributed per township, with the exception of Kianjai where 20 questionnaires were distributed, as this is the area in the immediate vicinity of the radio station. As well, it was a market day with people from various parts of the area gathered in the market. The areas surveyed were selected in collaboration with the station's manager and one of the producers, to cover a progressively larger distance from the station. This was because the station had at the time recently moved

³⁵ See Korogocho Socioeconomic Survey Report 2009 (Gathuthi et al. 2010) and article on UN Habitat page 'People United for a New Korogocho' – Korogocho (KENYA), found on <http://mirror.unhabitat.org/content.asp?cid=5263&catid=510&typeid=24&subMenuId=0>

³⁶ See First Meru County Intergrated (sic) Development Plan 2013-2017 (2013, 26), available online on http://meru.go.ke/file/20150518_meru_county_integrated_development_plan_2013_2017.pdf

to an area where they believed they had improved transmitter strength to cover a larger area than their immediate vicinity. For resource and time efficiency, the decision was made to focus on sampling from within townships and on market days, as opposed to visiting individual homesteads. This may have resulted in a higher incidence of business people being sampled, but this was mitigated by making use of market days where people had come from their homes into the townships, and were not necessarily permanently stationed at the town centres. In total, 108 questionnaires were usable for the analysis.

3.5 Qualitative Methodology: Focus Group Discussions

To complement this data, I conducted group interviews with community members, categorized by age and gender. The aim of the interviews was to draw out the perceptions regarding community radio content, and to discuss participation practices. In-depth interviews of audiences regarding their interaction with specific programmes offers an entry point to a better idea of “how particular genres and themes may be assimilated by specific audiences”, and “how audiences may contribute to social meaning production and cultural patterns generally through their membership of socially specific interpretive communities” (Jensen and Rosengren 2008, 338). As well, interviews exploring how audiences interpret content are important because audience interpretation cannot be predicted solely through a textual analysis (Livingstone, Wober, and Lunt 1994). The groups were derived from lists of callers to the stations and pre-existent fan groups where they were present. Although selecting group interviewees from callers and fan groups comes with the limitation of respondents who already tend to be enthusiastic listeners (Gordon 2012), it on the other hand gives insights into the characteristics of regular listeners, and motivations for listening to and participating in the station.

Three audience groups were interviewed per station, and an interview guide drafted in English and Kiswahili was used to guide the discussions. Each focus group session was attended with one research assistant. For all the group interviews I guided the discussion while the research assistant assisted with the audio recorder and taking supplementary notes in addition to the ones I was making. This is with the exception of the three Kangema FM fan groups where the research assistant was the facilitator for reasons of language fluency. The group interviews were all audio-recorded and transcribed, and the notes helped to discern which person spoke in the course of the discussions.

As stated above, the focus groups were constituted on the basis of age and gender, except at Kangema FM where fan groups made up of members with varied ages and genders were interviewed instead. These fan groups were of interest because they exist in the name of the station and were formed following the introduction of the station into the community. They therefore offered an opportunity to delve into evolving social formations in the community that may occur when a community radio station is launched in a community, as well as to observe a microcosm of social interactions in the community. In Koch FM and Mugambo FM the three focus groups consisted of one mixed-gender group of youth (16-25 years old), women (over 25 years old) and men (over 25 years old). These groups were delineated along age and gender lines keeping in mind the impact of demographics on social interactions. I strove for some homogeneity in the composition of the groups to ensure that the participants would be “comfortable speaking with each other” (Williams and Katz 2001, 6), and given that “individuals will tend to censor their ideas in the presence of people who differ greatly from them in power, status, job, income, education, or personal characteristics”(Grudens-Schuck, Allen, and Larson 2004, 2). While focus groups elicit diverse perspectives through discussions, the group dynamics also provide insight into social norms and relationships, and insight into how meaning is constructed through everyday talk (Kitzinger 1995; Grudens-Schuck, Allen, and Larson 2004; Lunt and Livingstone 1996; Williams and Katz 2001). The following are the details of the audience group interviews per station.

3.5.1 Kangema FM

For the audience group interviews, several fan clubs were called by the station contact person and alerted that the researcher would be visiting. They were visited in their local areas, where they had organized themselves to gather in the business premises of one of them (for two of the groups this was in a café at off-peak hours, for the third group it was in a bag-selling shop) to participate in the research. These are spaces they usually meet in, and they all knew each other, which lent a relaxed atmosphere to the gathering.

For this station, the envisioned division of focus groups by age and gender was not possible as the fan groups are composed of a mix of ages and genders. Therefore the interviews were conducted with heterogeneous groups of people, as opposed to the ideal group interviews that consist of homogeneous groups. While challenging, the heterogeneity of the groups was not entirely a disadvantage – apart from offering a diversity of views, it also presented an opportunity to observe group dynamics among the various ages and genders present.

Each group consisted of at least five people. However, for one of the groups, the number of fan club members that showed up was 12, which is larger than the recommended 6 - 10 people per focus group (Lunt and Livingstone 1996). Consequently, some members tended to speak out less often. Nevertheless, effort was made to involve every person present in the conversation, and to elicit their views on various questions when they had been quiet for long. The deliberations were carried out primarily in the area's language, Kikuyu, with some Kiswahili and English.

3.5.2 Koch FM

For Koch FM, each group consisted of 5 to 10 people, and these individuals were selected from a list of the phone numbers of callers to the station. While some respondents knew each other already, for others, the group interview was the first time they were meeting. Yet, there was a notable sense of familiarity observed, because they knew of each other from having previously heard each other contributing to on-air discussions.

The group interviews were all held at a small meeting hall adjacent to the station building. The groups were organised according to age and gender, with one mixed group of youth (under 25 years old, both male and female), one group of women (over 25 years old) and one group of men (over 25 years old). The discussions were carried out in a mix of Kiswahili and Sheng.

3.5.3 Mugambo FM

For the audience group interviews, several frequent callers, including one fan club, were called by two producers and requested to gather in selected venues for the interviews. They consisted of a mixed-gender group of youth, a group of women and a group of men. The men's group, which is also a fan club, was visited in their township, while the women and youth came from various locations to premises near the station.

Each group consisted of a minimum of five people, with the largest group being that of the men, who were 10 in number. These small numbers facilitated in-depth discussion of the questions raised by the researcher. The group interviews were conducted with the assistance of a research assistant from the area who is fluent in the local language, but the bulk of the proceedings were conducted in Kiswahili, with the consent of the respondents.

3.6 Field Data Generated

Following the data collection methods described above, for the quantitative section of the research, I ended up with 329 questionnaires for analysis, distributed as follows: 114 questionnaires from Kangema FM, 108 questionnaires from Mugambo FM, and 107 questionnaires from Koch FM. The quantitative data was analysed on MS Excel.

My qualitative methods generated nine group interviews, that is, three per station, and 32 individual interviews.³⁷ All the interviews, both group and individual (except two where the interviewees declined to be recorded), were audio recorded and then transcribed in full or in summary. For the two interviews that were not audio recorded, detailed notes were taken by hand during the interview and then transferred into MS Word. Interviews conducted in languages other than English were translated into English during transcription. All the interviews were then coded for themes both manually and on MaxQDA, a qualitative data analysis programme.

3.7 Conclusion

I opted to integrate both quantitative and qualitative methods as detailed above because they produce a wealth of detailed data, and offer the possibility of triangulation, which “combines several analytical perspectives on the same empirical context” (Jensen, 2002/2009, p. 55).³⁸ I made use of a case study approach because of the possibility that it provides to go in-depth into phenomena using a variety of methods. This was especially in view of the research objectives, which aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of Kenyan community radio and the audiences and other actors around it. For these, a purely quantitative or purely qualitative method would not have sufficed. For the qualitative section I did three surveys, one in the area surrounding each station, and for the qualitative aspect, engaged in in-depth individual interviews with station personnel and focus group interviews with community members at each station. As Patton elaborates, there is no rule of thumb telling a researcher precisely how to focus a study. “The decision depends on purpose, available resources, available time, and interests of those involved...it is not a choice between good and bad, but one among alternatives, all of which have merit (Patton 1990, 166)”. Thus, in view of available resources, my research questions, and the constraints encountered in the course of fieldwork, I proceeded to gather data as has been explained in this chapter.

³⁷ See Field Data List in Appendix

³⁸ 2009 reprint of Mass Communication Research Methods anthology

With the described research design in mind, the next chapter delves into the results of first objective: the ideological aims under which Kenyan community media function. It draws on results of the documentary review and the in-depth interviews with legislators, station management and funding organisations to discuss the legislation under which community media operates and identify actors in the sector. This lays the framework for grasping the organisational structures and priorities at each of the three stations.

4 DISCOURSES AND ACTORS IN THE KENYAN COMMUNITY RADIO SECTOR

4.1 Introduction

In a continually globalising world, global discourses and technologies circulate, creating dynamic and hybrid mediascapes. However, it is not only global discourses that have an impact on mediascapes; rather, the global is appropriated at the local level, creating its own unique, context-specific impact. Specifically in the field of community media, there are discourses at the international level linked to ideas such as democracy, freedom to communicate, technology for development, and good governance. At the local level, the Kenyan media has since the post-independence era been conceptualised as a development partner of the state. While this idea has been somewhat phased out with the liberalized media landscape since the 2000s, traces of it still remain. These local and global ideas find tangible form in arenas such as policy making at the national level, and the management and operations of community stations at the local level. For instance, participation is a key concept when it comes to community media globally³⁹, and Kenyan community media operate under the requirement of participation as one of their defining features. However, exactly what participation entails for each station varies, depending on contextual factors at each station.

The aim of this chapter is to explore these local-global entanglements by seeking to answer the questions: what ideas about community radio functions are circulating in the Kenyan community radio sector? How are these reflected in broadcast legislation? How are these ideas appropriated and implemented in station management structures? How are communities participating in station management? To address these issues, the chapter is divided into three thematic sections. First, I focus on the broadcast legislation around community radio in Kenya. In outlining the evolution of the legislation over the years, I link it to shifts in thinking about the broadcast sector's role and the regulators' role. The implications of the legislation are then discussed in terms of their impact on the community media field, namely, what the legislation portends for potential participants in the community broadcast arena. In the next section of the chapter, I describe other players in the community media sector, specifically funding organisations, training organisations and advocacy organisations. My focus is on the organisations specifically involved with the three stations studied. I outline their contributions to ideas of what roles community broadcasters should perform, and how they seek to implement

³⁹ See 2.4.1 for discussion on participation in community media

these ideas at the radio stations. In the final section of the chapter, I outline how the funding options laid out in the legislation impact on community station organisational structures. I describe the organisational structures of three community stations in detail and analyse the various forms of community participation in their management. Through this description and analysis, I seek to show how the stations' organisational structures exhibit traces of the various local and global discourses on the roles of community radio.

4.2 Kenyan Broadcast Legislation

The Kenyan broadcast regulations seek to conform to global media and communication policies, being a signatory to many of the regulatory bodies that make recommendations on media legislation, including the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the World Intellectual property organization (WIPO). As the global economic and media policy has moved in the direction of neoliberalism, the Kenyan media policy has likewise evolved over time to reflect external and internal influences. Given that legislation is usually the most significant factor in the growth of any sector, it is important to examine the existent legal framework under which community media operate, in order to understand the development of community broadcasting as a sector of the media industry in Kenya. The community media sector, just like the rest of the broadcast sector in the Kenyan media scene, is subject to legislation and control mechanisms, both in the form of written regulations and in the form of regulatory institutions. Although not explicitly stated, the idea of community broadcasters as playing a part in the socio-economic development of a community through the provision of information can be discerned in the wording of the legislation regarding community media. According to the legislation, community media are tasked with meeting the information needs of the specific communities that they serve, be they geographical communities or communities of interest. I start by outlining the various pieces of legislation that have been used to regulate the Kenyan broadcast sector, and their evolution over time. This is in order to situate community radio within the legislative framework and to delineate what it can or cannot do.

4.3 Regulation of Community Broadcasters: Kenyan Broadcast Regulation since the 1990s

According to the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) Act of 1988, which even regulated the ownership of broadcast receiving sets, any person or entity broadcasting without special authorization, apart from the KBC, was liable to a fine or a prison term (Section 3, Cap 221 – KBC Act). During this period, media in Africa were considered to be extensions of the State

House (Nyanjom 2012; Bourgault 1995; King'ara 2011). As such, at the time, KBC was the only player in the broadcast industry, and the KBC Act simultaneously played the role of being the legislative guideline for all broadcasting in Kenya. Through outlining KBC's parameters of operation, therefore, the Act set the parameters for the whole broadcast sector in existence at the time.

Towards the end of the 1990s, this situation of monopoly of the broadcast industry by KBC changed. With the liberalization of the media sector from the late 1990s, numerous changes occurred in the broadcast landscape in Kenya, not least, the entry of other players into the broadcast market. In 1998, through the Kenya Communications Act of 1998 (KCA 1998), the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) was created. It was designated as the government body responsible for licensing and regulation (emphasis mine) of all communications: 'telecommunication, radio-communication and postal services' (Section 5(1) of Part II, Kenya Communications Act 1998). As per this wording, the government saw its role as a gatekeeper for who could access the communications sector. This development was not unique to Kenya. As was also the case in other African countries at the time, such as South Africa, "...the transition of political factors influenced the reconceptualization of broadcasting from a narrow vision that took account only of the national broadcaster...to a view of broadcasting as an entire ecology, made up of different sectors and players." (Teer-Tomaselli, 2014, p. 416). The KCA 1998 was therefore the first step in creating a regulatory framework that differentiated between various types of communication services. However, it still did not specifically address broadcasting as an area to be regulated.

In 2008, in response to pressure from the burgeoning broadcast sector which by now included both commercial and community players, the Kenya Communications Act of 1998 was amended. This time, the CCK was not merely envisioned as a regulator, but rather, was mandated to "facilitate the development of the information and communications sector (including broadcasting, multimedia, telecommunications and postal services)' and electronic commerce" (Cap 411, Kenya Information and Communications Act, 2009, Preamble) (emphasis mine). This phrase is indicative of a shift in approach by the government to the broadcast sector, from a controlling stance to a more facilitative one. It seems to have been based on the acknowledgement that information and communication technologies are constantly evolving, and thus, all sectors involved with them. Therefore, rather than simply licensing and regulating their use, the government needs to actively participate in facilitating

their development in the country. Consequently, the amendments made in 2008 resulted in the Kenya Information and Communications Act of 2009 (KICA 2009), which recognised broadcasting as a distinct sector, and distinguished between public broadcasting, private broadcasting, and community broadcasting. KBC remained the only public broadcaster, but the regulation now recognised the presence of private (also known as commercial) broadcasters, who had started broadcasting in 1999, as well as community broadcasters, the first of whom had begun broadcasting in 2004.

This retroactive enactment of regulations to match the existent broadcast sector illustrates the action of global forces which impacts developments in the local media industry. As per Hallett (2009), broadcasting regulations do not spontaneously develop, but rather, they evolve in response to developments in the society:

Both what society wants to use broadcast radio for, and what it expects the medium to achieve, change over time. Social change is formally reflected through the evolution of relevant legislation, what it requires and permits broadcast radio to achieve. Wider social change also has profound, albeit less formal, influence over the scope and scale of broadcast radio. Broadcasters are often able to respond more quickly to social change than politicians and regulators. Hence the situation in which legislators and regulators find themselves playing ‘catch-up’, either encouraging or attempting to restrict developments, which are already occurring in practice. (Hallett 2009, 43)

This succinctly summarises the regulatory process in Kenya: the legislation has changed in response to developments in the communication sector, and not vice versa. As Teer-Tomaselli posits, “Broadcasting is a particularly good barometer by which to measure political change in any country. National broadcasting, either in the classic form of public service broadcasting or in the more openly regulated form of commercially based broadcasting, is a daily record of the concerns, obsessions, ethos, and values of the society that produces it.” (Teer-Tomaselli 2014)

Since the Kenyan approach follows a retroactive process, it is worth asking what happens to broadcast media that rely on existing legislation to thrive. Of interest here is community radio. Coyer reminds us that not all parts of the broadcasting sector spontaneously keep developing without a facilitative legal framework:

While the development of community radio predates legislative frameworks, the long-term sustainability for community radio is predicated on the existence of a safe and

legal environment within which to operate. Supportive legislation is crucial to the development of sustainable media sectors, just as restrictive or non-existent legal frameworks work against their development. (Coyer 2014, 177)

As such, it is of interest to see the ways in which the existent legislation facilitates or hinders the growth of the community broadcasting sector. I now focus on the legislation regulating the community broadcasting sector, and how it has shaped the development of the sector.

4.3.1 Community-Media-Specific Legislation

The KICA 2009 explicitly outlines the legal parameters of what it considers as community, community media, and the conditions under which community media are allowed to operate. These are outlined in the section below, starting with the definitions provided in the Act:

“community” includes a geographically founded community or any group of persons or sector of the public having a specific, ascertainable common interest;
“community broadcasting service” means a broadcasting service which meets all the following requirements—
(a) is fully controlled by a non-profit entity and carried on for non-profitable purposes;
(b) serves a particular community;
(c) encourages members of the community served by it or persons associated with or promoting the interests of such community to participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast in the course of such broadcasting service; and
(d) may be funded by donations, grants, sponsorships or membership fees, or by any combination of the aforementioned; (KICA 2009, Section 6 of Part I)

From these definitions, a community may be either composed of people who have a clear common interest, or people who live in the same geographic area. In Kenya, both types of community media exist. For instance, training institutions such as universities apply for and own community broadcast licenses, based not primarily on geographical proximity, but rather, on the shared common interest of training the students. In addition, religious communities, for instance, with members dispersed over a wide area, have applied for community broadcasting licenses. On the other hand, the majority of community radio licensees are based in specific geographic communities, and they hold a license based on this physical co-presence. As residents in a specific area, the rationale is that they face the same issues, such as the slums in Nairobi, where Koch FM is based, or the mudslide-prone areas in Murang’a, where Kangema FM is based. The legal definition of community in the Kenyan broadcast legislation is flexible and allows for various constellations of people, even without co-presence, to apply for a community media license, so long as they can demonstrate shared interests. However, part c) of the above Act, which encourages selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast by

not only community members but also ‘persons associated with or promoting the interests of such community’ (whom, by implication, may not necessarily be bona fide community members but are involved in promoting the interests of the community) creates the possibility of different or external agendas being played out in community stations. For instance, conflict could arise between community members and these other associated persons, in the case where the two groups have different priorities. In the worst case scenario, through this provision, these ‘associated persons’ could manage the daily affairs and the programming of a community broadcaster in the name of promoting the interests of the community, without having actually sought and gained the consent of bona fide community members.

An example of clashing interests based on different perceptions of what role community radio should play is summarised by one producer at Mugambo FM:

I think the national government understands community radio more than county government. Since in county government everything is politics... I don't know whether it's because some of them come from the same community...they want to approach you so that you cover them, maybe you refuse, they tend to think' it's all about [favouritism]. But to national government I think they already know the regulations that regulate community radios...once you pay your licence fees they don't follow much because now, ethics and rules are there, and you follow them...[but] this county government they don't understand...they want to take these radios. I have an idea of community radios from other parts, they face the same challenge. [But we resist], because the moment you stop resisting then the essence of your being there goes. Because you have to serve the community who are inside the government and who are outside. Everybody has a right. When you are there, you are there as non-partisan. You don't serve people maybe because of the interest of the MP or the county governor or the senator, you have to serve the community, if the governor has done something good he has done it, congratulations, when something is bad, maybe it has been done by governor or whoever, still it is bad, because it affects the community. (MN, Urru, 09.12.2014)

In this case, the regulations define community radio's role as meeting community information needs, and producers seek to achieve that. However, local government leaders see in these community stations a potential tool to consolidate political influence at the local level, and try to pressurize the stations to be their allies. This view is corroborated by the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), which notes that there is a misunderstanding about what community radio exists to do. As per an official in the MCK, "... right now with devolution, some of the issues which have come up is the county governments wanting to use community media the way national broadcaster is used. They want to run their parliamentary proceedings in these media. So those are some of the issues that have come to light, to our attention" (MR 2014).

To handle these pressures, legislation is key in setting parameters of action for community broadcasters. Community radio stations are reliant on existent legislation for protection against being obligated to work towards the agenda of local politicians. Without the legislation in place, it is possible that these stations would have no standpoint from which to argue their case and resist external pressure. Hence, the importance of legislation as a facilitator of the growth and functioning of community radio cannot be overstated.

The potential loophole which could allow external influence to exert pressure on community broadcasters is mitigated by the section of the Act which outlines the conditions which a prospective community broadcaster should fulfill. According to Section 46(F) of Part 2 of the Act, in order to grant a community media license, the commission will make consideration:

- (a) to the community of interests of the persons applying for or on whose behalf the application is made;
- (b) as to whether the persons, or a significant proportion thereof constituting the community have consented to the application;
- (c) to the source of funding for the broadcasting service;
- (d) as to whether the broadcasting service to be established is not-for-profit; and
- (e) to the manner in which members of the community will participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast.

In requiring a community broadcaster to demonstrate community consent to the establishment of the station, the possibility of a foreign person purportedly speaking for the community (while not actually doing so) applying for and getting a license is lowered. However, it is problematic that this consent is to be demonstrated through the provision of the minutes of the meeting in which it was resolved to establish a community broadcasting station.⁴⁰ From merely receiving such a document, it is not clear how the commission would ascertain that such a meeting indeed took place, and if it did, that the people in the meeting were truly representative of community views. However, logistically speaking, it would not be realistic for the commission to attend every community meeting across the country, therefore, the trustworthiness of the people applying for the license is relied on to ensure that the community is indeed represented through the minutes. This is another example of the difficulty of practically ensuring and measuring participation, much as it is a principle that is valued in writing.

⁴⁰ Section 5 of the Kenya Information and Communications (Broadcasting) Regulations, 2009

When it comes to community involvement in content production and management of the station, Section (46(F) requires all community broadcasters to:

- (a) ensure that a cross section of the community is represented in the management of the broadcasting service;
- (b) ensure that each member of the community has a reasonable chance to serve in the management of the broadcasting service;
- (c) ensure that members of the community have a way of making their preferences known in the selection and provision of programmes;
- (d) conform to any conditions or guidelines as the Commission may require or issue with regard to such broadcasting service.

This requirement for the community to participate in the management of the community station is often met through the creation of a management board that has representatives drawn from different sectors of the community, whose role it is to speak for the community sector that they represent. While there has been an emphasis on creating community structures such as associations and committees especially in development circles, these are no guarantee that the whole community is involved in the decision-making. More importantly, existing studies in participation show that the decision-making that matters in a community may not ultimately be made in these formalised structures but rather, in day to day informal interactions (Cleverly 2001). Nevertheless, it is impossible for everyone to participate in the management and day to day decision-making of any institution. Rather, the practical thing is to entrust these decisions to representatives, either appointed or elected. Here the community exercises ‘distributive power’ (Koch 2013), in that they create a particular division of labour and define functional roles for various community members in order to achieve collective goals. This process may introduce hierarchies, but is necessary from a pragmatic point of view. However, it works only if these community members actually seek and respect the views of ordinary community members.

The Kenya Information and Communications (Broadcasting) Regulations of 2009, a subsection of the KICA 2009, describes the envisioned role of community broadcasters in Section 13 as follows:

13. (1) A Community broadcaster shall—
- (a) reflect the needs of the people in the community including cultural, religious, language and demographic needs;
 - (b) deal specifically with community issues which are not normally dealt with by other broadcasting services covering the same area; and

(c) be informational, educational and entertaining in nature; Provide a distinct broadcasting service that highlights community issues.

(2) The Commission shall, through the frequency plan, ensure that an equitable number of frequencies or channels are reserved for community broadcasting.

(3) A community broadcaster shall ensure all the funds generated from the operations of a community broadcasting station are reinvested in activities benefiting the Community.

(4) The Commission shall monitor community broadcasters to ensure that the funds generated from operations of a community broadcasting station are re-invested in activities benefiting the community.

(5) The Commission shall allow community broadcasting licensees to advertise, on their stations, adverts that are relevant and specific to that community within the broadcast area.

The first clause deals with the cultural production role of community broadcasters in the communities they serve. It delineates the niche for community broadcasters as filling in what is not already covered by other stations, and in referring to community-specific issues, it implies hyper-local broadcasting. The subsequent clauses deal with the expectations for fund procurement and management, the Commission's responsibility to provide frequencies, and its oversight role when it comes to funds management. Here, the bargaining aspect of policy comes into play: while community broadcasters are assured of being provided with frequencies and allowed some leeway in terms of advertising, there is in the same breath the intention to supervise how they manage any revenue they gain. In this clause the monitorial role of the regulator is explicitly stated. Although the Communications Authority of Kenya (CA) seeks to facilitate the development of the community broadcasting sector, it still makes clear its oversight role in the management of finances, which limits the financial independence of community broadcasters and puts the broadcasters in the position of having to prove that their expenditure is within the stated parameters. It is under these laws that the community media sector operated from 2009 to 2013.

In 2013, further amendments were made to the legislation, and these were published in 2016 as the Kenya Information and Communications (Broadcasting) Regulations, 2016. Key among these were renaming the CCK to the Communications Authority of Kenya (CA), the dissolution of the broadcast content advisory council, because its functions are now subsumed by the Broadcast Standards Committee, and, of particular concern to community media, deletion of the section that allows community broadcasters to carry advertisements. In this latest version of the legislation, the only specification about funding for community media is a clause stating that community broadcasters "shall receive sponsorship"; the section about community broadcasters airing 'relevant' advertisements has been deleted. With the deletion of this section

comes an ambivalence; it is not clear if community broadcasters may air advertisements or not. If the silence of the law on this aspect is interpreted as prohibiting the stations from airing advertisements, this has implications for their survival, which has been a challenging aspect since the first community radio started broadcasts in 2004. Yet, access to advertising is not necessarily a positive thing for community broadcasters, because it introduces the dimension of commercial interests possibly influencing the sector. However, at the moment advertising is viewed by the broadcasters as a lifeline, and therefore the deletion of the advertising clause was a cause of concern. It is this concern that led some community radio stations to seek clarification and negotiate their interest with the regulator.

4.3.2 Negotiations around Community Broadcasting Legislation

As the implications of the removal of the clause about funding are not clear, community radio stations, through the Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET), moved to lobby the regulator for a revision of the legislation in 2016. The network also asked to be involved in further consultations regarding community broadcasting regulations, in their position as stakeholders in the sector. Below is an excerpt from the letter sent to the regulator:

We seek this section to be re-inserted pending consultations with community radio stations and stakeholders on the full import of what is referred to in the new draft regulations 2016 in Section 13(1) (e) *Receive Sponsorship*. This needs to be considered bearing in mind that community radio in Kenya are facing dire financial constraints amidst a competitive media environment and shrinking donor funding which has threatened their survival. The deleted clause, with clear specifics and parameters of application, offered a lifeline for community radio stations with means to diversify their sources of generating revenues.⁴¹ (Githethwa, N; Personal Communication 02.02.2016)

Interestingly, drafters of the legislation at the National Communication Secretariat (NCS) claimed to have no knowledge of the network, and stated that they had never seen KCOMNET representatives at any of the public stakeholders' meetings held in the course of revising the broadcast regulations.⁴² However, KCOMNET's social media feed features photos and tweets of a consultative meeting with the CA, and a petition dated 20th April 2016 asking for reinsertion of the deleted section.⁴³ According to its representatives, KCOMNET works "closely with the government...[...]...in terms of policy advocacy" (Githethwa, KCOMNET Coordinator 2014).

⁴¹ From Memorandum to the CA dated 20 January 2016, provided in personal communication with KCOMNET

⁴² Interview with NCS representative in October 2016

⁴³ See <http://www.kcomnet.org/news/>

These contradictory narratives about the involvement of the various players in the community broadcasting sector provides some insight into the influence of various actors in the discourse around community broadcasting in Kenya, and the levels of voice that each of them has. One of the characteristics of voice as a process is that it is socially grounded, meaning that it is not practised in isolation, and one of the symbolic resources that it requires is the ‘status necessary if one is to be recognized by others as having a voice’ (Couldry 2008, 7). As such, voice matters only when it is met by listening, and conversely, is devalued when it meets a lack of listening space. This seems to be the case for KCOMNET. While the network views itself as the legitimate representative of community media and as speaking for them, it still experiences challenges being recognised as legitimate in some government circles.⁴⁴ It is therefore not accorded a serious hearing, much as it may be genuinely speaking in the interest of community broadcasters. Consequently, the discursive space that the network has to contribute to the ideas about the ideals and parameters for community media operations in Kenya is narrow, because its voice in the legal discourse is limited, and perhaps almost muted.

For instance, KCOMNET’s website features a report on ‘Policy Guidelines for Community Radio in Kenya’⁴⁵, which details the broadcast policy regarding community radio and the issues which should be considered in order to strengthen the community radio sector. There is however no indication if this report has been shared with or considered by the individuals and institutions responsible for drafting Kenyan broadcast policy documents. Thus, KCOMNET participates in the formal actions delineated as vital to drafting broadcast legislation for the sector, that is, giving their opinions on policy in stakeholders’ meetings, but the network may not experience voice as value because there is no ‘social process of listening’ (Couldry 2015) taking place. When it comes to the actual drafting of broadcast policy; their opinion does not seem to be given much weight by those holding the power to make the final decisions about the policy.

⁴⁴ The issue of KCOMNET’s credibility partly arises from internal disagreements experienced by the organisation in 2009/2010, which resulted in the formation of an alternative body, Community Radio Association of Kenya (CRAK). The discussion that led to this reorganisation is captured in a community radio mapping report (Fairbairn and Rukaria, *Poised for Growth: Community Radio in Kenya in 2009 2010*). During the research, both KCOMNET and CRAK described themselves as representing community radio, but the tangible activities available for observation at the time were those by KCOMNET.

⁴⁵ See <http://www.kcomnet.org/policy>

On the other hand, the KCOMNET enjoys legitimacy with at least twelve of the existent community radio stations, whom it officially represents, and with international organisations including UNESCO, HIVOS and GIZ Civil Peace Service.⁴⁶ These organisations have funded or facilitated projects by KCOMNET which target strengthening the community radio sector, such as content development and conflict sensitive reporting. They view KCOMNET as an easier route to connect with a variety of radio stations that are already networked, rather than working bilaterally with individual radio stations. The network bases its engagement with community radio in Kenya on what the KCOMNET coordinator refers to as “the five principles of community radio which are recognized globally”, that is community participation, non-profit model, community service, community ownership, and independence. The network uses these principles to delineate the community broadcasting sector in Kenya, as explained by the coordinator:

Many people say four [pillars], but for me I like putting the 5th. If you look at the religious stations, some of them don't fall in those pillars. If you look at the ones for the government, you can't say really they are independent...[...]...so the ones we are talking about 12 now, are only those ones which are formed by community based organisations. These CBOs are the ones we work with directly. (Githethwa 2014)

KCOMNET thus seeks to work with the stations that do not have overt controlling interests such as the state or religious organisations. It leans towards the linking of community media to civil society actors, which is one of the ways of thinking about alternative and community media, as argued for instance by Carpentier, Lie, & Servaes (2001) and Bailey et al (2007). From observation of its operations and projects, KCOMNET is in a position of legitimacy with external, non-governmental actors due to similar ideological values regarding what community broadcasters should be, based on prevalent global rhetoric in the sector, especially the communication for development (C4D) strand of development communication. However, this legitimacy is diminished because of organisational disagreements which resulted in the formation of an alternative representative body for community radio, Community Radio Association of Kenya (CRAK) in 2010.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, KCOMNET experiences more of a voice with these non-governmental players because it is vested with the symbolic status to deserve being listened to. While the fact that KCOMNET enjoys some legitimacy with non-

⁴⁶ See KCOMNET Projects page on <http://www.kcomnet.org/projects/>

⁴⁷ As per the UNESCO representative interviewed, if KCOMNET and CRAK could combine and seek funding as one organisation they would experience more success. For as long as they are operating as two separate organisations both representing community radio, then donors find it hard to be involved.

governmental players is positive in that it affords community stations mileage for example in terms of skills training, the limited legitimacy with the government limits KCOMNET's ability to effectively advocate for community broadcasters when it comes to the legal framework. The organisation's scope of action is thus limited by its lack of alignment with national players, even though it has gained some leeway due to alignment with international players.

The issue of alignment with global values versus national regulations as a benchmark for the community media sector is played out not only in legislation, but also in the operations of regulatory bodies and community broadcasters, as further discussed in the following sections.

4.4 Regulation of Community Media Personnel: The Media Council of Kenya

Apart from the regulation of community broadcasters as institutions, there is also legislation in place to regulate the professional conduct of the individuals in the media industry as a whole, and not just in community broadcasting. Key among these is the Media Council Act, most recently updated in 2013. It instituted the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), mandated with upholding professional standards in media practice through the accreditation of journalists, monitoring media organisations for compliance with content and conduct requirements, while upholding the freedom of the media. The Council is also tasked with conflict resolution in case of any complaints against a media house by members of the public. The MCK take this role seriously, as stated by an MCK official in an interview:

We don't have any control over how you run your media house...but if a complaint was raised to us about how a community media is run, then we definitely get to the bottom of it, and that's when we liaise with CCK and involve them in that, to find a way forward. So for us we wouldn't have control over what media houses do, because media houses are independent of any influence from us or from any other person from outside. So we'd want to respect that and believe that they are being run the way they are supposed to run...so it's only if a complaint is raised that we would get involved. (MR 2014)

Thus, unlike the CA (previously CCK) which plays an oversight role, the MCK sees itself as an arbiter, and aims to not interfere in media operations. When it comes to accreditation, the MCK is actively involved in training the volunteers at community stations, especially since many community media personnel start out on a volunteer basis without having been trained in journalism. These personnel are then accredited as journalists. The MCK also prioritises the safety and security of journalists:

We have conducted in-house trainings....we don't have a problem fighting whenever their journalists for example are in trouble with the government or they have any security issue. Safety and security for us, it's for any journalist and every journalist. So when it comes to them [community media journalists] being taken care of in terms of the journalistic perspective and us expanding media freedom, definitely they are taken care of. We never look at any media house or any journalist, where do you come from and then we will actually look at your problems. So when it comes to what we do, even when it comes to media monitoring, we also do monitor the content that comes from [community broadcasters], we actually look at them as media houses...because of their impact in society. (MR 2014)

As outlined above, enhancement of freedom of expression for media houses is a clear priority for the MCK. This principle once again draws from an international standard: Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (as outlined in Chapter 2.2, p. 26). Alignment with global standards as the guiding logic for how local media institutions should run raises the question as to how much local culture and local priorities are considered in deciding on a policy. It also points to the intricate relationship between the global and the local which cannot be ignored, and which ultimately has an impact on the day to day running and expectations for local media institutions.

However, even the MCK is not without its ambivalence about community media practitioners. While on the one hand it acknowledges that community broadcasters differ from other stations because they run on participation by community volunteers, the MCK seeks to hold community media practitioners to the same professional standard as journalists in other stations. As explained by the MCK official:

If you know how community media is supposed to be run, it's supposed to be an initiative of the community. *So that whole aspect of community media having journalists needs to be interrogated.* (Italics mine) So when it comes to community media, they are supposed to be getting information from the community itself, it's supposed to generate its own products, and it's supposed to be run by the community itself. So yes you do get the perspective where the journalists tell us they are working for that community media, and they would like recognition as journalists. And for us we do recognize them as journalists. So when it comes to accreditation they pay a journalism fee like all other journalists. [But, if they don't have the minimum diploma level education in journalism]...we wouldn't recognize those as journalists. If they were to come to us for accreditation, if they don't have the papers, then definitely we wouldn't recognize them as journalists. Because when you put a stamp of approval, then they appear before the complaints commission, then it would be MCK getting in trouble. How did you recognize this person as a journalist, and yet they don't have the necessary requirements. (MR 2014)

From the above, the MCK apparently conceptualises community media as an arena for ordinary community members without journalistic training to participate in broadcasting, as put forth in global community media tenets. However, there is an ambivalence about whether to think of these community media practitioners as journalists or not. Indeed, while verbally quoting the global ideal, practically, the MCK is constrained to fulfil the requirements stating that only diploma-level-trained practitioners can be accredited as journalists in the Kenyan legal framework. As such, in the MCK's implementation of its tasks as a regulator of broadcasting personnel, global ideals are overtaken by local legal concerns.

4.5 Implications of Community Broadcasting Legislation

From the above discussion, the expectations of community broadcasting legislation can be summarized into two main ideas: a community broadcasting station should be, firstly, non-profit-making, and secondly, community-focused.

Regarding funding sources, the legislation recommends that community broadcasting stations be run on grants, sponsorships and donations. While this may help distinguish community stations from private stations, prohibiting community broadcasters from carrying advertisements fails to uphold the community's right to information. In some cases, an advertiser may wish to inform the local community about a product or service, but if they cannot do this via their own community radio but rather, need to approach the bigger stations, it reduces the possibility of the community hearing about the product or service. At the same time, it intensifies competition between community and private broadcasters airing in the same area. If for instance a shopkeeper can only advertise their wares in the private station but not in the community station, they are more likely to be loyal to the private station than to the community station, since the latter is unable to offer a necessary service. However, reliance on advertising is not all positive. Indeed concern about commercial interests controlling the media sector has been one of the reasons to initiate community and alternative media. Thus, advertising could finance the Kenyan community broadcasting sector, but it might do so at the expense of muffling the plurality of voices that would use community broadcasting as a means to access the public sphere with alternative narratives.

Yet, while prohibiting advertisements may ensure community broadcasters' editorial independence, it opens up the possibility for that same independence to be compromised through over-reliance on a single benefactor. Generally speaking, in the Kenyan scenario,

communities are not the main funders of community stations. Rather, while the idea of a radio station may originate in the community, in a majority of cases the funding for community radio stations comes from outside sources in the forms of grants and donations, as opposed to membership fees contributed by the community.⁴⁸ In effect, the community is not in control of the financial aspect of the community radio station. This limits the station's ability to truly be community-owned and run, because final decisions at the station would be made in consideration of the funder's requirements rather than community preferences, in the case that the two do not align. Indeed, as a result of this regulation, there are stations that seem to be keener to fulfil donor requirements than to meet community needs. At such stations, work runs according to donor funding, both in terms of themes covered and in terms of station technical priorities such as equipment.⁴⁹ A more detailed discussion of how the stations studied manage different priorities comes later in this chapter.

It is worth noting that the regulation does not specify that the radio station must be *owned* by the community. Rather, the only requirement is that the station be set apart for community purposes, represent a community of interest and encourage community members to participate in programming and management of the station. This then leaves open the possibility that a community station could be owned by separate individuals, so long as it is not operated for profit or as part of a profit-making enterprise, and can be shown to be for the good of a target community. As Conrad puts it (quoting Njuki Githethwa of the Kenya Community Media Network), "When we talk about community ownership of a radio station, we aren't talking about a community really owning anything, we are often talking about some management board making decisions with the community interests at heart (N. Githethwa, personal communication, 8/24/10)" (Conrad 2011). This scenario raises questions regarding how independent a community station really can be, when it is funded by an outside party, be it an individual or an organisation. It also leaves open to interpretation how to ensure that the station is actually being run for the good of the community.

For some stations, this legislation has opened the door for community radio station licenses to be owned by government parastatals, with the majority of the funding coming from these

⁴⁸ See reports on Kenyan community radio in for instance (EcoNews Africa, BBC World Service Trust and UNESCO 2008) and (Fairbairn and Rukaria, *Poised for Growth: Community Radio in Kenya in 2009 2010*)

⁴⁹ Conrad (2014) aptly illustrates this at several stations, in an evaluation of the community radio model in East Africa.

organisations. These are not individuals and neither are they directly government agencies, but they are in close cooperation with the government and model their operations on government procedures, from hiring staff to regulating the flow of visitors to the station. This raises the question of independence of such stations, and who sets the agenda – are they really serving community information needs, or are they still replicating the modernization paradigm focused on top-down diffusion of information?

Following the above discussion on legislation and a description of the key organisations involved with the community broadcasters studied, it is worth noting that the three radio stations – Kangema FM, Koch FM and Mugambo FM - do not only draw their operational conditions from the community broadcast legislation. The various national and international institutions engaged with community radio also have an impact on how community broadcasters run. The intervention of these organisations can be broadly categorised as funding and training. As argued by Manyozo (2014), it is only the ‘participatory and community communication’ strand of communication for development that focuses on community engagement and having all stakeholders make and implement decisions. He identifies three communication for development approaches; the participatory one mentioned above, the ‘media for development’ approach, which emphasises the use of media hardware and software to disseminate development information and bring about social change, and the ‘media development’ approach, which focuses on modernizing media systems and infrastructure, training media workers, and lobbying for enabling policies which can strengthen good governance (Manyozo 2014, 322). Looking at the stations studied, the approach to their engagement with funding and training organisations is a mix of all three approaches, with varying emphasis on the different strands. The following section details the donors, trainers and representative organisations involved with community broadcasters, and then outlines the resulting station structures.

4.6 Kenya Meteorological Department: Weather and Development Stations

The Kenya Meteorological Department (KMD) is a government body, tasked with providing meteorological information to aid in the better utilization of natural resources. Its interest in community radio stems from the fact that the KMD provides free weather information to commercial and state media, but these do not always air the information. According to the KMD, weather information is a public good, in that it is information that is useful to all members of the public, and therefore stations should not charge to air it. In warning them of

any impending weather conditions that they need to prepare for, timely meteorological information helps the public avoid disaster and loss. The KMD therefore started community radio stations as part of a project known as RANET (RAdio and interNET). As of 2014, the KMD was running four functional radio and weather stations, and had acquired licenses for two more. The KMD does not work in isolation. It partners with organisations such as the United States weather service, the World Meteorological Organisation, and Vodafone, a multinational telecommunications company. Vodafone provided wind-up radios (which do not require batteries, one of the major costs incurred in running a radio) to community listening groups. KMD also works with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) already working in the community, allowing them to provide content, for example on health issues, as explained by the KMD project coordinator: “You know NGOs want to help a particular community in a certain way. Like in Suswa we were in partnership with an NGO that was promoting HIV awareness. So we partnered with them. They provided the space where to put the radio, in one of their rooms, and we work with such people as partners” (Ruirie 2014).

And while weather is a key focus of these stations, it is not the only focus. The programme coordinator clarified during the interview, as the following excerpt shows:

It is not all about weather and climate 24 hours. We encourage them to address issues in the community like diseases, cattle diseases, development issues...[...]...politics and religion is out, because [in airing such] we are polarising the community. If you support a certain political ideology and you bring it onto the radio it will cause conflict. So we have avoided the two. Politics and religion. (Ruirie 2014).

Interviewer:⁵⁰ And there is no demand from the community to hear about political and religious issues?

No, the community wants to hear about development. Just development. But obviously you know politicians want to come in. So even where we have those radios, there are some interests from politicians [who] want to come in. But we have made it clear it is purely a government tool to enhance climate and weather information... and generally for development issues. (Ruirie 2014)

From the above quote the funding organization views itself as being in a position to judge the kind of content the community wants to listen to, and prefers to focus on ‘safe’ content, which is not linked to politics. Thus, on one hand the station is to ostensibly give the community a voice, but in practice, the voice is curtailed, limited to topics that do not upset the power balance. While this caution is described as being for the good of the community, it is also apparent that this caution is to ensure that the status quo remains. From the above examples,

⁵⁰ I was the interviewer

the expectation that the KMD radio stations function in a 'collaborative' role (Christians et al, 2009) with the government is clearly stated. The KMD, as a state body, envisages the role of the stations as partnering in development promotion through the provision of information to the community. In this case, the state creates the plan, and then expects the media to disseminate it. The media is not expected to exercise autonomy and pursue self-determined goals, but rather, follow pre-determined state goals. Indeed, this mindset is so much the case that the KMD finds it unreasonable that commercial stations would want to charge a fee to air weather information. According to the coordinator, "Weather and climate information is a public good. It is for the benefit of everyone. So why should a radio station charge for that information? They should just relay it." (Ruirie 2014)

The KMD expects airtime in the media to be freely provided, irrespective of the fact that private media houses are business outfits out to make profits, and not out to implement state information priorities. This approach to the state-media relationship illustrates Alhassan & Chakravartty's (2011) argument that in postcolonial nations, "communication resources of the nation are often discussed, not as resources for democracy but as those for 'development' in the technical sense of diffusion studies" (Alhassan and Chakravartty 2011, 371). The idea of top-down communication is also apparent here, with the station playing the role of educator, with no contribution by the community. This harks back to the diffusion approach of the 1960s which viewed information as the key to transforming traditional populations into modern ones, thus promoting national development (Rogers, 1962). The diffusion approach, while officially phased out in favour of more participatory approaches to development, is apparently still alive in terms of the ideas circulating in government circles about the role of the media in society. More so, it sounds like a continuation of Kenya's post-independence nation-building strategy. In the post-independence period starting in the 1960s, Kenyan broadcast media were co-opted into the state, with journalists categorised as civil servants tasked with aiding the state to meet its goals (Odhiambo 1991; Ogola 2011).

In the case of Kangema FM, weather content from the Kenya Meteorological Department (KMD) is an integral part of the station's content, and is, indeed, the reason for existence of the station in the first place. The station may not be restricted from including diverse content in its programmes, but is required to have specific content depending on the funding source. While arguably, the programme requirements are actually for the good of the community, this does not negate the fact that these programming priorities are not determined by the

communities that they are meant to serve; rather, they are determined by people from outside the community who happen to have the resources that the stations need to run. It exemplifies the constant sustainability dilemma of community radio stations: ideally, they should be run on community funds so as to enable the community to truly determine the priorities that they would like to address via the stations. However, often, the community is not able or willing to fund the station, and in fact do not see it as their duty to do so, and if anything, expect the station to support them. However, it is not just a matter of the non-station community members' understanding. Even among the community station producers, there is a distinct top-down approach in how they view themselves in relation to the community; they seek to 'enlighten' their fellow community members (thus assuming that they are in a position of knowledge). This idea is further tackled in the examination of the individual stations' production practices.

While KMD is a meteorological institution with weather as its core business, it stands to reason that KMD has probably found it easier to get licenses for its stations approved because weather is a non-controversial subject.⁵¹ This is especially keeping in mind that broadcast frequencies have historically been a tightly controlled resource.⁵² From the conversation with the coordinator, politics and religion are assumed to be separate from development. It exemplifies the idea that was in vogue until the 1990s in much of post-colonial Africa, Kenya included: that the media should pursue development goals in collaboration with the state, rather than issues such as democracy or freedom of expression (Ramaprasad 2001; Ogola 2011; Odhiambo 1991; Alhassan and Chakravartty 2011).

As Alhassan & Chakravartty (2011) point out, the rhetoric of 'development' has been "as instrumental as political technologies in governmentalizing the Global South in international relations" (Alhassan and Chakravartty 2011, 378). While the authors make this argument in the context of global influences on local media policies, the idea of development as a governmentalizing⁵³ tool is apparent at this local level. The same way the rhetoric of 'nation-

⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu in 'On Television' (p. 44-56) makes an engaging argument about weather as the ideal 'soft' subject in commercial television, not only because it is relevant to diverse viewers, but also because it is least likely to offend anyone and therefore not liable to disrupt a station's market share. This same 'non-disruptive content' logic seems to inform the KMD in choosing to adopt a policy of not airing politics or religion.

⁵² See for example histories of Kenyan media as outlined by Ogenga (2010), Ogola (2011), Nyanjom (2012), Nyabuga & Booker (2013), Wanyama (2015), and Ugangu (2016)

⁵³ I use governmentalizing here in the Foucauldian sense of how the state uses its power to control populations. See Foucault, M. (1991). 'Governmentality', trans. Rosi Braidotti and revised by Colin Gordon, in Graham

building’ was used to squelch any opposition to the post-independence state (Ogola 2011), ‘development’ is used here as an argument to shut down the possibilities for the community to engage in democratic discussion of overtly political issues. However this does not necessarily mean that forms of political participation do not take place in KMD stations. From the reference to politicians and supporting ‘certain political ideology’, the conceptualisation of the political by the KMD is narrowed down to ‘institutionalized politics’ (Carpentier and Jenkins, 2014). It ignores the possibility of political engagement through activities such as participation in the popular, which constitutes “subtle rather than direct struggle or agitation” (Mudhai 2011, 257). Nevertheless, if one goes by the stated ideas of the founders, this station is designed for top-down development communication, rather than participatory communication which is based on the views of the community.

4.7 Norwegian Church Aid (NCA): Climate Change, Community and Governance

The Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) is an ecumenical organisation with offices in 34 countries worldwide.⁵⁴ The organisation provides emergency assistance in disasters, as well as engaging in long term development projects. The organisation has worked in Kenya since 1984, focusing on Climate Justice and Gender Justice.⁵⁵ It has funded Koch FM since 2006, when the station was started. Although NCA has a special interest in climate issues, it decided to work with Koch FM. As the NCA programme officer who deals directly with Koch FM explains:

...Koch is not entirely for us a climate change partner per se. They are very strong in as far as issues of governance are concerned, and again in terms of young people speaking, being at the table to make decisions and the opportunity to be involved in decision-making, this conversation about development, we saw that as an opportunity for Koch FM...we never wanted to digress them from their core business or their core agenda, which is governance issues, and accountability, we just wanted to see how we can be able to infuse the issues of climate change within the conversation of governance and development....And part of the contribution to the climate change problem is a governance problem. (IB 2015)

Thus, while NCA objectives and Koch FM objectives do not directly match, Koch FM was of interest to the donor organisation. Of interest is that while it sounds like NCA came in to support an already existent station, the organisation was actually part of the initial setting up of Koch FM. Approached with the idea of a youth radio station in the slum, NCA “donated

Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, pp. 87–104.. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

⁵⁴ Norwegian Church Aid page - ‘How we work’ <https://www.kirkensnodhjelp.no/en/>

⁵⁵ Norwegian Church Aid page - ‘Kenya’ <https://www.kirkensnodhjelp.no/en/where-we-work/kenya/>

enough money for an old shipping container to house the studio and other facilities”.⁵⁶ Koch FM’s physical location was also particularly attractive to the NCA, as it represented a demographic that the organisation felt is often overlooked:

We felt that as far as campaigns are concerned there is community engagement, but most importantly also the question of media. So many people have been using the national media, or the mainstream media so to speak [to transmit their messages], and unfortunately, probably there is this message that the people in the informal settlements identify as their own issues. Even when you go to these informal settings, their dimension of issues is far different from what you and I probably want to imagine. Koch FM presented that opportunity... we felt that working with the community station that’s focusing on this group that not many people have paid attention to in as far as media engagement is concerned, for us we saw that as an opportunity. That’s one. And two, when you go to these informal settlements, again a majority of the people there are the young people. When they talk about the negative issues happening there, talk about crime, talk about drug abuse, talk about anything, it’s basically young people. And who is reaching out to these young people with the correct message? With the message of inspiration, with the message of hope? No one, if you don’t use the media, I mean, the type of media that can be able to reach them, then you’re getting it wrong. So for us that’s why we thought Koch FM was one of the best partners. And again being a radio station that is managed by young people, again it was speaking to what we were looking at, that is, working very closely with young people. (IB 2015)

From the above explanations, NCA views Koch FM as a sort of implementing partner for NCA’s climate change objectives. While Koch FM has its own objectives, chiefly governance, NCA sees potential to advance its climate change goals through the station. Also attractive for NCA is that Koch FM has a community engagement strategy known as ‘*vikao vya jamii*’⁵⁷, in which the station staff meet community members formally and discuss issues of concern. Koch FM then, as per its documentation, uses these issues to inform its programming agenda. NCA has made use of this format to access the community and generate discussions in line with the global Conference of Parties (COP) discussions on climate change that take place annually.⁵⁸ Since 2010, Koch FM has been doing a similar round of community discussions which they have dubbed ‘conference of people’, in which the station staff play the role of educators and awareness creators to the community on climate issues. Thus, Koch FM acts as a grassroots implementation partner for NCA’s climate change agenda, and is of value to NCA in that it offers access to the Korogocho community. In line with rhetoric in global development circles

⁵⁶ See <http://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/april-2012/community-radio-gives-voice-shack-dwellers>

⁵⁷ Kiswahili for ‘community gatherings’

⁵⁸ See <http://unfccc.int/bodies/body/6383.php>

on the importance of community participation, the aspect of community engagement is valued by NCA. As the programme officer explains:

We have a strategy within the organisation [NCA], we call it community engagement strategy. Note that this is not just for Koch. It's for all our partners. If you are an NGO or you're in this field, your core agenda is working with the community....you have to engage the community to be able to structure that agenda. That is one of the key things that we've been helping these partners with. Basically training them on community engagement strategy, then we require them, we don't coerce them, but we require them to develop on their own, to domesticate their community engagement strategy. That is one of our requirements, but again our funding is not pegged on that. Again there is no particular formula in terms of developing a community engagement strategy, so it's something that continuously evolves....[...].... In fact part of what we usually report on is how many [people] called Koch FM to inform the agenda, for example. How many people sent messages or SMS to Koch FM, contributing about the agenda. When it comes to accountability, or what we are calling the humanitarian accountability partnership, that's now where we are saying 'how often does the community come to Koch FM to raise issues or concerns?' And not just raise issues, it's how many people come in to congratulate Koch FM. That 'for us as a community, for a long time, *tumekuwa tumefinyiliwa* (we were oppressed). But at least now, we have a platform where we can raise our issues'. (IB 2015)

From the above, NCA views Koch FM as both a grassroots NGO and a broadcaster that creates space for community voice.⁵⁹ NCA is of the view that it does not try to change Koch FM's agenda, but rather, the organisation seeks to infuse climate-change issues into the programming at the station and discussions at the community level. Similar to KMD, 'development' is the underlying logic for NCA, albeit embodied in climate change issues:

...for us as an organisation ..., we say that development is a conversation. Right now they may not be very sure about climate change, but within the process as we continue partnering with them, we'll continue carrying our conversation about climate change. And we are pretty sure even beyond NCA, if NCA was to close shop tomorrow for example, I'm pretty sure the agenda on climate change, the agenda on governance, will continue. Reason being NCA never came to tell them now stop what you are doing, focus on what we want you guys to do, but it's what you have been doing, before we gave you support to establish yourselves, you had actually come up with that concept. So continue with your concept, continue with your agenda, let's see how we can be able to come on board and basically be able to contribute towards what you are doing. (IB 2015)

One area however that NCA is overtly involved in transforming is Koch FM's administrative structures. Through 'strengthening' the board and the management, and participating in the

⁵⁹ How well Koch FM plays this role is discussed in the chapter 6, which focuses on programme content and audience participation.

development of a strategic plan, NCA plays a part in influencing the creation of administrative structures at the station. Again, in line with indicators for community involvement conceptualised in the international development field, NCA is keen to ensure that Koch FM has a functioning management board and accountability mechanisms:

For us the three key things is a board or the management, two a question of accountability - not that we have any problem with their accountability - the point is we want to institutionalise that, so that when another donor comes in, some of these donors who are very caught up on issues of accountability - 'you have to give us audited financial reports and everything' - we have built their capacity or we've facilitated building of their capacity to be able to get to that level...Because you see all donors are not the same. For us as NCA it's the approach that we have that we want to work and walk with these partners who've not yet gotten to the level that other donors would want to work with in terms of being established.... we want to work with those that are emerging, they have passion, they have the commitment, they may not have the structure. (IB 2015)

In actively seeking to create management and accountability structures at Koch FM, NCA is operating on the 'dual logic' (Mosse 2001) that characterises development projects. One logic emphasises local-level planning and participation in the project, while the other logic puts emphasis on the operational demands of the funding organisation, especially upward accountability (to the funder) and delivery of the project goals. As such, the project is not free to operate outside of pre-determined organisational goals. Therefore, while NCA supports Koch FM's engagement with the community, it also actively seeks ways to ensure that the station exhibits accountability through mechanisms pre-determined by the funder. It is interesting that the programme officer describes this streamlining process as not only accountability to NCA, but as a way of 'preparing' Koch FM to engage with other donors; to fit into the international NGO landscape. Koch FM therefore finds itself imbricated at both the local and the international levels. While the station was commenced to serve community priorities, the accomplishment of these aims – the survival of the station, in fact - relies on the station shaping itself to fit into a pre-determined place in the global development communication ecology. Ultimately, Koch FM is conceptualised as not only a local broadcaster, but also as a community-based organisation (CBO) which plays a part in community development, and which fits into the global development chain as a member of civil society.⁶⁰ Structures to enable better accountability to international development

⁶⁰ 'The World Bank has adopted a definition of civil society developed by a number of leading research centers: "the term civil society to refer to the wide array of **non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Civil Society Organizations**

organisations are privileged in this approach, and the station is evaluated not as a broadcaster, but as a grassroots civil society organisation. Indeed, organisationally, Koch FM acts as a civil society organisation and plays by the rules of the NGO sector, for instance submitting a progress report to NCA every quarter on each activity proposed, and an annual report accounting for funds provided.

According to NCA, the focus on creating management structures at the station is so as to make it easier for Koch FM to get future donors. While this easier access to future donor funding is portrayed as an effort to ensure Koch FM's sustainability, it also demonstrates NCA's conception of sustainability as 'successfully securing donor funding'. The station's continued existence is thus visualised not in terms of the station generating its own funds, but rather, becoming more competent to source international donor funding. This reliance on donor support raises questions about the station's independence; if the station will always be reliant on international donor funding, there is then always the possibility of the station working according to donor priorities rather than community goals. For instance, NCA's climate-change agenda is visible in Koch FM's mission statement, which highlights environmental issues as the station's corporate social responsibility focus. Although this in itself is not negative, it demonstrates how the plan of action is not fully set by the station, but rather, is the result of negotiation between external and internal priorities.

In addition, while enhancing Koch FM's capacity to source donor funding is possibly well intentioned, this approach does not seem to take into consideration the potentially harmful impact of foreign funding structures on local participation, as detailed by Conrad (2014), for example. Research on donor-funded projects has shown that with the influx of donor funding, communities tend to engage less in decision-making concerning the project and instead, revert to the role of passive beneficiaries (Mosse 2001; Conrad 2014; Kothari 2001), partly because it is a familiar role and partly not to jeopardise the influx of funds. Despite the rhetoric of equal participation for all, if the need of the community is funding for their project, they are unlikely to express opinions or pursue priorities that may jeopardise that funding. Ironically, therefore,

(CSOs) therefore refer to a wide of array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations”. See ‘Defining Civil Society’ page by the World Bank at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,contentMDK:20101499~menuPK:244752~pagePK:220503~piPK:220476~theSitePK:228717,00.html>:

the aim that such projects state they seek to achieve – community participation and decision-making – is jeopardised because of the tilted power balance that occurs in favour of whoever holds the financial means. While the community has collective decision-making power, this is far too often subsumed by the financial power that comes with donors. The workings of power in development interventions should therefore not be taken for granted (Wilkins 2000/2006).

From the foregoing, community broadcasters exist within an international political economy in the development sector, and they develop strategies to ensure their stations' continuity in this context. To secure the international funds that they are often heavily reliant on, these broadcasters create administrative structures, adopt management practices and incorporate project priorities that match those recommended by their funders. Unfortunately, focus on financial and institutional/organisational sustainability endangers a station's social sustainability⁶¹: its acceptance by and support from the community. It has been argued that financial sustainability is assured only when there is social and institutional sustainability, and not the other way round (Dagron 2001; Lush and Urgoiti 2012). However, this consideration is often not the most important.

Apart from streamlining the station's management structures for future donor funding, NCA also supports Koch FM's bid to acquire revenue through advertising, as commercial stations do. Thus the station is not expected to come up with an alternative financial survival strategy, free of the influence of the market, although this has been idealised as one of the characteristics setting apart alternative media from other media.⁶² The programme officer argues that the station – all community radio stations, in fact – should be allowed to carry advertisements, and hints at NCA supporting Koch FM's efforts to engage in advocacy for the same:

... if you acknowledge there is a constituency listening to that radio station, what's the problem with them running a commercial? I mean, that's the only place that they can be able to get [revenues]...they have a constituency that is listening to them, that probably is not listening to Classic FM, to Kiss, to Capital, so one of the things we have been discussing with them is how to even engage in terms of advocating and ensuring that that clause that prohibits CR from running infomercials is withdrawn. (IB 2015)

⁶¹ Financial sustainability refers to a station's ability to fund itself, while institutional sustainability is about the station's management structures. Social sustainability is the community's view of the station as part of its communicative ecologies. See for instance (Lush and Urgoiti 2012), (Jallov 2007) and (Costa, n.d.) for a discussion of these different forms of sustainability.

⁶² See for example Atton (2001), Jankowski (2003) and Myers (2011), who include non-commercial financing as one defining feature of alternative media, which community radio is often taken to be part of.

As such, NCA is involved not only in supporting Koch FM, but is also – even if not overtly - involved in efforts to influence the legislation surrounding community broadcasting. Thus, development of the sector is not always driven by the State, but rather, is partly a response to pressure from international bodies. This is an example of the centrality of foreign funding organisations in both the development of community radio stations in Kenya, and in developing the policies around them.

On the other hand, advocating for commercial financing for community radio stations highlights the sustainability dilemma facing the sector. If community broadcasters also become reliant on advertising revenue as their primary source of funds, would they remain an independent third sector of broadcasting as they are intended to be, or would it transform them into small-scale commercial broadcasters, serving commercial interests? Arguably, advertising funds may be easier to come by than grants and sponsorships as currently required by the legislation. Advertising is therefore an attractive option for community stations under pressure to survive. However, it needs to be a well thought out model that will not compromise the aims of community broadcasting. For instance, limiting the percentage of funding that should come from advertising.

4.8 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO): ICT for Development

Another international organisation actively involved in the Kenyan community radio sector is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). It engages in the sector primarily through skills training, specifically in the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) by community radio producers to enhance their work. Since 2012, UNESCO has been running a project that now involves eight community stations, supporting programme production in health, agriculture, and one area of interest decided on by each participating radio station. The training focuses on technical skills and business skills. The technical skills include production, editorial, programming, radio formats, and how to use internet for programme production, use of ICTs in radio programmes, how to use mobile phones for interviews. Business skills include entrepreneurship - since sustainability is a big issue for community radio - and financial management, which is evaluated through requiring each station to provide draft financial statements at the end of each year. For Mugambo FM, UNESCO specifically supports programmes in governance, media, drugs, and youth and culture.

Unlike NCA which has been involved in the establishment of community stations, UNESCO's strategy is to engage with already existent stations. The Regional Communication and Information Assistant⁶³ summarised what UNESCO looks for in selecting the stations it works with: a valid broadcasting license, a station that has been operational for more than two years, a community-owned rather than individual-owned station,⁶⁴ one with reliable electricity supply, and the station must own at least one mobile phone. There is a focus on the technical aspects: "UNESCO allows editorial independence but has control over the technical aspects" (OJ 2015). The organisation sends work plans to the stations and has staff swapping between stations to share knowledge. It selects trainers for joint trainings while the stations organise other trainings on their own. UNESCO does not provide 100% funding for the equipment but rather, works in partnership with stations to procure equipment the stations need. In other words, the station must raise at least part of the funding necessary for the equipment for UNESCO to provide the rest of the funds. This approach of expecting the stations to partly fund themselves is a way to reduce total financial reliance by the stations on the donor, such that the stations do not fall into the role of 'passive beneficiary' (Mosse 2001) as has often been the case with development projects. Indeed, requiring station contributions is a way of increasing the level of internal commitment to the station. Moreover, when these contributions come from community members, it generates more community ownership of the project. However, acquiring alternative funding is not always easy for the stations, as will be outlined in the case of Mugambo FM in later chapters.

The rationale for UNESCO's heavy focus on ICT use in radio stations was that stations could not track the number of calls and text messages they were receiving, nor could they use available technology such as mobile phones for interviews, in the absence of voice recorders. Following these trainings in the use of technology, UNESCO states that the stations now are able to monitor how many calls they receive, they have established correspondents' networks for diversity in programming (not just music non-stop), there is networking between stations through training them together, and the stations are now producing disaster and risk-focused

⁶³ Interview with John Okande, Regional Communication and Information Assistant, UNESCO, on 06 February 2015

⁶⁴ This is in view of the fact that there exist small radio stations that term themselves community broadcasters, but are actually owned by an individual, such as 'Sauti ya Mwananchi' (Citizen's Voice) in Nakuru, owned by an activist and politician, Koigi Wa Wamwere. See <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/1064-476006-89ugdzyz/index.html> and <http://hubpages.com/politics/koigi-wamwere>

programmes for advocacy. For these latter kind of programmes, UNESCO outsources the training to BBC Media Action, an international NGO, which partners with a local private university Strathmore (iLab). The training sessions take place at the university. Kenya Telkoms Link (Kentel) is also involved in training the stations in using mobile phones for radio production. For accountability, the stations submit one recorded programme per week to UNESCO. Thus, much as UNESCO does not interfere in the overall editorial policy of the stations, to some extent it plays an oversight role in the stations' content.

UNESCO's intervention in the community media sector clearly falls within the 'media for development' approach outlined by Manyozo (2014), which emphasises the use of media hardware and software to disseminate development information and bring about social change. However, the incorporation of new technology in radio producers' work is not so straightforward. At Mugambo FM, for example, one of the producers seemed unsure of how to use the newly introduced technology, despite having attended several training sessions. More importantly, use of some technology had been discontinued at the station due to cost, as per the conversation below:

We have done a lot [of training]. Frontline SMS, all about maintenance, even about studio, how you're supposed to conduct yourself here.... [Frontline SMS] is all about how to communicate with people, like using a computer, whereby people SMS, and then after you receive an SMS, you send another SMS to them saying thank you for listening and something like that...it's somehow complicated, but using that will help you communicate with your audience. (MF, Mugambo FM, 11.03.14)

When asked whether this system is working well, the producer stated that it is no longer in use, because "...it's a little expensive, because you need to use credit...to subscribe to those SMS, you need to use credit to communicate with them" (MF 2014). In this case, although the technology enhances communication with listeners, it has not been adopted consistently at the station partly due to cost. As such, introduction of technology must take cognisance of context. It may improve efficiency and be a great idea on paper, but when it is applied to a certain setting it may fail due to contextual factors as well as personal competencies.

While UNESCO apparently conceptualises technology as the missing link for development, seeing "ICT as a driver, a tool, an enabler" (OJ 2015), it falls into the trap of media-centricism and technological determinism, which has been a subject of the global communication for development policy debate. The assumption that technology creates and sustains social

change, while challenged over the years (Mansell 1982; Manyozo 2011; Garnham and Fuchs 2014; Agbobli and Fusaro 2015), is still apparent in this case. As illustrated by the Mugambo FM example, it is only technology appropriate to context that has a chance of being permanently adopted and adapted to a station's needs. Technology should not simply be introduced into a community radio station; issues about how to maintain it should also be addressed beforehand, otherwise the technology uptake may not succeed. On the issue of maintenance, UNESCO requires that the vendor commits to maintenance of any equipment provided to community radio stations for three to six months. However, this period is too brief, considering that most technology is expected to serve a station for years, not months.

Also of interest is that UNESCO delineates the boundaries for the kind of content that the stations should produce: agriculture and health are mandatory, only after which the station can produce programmes aligned to its own priorities. The international organisation has thus already identified priority issues for the stations, and seeks to have these addressed through its funding of ICT uptake at the stations. The stations, therefore, while benefitting from knowledge of new ICTs, at the same time play a part in the delivery of UNESCO's agenda for its engagement with community radio stations in Kenya. Once again, although health and agriculture are not negative, in delineation of these by UNESCO as priorities for the stations, the issue of station agenda being externally rather than internally driven comes to the fore.

4.9 Capacity-building for Community Broadcasters: Training and Representative Organisations

In addition to the above mentioned funding organisations, there are organisations involved in skills training for the stations, often referred to as 'capacity-building'. These training organisations⁶⁵ deal with many stations, both community broadcasters and non-community broadcasters. They have individual aims, but all operate under the rubric of 'media development'.⁶⁶

Organisations such as Internews Kenya and BBC Media Action are actively involved in training the staff in both commercial and community radio stations, in skills such as content generation. The Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET) has also been actively

⁶⁵ The organisations I discuss here are not exhaustive of all that deal with Kenyan community media; rather, I focus on those that have dealt with some or all three of the stations studied.

⁶⁶ Manyozo (2014) summarizes this approach as a focus on modernizing media systems and infrastructure, training media workers, and lobbying for enabling policies which can strengthen good governance.

involved in capacity building specifically among community radio stations, via a grant from UNESCO. These organisations term their engagement with community radio stations as ‘partnership’, but seem to come with preconceived recommendations on what sort of content community radio should produce, based on their view of what role such stations should play in society. I address BBC Media Action, Internews Kenya, and KCOMNET briefly in this section.

4.9.1 Democracy, Governance and Health: Internews Kenya and BBC Media Action

BBC Media Action and Internews are two international organisations involved in training not only community radio stations, but a variety of media stations in Kenya. They work in the focus areas of technical skills enhancement, which is referred to as ‘capacity-building’, and training on democracy and governance.

Internews Kenya, an international non-profit media development organisation, focuses on enhancing the capacity of journalists through training them in on-air presentation skills, production skills, and business plan design for the station in order to ensure sustainability. The organisation is also engaged in strengthening journalists’ data mining skills, such that they can make use of government websites, for instance, to get background information for their stories. It aims to enhance the ability of local media to provide news and information, as well as be a forum where people’s voices are heard. In Kenya, the organisation runs health, democracy and governance projects.⁶⁷

BBC Media Action is BBC’s international development charity. It focuses on training journalists to address democracy and governance issues, and to create radio programmes around water, hygiene and sanitation-related issues. It works on the premise that media and communication have the power to reduce poverty and aid people in understanding their rights. In its programmes with several stations in Kenya, including Koch FM, BBC Media Action’s stated goal is “to inspire young people to make informed choices and help them hold those in power to account.”⁶⁸

⁶⁷ See <http://www.internewskenya.org/home/>

⁶⁸ See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/where-we-work/africa/kenya/bbc-sema>

These two organisations, working globally, share similar focus areas: democracy, governance and health. The first two especially (democracy and governance) came to the fore in the 1990s in the post-cold war neoliberal turn, with global funding institutions such as the World Bank adopting it as a way to ensure development results in the Global South.⁶⁹ Since the 1990s, media has been linked to the cultivation of democracy and good governance, especially in the Global South.⁷⁰ The work of these two organisations in the Kenyan community media sector to promote these principles points once more to a global rhetoric regarding the priorities that local media should be pursuing. These focus areas are evident in the mission statements of the stations studied, especially Koch FM. However, as will be discussed later in this chapter, their day to day achievement is always under negotiation based on the contexts in which the stations exist, and the funding arrangements at the stations.

4.9.2 Reaching Community Radio's Canaan of the Five Pillars: KCOMNET

In a UNESCO-funded training project conducted with community radio stations in 2013 and 2014 for the purpose of 'Strengthening Community Radio Identity and Content'⁷¹, Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET)'s stated objectives included working to enhance 'understanding on community radio concept, identity, principles and ethics by community radio practitioners'.⁷² The training materials drew heavily from Communication for Development (C4D) literature, which states that community radio has a major role to play in the 'development and social progress of the community'.⁷³ Through this project, KCOMNET attempted to get community radio broadcasters to operate from one shared conceptual stance. As elaborated by the KCOMNET coordinator on how KCOMNET works with community broadcasters,

⁶⁹ According to Mkandawire (2007), good governance as a value was initially proposed by African intellectuals to refer to establishment of state-society relations that are developmental, democratic and respectful of citizens' rights, and socially inclusive. This was in reports to World Bank in 1989. However, the term was appropriated by the bank and linked to economic policy and Structural Adjustment Programmes (which had actually been previously found not to work). It was narrowed down to refer to technocratic transparency and accountability rather than its originally broader meaning which the Africans had envisioned. It became an administrative tool.

⁷⁰ See for example Chakravarty, 2007; Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002; Milligan & Mytton, 2009; Mudhai, 2011; Pettit, Salazar, & Dagron, 2009

⁷¹ See <http://www.kcomnet.org/projects/2014/12/4/strengthening-community-radio-identity-and-content>

⁷² For the reports detailing the project outcomes, see <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/53174cebe4b01396b75616d5/t/552d1b58e4b0c4575fde0c25/1429019480444/KCOMNET-HIVOS-KMP+2013%2C2014+Narrative+report+web+version.pdf>

⁷³ See p. 8 of the "Status of Content and programming by Community Radio Stations in Kenya" report on <https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/fullscreen/31453155/status-of-content-and-programming-by-community-radio-stations-in-kenya>

We find [the stations] might not really be able to achieve the ideal of all those qualities, the five points [community participation, non-profit model, community service, community ownership, and independence], but we find they are on the road to achieving all the principles. And we don't lose hope that they've got only say two principles. We keep with them until we find that we are going to Canaan with them....the Canaan of the five principles. And it's difficult, it's like the constitution, you will not be able to achieve all of them, but you will aspire to achieve them. (Githethwa 2014)

There is a clear, externally-imposed vision of what community broadcasters should be, which KCOMNET strives to achieve through its engagement with the stations. As opposed to a bottom-up approach that would allow community radio stations to shape themselves as they wish in order to meet community priorities, there is an active intervention by KCOMNET to 'standardize' these stations in terms of the objectives that they should prioritize and the principles they should follow. Another of KCOMNET's training goals for this project is "institutional strengthening for KCOMNET to be able to *guide* the development and sustainability of community media sector in Kenya"⁷⁴ (Italics mine). KCOMNET therefore positions itself as a facilitator of the growth of the Kenyan community media sector, acting as a mediator between global standards and local practice.

However, the negotiation between global and local expectations is not without its challenges for community broadcasters. For example, KCOMNET translates the 'community service' aspect of community broadcasting as airing development-related information relevant to the community. In one of the training workshops on community radio content in 2014⁷⁵, this aspect was emphasized as the ideal that community broadcasters should aspire to. While all the community broadcasters present verbally agreed on the importance of airing development-related information, they pointed out that it is not straightforward to implement especially in view of costs and competition.

In the Kenyan broadcast scene, as outlined in the first chapter, community radio stations are faced with competition from commercial stations which air in their broadcast areas. These commercial stations give priority to entertainment programming – mostly music and talk shows interspersed with advertisements - which is cheapest to produce and attracts high numbers. Community media are, in contrast, as noted during the KCOMNET training, expected to focus on airing development-oriented content. However, this is a challenge because it is both more

⁷⁴ See <http://www.kcomnet.org/projects/2014/12/4/strengthening-community-radio-identity-and-content>

⁷⁵ Personally attended by the researcher

expensive to produce such content than to run non-stop music, and development content seems to attract lower listenership numbers. This concern was highlighted when an intern at one of the stations asked the trainer: ‘who will listen to us if we air such content?’⁷⁶, and went on to describe her personal preferences for radio listening as being ‘to relax’ rather than to hear ‘serious content’. Indeed, community broadcasters seem to hold this opinion about their listeners’ preferences, because much as they air some development-related and community-specific content, they mostly rely on music to fill in much of their air time. They feel that this puts them in a stronger position to attract listenership, in view of the commercial stations already airing in their broadcast areas. The intern’s question highlighted the survival concerns which community broadcasters always have to keep in mind even as they seek to meet the ideal community broadcasting aims.⁷⁷ It also highlights the fact that community broadcasters seek to compete with commercial stations, rather than fill a unique niche that commercial stations do not fill.

As discussed in this section, similar to NCA which seeks to prepare Koch FM for engagement with bigger international donors, KCOMNET, drawing on global rhetoric, aims to influence community broadcasters’ ideas of what niche they should be filling in their communities. This effort to provide external orientation about what a community broadcaster’s priorities should be illustrates the position of community broadcasters as the local link in an international chain of actors, where they are expected to play certain roles and not others.

Training community broadcasters on global community media principles, while useful in bringing local community broadcasters up to date with global discourses about community radio, runs the risk of devaluing the broadcasters’ emic voice. Accurately or not, this approach implies that community broadcasters are not aware of why they are existent in the first place. It may build the technical capacity of the broadcaster, but does not take into account their agency and ability to assess their own priorities. It discourages the possibility that a station could work based on different priorities which are equally valid and relevant to the community, but are not part of the global discourse at all. In part due to reliance on international funding sources, community stations are constrained to engage with this global rhetoric and align their

⁷⁶ From field notes 26.03.2014

⁷⁷ Listenership patterns, radio content at these stations and the considerations that go into producing it are further discussed in Chapter 5 on listenership trends, Chapter 6 on community radio content, and Chapter 7 on producers and their daily work routines.

priorities accordingly. Thus, the tension between whether to cater purely to local and national concerns or to accommodate global recommendations is always under negotiation.

4.10 Organisational Structures at Community Radio Stations

When it comes to funding, the three stations draw on different sources. I identify three different models of community radio funding and as a result, three different models of station structures and management. These are: ‘central-government funded and community run’, ‘donor- and local-government funded and community run’, and ‘fully donor funded and community run’. These different funding and management models breed sometimes significant differences in the stations’ operations, focus and content.⁷⁸ I start with a description of the station’s reception areas as an entry point into station structures and relationships.

Documentary Review at Station Reception Areas as Hints of Networks and Organisational Cultures

At Koch FM, apart from a framed picture of the founding members overlooking the reception desk, there were posters from donor organisations, describing several information campaigns. This already hinted at the station’s ongoing relationships with international NGOs. Administrative documents were shelved in files just above the reception desk, apparently accessible to everyone.

At Mugambo FM, there was a variety of documents on display. These included the station’s mission statement, duty roster, pictures of awards won, a portrait photo of the Kenyan president, printouts of inspirational quotes, sample greeting cards available for sale, a schedule of the pastors slotted to preach in the morning programme for the coming months, and two framed certificates. One certificate was from the Clinton Global Initiative, acknowledging Mugambo as a ‘Community Knowledge Centre’, while the other was from the ‘Tigania Pastors Fellowship’, appreciating the station’s participation in a community event. These diverse

⁷⁸ Note that the preceding categories are based purely on the administrative structures of the stations, rather than on the functions of the station in the community or in relation to the broader media scene, which would generate a different scheme of categorization. Examples of categorizations of community media based on their functions include *alternative media* – ‘any media which fall outside the formal corporate mainstream media’ (Ndlela 2010), *radical media* – media ‘that express an alternative vision to hegemonic policies, priorities and perspectives’ (J. D. Downing 2001), and *citizens’ media*, where community members, through their participation in the media, are transformed into active citizens (Rodriguez, Civil Society and Citizens Media: Peace Architects for a New Millenium 2000).

documents hinted at the station's links at the local and global level, and its ties both with the government and with non-governmental organisations.

In contrast, at Kangema FM, rather than posters taking up the available space on the walls, there was a notice board on which all documentary information was displayed. The documents consisted of meteorological and farming information, emergency government numbers, the duty roster for producers, and internal memos to the staff. These portrayed a station overtly focused on weather issues, with strong links to the government, and having a formal communication style, as exemplified by the staff memos. Thus, even before interviews with the station staff, an observation of the physical settings of the three stations already provided hints of the kind of organisational cultures at the stations.

4.11 Kangema FM: Central Government Funded, Community-Run

Kangema FM went on air in 2008, and is located in a rural area in the central region of Kenya. It is a project of Kenya's Meteorological department, but staffed by community members drawn from the surrounding areas. Apart from the funding from the Kenya Meteorological Department, the station generates income from announcements and local advertisements. As of 2015, Kangema FM was considering a partnership with the current governor of the area, but that had not been confirmed. The station also acts as an information centre for the community about government services and initiatives. This includes contacting other government ministries to get information and resource people to inform the community about for instance best seeds to plant a particular season, how to stop livestock disease, and where to go in case of lost livestock. Kangema FM focuses on farming and climate information as a way to improve the region's food security. This is particularly because the region is prone to mudslides which have in the past taken lives and destroyed property. The station receives daily text messages from KMD with the weather forecast, and broadcasts these to the community. It also receives seasonal forecasts via email and airs them. In addition to their journalistic training, the station staff are trained in reading of weather instruments which are located at the station. They observe and record weather patterns several times a day and send the data to the KMD, which uses the data to compile forecasts. In case of heavy rains that could lead to mudslides, the station warns the community and recommends mitigative steps to take, for those who live in mudslide-prone areas.

The station manager terms the station's relationship with the community as a 'partnership' and describes it as follows: "The community will provide the staff and the programmes for the community; the Kenya Meteorological Services will provide equipment and weather content" (KJ 2014). The station manager is a meteorologist by training, seconded from the Kenya Meteorological Department (KMD). He argues that despite KMD's ownership of the license, the station is a community station because of the involvement of staffers drawn from the community in the station's day to day running and generation of content. The station staff are paid as government casual workers, through the Meteorological Department. The station began with any willing even if untrained youth available, but by 2014, six years later, it had succeeded in implementing a policy of recruiting only those with training in mass communication. Thus, the majority of the station's staff are holders of a diploma in mass communication.

At this station, the hierarchies are clear and tasks are clearly demarcated, as in any government office. Of the three stations, this one is where the interns are most closely monitored and given specific tasks daily, as are the producers. Interns are assigned specific duties, often as partners to the already existing producers, and the onus is on the producer to train the intern on the job by sharing tasks with them. The intern goes on air with the producer, and accompanies them to the field or is sent out to the field to file stories from the producer's beat. The internship lasts for three months, with the opportunity of extension, if there is still need for the intern's services and no new interns are coming in. Just as all the producers are expected to be promptly at the station before their show is due to begin, the interns are also expected to be timely each day and to fulfill all assigned duties. The Kangema FM content production and station management hierarchy are outlined in Figure 3.

As illustrated in Figure 3, there are clear reporting lines with each person aware of whom they are answerable to. The communication officers are the producers assigned to specific studio shows, while the information officers are the producers who are mainly engaged in news gathering, compilation and presentation. The latter are also seconded to specific shows, should the main studio host be absent. However, the producers who are show hosts are not exempt from news gathering. When they are not in studio, they are expected to be engaged in news collection and compilation.

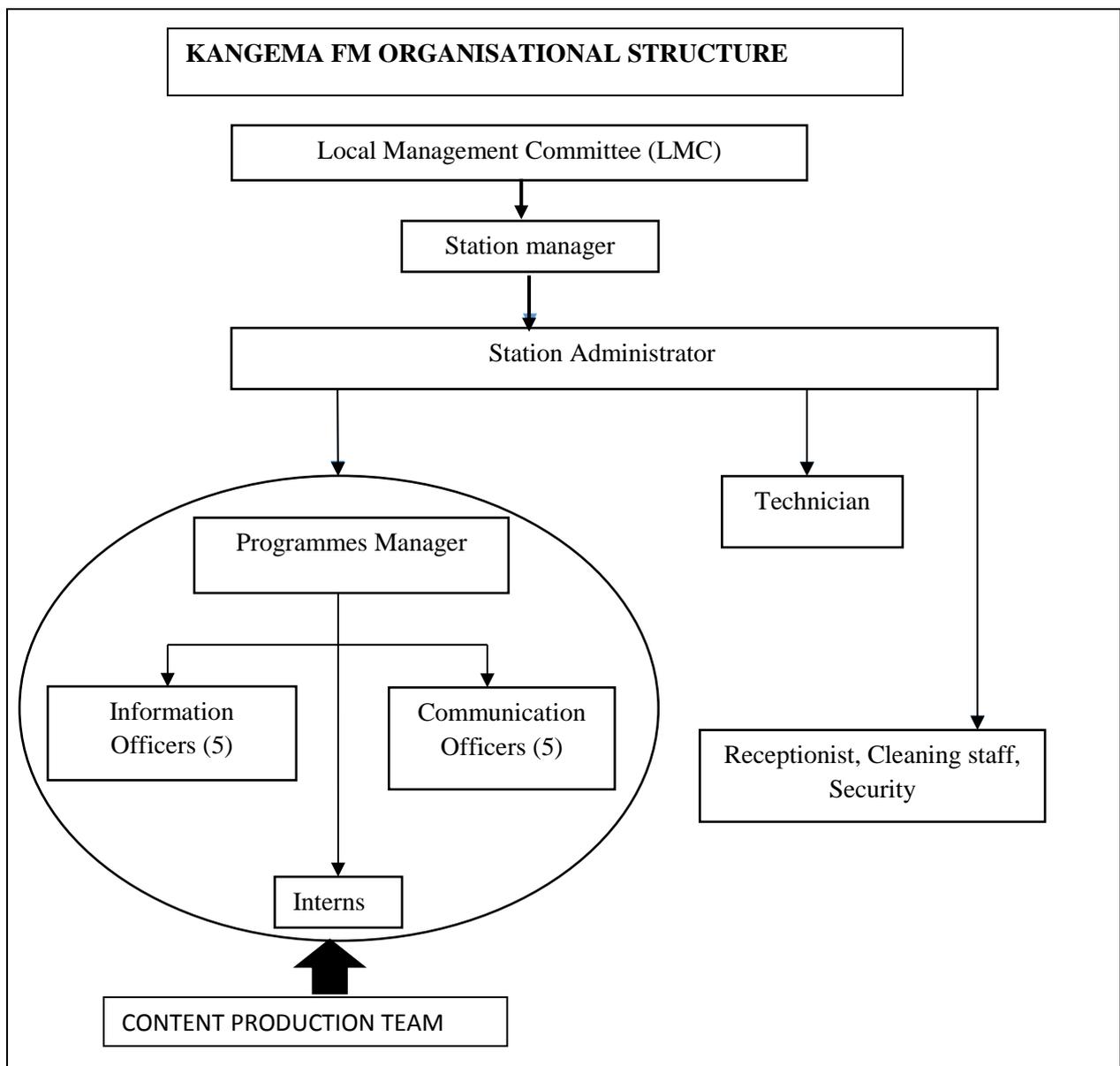


Figure 3: Kangema FM Organisational Structure

The station manager explains the management structures put in place to ensure community participation in the station's management and content:

.....the head of the community is the area MP, because he is a community leader. He selects or appoints someone to be the chair of the board of the community radio.... In this board we have the provincial administration represented, we have the department (Meteorological) represented and we have other areas; gender, and other stakeholders, farmers groups...so they are all represented in that committee, to ensure that all issues are covered in the station in the broadcasts. (KJ 2014)

From this structure, the top-down nature of station management is evident. The Member of Parliament is elected by the people in the area, but is at the same time clearly a member of the bigger governmental power structure. That this person has the power to appoint the chair of the radio station management board raises questions about how impartial the station management can be, even with representatives from all sections of the community as outlined by the station manager.

The radio station views itself as a community station and operates under a community radio license, but the government's influence on the station's management is also apparent in, for instance, the hiring procedure. The station management advertises on the radio and through posters at the local chiefs' offices that they have a vacancy, receives applications, vets them to ensure all applicants meet the minimum requirements, and then conducts several rounds of interviews, the last of which is attended by a representative from the Kenya Meteorological Department's head office. The selected community members are then put on the government payroll as casual workers, and are termed as 'volunteers'. This management and hiring structure positions the station more as a government than as a community station: with the funding from government sources, making use of government channels for sourcing and conveying information, and the highest managing board being composed of government-appointed people. Nevertheless, in view of the constant battle for financial sustainability that community radio stations in Kenya face, taking on the community members as government casual workers and thus ensuring a regular income for them each month seems to provide a solution in this context. One positive aspect of this arrangement is the low turnover of staff, with, according to the records, only three having left by 2014, six years after the station began. This offers stability and continuity for the station. However, despite the continuity offered, the extent of government involvement in the station raises questions about the station's editorial independence, given that the station would not air information perceived to be critical of the government. This is reflected in the station's claim to avoid overt 'political' and 'religious' content. The station manager describes the station's stance as follows:

We are non-religious and non-political... That does not mean we do not have prayers in the station... every morning we have prayers and we also have some programmes on counselling based on the Bible, because we are very much concerned about the morals of the community. Non-political does not mean that we do not broadcast political issues.... Non-political in a sense that you cannot come and tell who you are and why we should vote for you. We cannot discuss issues of who is to be elected, or why should one prefer this one to the other one. But we can talk of the policies of the parties, or

what the parties expect to do for the country. And you see when you talk of parties it is all the political parties that are in the contest. (KJ 2014)

This quote describes the station's view of itself as an extension of the developmental government, charged with performing an oversight role in the community, which includes having the right to guide the people in terms of morals. As summarised by the station manager, "we are a non-profit organization where we educate, inform and entertain the community unlike other commercial stations who make profits" (WW 2014). The station is positioned as a top-down communicator to the community, rather than acting as a place where dialogic communication can take place, as community broadcasting is envisioned to be. The station's focus on weather and agricultural issues and deliberate avoidance of overt political content positions it as different from commercial stations and from the state broadcaster. However, with this set-up, the community's voice is muzzled when it comes to political discussions in the mediated public sphere created by the radio. It brings into question whether the station is truly a voice for the community, or instead, a localized government voice. It is however interesting to note that despite its stated avoidance of religious content, the station not only begins its morning broadcasts with prayers, but also airs a religious Christian programme each afternoon.⁷⁹

Community access, interaction and participation

Regarding community access to the radio station as an aspect of participation (Carpentier 2012), there is a stated openness for the community to do so, but the parameters of access are firmly defined by the station management. For instance, one cannot walk into the station at any time without having a clearly defined purpose. This was apparent from comments such as the one below, during group interviews with community members: "We should be allowed to come to the station. Because many times one wants to come to the station, but when you come you are told no, come at another time. You see the issue that you wanted to share with the station you won't share it quickly?" (Interviewee 8, Group 2, Kangema, 26.11.14)

This comment was made in the context of an issue that emerged from group discussions: that some of the fan group members had been trying to schedule an appointment with the station manager for several weeks but had not been successful so far.⁸⁰ This suggests that the station

⁷⁹ This is discussed further in the chapter about content of the radio stations

⁸⁰ Apparently, the fan groups were active when the station commenced, but over time the members had lost interest in them, since they felt that there was no support from the station. They currently operate as self-help

is not truly accessible to the audience. Indeed, it is the station management (and by extension the government) that sets the parameters for community access to the station, pointing to unequal power relations between station management and the community members. This can be viewed as a ‘manipulated participation’ (Bordenave 2006), in which there is an invitation from the government to the citizenry to participate in government projects, but no real freedom for the latter to participate in the specific ways that they would wish. Apart from this postponement, the station’s location is also a likely factor influencing whether community members feel free to walk in or not. The radio station is situated in the local police post’s compound, which is adjacent to the previous Member of Parliament’s office. This location exudes government authority. As such, it would be more intimidating than inviting to community members. As it turns out, the idea of the station as an intimidating government location is ‘by design’, because, according to the station management, the station houses precious government communication resources that should not be accessed by just anyone.⁸¹

From this, one sees contradicting logics at work. On one hand, the station was mooted by KMD for top-down communication to the community especially about weather patterns. On the other hand, since it holds a community radio license, the station is required by law to be participatory space accessible by all community members. However, broadcast legislation does not specify what exactly participation entails. If one goes by the three levels of participation suggested by Carpentier (2012): access to the station, interaction with station staff, or being equal partners in decision making, it is not clear which, if any, the broadcast legislation has in mind when stating that community radios should be characterised by community participation. The station is thus in the position of trying to meet two contrasting ideas: top-down communication and being a participatory space, the latter of which does not have clearly specified parameters. To meet the ‘community participation’ requirement, Kangema FM has a management board consisting of community representatives, and has hired local community members as staff. However, it still considers itself to be a government body and runs as one, characterised by hierarchy and limited access to the premises. Even though it is supposed to be a space in which the community can participate, the station’s location designates it as more of a government space than a community space.

groups without much input from the station. At the time of the research, the fan groups were trying to relaunch themselves and rebuild a closer relationship with the station.

⁸¹ As explained by the station manager during fieldwork in October 2016

In this case, the station acts as an ‘invited space’ (Cornwall, 2004) - one that did not naturally occur in the community, but was created for a specific purpose. Often, invited spaces are designed for a purpose that did not previously exist in the community system, and the participants are expected to act and communicate in ways that fulfil these purposes, despite not having prior experience in the same. They therefore draw upon their prior experiences and expectations in figuring out the ways to act in this new space. Invited spaces are characterised by unclear rules and improvisation; “Any newly-created space quickly comes to be filled with expectations, relationships, institutions and meanings that have been brought from elsewhere, and which impinge upon how that space comes to be experienced” (Cornwall 2004, 85).

The invited space of Kangema FM calls on all involved to participate in it, both the initiators and those in whose community the space has been created. Both the community members and the station management then draw on their repertoire of past experiences to figure out how to participate in the new space. For instance, Kenyan government involvement in community-level initiatives usually consists of development projects thought up by the government or local leaders, and primarily managed by them, even when they outsource implementation to other local, non-government actors. The government manages the finances and makes the most important decisions on the project. These traits are apparent for this radio station. Although the station was designed as a community media project, the management style is centralised and government-managed, with minimal community involvement in decision-making. This harks back to the lower rungs of Arnstein’s ladder of participation, where participation does not involve equal decision-making power for all actors.

Indeed, the community does not engage much in the station’s management process, and perhaps also, with the station’s management personnel as noted during group interviews. When asked about participation possibilities in content or in running of the station group responses included: “The main means of participation is through making calls or sending texts to the shows...” (Interviewee 2, Group 1, Kanoreero, 26.11.2014) and “There are no other opportunities to participate in the station; if the station could organize events for fans and attend fan events whenever they arise this would enhance cohesion.” (Interviewee 4, Group 3, Kanoreero, 26.11.2014).

From the last section of the comment, there is a perceived lack of closeness with the station, with community members feeling a need for ‘more cohesion’. However, the station manager

and staff indicate that community members are free to walk into the station at any time. Audience members in separate group interviews recommended the provision of different means of access to the station, mostly revolving around the provision of alternative means of communication or another location through which they could raise their concerns, such as agents or sub-county offices, in which to give their announcements and greeting cards without having to physically go to the station. This apparent reluctance to visit the station underlines the intimidation that the community feels in relation to the station. As well, there seem to be community mores in place which discourage participation especially in giving opinions about station management and content. Responses during a group interview with a fan group in the community offers a pointer to community thinking about the station. For instance, when asked which programmes they disliked in Kangema FM, community members gave obviously guarded responses:

Let me say there is none, because to be a fan is to be happy with what there is. (Interviewee 1, Group 2, Kangema, 26.11.14)

...we say that this one is ours which we gave birth to ourselves; there is no time you will give birth to a child, and then you despise her/him. (Interviewee 4, Group 1, Kiereini, 26.11.14)

Yet, this same community at the same time expressed that they lacked the opportunity to truly express themselves to the station:

...it is like going to an office, let's say like the headman of this area, you can't go to him and tell him some things, because it will look like you are interfering in his work. In the same way, now a local station like this one, for us to interfere [is inappropriate]. You see like now, you have come [to ask for our opinions], that's when we would be free to say some things. But to take yourself there to say such things now that is playing politics. (Interviewee 3, Group 3, Kanoreero, 26.11.2014)

These comments point to an unwillingness to criticize the station, not overtly due to its political ties, but based on perceived 'family' ties with it. It seems that the station, even when primarily answerable to the government, is taken as the community's 'child'. However, from the latter quote, the lack of criticism seems grounded not so much in honest opinion as in wanting to maintain peaceful relations with the station. The station is perceived to be in a position of authority and thus there is an effort to maintain friendly relations with it – a relationship of conviviality – even while there is dissatisfaction with the access possibilities provided. As indicated above, community members do not have the perception that they can walk into the station at any time that they wish, despite the station manager's and staff's statements of the

opposite. As well, there is a reluctance to express criticism of the station, even if one has such an opinion.

In view of the above, the community participation in this station fits slightly into the category of access, in that the community has access to a media outlet within the vicinity and an opportunity to give feedback on issues discussed. However, there are no strong socio-communicative ties. Community members clearly do not feel comfortable enough to access the station as they wish. Rather, they seem to be dependent on the station management's permission or acceptance of their endeavours to interact with the station. When it comes to participation in station management, there is no clearly defined opportunity for ordinary community members to do so.

4.12 Koch FM: Fully Donor-Funded, Community-Run

Koch FM is located in a slum in Nairobi known as Korogocho. 'Koch' is a contraction of the name 'Korogocho'. This radio station was founded by a community youth group with funding from Norwegian Church Aid, which was the station's main donor until 2016.⁸² The station also gets funding from what they refer to as 'social advertising' – announcing community events and projects at a subsidised rate. According to the team leader (as the station manager is referred to), in the 1990s youth groups formed in Korogocho for civic education using drama. They also had a newsletter. Miss Koch, a beauty pageant featuring the girls from the slum, started in early 2000s, was a forum used to pass information to the community. All these were efforts to create a platform for dialogue among the slum dwellers about their experiences.

The station's founders, a group of like-minded youth, had initially thought of making a film to highlight life in the slums, but later thought that a radio station was a better idea for the long term. Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) was the first donor. It got Koch the container that houses the station, and the initial broadcasting equipment. Koch first experimented at the World Social Forum held in Nairobi, where they had a homemade transmitter. They later got support from Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa (OSIEA) to get a professional transmitter. The station's core team decided to launch the station airing schedule, although not licensed yet. Licencing was problematic, with the government regulator arguing that Koch FM was a front for a politician. Thus, the station was not licensed immediately. However, after negotiations

⁸² Updated in follow-up interview with Team Leader in October 2016

and months of waiting, the station was licensed in 2006. As detailed in station documents and during interviews with station management, key among the issues Koch FM addressed were corruption at the local level. For instance, to get official permission to repair or make improvements on their dwellings, the area inhabitants had to pay a repair fee which was not accounted for. As well, the administration of the Korogocho area was located in a political party's offices,⁸³ and consisted of village elders all personally appointed by the area chief. Following campaigning on these issues via Koch FM, the repair fee was scrapped, and the nine villages⁸⁴ that make up Korogocho are now headed by directly elected village elders. As such, the station feels that it has made an impact on the community since its inception. Its broadcast radius is three (3) kilometres.

The station has a core team of 10 staff supplemented by interns from media training institutions, who work at the station for 3 months. These students send their application to Koch FM on a regular basis. Koch FM staff interviews them and evaluates their capacity. According to the manager, "They can be from anywhere, but priority is given to those living within the Koch FM radius, especially because of adaptability to the slum environment. We prefer someone fast to understand the audience and environment and adjust to it" (MD1, Programmes Manager, Koch FM 2014).

Apart from the wish to disseminate useful development information to the community, Koch FM also had as one of its specific aims countering the negative publicity that characterises the mainstream media coverage of the informal settlement (Chiliswa 2013). The station seeks to offer an alternative narrative about the community. As outlined in the discussion about NCA, Koch FM has a community outreach team charged with organising meetings with community members to determine issues for the station to tackle. The meetings are held quarterly (4 times a year). The editorial team then meets the outreach team to plan focus areas for programming.

At this station, the interns outnumber the staff, and they are at the station for longer hours than most of the producers. While interns are at the station all day, most of the producers are present only for their specific shows unless there is a meeting to attend. Although the producers go by the term 'volunteers', the interns fit better in the 'volunteer' label as they are the ones at the

⁸³ KANU youthwinger offices

⁸⁴ Although Korogocho is an urban slum, it is demarcated into administrative zones termed as 'villages', which also are delineated according to ethnic groups

station all day every day without pay, while the producers are only required to be there for specific hours, and they (producers) often get basic costs covered. For the interns, however, the requirement to be at the station without pay is not necessarily a problem. This is because the radio station serves as a training ground to hone their all-round media skills including on-air presentation, which they may not be able to do at larger stations. In terms of work patterns, the interns' core task is to source news items both online and physically and write news bulletins under the guidance of the producers, while the producers mainly deal with generating content for their individual show slots. At Koch FM, the news editor and the programme manager interchange roles, as between the two of them they manage the day to day running of the station. At the same time, they are also producers, each hosting a specific show. When it comes to content production, they do not manage the other producers; instead, they act more like peers, and the producers are not explicitly answerable to them. It is only in terms of administrative issues that the producers defer to them. The management structure is outlined in Fig 4.

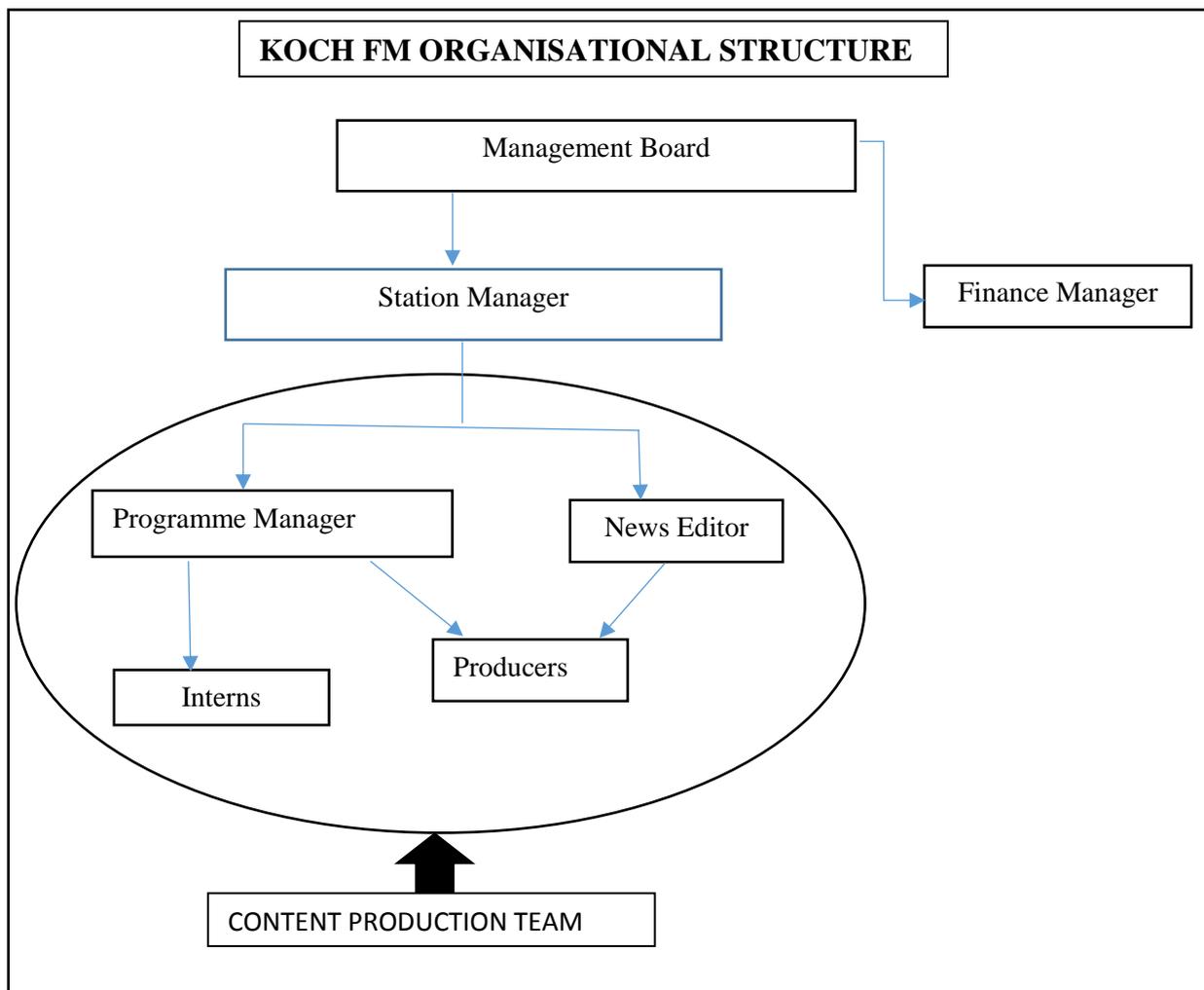


Figure 4: Koch FM Organisational Structure

The station faces financial constraints, such as limited equipment. For instance, during fieldwork visits in 2014, the programme manager stated that the station had only two audio recorders, meaning that they could only cover two stories with live quotes at any given time. In addition, the station at the time did not have a working generator, such that when there were power cuts the station went off air.

Similar to Kangema FM, this station is also situated in a government location: it is located in the chief's camp in the slum, and shares its compound with the community social hall and local hospital. However, unlike Kangema FM whose location in government premises is designed to discourage people from visiting the station too frequently, Koch FM chose that location for security reasons and for easy access by the community. In spite of the station's proximity to the chief's office, the management is wary of receiving any government funding, which would usually be in the form of donations from the Constituency Development Fund (CDF). As explained by the programme manager, the station is adamantly against tapping into this funding source:

...because we don't want them to compromise our sovereignty or our freedom...CDF is controlled by the political class. That means if we get funds from them, it means when an MP does wrong, we would not be at the forefront of saying exactly what he is doing wrong because we don't want them to cut the funding. So we don't want to compromise ourselves...how can you criticize the hand that feeds you? (MD1, Programmes Manager, Koch FM 2014)

This adversarial stance towards the government may be a result of the community's experience with insecurity, including by the police. It presents the producers with a challenge in carrying out their daily work, as per the programme manager:

...they have seen a lot of unjust killings...these are people who have seen so much. They are very sensitive...you see even for me here in the community, the moment I get a listener's phone number, at times the funders want to have the listener's name and SMS records of responses to the programmes, it's normally difficult. You tell them you are taking their name to other people? They are not willing. They tell me "please, we respect you as a radio station that's why we call and give our names, but we don't accept, we don't see it as being right for you to give our details to other people...because these are people who have seen their brothers being harassed, being killed, these are people who have seen their young men disappearing so... (MD1, Programmes Manager, Koch FM 2014)

This view was echoed by the volunteers and interns, who stated that they sometimes face difficulties in news collection because residents fear having their voices recorded, as they feel

it will expose them to risk: “*unataka mi nikujiwe? Mi ndio ntakuwa mtiaji*”; (ie “do you want them to come for me? I will be seen as the traitor”) (MJ 2014). The station’s social context is clearly a factor in its operations. Apart from generating topics addressing the social challenges faced, station staff also have to adjust their working patterns – such as not recording residents’ voices carelessly – in view of security considerations. In this case, instead of maintain the pretence of cordial relations with the government, the station has a clearly adversarial relationship based on its context.

Despite this expressed wariness, the station’s location at the heart of the slum, and sharing of premises with other community service institutions seemingly makes it an attractive venue for residents to access. For instance, community members walk into the station freely and sometimes even hang around to wait for the news to be written so that they can hear it ‘first hand’ when it is aired, and then give their critique directly to the staff, as will be discussed further in the production chapter.

According to the station’s founding documents, Koch FM aims to provide “a platform for the community to address their issues through information sharing, education and communication to promote social, political and economic well-being of its listeners” (Koch FM 2015). Its stated editorial focus is on areas such as governance, health, entrepreneurship, human rights, women and youth empowerment, children’s rights, environment, sports and religion. Its stated target audience is youth between 18 and 35 years old, living in Korogocho slums. This choice of demographic reflects Koch FM’s conceptualisation of itself as a ‘youth station’, despite its stated overall aim of providing a discussion platform for the whole community, and its vision of creating “an empowered community that celebrates its diversity and actively participate[s] in its development” (Koch FM 2015).

In its core values, Koch FM aspires to remain independent of vested interests or external influences, and is committed to factual accuracy in what it airs, partly ensured through “the mandatory use of recording devices”. This is however not always the case, as will be explained in the station’s news production practices. The station also aims “to help audiences of all races, faiths to see events in perspective, and to understand their interrelationships.” In laying this out as a value, the station acknowledges the diverse mix of people who constitute the Korogocho community. They live in one geographical area and make up a geographical community, but have distinct differences which are not erased by the fact that they live next to

each other. They typify the heterogeneity that characterises urban populations, and Koch FM keeps this in mind, as will be illustrated in describing the station's news production practices.

Most interesting among the station's core values are the fifth to eighth, laid out below:

(5) Koch FM supports the principles of democracy as they are most widely understood, that is, good governance, transparency and accountability, regular, free and fair elections as well as social equity. We as well support the role of responsible and credible Civil Society Organizations in the promotion of democracy and good governance.

(6) Koch FM supports and promotes public debate on matters of national importance with a view to bringing about behavioural and policy change for the common good.

(7) As part of Koch FM Corporate Social Responsibility, we support and promote the protection and conservation of the environment whilst promoting sustainable development.

(8) Our editorial content promotes the national efforts of the people of Korogocho to develop and harmonize their institutions for the common good.

The fifth core value directly draws from the international discourse about democracy and governance⁸⁵, and makes a clear link between Koch FM and civil society organisations engaged in promoting this goal. Here Koch aligns itself with the civil society sector. Climate change, one of the main aims propagated by NCA, is apparent in Koch FM's seventh value, which focuses on environmental conservation. Koch FM also sees itself as having a voice in national debates, through facilitating public debate at the local level. As such, Koch FM delineates itself as both a local and a national actor, as well as a supporter of supranational values. This aspect of how Koch FM positions itself is especially interesting in light of the legal requirement that community radio deal primarily with hyperlocal issues not dealt with by other stations. For Koch FM, the local, the national and the global are interlinked. As such, the programming addresses a community that is envisioned as not existing in isolation, insulated from external actors and forces, but rather, one that exists in relation to the external. Hence, the station aims to create a community public sphere that is not delinked from the national public sphere, but rather, that engages with the latter to debate matters of common interest.

⁸⁵ See for instance 'Characteristics of Good Governance' on <https://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/g-attributes.html>, and 'The 12 principles for good governance at local level, with tools for implementation' on http://www.coe.int/t/dgap/localdemocracy/Strategy_Innovation/12principles_en.asp

Community Access, Interaction and Participation

In terms of accessibility, Koch FM scores highly for its listeners. In the group interviews, several listeners emphasized their appreciation for the fact that calls to the studio go through, unlike to bigger national and regional stations, the studio plays listeners' requests quickly, and the calling rates to the station are cheaper than calling other stations. This sentiment was repeated in all the group discussions separately held with the different ages and genders in the community. In addition, community members walk into the station at will, as noted by the interviewer during field visits, and as expressed by the programme manager:

By the way they feel so free. You know they feel they own the studio. So they come. You see all these young people outside here and the women there⁸⁶, it's not that they are workers at the station or so close to us. No, these are community members. You know we are speaking to our friends, our salonists, our neighbours, so they know us. So they feel they own this project, they own this radio station. They just come. They can come here and make conversation till you think that they are people who work at Koch FM....They just walk in any time, because they feel like it's part of them. And when we use their voices they feel like they are more into the radio. (MD1, Programme Manager, Koch FM 2014)

As the programme manager points out, participation in terms of accessibility to the station is a need that is seemingly well met by Koch FM for its community. However, much as the station management interprets this freedom to enter the station as something positive, it turns out that not everybody is thrilled by how accessible the station is to everyone. During group interviews, one striking comment was that:

This is our station, but you find that people enter the studio without permission. This contributes to poor standards of transmission. Because it is not everyone who knows the technicalities of presentation. It is best to leave the work to the professionals. The studio should be out of bounds – your friend should not enter the studio and spoil your work. (Interviewee 1 Group Interview 3, Koch FM, 14.11.14)

This sentiment was supported by the members in the group discussion, who went on to express that the station needs to come across as more professional if they want to be taken seriously, and not too 'chummy' with the community members. They then went ahead to give the example of other, commercial stations, which do not allow people access beyond the gate. This comment was somewhat surprising as one would imagine that the community is glad to have the opportunity to be engaged with a local media institution. Moreso because in earlier conversations, community members had expressed a wish to be more involved in the station,

⁸⁶ The people she was referring in the conversation were around the reception area at the time of the interview

such as higher numbers being employed at Koch FM. From these comments, it emerges that the community's yardstick for measuring Koch FM's performance is drawn from commercial stations.

The aspect of professionalism is related to training those who volunteer at the stations. For such interns, community radio stations serve as a venue in which to gain practical media skills, ranging from newsgathering and editing to on-air presentation. This training of interns is part of Koch FM's community empowerment role, but has the downside of productions which do not always sound professional. However, from the comments by community members, the wider Korogocho community seems to have little patience for their radio being used in this way, and would rather that such people (those not yet professional) remain in the background.

These contradictory interpretations of access by the producers and the community members express the dialectic of community-owned and managed media. On one hand, community members want to participate in the media production. But on the other hand, they do not expect amateur-sounding productions – they expect Koch FM to sound like the commercial stations that they tune in to. When it comes to ranking these simultaneous expectations therefore, the community apparently values professionalism over access.

Community participation in station management at Koch FM is not explicitly provided for. The station has a management board consisting of the youth group that founded the station, but there are no elections or a mechanism in place via which the community can participate in the meetings of this board. Some of the board members are no longer in the area, as they got other opportunities elsewhere. However, they have not been formally replaced through elections. According to the producers and station managers, the community gets an opportunity to express its views during community visits by the station's outreach team, tasked with finding out community priorities for inclusion in future radio programmes. During group interviews, community members termed the station management as being outside their scope, stating that *“we know that the station management is responsible for making decisions about how the station runs, and we respect that. There are lines we should not cross”* (Italics mine, Interviewee 2, Group Interview 2, Koch FM, 07.11.14). This hands-off approach to station management was also apparent at Kangema FM. In both communities, the idea of experts running the community resource is prevalent, and ordinary community members do not seem to view being engaged in management issues as a site of community empowerment. The

Korogocho community instead preferred the opportunity to make their views known through, for example, an anonymous suggestion box at the station.⁸⁷ They did not seem to have considered the possibility of being involved in the station through being part of the management board.

Regarding participation in management boards, Cleaver (2001/2006) critiques the assumption in development circles that people have participated because they are represented on a committee by an elected official. She points out the emphasis by donor organisations on creating community structures such as associations and committees, and including community members in them as a way of ensuring responsibility, ownership, cooperation, collective endeavour and therefore empowerment. She argues that this emphasis on creating formalised structures is sometimes misplaced, because often overlooks the fact that “the interactions of daily life may be more important in shaping cooperation than public negotiations” (Cleaver 2006, 789). Drawing from this, on paper one can conclude that the community has no input in the station’s management because they are not part of the management board, but one cannot conclusively say so without further investigating and understanding the community’s communication dynamics. These communication dynamics are expressed in various ways. For instance, during the women’s group interview⁸⁸, the interviewees talked of how they ‘woke up’ the morning presenter when they felt that he was not getting to the station early enough. He had been starting his show at 7am instead of 6am, but they confronted him about it to let him know that he was not meeting their expectations, and he complied by adjusting to the earlier starting time. In the men’s group interview, one mentioned how he was often at the station to see the programme manager and sometimes an individual producer whenever the programming was not up to par. On a separate occasion, the station manager pointed out that whenever community members were dissatisfied with the way a programme was presented, they approached her to take care of it (to address it with the individual producer).⁸⁹ From these examples, there is informal community participation in the management of the programming, much as most community members do not formally sit on the management board.

⁸⁷ From group interviews with the youth

⁸⁸ Koch FM, 06.11.2014

⁸⁹ During interviews in March 2014, November and December 2014

4.13 Mugambo Jwetu FM: Donor and Local Government Funded, Community-Run

Mugambo Jwetu FM has been on air since 2008. The station is located in Tigania West, a rural area 244 kilometers north-east of Nairobi city. The main income generation activity in the area is growth and export of the Miraa (Khat) plant. With this activity come related issues such as children dropping out of school because they can earn quick money picking and packing Miraa, the spread of HIV/AIDS due to prostitution associated with the quest for quick money, high crime levels and family disintegration. These are some of the issues that the radio station states that it seeks to address (Fairbairn and Rukaria 2010).

Mugambo Jwetu FM was initiated through funding by UNESCO and the Finnish Embassy. These donors provided equipment for the establishment of a Community Multimedia Centre (CMC), which includes the radio station. The CMC offers computer, internet, phone, fax and photocopying services to the community with the aim of “community empowerment through ICT” (Mugambo Jwetu CMC 2013). It also offers the community training in computer literacy. As per the CMC’s 2013 project report, 270 youth in the community so far had undergone a basic computer course. For this they pay a minimal fee. The centre also offers computer literacy classes to members of the civil service working in the surrounding government offices. Apart from the UNESCO and Finnish Embassy funding, the station had the backing of the former area Member of Parliament, and received support from the local government in the form of premises in which to set up the radio station. Until June 2014, the station was housed in the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) office premises, which is in the vicinity of other government offices. These premises border those of the local Administration Police. From July 2014, the station moved to a rented building in the Kianjai town centre, citing that it is higher ground and therefore offering better transmission possibilities.⁹⁰ However, the rest of the CMC has remained housed at the CDF offices. Despite the station’s move to other premises, the CMC seems to have a cooperative relationship with the government offices in its vicinity, acting as a news link between the government and the community through airing government announcements, and as a place where auxiliary services such as photocopying are provided for government offices.

⁹⁰ This move may also have been as a result of the strained relationship between the station and the area’s new governor who was elected in 2013, and was an opponent of the former Member of Parliament during whose term the station was launched. However, the station management insists that the move was purely for technical transmission reasons.

The CMC is a project of a community group known as ‘Mugambo Jwetu’ (meaning ‘Our Voice’), from which the station derives its name. It is this group that manages the centre, in the form of a management committee consisting of community representatives drawn from different sectors such as gender, religion, culture and so on. The committee meets at least three times per year, and more often if necessary. The station’s daily affairs are run by the station manager, who oversees several radio producers and presenters, a secretary, the computer training school teacher, and an intern. The individual show presenters produce their own shows, each of which runs for about 3 to 4 hours, starting from 5am till 10pm. The producers have independence in choice of topic, but consult with the station manager before airing what may be controversial topics. Community members needing any of the CMC services deal with the secretary or intern, while those who want to meet the station manager are free to walk into his office at any time.

When it comes to administrative structure, the Mugambo Jwetu FM management hierarchy is less detailed than Kangema FM but more complex than Koch FM, as illustrated in Figure 5. The station does not have reporters on the ground, and neither are there daily editorial meetings in which news beats are assigned. Rather, the producers and even the station manager occasionally double up as reporters for local events. The rest of the news content is sourced from national media including newspapers and from the community call-ins during the early morning show.

Lack of sufficient operational funds as mentioned by the station staff is evidenced by the station having a generator that is at times not functional due to a lack of fuel to run it. As a result, when there is a power outage in the area, the station goes off-air as it has no back-up system. This results in irregular transmission for the station, sometimes with listeners from other regions texting to say that they are suddenly unable to tune into the station’s frequency, unaware that the station is actually off-air.⁹¹

⁹¹ Observed during a research visit to the station

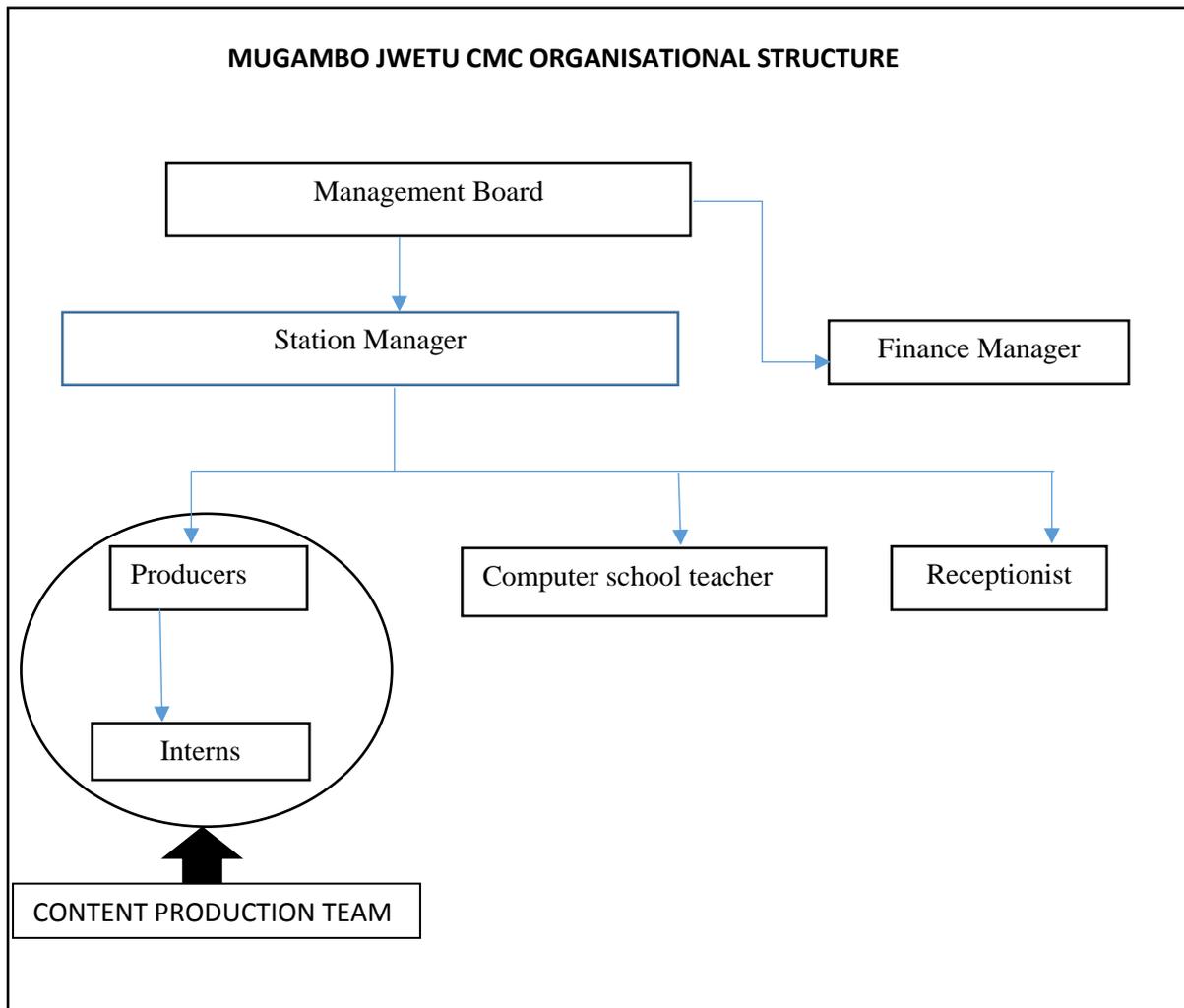


Figure 5: Mugambo FM Organisational Structure

In contrast to Koch FM, Mugambo FM has embraced CDF support. When asked about the possibility of political influence that could come with this backing, producers see a clear demarcation between CDF and the county government, and feel that one does not influence the other. As per one producer:

I don't see whether it [CDF] is the government really, but since this is a community radio, and we know the essence of the CDF is to work, to start, to implement and even to fulfil the community projects...they start these projects to help the community. And us, we are a community radio. So I'm very sure we should start their list [of beneficiaries], because we are also a community project. (MN 2014)

Another producer explains that "CDF Tigania West they support us...like now we are strengthening the signal, they funded us to buy equipment" (TD, Producer, Mugambo FM

2014), but in the same conversation explains the station's strained relationship with the new governor and the county government:

This station was started by former MP...and he was vying for governorship. You see? And the present governor [ousted him]. So, this is the community radio. At the moment, [the current governor] has never recognized that Mugambo is not [the former MP's] property. It is a community radio. He thinks this is [that MP's] property. Yet all records show very well that this is a community radio. So we cannot get anything, we cannot benefit from the county government. They give a lot of advertisements [to other media houses]. We have never gotten even a single one... Like now, they are thinking to start a county radio. That's why I was asking them, "you can come and equip Mugambo FM to make it a county radio because it's owned by nobody, it is a community thing. Why do you go for spending millions of shillings starting another radio when we have something community here?" (TD, Producer, Mugambo FM 2014)

From the two conversations above, it seems that Koch FM's fears of political influence due to CDF funding are unfounded, and perhaps arise from a misunderstanding of how the constituency fund is administered. While Koch FM links the fund to 'the political class', Mugambo FM sees it as a resource to enable community projects. At the same time, the quotes from the two Mugambo FM producers illustrate the different perceptions in existence about community radio, highlighting the lack of clarity that still surrounds understandings of what community radio is or is not. Both producers see Mugambo FM as a community project serving the community, but the latter points out that the station is seen as belonging to a politician rather than to the community, and is treated as such by the county government. From the latter comment, community radio is taken as a tool to serve political interests, rather than a channel for community self-expression. Even without overtly negative content about the county government, Mugambo FM is assumed by the local political elite to be linked to political power, and not to community interests. Although the official documents point to a community organisation as the owners, apparently the said documents are not trusted as indicators of the true state of affairs. At its inception, Koch FM was in a similar position, where the station's licensing was delayed because it was assumed that the station was a front for a politician, despite providing documents showing the contrary. This is an example of the layered relationships and political ties that characterise the broadcasting sector in Kenya, as detailed for instance by Nyanjom (2012) and Ogola (2011).⁹² As such, whatever is documented is not

⁹² In the report 'Factually True, Legally Untrue: Political Media Ownership in Kenya', Nyanjom (2012) details the political ties that characterise most commercial media stations in Kenya, pointing out that their majority shares are usually under obscure company names which, when traced, lead to one politician or the other. In a study of the political economy of Kenyan media, Ogola (2011) illustrates the political influence that has consistently been a part of the Kenyan media sector since independence.

necessarily taken as a reflection of the true ties on the ground. Even with explicit community rather than private ownership, community media are not assumed to be free of political ties.

Also of interest is that the second producer equates community ownership to ownership by ‘nobody’, and consequently sees no issue with the station being appropriated for the county government’s agenda. It brings to the fore the questions ‘who is community’, and ‘who decides on what community interests are’, and highlights the undercurrents of who holds the power in a community media setting. These power dynamics are discussed in more detail below and in the rest of the thesis, for instance in Chapter 5 (Communities of community radio), which looks at relationships between the community and the station.

According to Mugambo FM’s founding documents, its goals are “training and sensitizing the local community and give them a voice through media” (Mugambo Jwetu CMC 2013). The wording of the project concept portrays the station as a necessary intervention to enlighten an ‘ignorant’ community: “The project was aimed at influencing the thinking of the community after a long stay in ignorance that makes them be out of touch with issues that are real in life. Development initiatives were a preserve of a small click (sic) of the elite” (Mugambo Jwetu CMC 2013).

From the above, there is a top-down relationship between the station and the community, with the project seeking not so much be a space for community expression but rather, a way to ‘influence the thinking’ of an ‘ignorant’ community. Much as the CMC is termed a community project, the targeted community members do not seem to be conceptualised as equal partners with their own, valid viewpoints, or with equal decision making power, which is the highest rung of Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of participation. This wording implies that Mugambo FM may not be the brainchild of those at the grassroots but rather, of the elite in the community.

In its 2013 progress report, the CMC cites its achievements as empowering disadvantaged groups through formal and non-formal education via access to ICTs, and offering the under privileged and rural poor the opportunity to express themselves and share ideas about development. The station is conceptualised as providing education for the purpose of enabling all groups to engage in development. Some of the programmes that the station sees as achieving this education goal are one about building homes and another about parent-child relationships. Mugambo Jwetu FM also airs health programmes in conjunction with ministry of health

personnel from the district hospital, and an agricultural programme in partnership with Farmer Voice Radio, an international organisation. From the foregoing, the station goals revolve around technology for development, seeing information technology as the key to information and thus development. This aligns with UNESCO's emphasis on ICT as an enabler and driver of development. Despite its clearly top-down project concept, in its progress report, the CMC mentions that it offers space for community contributions to ideas about development. The creation of previously non-existent discursive space, even if minimal, is one of the ideal functions of community media.

On the other hand, Mugambo Jwetu FM also has good governance component among its goals, which it categorises under awareness campaigns. In this goal, the station seeks to “campaign for quality leadership [because] many people do not know how the government funds are spent and even how to ask for civil service” (Mugambo Jwetu CMC 2013). This goal does not emanate from the community itself as in identified need, but rather, is packaged as something that the community needs to be made aware of. It draws from global good governance rhetoric in seeking to hold leaders to account, but conceptualises the community as ‘ignorant’ rather than as competent to hold their leaders to account.

Similar to Kangema FM, there is a distinct top-down, information dissemination approach in how Mugambo FM views its relationship to the community. This is especially interesting because in the case of Kangema FM, the station's paternalistic stance could be explained by the fact that the station draws its funding and station goals from KMD, a government body. In the case of Mugambo FM, even with a mixed funding model and an uncomfortable relationship with the current county government, the didactic approach to the community is still evident. This suggests that the choice to adopt a top-down development communication model is not necessarily due to government ownership of a media outlet. Rather, in the Kenyan context, this viewpoint seems to be a continuation of the Authoritarian or Development tradition (Heath 1997) which characterised Kenyan media for over 30 years after independence. Regardless of ownership structure, there is still the tendency to conceptualise the media as having a top-down community development role. It supports Sandoval and Fuchs' (2010) assertion that horizontal, self-organized media production structures do not automatically mean that a media outlet performs an alternative role in the media landscape. Rather, macro-level ideological factors such as a nation's journalistic culture seem to be more influential than ownership or organisational structure in which media roles a station chooses to take.

The station's stated achievements give a clearer picture of its diverse networks with local government and international organisations, and its effort to meet the varied goals of these different players. Some selected achievements from the station documents listed below illustrate the multi-focal approach that Mugambo FM has adopted:

- Increasing community human capacity to deliver critical mass information for poverty alleviation and social economic development
- The project has considerably contributed to the countries (sic) development priorities and national capacity building by complimenting one of the government's millennium goals to break the gap of ICT knowledge between the urban and the rural setup....
- The CMC has assisted the grass root governance system in propagating government policies
- The radio has simplified the method of calling for community meetings through making (on air) announcements
- The CMC has provided a forum for experts to share knowledge and advice to the general population on particular issues
- Unlike before, where the rural folks are known for passivity now the community can engage the leadership and demand service and accountability
- The station has greatly assisted the provincial administration and other security departments such as police to pass over important public information thus cementing a good relationship between the two institutions.

From the above, one notes that Mugambo is a station with partnerships in the local government, government ministries, and international organisations, and is seeking to achieve multiple objectives – some of which could contradict each other – in keeping with these partnerships. For instance, on one hand the station states that it has helped the community to demand service and accountability from the leadership, yet on the other hand, that it has assisted in propagating government policies and has cemented a good relationship with the provincial administration and the police. These dual roles of 'community representation' and 'government assistance' carry the potential for a conflict of interest. On one hand, in keeping with international discourses about the role of community media, the station aims to act as part of the civil society in holding the government to account. On the other hand, however, in keeping with the national media culture which conceptualises the media as a state partner, it aims to be an implementing partner of the government's policies. This endeavour to achieve both global and local expectations puts Mugambo FM in a delicate position, in which it must negotiate what can be said and what not.

Indeed, the station does not have total freedom to discuss all issues. For instance, as narrated by one of the producers, in 2013, he received a call from the national security service after one

of his shows, in which people had called in expressing sentiments questioning the fairness of the appointment of some regional leaders by the president. These sentiments were interpreted as ‘anti-government’ by the security agency, and the producer was warned by his caller to be ‘careful’ about the issues raised on his shows (TD, Urru, 11.03.14). This situation is illustrative of the pressures that community broadcasters face based on their political and economic contexts. Even though they work at the local community level, they are still subject to state restrictions regarding what content is acceptable to air and which not. Calls such as the one mentioned above lead to self-censorship by media outlets, whether community-based or not.

Thus, community stations like Mugambo FM seek to pursue a middle ground. While on one hand the station focuses on economic development and education goals which align with government priorities, it at the same time adopts goals such as good governance, which reflect the priorities of international funding agencies, drawing from global standards. The stations choose to attempt working towards a precarious merger of these sometimes contradictory goals, because failure to do so may result in loss of the funding and support that assures their existence in the first place. Consequently, much as a station may have idealistic goals to empower and develop its community, these are mediated through its social, economic and political context.

Community Access, Interaction and Participation

Pateman (1971) and Arnstein (1969) point out that full participation is characterized by the equal right to make decisions. When it comes to the community’s participation in the management of the station, this takes the form of having a management board that runs the station on their behalf. The management board members were volunteers who expressed their interest in serving on the board, were supported by community members, and were all, in one way or another, already community leaders in their own right. They are tasked with representing the views of the community. Apart from this management board, there are no other formalised ways for the community to participate in station management. This set up supports the idea that the station is managed by community leaders and local elites, rather than ordinary community members. As such, it may be a continuation of already-existent power hierarchies in the community. However, community members interact with the station in other, informal ways.

One instance of interaction with the station is that community members visit the station to confirm and discuss news items that they deem of importance to them. For instance, in March 2014, following a court ruling in which the sitting governor of the area was deemed to have been irregularly elected, community members streamed into the station on the day of the ruling, asking for confirmation about the judgment. The station manager responded by calling his contacts at the courts (which sat in a bigger town about 100km away from the station), and thereafter announced the court ruling definitively to the community members gathered in the compound. The gathered members instantaneously broke into conversations with each other and questions to the station manager, and they then pressed the station manager to go out with them to further discuss the implications of the ruling, thus effectively ending his work day at the office.⁹³

From this interaction, one gets the idea that the manager is viewed as a credible source of information to the community, and as a link to matters happening outside the area. At the same time, he seems to be viewed as ‘one of us’, shown for instance in them going out to informally discuss the news with him, but at the same time holding expert status, as the community consulted him on the ramifications of the ruling. This same station manager also acts as a community leader. He participates in activities such as overseeing the distribution of fertilizer to farmers at the start of the planting season, in collaboration with the agriculture office of the local government in the area,⁹⁴ apparently playing an intermediary role between the local government administration and the community. This illustrates the issue of power when it comes to community interactions - the station manager is a powerful community member based on his position, and this power is reinforced by him functioning as a link between the government and ordinary community members. To bridge the gap between the community and the local government, the community interacts closely with the station manager, and values his informational role. This pre-existent hierarchical position may have played a part in the station manager being appointed as manager in the first place. Usually, appointments to manage a community resource such as a radio station are based on proven competence, based on which community members feel that they can trust one to manage the resource well. Consequently, much as horizontal, egalitarian management structures are advocated for community broadcasters, in this context, similar to Koch FM and Kangema FM, competence

⁹³ Observed during a research visit to the station in March 2014

⁹⁴ Observed during a research visit to the station in March 2014

in management is a more important factor in deciding on whom to entrust leadership roles at community stations.

Nevertheless, even if the station management is deemed to represent community views and be open to all opinions, similar to Kangema FM, at Mugambo FM community members are reluctant to disagree with how the station is run. A glimpse of this was observed during the women's group interview, as described in the excerpt below:

The interviewer asked what content the group did not like. One member raised the issue of death announcements, stating that they were repeated were too frequently. However, the other members in the discussion instantly contradicted her, and in fact turned to her and switched to the local language [the interview was being conducted in Kiswahili] to explain to her that in fact, the more the announcements are repeated the more money the station gets, and therefore it is their duty to support the station through requesting for announcements to be read frequently. After this intervention by her colleagues, the group member withdrew her point and stated that she no longer had an issue with the announcements. (Mugambo Women's group interview summary, Dec 2014)

As such, not only is there loyalty to the station and a reluctance to critique it; there are also at play here group dynamics that pressurize community members to conform to certain opinions, with group censure if one attempts to deviate. There is access to and interaction with the station, but equal power in management decisions, Pateman's (1971) 'full' participation, is not a reality. As well, collective power is mobilised by community members themselves to protect the station's image, as seen in the example above. These multi-layered community interactions and roles played by individual community members all are an important part of the dynamics that come with community media being situated in already-existent and functioning communities.

4.14 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Kenyan community radio works between two paradigms, one drawing from international recommendations about community media, and the other drawing from national norms about media roles. In addition, the operations and funding of the radio stations are delineated by the existent legal framework. From the foregoing discussions, the various international organisations outlined in this chapter are working from one 'script' that seeks to standardize the media sector, including community radio. Their approach is primarily from a media development perspective, with a focus on enhancing technology for development, democracy and good governance.

Drawing on the ideology circulating at the national level, the pressure is for community stations to act as development-oriented media. Indeed, from the station founding documents, all three stations have a paternalistic approach towards the communities they operate in, seeing themselves as the harbingers of information and through that, development in various forms. They still adhere to the idea of developmental media, even though not in the sense of a development partner linked to the government directly. However, the echoes of diffusion theory still ring loud in the founding documents and management definitions of why the stations are in existence.

Additionally, community engagement with the radio stations differs in the three contexts, seemingly based on the ownership and management structure of the individual station. Depending on each station's implicit values, there are different levels of access for community members. For station management, the three stations all operate on the ideas of representative rather than participatory democracy, in the form of appointed rather than elected management boards. Coming from the background of a development-oriented national media culture, it is plausible that audiences are more familiar with the idea of being objects of media address, rather than being active participants in running media institutions. As such, structural participation by the audiences in community broadcasting is minimal. It is an ideal at the global level, but is not automatically enacted at the local level.

While development, although differently interpreted per station, is a value expressed by all three stations, freedom of expression is a cautiously embraced value, given the political contexts in which they exist. For at least one of the stations, there has been overt government censorship which has led to self-censorship by individual producers. Hence, by virtue of their funding and training partnerships, community broadcasters seek to work towards specific global and national values, but their operational choices are necessarily based on their local social and political contexts. These multi-layered considerations are incorporated into the station philosophies and day to day work at the stations. There is therefore a constant negotiation between enacting 'international', 'national' and 'local' values in Kenyan community broadcasting.

This chapter has focused on questions of the legal and ideological environment in which Kenyan community broadcasters operate, and how they try to fit between international

provisions and local norms. It has also demonstrated how much funding institutions matter in how community radio stations operate, and in how they relate to their communities. As well, social context further impacts on each station's individual operations and participatory possibilities. The following chapter focuses on the three communities in which the stations work, and links community characteristics to participatory processes.

5 WHO IS LISTENING TO KENYAN COMMUNITY RADIO AND HOW?

5.1 Introduction

Having laid out in the previous chapter the major schools of thought under which Kenyan community radio exists, this chapter delves into the communities in which the radio stations are situated and their radio consumption practices. The analysis is grounded in the logics of participation in alternative media, complemented by the concepts of imagined communities as proposed by Anderson (2006).

The idea of imagined communities created through media consumption is well outlined by Anderson (1984/2006) in his description of the rise of nationalism. He argues that through the consumption of the same news media, particularly newspapers, individuals were, through their imagination, united to other individuals consuming the same media. While this idea was put forth in relation to the formation of European nations, it still is of value in reflecting on the constitution of community through shared media consumption. Speaking from a micro-level, Fiske (1992) argues that while it is difficult to observe culture, examining media consumption practices – how people do ‘audiencing’ - is a valuable entryway into understanding how a social system functions and how people adapt to it. He considers audiences to be ‘social formations’ based on the shared activity of audiencing, and argues that audiencing practices are a glimpse of culture in practice. From the perspective of mediated citizenship, engagement in and through the media is conceptualised as a way in which civic agency is expressed, and a civic culture, characterised by participation by all, is created (Dahlgren 2005; Dahlgren 2012; Schröder 2012). Such a participatory culture reduces the concentration of power in specific hands, and, ideally, creates a more equitable society.

Mowbray (2015) identifies four broad logics via which alternative media can be approached. In this chapter I focus on the first two logics. One is the logic of participation, which focuses on access to the means of media production by ordinary citizens, and thereby the opportunity for self-representation, which then produces empowerment. The second logic is that of public and counter-public formation and facilitation. This approach focuses on the expansion of the public sphere through alternative media. According to this logic, both publics and counter-publics are created through individuals’ activity, rather than through a certain social status or any ascribed characteristic. He positions this logic as being similar to what Christians et al

(2009) refer to as the facilitative role of the media, that is, creating room for publics, and the radical role of the media, that is creating a counter-public that critiques the status quo. These logics have porous borders (Mowbray 2015), but all the same offer a starting point to conceptualise the role of alternative media. In this chapter, I focus on these two logics, that is, how the communities interact with the community stations, and how publics and counter publics are created through individuals' activity in relation to the media. I also draw on Carpentier's (2012) distinctions between access, interaction and participation as a lens into participation practices around the stations.

In view of the above perspectives, this chapter seeks to answer the questions: Who is listening to community radio stations? How and when? What sort of programmes do they listen to? What community formations exist around the stations, and what do they tell us about the communities' participation in and through the media?

First, I give an overview of the ways in which the stations conceptualise their communities, and point out how these conceptions impact the stations' work, such as management decisions, language and programming. Then, drawing on data from the surveys done around the radio stations, I describe the audiences of the community radios and their radio access habits. From these statistics, I draw a picture of the listenership patterns and preferences in the three communities studied. Subsequently, I look at groups which exist in conjunction with the station, and explore the ways in which these groups and individuals interact with the radio stations and radio content. In exploring audience activity contextually, I keep in mind that such activity is embedded "in a complex network of ongoing cultural practices and relationships" (Ang 2012, 149). I lay out the data station by station, and then discuss the implications for it at the end of the chapter.

5.2 Who are the stations' communities?

The communities of community radio are defined by the three radio stations primarily in terms of geographic context, albeit over different distances. Since these community stations broadcast on FM frequencies, their reach is limited to a certain geographical scope. Nevertheless, from discussions with the station staff and station managers, it emerged that the three stations have distinct ideas of who their audience, and by extension the community they serve, is.

For Kangema FM the perception of station manager and staff is that their listenership is more in the villages further off from the station, rather than in Kangema town itself. They link this to ‘lack of reliability’ – the fact that they go off air during power blackouts – as well as competition from commercial stations airing in the area. In this case, the station holds an opinion that may or may not be true about the immediate community’s perception of it. However, this does not affect the station’s broadcast language but instead, affects its operations. For instance, Kangema FM was, as of 2015, lobbying for support from the local governor’s office to procure equipment that would strengthen their transmission strength in the valleys further away, where they believed their most faithful listenership lay.

For Koch FM, community is loosely determined as people living in the surrounding slum area. Here language does not seem to be the main factor in determining who the community is, but rather, the geographical bounds and socio-economic conditions are the biggest factor. In Korogocho, the population is made up of various ethnic groups, and residences are delineated along ethnic lines. From observation, solidarity seems to be based first on ethnic background.⁹⁵ However, Kiswahili, Kenya’s official language, is the language of business, and this is the language one hears most often being spoken at the shopping centers. As a reflection of these circumstances, Koch FM has selected Kiswahili as their broadcast language. Not broadcasting in any of the mother-tongues of the groups located in Korogocho is a way of achieving Koch FM’s aim of advancing community cohesion. From this choice, one sees how media can create a sense of community. Similar to Anderson’s nations that were created through broadcasting in a popular vernacular language to communities that had different mother-tongues, community in Korogocho is strengthened through the use of an overarching broadcast language.

For Mugambo ‘community’ seems to be all who speak the language, regardless of location - not pegged on a fixed geographical area. Their plans are strengthening and expanding the signal, so that “we will have the privilege of having advertisements, and therefore better income

⁹⁵ During questionnaire distribution the research assistants, drawn from the area, gave the researcher a tour of the various settlements in the slum, and these were arranged along ethnic lines. The research assistants, when deciding areas to assign whom for questionnaire distribution, also selected areas in which each individual would be able to distribute questionnaires safely based on their ethnicity. Indeed, some of the questionnaires were administered in local languages rather than in Kiswahili, as the respondents first seemed to identify themselves as belonging to a certain ethnic group first, and then secondly as a resident of the area. During Miss Koch FM celebrations in November 2014, there was a scuffle in which youths from one ethnic group attempted to attack those from another, because earlier in the day one of their friends had been stabbed by a youth from the latter group. Identification along ethnic lines seems to be a strong current in this community, despite its location in an urban area.

flow...for our comfort, to give us better equipment and even to improve motivation to work” (MT 2014).⁹⁶ This approach agrees with Anderson’s description of the formation of national consciousness, in which, much as formal national boundaries were not based on the reach of a particular print language, the existence of print languages created a basis for national consciousness. Having a common print language created an automatic boundary between those who understood the language and those who did not. It also created the imagination of being connected to others who understood the language, even when they did not know each other individually. In the case of Mugambo Jwetu FM, the language boundaries were already in existence, in that the radio station uses the language of the community that it is located in.

Despite the above management conceptualisations of their target audience, at the time of the research, the three stations had not done an audience survey. Rather, they relied on callers’ self-reporting of their location to gauge station reach. Considering that management decisions are made in view of an imagined but not ‘confirmed’ audience, it is worth asking if the stations’ idea of their target audience is accurate or not. In the following section, I outline the survey results⁹⁷ detailing listenership patterns per station, and then discuss the implications for them.

5.3 Kangema FM

5.3.1 General Radio Listenership Statistics

At Kangema, the majority of respondents indicated that they listen to radio. Out of 114 respondents, 107 stated that they listen to radio, meaning that only fewer than 7% of the people interviewed do not listen to radio at all. Of the 93% who listen to radio, the majority listen daily, as illustrated in the chart below.

⁹⁶ For instance, in early 2014, during this research’s pilot study, Mugambo FM was keen to acquire a stronger transmitter and move its mast to the topographically higher nearby urban centre, in order to broaden its reach. The station manager was therefore involved in writing proposals to secure funding for this, and negotiating with the providers of possible premises for the location of the transmitter.

⁹⁷ The survey methodology is detailed in Chapter 3.4

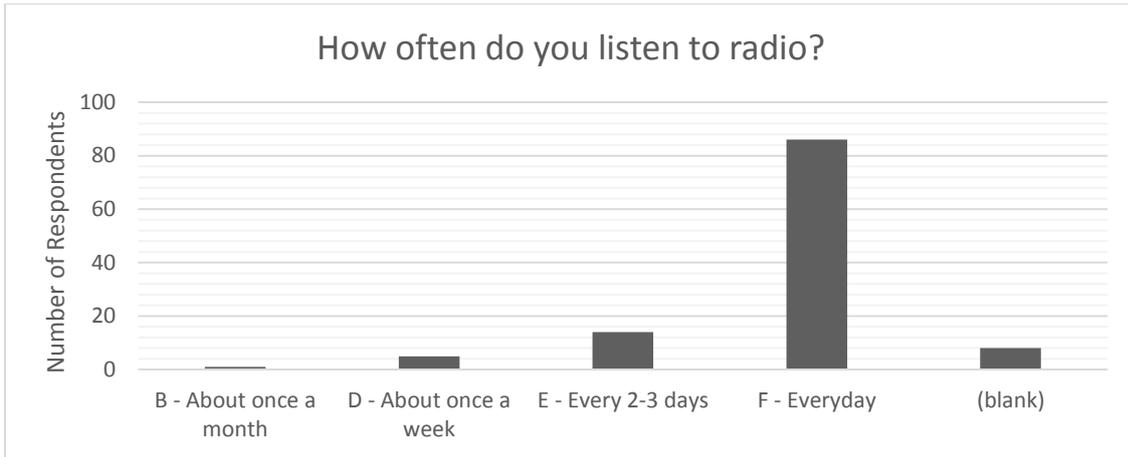


Figure 6: Frequency of listening to radio

5.3.2 Radio Listening Times

The preferred radio listening times for most of the listeners was evening, with 33% citing this time, followed by morning 29%, all day 18% and night 16%. Afternoon was the least frequently mentioned time for listening to radio, with only 4% respondents indicating that they listen to radio at this time. However, respondents were allowed to mention more than one radio listening time, and therefore the numbers of listeners mentioned per listening time are not mutually exclusive. The data is laid out in Fig. 7.

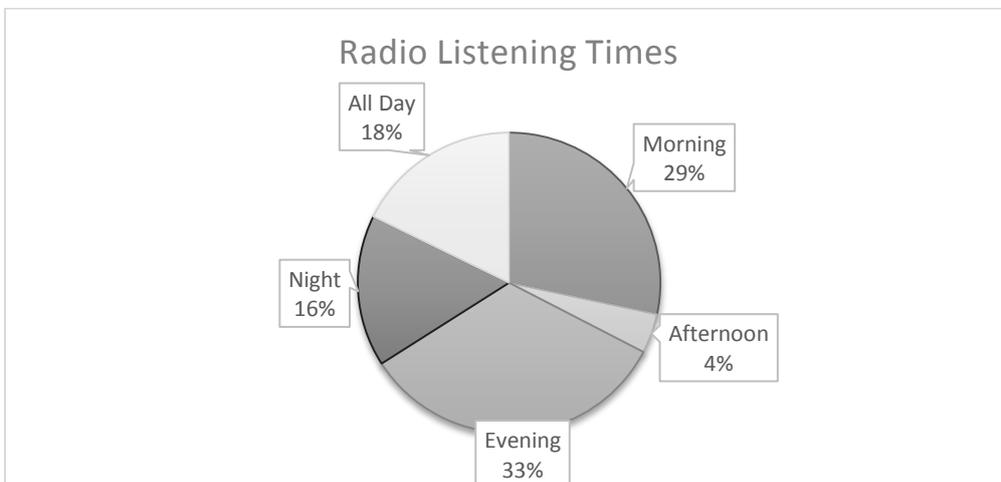


Figure 7: Radio listening times

5.3.3 Reasons for Listening to Radio at Selected Times

As indicated in Fig. 8, the most frequently cited reason for choosing to listen to radio at a specific time was “When I have time” (61%), followed by “When I get home” (13%) – in other words, one will not leave their other activities to listen to radio, or incorporate radio listening into their activities. Instead, before they head out for the day’s activities, or after a day’s work,

they are likely to tune in to radio. This explains why evening and morning are the most popular times for listening to radio (33% and 29% respectively, as per Fig 7).

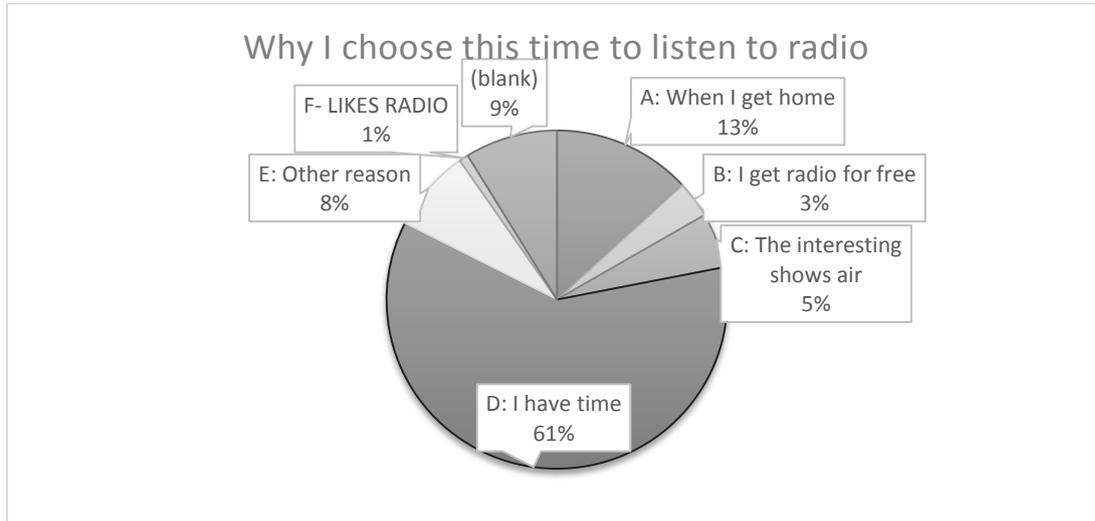


Figure 8: Reasons for radio listening times

In addition, the majority of radio listening is carried out at home, and the listeners do not necessarily make use of mobile media such as phones for accessing the radio outside the home in the course of their daily activities. This finding is illustrated in Fig. 9 below, in which accessing radio via mobile phone is only done by 4% of the respondents.

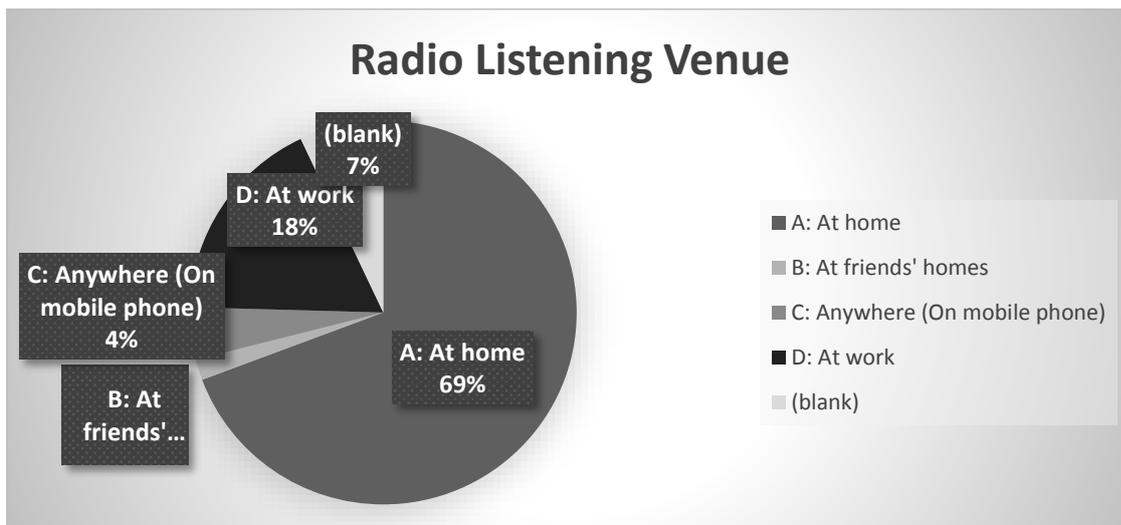


Figure 9: Where I listen to radio

5.3.4 Who Is Listening to Kangema FM

When it comes to listenership specifically to Kangema FM, there were two different figures. First, respondents were asked to mention which radio stations they listen to, without being given options by the interviewer. In this scenario, 30.7% of the people interviewed mentioned Kangema FM. Later in the questionnaire, respondents were asked directly if they listen to Kangema FM. In this case, 50.9% of the respondents answered in the affirmative. This disparity in findings could possibly be attributed to response bias⁹⁸ – when the respondent feels that they will look uninformed by giving a certain answer, they are more likely to give what they feel is the ‘expected’ answer, rather than respond truthfully. As Macnamara notes, “respondents talking directly to a researcher sometimes say what they think the researcher wants to hear, referred to as ‘response generation’”(Macnamara, 2003, p. 6). It is therefore likely that the true percentage of listeners to Kangema FM is closer to the 30% mark than to the 50% mark.

5.3.5 Age and Gender of Listeners

In terms of age and gender, out of the respondents, the highest number of Kangema FM listeners draws from the 21-30 age group, followed by the 31-40 age group. However, these two age groups also happen to have constituted the highest number of respondents during the survey. Thus, as per this survey, people of this demographic range are the biggest fans of Kangema FM, but this may be due to the fact they were the most frequently interviewed, or because they are the highest in population numbers in the area.

Still on listenership, there are more male than female listeners among these age groups. For the 21-30 age group, 56% of the males listen to Kangema FM, as compared to 40% of females in the age group. For the 31-40 age group, the statistics are similar: 58% of the male respondents and 43% of the female respondents stated that they listen to Kangema FM. It could be that indeed Kangema FM has more male fans among these age groups, or that more males were susceptible to respondent bias – they may have indicated that they listen to the station even if they do not, so as not to seem uninformed. This latter idea is plausible, as data from the first question where respondents were asked to mention off head which stations they listen to demonstrates: 30% of the males interviewed mentioned Kangema FM, while 32% of the

⁹⁸ See for example (Allyson L . Holbrook, Green, and Krosnick 2003) for a discussion of Respondent Satisficing and Social Desirability Response Bias during surveys

females interviewed mentioned Kangema FM. This suggests that Kangema FM listenership is almost equal between the two genders, and perhaps even slightly higher among females. These two listenership figures are displayed in the table (Fig 10) and bar graph (Fig 11) below.

<i>MENTIONED KANGEMA FM OFFHEAD</i>			
<i>Gender</i>	<i>Listens to Kangema FM</i>		
	<i>YES</i>	<i>NO</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>
<i>A - Male</i>	45	19	64
<i>B - Female</i>	34	16	50
<i>Grand Total</i>	79	35	114

Figure 10: Respondents who mentioned Kangema FM among stations listened to

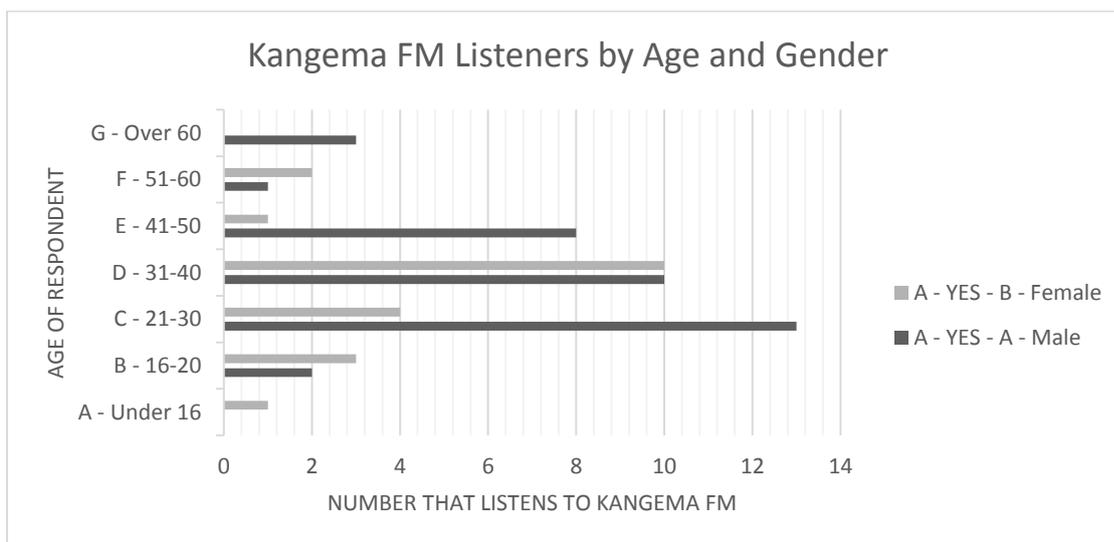


Figure 11: 'Do you listen to Kangema FM' listenership figures

5.3.6 Frequency of Listening to Kangema FM

Out of the 30% males and 32% females of the respondents who listen to Kangema FM, most listen to the station daily. The second highest number listens to the station about once a week, as displayed in Fig. 12 below. Kangema FM therefore seems to enjoy a reasonable daily listenership by about 30% of the community.

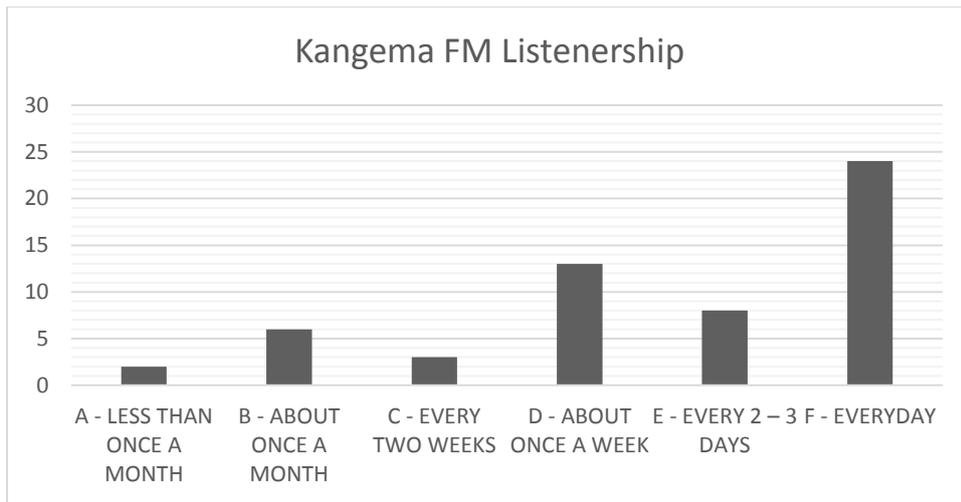


Figure 12: Frequency of listening to Kangema FM

5.3.7 Favourite Kangema FM Content

The late evening show (*Nyihia Hwai* – ‘Reduce the Evening’) was the most frequently mentioned show that respondents listen to. Most would either mention the presenters or the hours in which the show runs, and not necessarily the show’s name. These statistics are detailed in Fig 13.

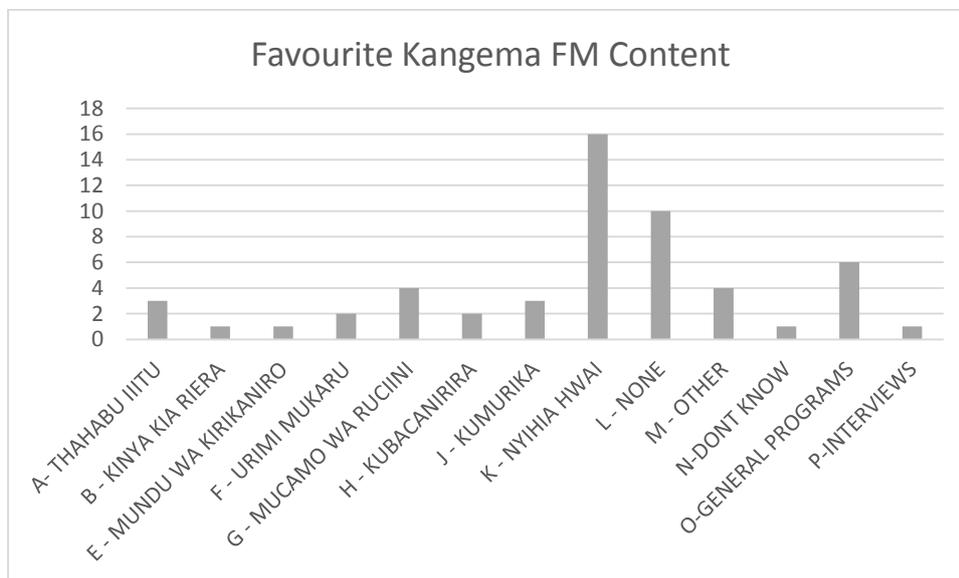


Figure 13: Favourite Kangema FM content

While the evening programme may be the listeners’ favourite show objectively in comparison to other programmes, preference for this show could be partly attributed to evening being the general time that people tune in to their radios, as indicated in the previous section on listening

time. Nevertheless, the opportunity to contribute to debates is apparently a further motivation for listeners to tune in to the evening show. This is gauged from listener comments such as “...the station should not be closed [overnight]. The time being wasted by songs should be filled in by debates all the way to morning” (Interviewee 3, Group Interview 2, Kangema FM, 26.11.14). From such comments, calling in to give one’s opinion, to deliberate in the public sphere, is valued. Audience engagement with station content is further detailed in Chapter 6.6.5, and is discussed in more detail when considering the social formations around Kangema FM later in this chapter.

Also of interest in the above graph is that the weather programme, (B - *Kinya Kia Riera*), has among the lowest listenership of all the programmes offered by the station, with only one respondent citing it. Yet, transmission of weather information is the stated reason for which Kangema FM was set up. Seemingly then, much as the station’s objective is to offer unique weather content which the community is deemed to need, listeners instead tune in to specific types of content that they prefer, such as the evening talk show, which allows for public deliberation and which fits better with their radio listening patterns.

5.3.8 Kangema FM Non-Listeners

Audience selectivity of media content is also apparent in the non-listeners to Kangema FM. Out of the 114 respondents interviewed, in response to the direct question whether one listens to Kangema FM or not, 49 stated that they did not listen to the station. This represents a 42% non-listenership to the station. As such Kangema FM is not the primary radio channel for almost half of the survey respondents. As displayed in Fig 14, the greatest reason advanced for not listening to Kangema FM was a lack of interest (29%), followed by ‘No Signal’ (25%). 16% of the respondents stated that they had never heard of Kangema FM, while ‘Other Reasons’ made up 10% of causes of non-listenership. Only 4% of the respondents stated that they specifically disliked the station, while 8% stated that other media were more interesting, and another 8% indicated that they had no time to listen to the station. Thus, the main reason that potential listeners do not tune in to Kangema FM is a lack of interest. They do not feel compelled to listen to the station just because it is available. Rather, they purposefully choose stations based on their interests. At the same time, poor signal reach is a significant factor for Kangema FM’s lack of listenership, with 25% of non-listeners not able to access the signal. As such, the potential listeners originally calculated even within Kangema sub-county may be significantly fewer than assumed.

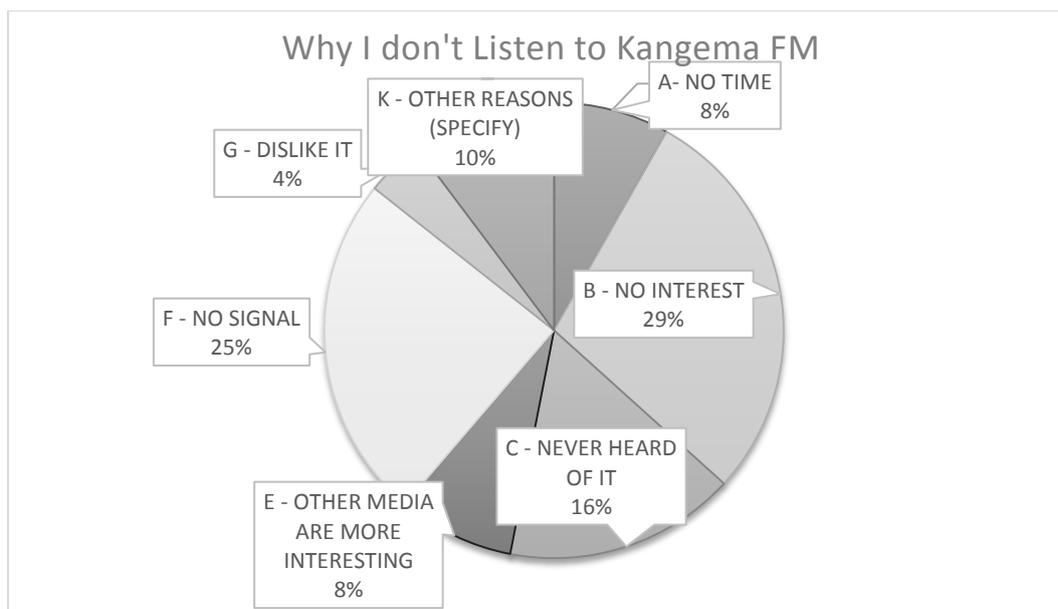


Figure 14: Reasons not to listen to Kangema FM

It is also important to note that over 15% of the respondents stated that they had never heard of Kangema FM, despite being inhabitants of the area. This suggests the ubiquity of radio channels in the area that audiences have to choose from, signalling the ever more complex media environment that listeners are located in. In such a setting, the station may have to invest in events to popularise itself. In the following section, I address the fan clubs⁹⁹ that exist in the community as an indicator of social formations around the station.

5.3.9 Fan Clubs

At Kangema FM, fan clubs were launched following the setting up of the station in the community. The clubs took the form of '*salaams* [greetings] clubs', which consisted of community members actively involved with the station through activities such as sending on-air greetings to each other, acting as distributors of greeting cards, and organising events which they invited the station to. From discussion with the fan club members and station staff, it emerged that this involvement was for the purpose of accessing benefits, both material and

⁹⁹ I use the term 'fan club' and 'fan group' interchangeably in this chapter, as used by the community members and producers. At both Kangema FM and Mugambo FM, the members of these groups refer to themselves as 'fans'. However, at Kangema FM they consistently refer to the groups as 'fan clubs', while at Mugambo FM, they interchangeably use the terms 'fan club' and 'fan group'. These fan clubs and groups are not organised around text produced by the station, but rather, around the station as an institution. They are thus markedly different from fan communities, in which fans engage in "grassroots archiving, annotation, appropriation and recirculation" (Jenkins 2012, 454) of content.

otherwise, from the station.¹⁰⁰ However, when these benefits were not forthcoming, enthusiasm for the clubs waned, with members feeling that they were getting nothing out of it. Some then evolved into self-help groups, with members making regular financial contributions, but other clubs died.¹⁰¹ In this ‘self-transformation towards a non-predefined direction’, these groups took on the characteristics of a public as proposed by Milioni (2009). Apparently, these clubs were formed as a strategy to lay claim to the benefits seen to lie with the station. The initiators of the groups mobilised their social solidarity (Calhoun 2003) as a way to achieve certain goals. They saw the possibility of content-related participation and structural participation (Carpentier 2012), and formed these groups as a collective way to engage in these forms of participation. According to Calhoun (2003), the less privileged depend on social solidarity, whether communal, ethnic or national, to get things done, because as individuals they do not have the necessary clout to achieve their goals. In this setting, the fan clubs were created as a way for the community to exercise their collective voice in the affairs of the station.

For these groups, Kangema FM is apparently viewed as a government-installed community resource that all community members should benefit from, rather than merely a radio station to air development programmes, as KMD intended it to be. While KMD sees itself as addressing a possibly passive audience, the fan groups are acting as publics. They seem to be ahead of KMD in recognising the participatory potential of the station and formally organising themselves to participate. Through the fan clubs, community members organized themselves to access and influence the station, with the programme content secondary to their concerns.

As Butsch (2011) argues, what distinguishes audiences from publics is their practices, regardless of which media technology is available. In this case, the community expressed a pre-existent civic culture which it mobilised to act as a public rather than as an audience. Ironically, therefore, much as the station seeks to avoid politics and religion in its programming, as outlined in Chapter 4, there are social formations around the station which

¹⁰⁰ In informal discussions with station staff in 2014 and 2016, it emerged that when the station started, community members expected it to be a resource from which they could benefit not only information-wise but also financially. This was possible especially before the institution of financial management systems which tracked financial flows at the station. During group interviews with community members, the respondents stated that the station used to ‘promote’ them at its inception, but not anymore.

¹⁰¹At the time of the group interviews in 2014, fan club members interpreted the soliciting of their opinions about Kangema FM as a sign of renewed interest in them by the station (although it was made clear that the interviews were for the purposes of research and were not commissioned by the station). During the interviews, they verbally urged each other to be active in the clubs once again since it was a ‘new beginning’.

act politically, outside of the programme content. Political mobilisation is not originated by the station, but rather, it emanates from the community members themselves. Through rallying each other, they make use of social solidarity to achieve a collective goal: participation in and through the media. From the station aims, the station views itself as a gatekeeper to the political, but instead, the political is taking place outside of the station, and then seeking to co-opt the station into the process.

The station thus becomes not the source of political activity for the community, but rather, an object of the community's intentions. Kangema FM ends up in a position of responding to community political overtures, rather than its imagined position of initiating these overtures. The station's assumed position in the community's political processes is in this way challenged and even subverted. Rodriguez (2006) argues that "alternative media spin transformative processes that alter people's sense of self, their subjective positionings, and therefore their access to power" (Rodriguez 2006, 773). In the case of Kangema FM, there are indications that this process, although not intended and even resisted by the station, is taking place through the self-organisation of fan clubs. Community members, through these clubs, conceive themselves as having more power to express their voice in the community public sphere.

This group civic agency, despite its emphasis on collective action, is however impacted both by a desire for celebrity and by interpersonal relationships with the producers. This was alluded to in group interviews, as demonstrated in the following excerpt:

Interviewee 9: Before we used to be very proud to have a station right here, and we used to say this is ours and we supported it very much with a lot of enthusiasm and joy. We used to be very active and meet together in various locations, even our husbands wouldn't question when we told them that we are going for such meetings, *because he would hear you in the evening when the recorded programme is aired...* (Italics mine, Interviewee 9, Group Interview 1, Kanoorero, 26.11.2014)

Facilitator: But now it seems that there are no longer such things?

Interviewee 9: No there isn't. *Nowadays I don't even bother listening to Kangema FM.* (Italics mine, Interviewee 9, Group Interview 1, Kanoorero, 26.11.2014)

Facilitator: And aren't you feeling bad about that?

Interviewee 9: You know when a thing gets started it should be maintained. If you people light the fire again, we the fans you will be surprised at the lengths to which we will go. (Interviewee 9, Group Interview 1, Kanoorero, 26.11.2014)

Interviewee 7: And now the things like what we are telling you now, if you implement them, for instance if you get to know one another with the fans, then they can be calling

you. *But now what will I call to say when you don't know me?* (Italics mine, Interviewee 7, Group Interview 1, Kanoorero, 26.11.2014)

For both of the respondents above, the two benefits of engaging with the station are to be heard on-air, and to be known personally by the producers. As per Interviewee 7 above, the incentive for participating in a call-in show is not the opportunity to air one's views. Rather, being personally recognised in the mediated public sphere by the media worker is the biggest motivation for calling in. Participation through the media is in this case not seen as an activity independent of interpersonal relationships, but rather, is predicated on them. Although participation in self representation and public debate is a community-level process, here it is tied to interpersonal relationships. While Carpentier (2012) proposes access-interaction-participation as an axis of increasing participatory intensities, in this community, access and interaction are in tension with each other, with interaction acting as a determinant of participation through the media. In this context, radio's value as a phatic medium – as a means of maintaining social connections – overlaps with its value in developing a civic culture through engaging in public debate. The personal is not only intertwined with political participation, but is, in fact, a determinant of willingness to participate in public sphere processes. For these fan club members, expression of themselves as publics is influenced by personal relationships. As such, using the radio for the personal and the political are intricately linked and have an impact on each other.

5.4 Koch FM

Around Koch FM, out of the 107 people surveyed, 48 were male and 59 female. Their ages ranged from 16 to above 60 years old, with only 3 respondents declining to disclose their age. The highest number of respondents – almost half - fell in the 21-30 years old age bracket. The age bracket with the lowest representation was that of over 60 years of age.

5.4.1 Listening Venue

Among the respondents questioned in Korogocho, the preferred listening venue for radio was the home. As indicated in Fig 15, about 77 percent of the respondents listen to radio at home, while only five percent listen either at work or at friends' homes, and only two percent tune in via their mobile phones regardless of venue. This trend of listening to radio at home suggests that most listeners would tune in to radio in the mornings before they leave the house to commence on the day's activities, or after they come back home in the evenings.

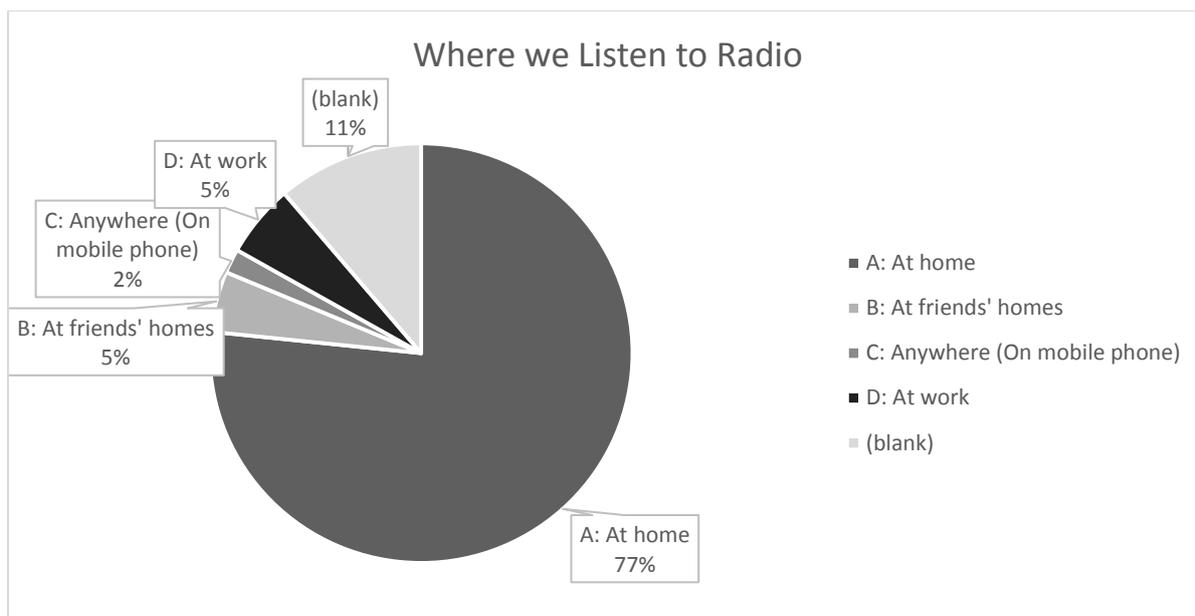


Figure 15: Radio listening venue

5.4.2 Listening Times

Indeed, similar to Kangema FM, the majority of listeners tune in to radio in the morning and in the evening. The findings indicate that 51% of the radio listeners listen to radio in the morning, as compared to 30% who listen in the afternoons, 33% who listen in the evenings, 23% who listen at night, and 32% who listen to radio all day.¹⁰² For this station, afternoon listenership is relatively high compared to the other two stations. However, morning still stands out as the most popular time to listen to radio.

5.4.3 Koch FM Listeners

Slightly above 68% of those interviewed stated that they listen to Koch FM. Out of these, the highest number of listeners (57%) fell in the 21-30 years old bracket, followed by those in the 16-20 years old bracket (22%). Listenership to Koch FM seems to decline as age increases, with the 31-40 age bracket making up only 10% of the listeners, 41-50 year olds making up only 4% of the listeners, and only 3% of Koch FM listeners hailing from the 51-60 age bracket. However, it is not possible to say conclusively that the station is less popular among the older age brackets, because the number of people surveyed who fell within these age groups were few to begin with. The listeners by age are indicated in Fig 16:

¹⁰² These numbers add up to more than 100 percent, as respondents had the option of selecting all the times they listen to radio.

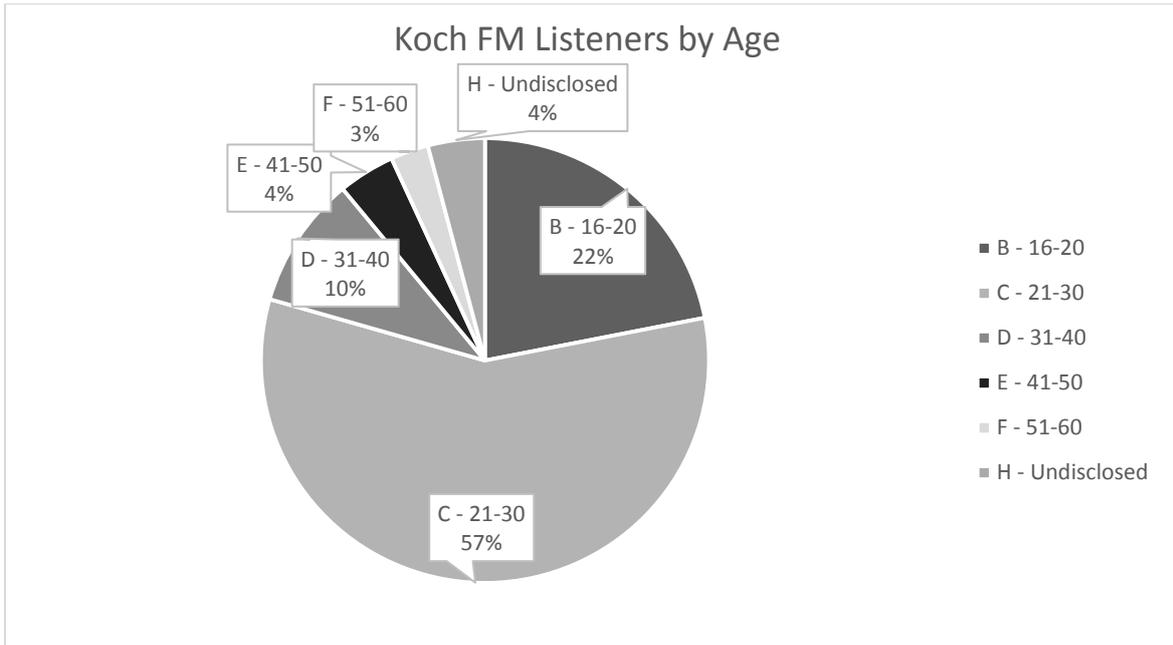


Figure 16: Koch FM listeners by age

5.4.4 Listening Frequency

Out of these listeners, about 28% listen to Koch about once a week, 24.6% listen daily, while 21.9% listen every two to three days. The remaining number listen to Koch FM between once fortnightly and less than once a month. These findings indicate that although there is awareness about Koch FM in the target area, with almost 70% recognition among those interviewed, Koch FM is apparently not the first choice of radio listenership for the respondents. Rather, a majority of those who listen to Koch FM do so only once a week, and only about a quarter tune in daily. These figures are displayed in Figure 17.

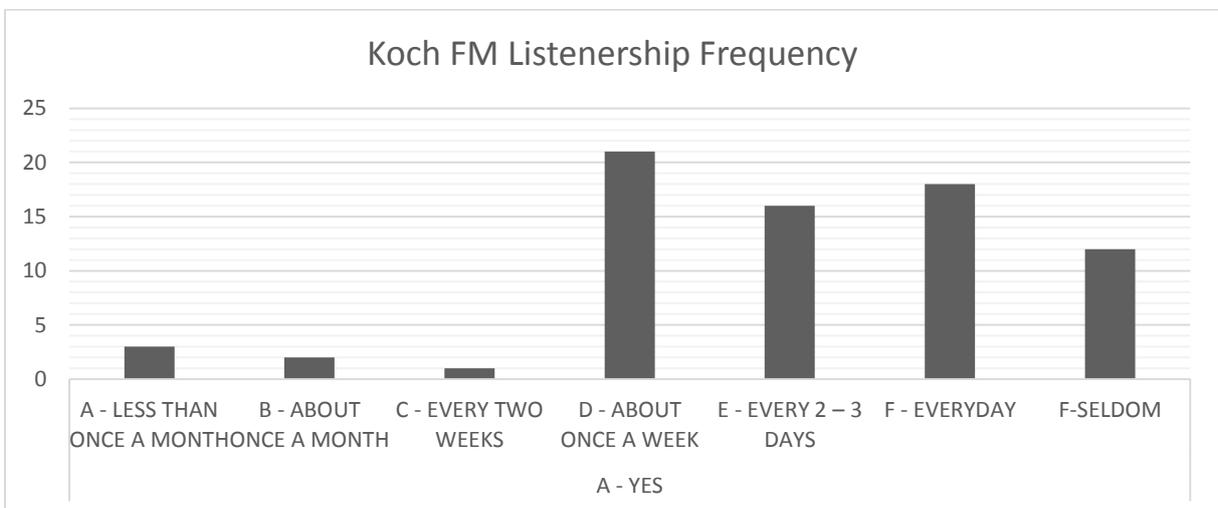


Figure 17: How often Koch FM is listened to

5.4.5 Favourite Koch FM Content

The once a week listenership to Koch FM apparently has an impact on programme recognisability for the respondents. A weekly listener might not have a specific show that they listen to, or may not have memorised its details. Indeed, even among those who stated that they listened to Koch FM, the majority could not specifically name the programmes they liked. 46% could not name any specific show on Koch FM (indicated here as ‘None’), while 26% of respondents cited ‘music in general’ as their preferred Koch FM content (indicated here as ‘Non Stop Music’). Only low numbers of respondents recognized specific shows. Among these, the morning show was the most positively recognised, with 21% of the Koch FM listeners mentioning it. The rest of the Koch FM shows were mentioned by less than 15% of the respondents each.¹⁰³ Fig. 18 displays this:

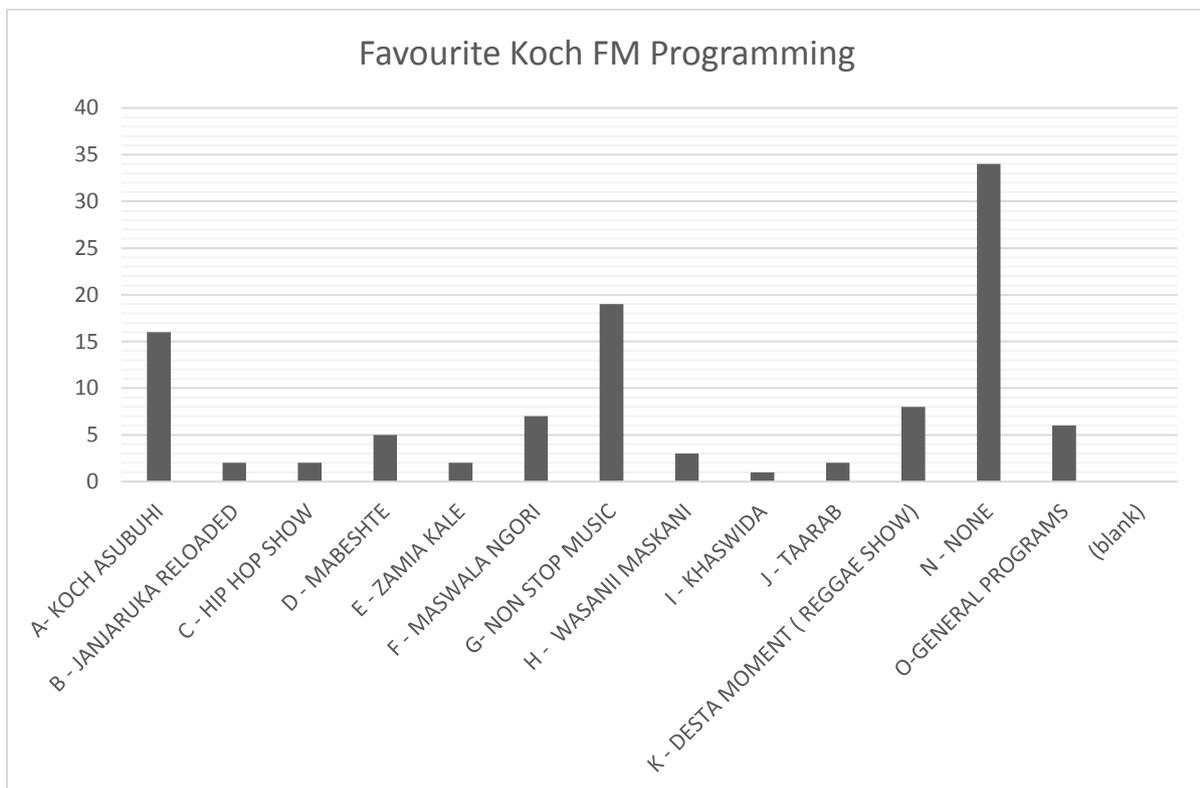


Figure 18: Favourite Koch FM programmes

It may be that Koch FM programming is not found to be interesting enough to listen to more than once in a while, especially given other radio options in the area. This seems to be plausible in view of the reasons given for not listening to the station. These are detailed below.

¹⁰³ These numbers add up to more than 100% because respondents could mention more than one type of favourite content.

5.4.6 Koch FM Non-Listeners

Of the 31.8% of all respondents who indicated that they did not listen to Koch FM at all, two-thirds cited ‘lack of interest’ as the biggest reason for not listening to the station. 24% of these non-listeners indicated ‘no time’ and another 24% of non-listeners indicated ‘other stations offer similar programmes’ as their reasons for not tuning in to Koch FM. Less than nine percent indicated that they do not own a radio, and only three percent indicated that they had never heard of Koch FM. This is displayed in Fig 19.

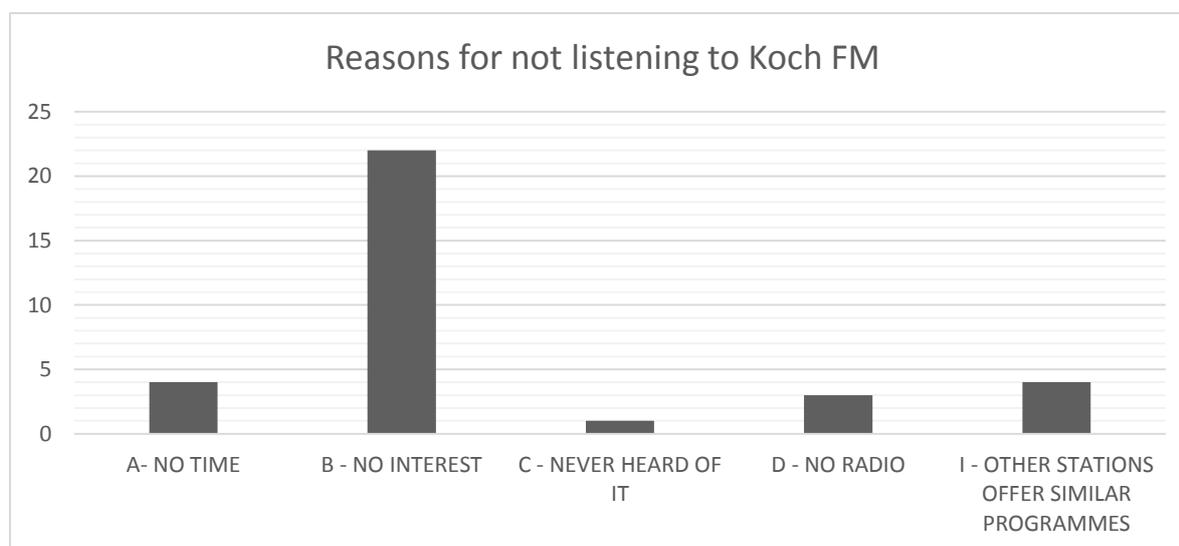


Figure 19: Reasons for not listening to Koch FM

From this finding, there seems to be a high awareness of the existence of Koch FM within the Korogocho community. Among those who do not listen, accessibility is not the issue; rather, they are not interested in the content that the station has to offer. This lack of interest as a reason for not accessing the station is similar to Kangema respondents, and illustrates the freedom of choice each audience member has in selecting what station to tune in to. More importantly, especially given the small geographical radius of Koch FM, it is evident that just because a community station exists does not guarantee special fidelity by the community it is based in. The nature of social ties in relation to the station offers further insights into the social solidarity in the Korogocho area.

5.4.7 Listener Groups

Unlike Kangema FM and Mugambo FM, Koch FM has no existent fan clubs or groups organised around the station. From interviews with producers, it emerged that attempts by

station staff to initiate listener groups were shelved because community members expected funds in return for participating in such groups. This expectation is somewhat similar to the situation in Kangema FM, where the hope of financial benefits was one of the reasons for the formation of fan clubs. However, unlike Kangema FM, where community members organised themselves into groups, for Koch FM, it is the producers who approached community members to form listener groups. But Korogocho residents saw no need to gather together formally to listen to the radio content. The only way they would be willing to do this is if they would get material benefits in exchange for the use of their time and effort. The producers attempted a top-down approach to the formation of community groups that would engage with the radio content, but this attempt to organize the community around radio content was rejected by Korogocho community members.

This is however not to say that a civic culture does not exist in Korogocho. Rather, it differs from that in the two rural areas. While for Kangema FM and Mugambo FM engagement in the public sphere is approached as a group activity, at Koch FM it seemingly takes on an individualised aspect. At Koch FM, high value is placed on self-representation in the public sphere as an individual. As one respondent put it during group interviews, “you know the joy of listening to radio is to hear yourself” (Group Interview 3, Respondent 4, Koch FM, Nov 2014). That is, both literally hearing oneself speak in public and contribute to the debates of the day, but also in recognising oneself and one’s issues through listening to a radio that addresses the micro aspects of one’s daily life. This is an example of the exercise of voice, that is, “the process of giving an account of one’s life and its conditions” (Couldry 2010, 45). This individualised participation may be due to the more solitary nature of urban life, and perhaps also as a result of different conceptions of what it means to engage in the public sphere. Ironically, the Koch FM broadcast radius is the smallest of the three stations surveyed, and physically the community members live closest to each other. However, they seem to function less as a homogeneous community and more as several communities living side by side.¹⁰⁴

Unlike at Kangema FM, airing one’s views in the public space is not tied to whether one has a personal relationship with the station staff or not. Rather, it is on one’s own initiative.

¹⁰⁴ For example news article “*Why low-income urban dwellers define themselves by ethnicity*” of Sunday, 03 August 2014 (found on: <http://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/DN2/Nairobi-Ethnicity-Low-Income-Areas/957860-2407204-15qe859z/index.html>), interprets the phenomenon of grouping along ethnic lines in urban areas as a way of seeking social solidarity to better cope with the transition from rural to urban life.

Nyamnjoh (2005) argues that the bounds of democracy in Africa should be expanded to account for two kinds of citizenship enacted concomitantly by citizens. One is ethnic cultural citizenship, which is based on one's ethnic belonging and focuses on group rights, and the other is civic citizenship, which refers to one's national identity, and focuses on individual rights. In Korogocho, despite residing according to ethnic lines, when it comes to participation in and through the media, civic citizenship carries the day. Audience members exercise their individual right to communicate, rather than falling back on group identity. As such, for Koch FM, participation is taking place through the media, but with less emphasis on the interaction that derives from group relationships.

The unsuccessful establishment of listener groups by producers illustrates the slippery nature of participation, and how different conceptualizations of it do not fit every context. Were the station to agree to pay the community to engage in listenership groups, it would be a form of manipulated participation, or participation 'sponsored by the powerful' (Taylor 2001). Even if the station is not objectively 'rich', if it were to pay for participation, it would contradict the principle of 'reciprocal collaboration' (Servaes n.d.) that should characterize true participation. More importantly, such an arrangement would introduce a power imbalance in which the station would hold the economic power. It also illustrates collective power at work in resisting pressure from a media institution, even one conceptualised as being in the service of the community.

For participation to be meaningful in whichever form, it needs to be a bottom-up process, rather than one imposed by an institution such as a community broadcaster. However, achieving this idea of participation comes with practical dilemmas. According to the initial ideas justifying community broadcasting (see Berrigan 1979), community media are supposed to be an arena for participatory communication, characterised by access to the media by the public, involvement in the content production process, and in the self-management of communication systems. It is assumed that once a community has access to a media outlet at the local level, they will want to participate in it in specific ways, therefore, of utmost importance is to provide this media outlet at the local level. However, this assumption does not always hold, as demonstrated by the community around Koch FM. In a situation where the inception of a community station does not automatically result in specific types of participation by the community, what should the station do? Should community members be 'educated' on the need to participate? Be persuaded to self-organize if they do not wish to? For Koch FM,

producers seem to have tried the latter – urging community members to self-organize in order to provide feedback to the media organisation. However, they were not successful in this endeavour. Their imagination of their audience and the ways in which that audience would be interested in participating were not congruent with the reality on the ground. The producers viewed ‘participation’ as occurring in specific ways (perhaps according to recommendations in community media training manuals) but in reality, it did not work out like that. They discovered that they are not in a position to force their listeners to participate in specific ways if they (the listeners) do not wish to. This points back to the importance of context as a factor in participation, and the fact that community characteristics and preferences have an impact in the forms of participation that arise.

5.5 Mugambo Jwetu FM

Similar to the other two stations, the majority of respondents in the Mugambo FM broadcast area indicated that they listen to radio. This was reflected across all age groups interviewed. Out of 108 respondents, 105 (97.2%) stated that they listen to radio, meaning that less than three percent of the people interviewed do not listen to radio at all. This is reflected in Fig. 20. Out of these, 85 respondents (80.9%) indicated listening to radio daily, as seen in Fig. 21. This points to radio being an important part of the communication media that community members access in their daily lives.

RADIO LISTENERSHIP BY AGE			
Age	Listens to Radio		
	Yes	No	Grand Total
B - 16-20	19		19
C - 21-30	39	1	40
D - 31-40	32	1	33
E - 41-50	10		10
F - 51-60	2		2
H - Undisclosed	3	1	4
Grand Total	105	3	108

*Figure 20:
Radio
listenership
by age in
Mugambo
area*

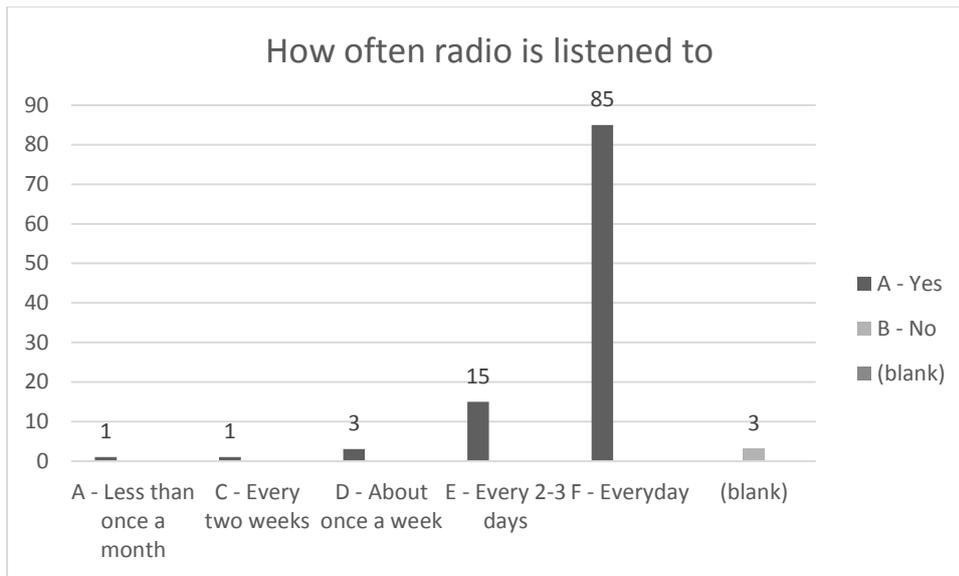


Figure 21: Frequency of listening to radio

5.5.1 Radio Listening Times

The preferred radio listening times for most of the listeners was morning, with 35% of the respondents citing this time, followed by evening (28%), night (16%) and all day (13%). Afternoon was the least frequently mentioned time for listening to radio, with only 8% of respondents indicating that they listen to radio at this time.¹⁰⁵ These listening trends, laid out in Fig 22, are similar to those observed at Kangema FM and Koch FM.

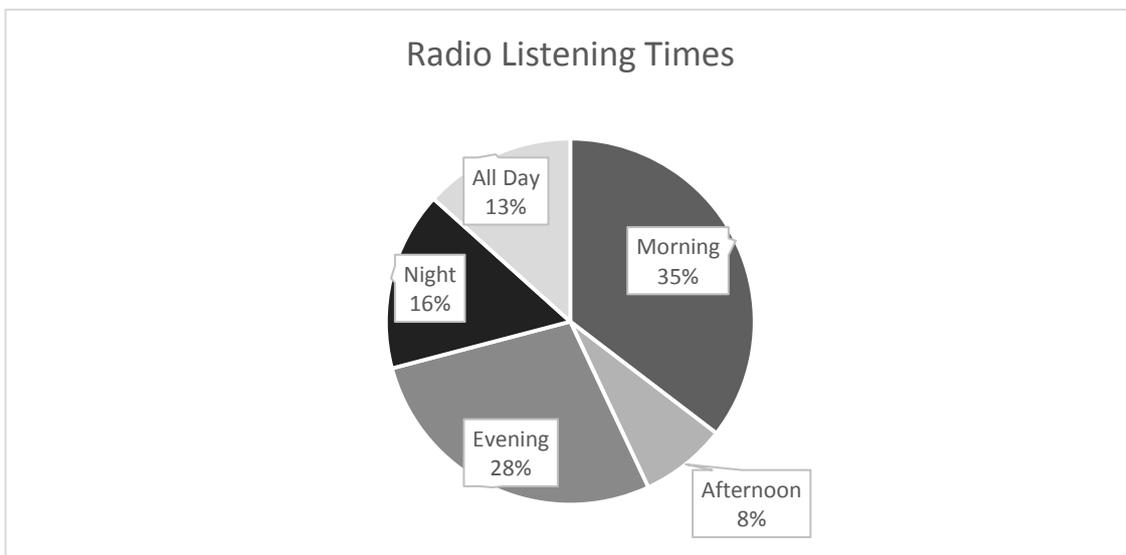


Figure 22: Radio listening times in Mugambo area

¹⁰⁵ Respondents were allowed to mention more than one radio listening time, and therefore the percentages of listeners mentioned per listening time are not mutually exclusive.

5.5.2 Reasons for Listening to Radio at Selected Times

The most frequently cited reason for choosing to listen to radio at a specific time was ‘When I have time’ (38%), followed by ‘When I get home’ (28.6%) – in other words, one will not leave their other activities to listen to radio, but when they have time, either before they head out for the day’s activities, or after a day’s work, they are likely to tune in to radio. This is summarised in Fig 23.

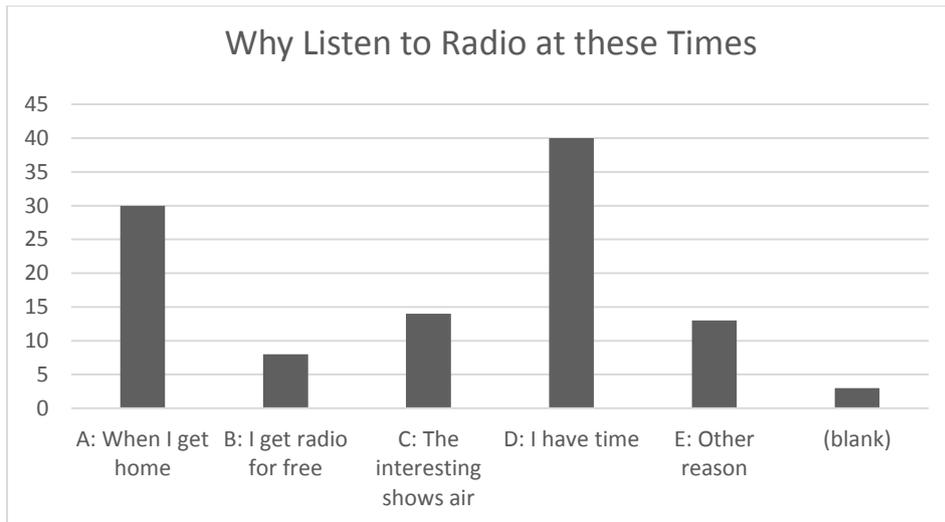


Figure 23: Reasons to listen to radio at specific times

Similar to the other two stations, the radio listening times seem linked to listening venue. The majority of listeners (72%) indicated that they listen to radio at home, as displayed in Fig. 24 below. This would imply that if they work outside the home or in the farm, they listen to radio either early in the morning before departing for their daily work, or in the evening after getting back home.

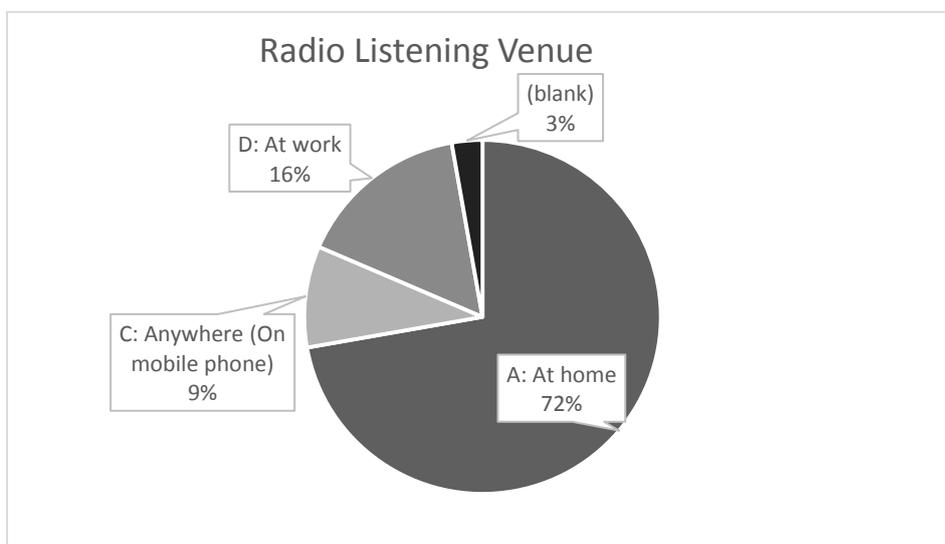


Figure 24: Radio listening venue

5.5.3 Mugambo FM Listenership

When it comes to listenership specifically to Mugambo Jwetu FM, there were two different figures. First, respondents were asked to mention which radio stations they listen to, without being given options by the interviewer. In this scenario, 59 out of the 108 people interviewed mentioned Mugambo FM. This is almost 55% of the respondents. Later in the questionnaire, respondents were asked directly if they listen to Mugambo Jwetu FM. In this case, 73 respondents answered in the affirmative. This is over 67% of the respondents. As discussed earlier, this disparity in findings could be attributed to respondent bias. It is therefore more probable that the true percentage of listeners to Mugambo Jwetu FM is closer to 55% than to 67%.

Delineated by age and gender, Mugambo FM draws its largest listenership from the 31-40 age group (50.9%), closely followed by the 21-30 age group (44%). This is unlike Kangema FM and Koch FM, both of whose largest listenership is from the 21-30 age group. The popularity of Mugambo FM among this demographic may have to do with its community ties in form of self-help groups which double up as fan groups, whose members span this age range. The fan group activities are covered in more detail at the end of this section. In terms of gender, males outnumber females in listenership to the station in the 21-30 and 31-40 age groups, as displayed in Fig. 25.

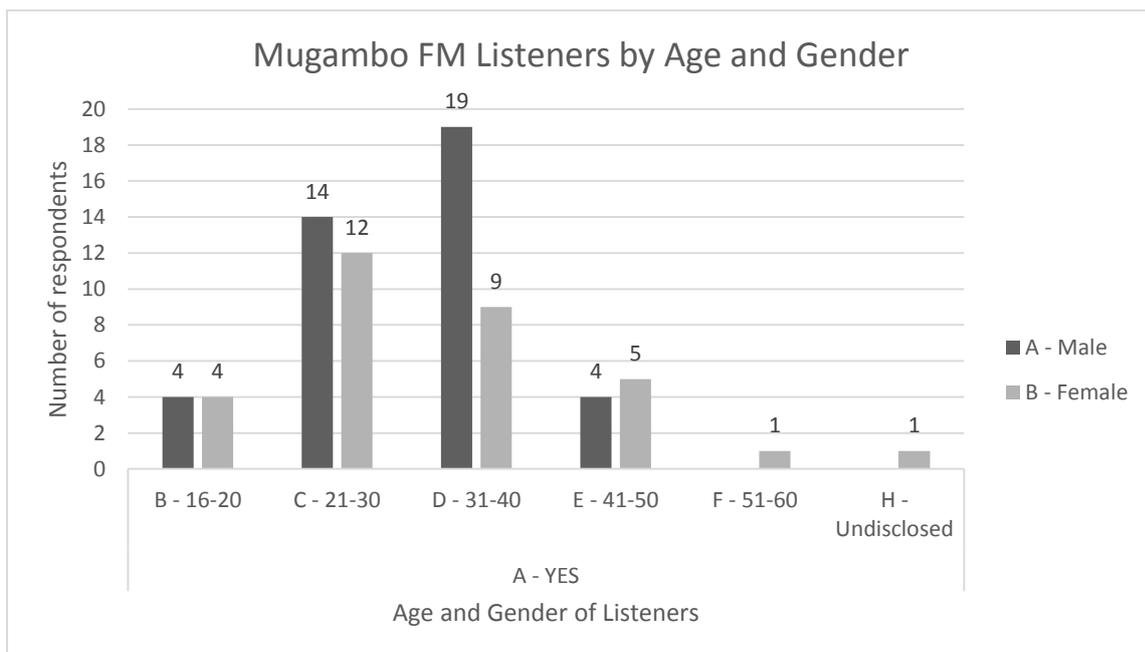


Figure 25: Age and gender of Mugambo FM listeners

5.5.4 Listening Frequency

In the survey area, of those who stated that they listen to Mugambo FM, 71% tune in to the station daily, followed distantly by 22.03% who tune in every two to three days. This is indicated in Fig 26. With these statistics, Mugambo FM has the highest percentage of daily listenership of the three stations.

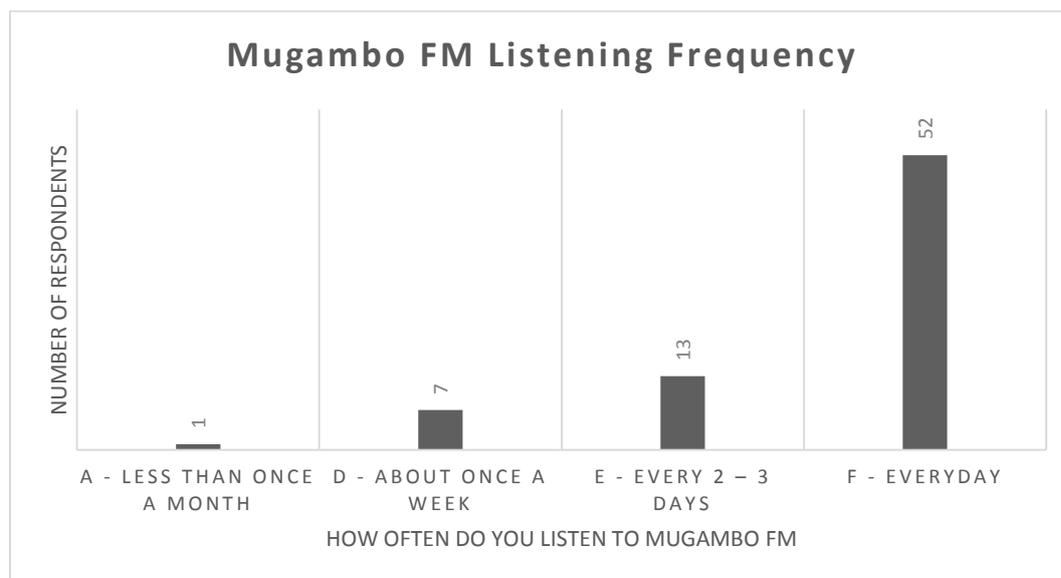


Figure 26: Frequency of listening to Mugambo FM

5.5.5 Location of Mugambo Jwetu FM Listeners

For Mugambo FM, listenership by location was also of interest, given the station's efforts to increase its broadcast radius. From discussions with management, at its inception, Mugambo FM had a strong signal over a relatively small radius, based on transmitter strength. However, in mid-2014 the station transmitter was relocated to a site that enables it broadcast to a wider area. In terms of location, out of the respondents, the highest number of Mugambo FM listeners were found in Kianjai, the area in the immediate vicinity of the station. The other three areas with a high number of respondents indicating that they listen to Mugambo FM were also those geographically close to the station: Muriri, Ruri and Muthara. On the other end of the scale, Karama, Laare and Maua had the lowest numbers of indicated listeners to Mugambo FM. These are also the areas physically furthest away from the station. This indicates a geographical community listening to the station rather than a language one, since speakers of the station's broadcast language exist in the areas surveyed, both close to and far from the station. Listenership figures drop as one moves further away from the station, as indicated in Fig. 27.

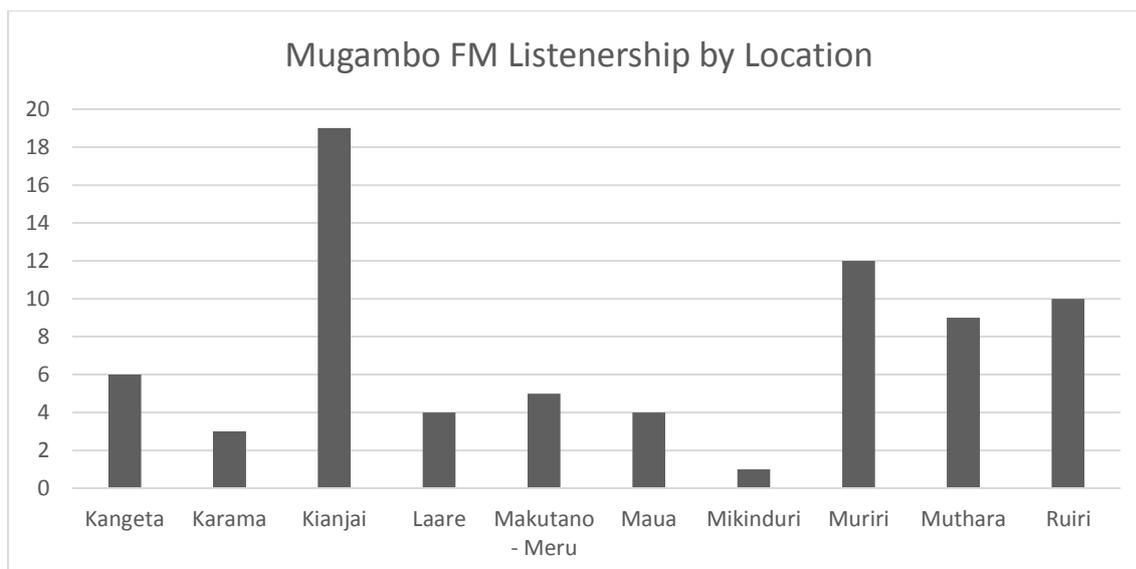


Figure 27: Mugambo FM listenership by location

With this development, Mugambo is faced with redefining who it considers to be its community, and repackaging its content to reflect that. It could either strengthen its offering of hyperlocal¹⁰⁶ content focusing on the areas nearest the station as a way to increase listenership and loyalty even more in those areas, while seeking to add content that is relevant to the further areas. In this case, listeners in the station’s immediate vicinity would be the station’s primary audience, and those further away its secondary one. On the other hand, Mugambo FM could broaden its content and make it more general so as to encompass all the envisioned areas, but at the risk of losing its loyal listener base that is geographically closest to the station. The station would need to find a way to be hyperlocal enough to retain its current listener base, yet also diverse enough to attract listeners from further afield. This situation suggests that a community radio has more community impact when broadcasting hyperlocally, rather than seeking to broadcast further afield, where it has fewer social networks and less social capital. The social ties around the station are tackled later in this chapter. Listeners’ current favourite shows are tackled in the next section.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Hyperlocal’ is not a fixed term but often used in a media context to refer to news or content that pertains to a small geographical community such as a town or village. Metzgar et al (2011) define hyperlocal media as “media operations [that] are geographically-based, community-oriented, original-news-reporting organizations indigenous to the web and intended to fill perceived gaps in coverage of an issue or region and to promote civic engagement”, focusing on the internet-based aspect of such media. However, D’heer & Paulussen (2013) expand the definition of hyperlocal media from only being online-based to include print media that serve a small geographical community.

5.5.6 Favourite Mugambo Jwetu FM Content

Out of the available Mugambo Jwetu FM content, the morning show, *Ciairaro* ('Overnight happenings'), was the most frequently mentioned show that respondents listen to. This is followed in popularity by *Jamaican Express* (Reggae Show), and the third most listened to show was the evening talk show, *Twirane* (Let us talk to each other). This is indicated in Fig. 28.

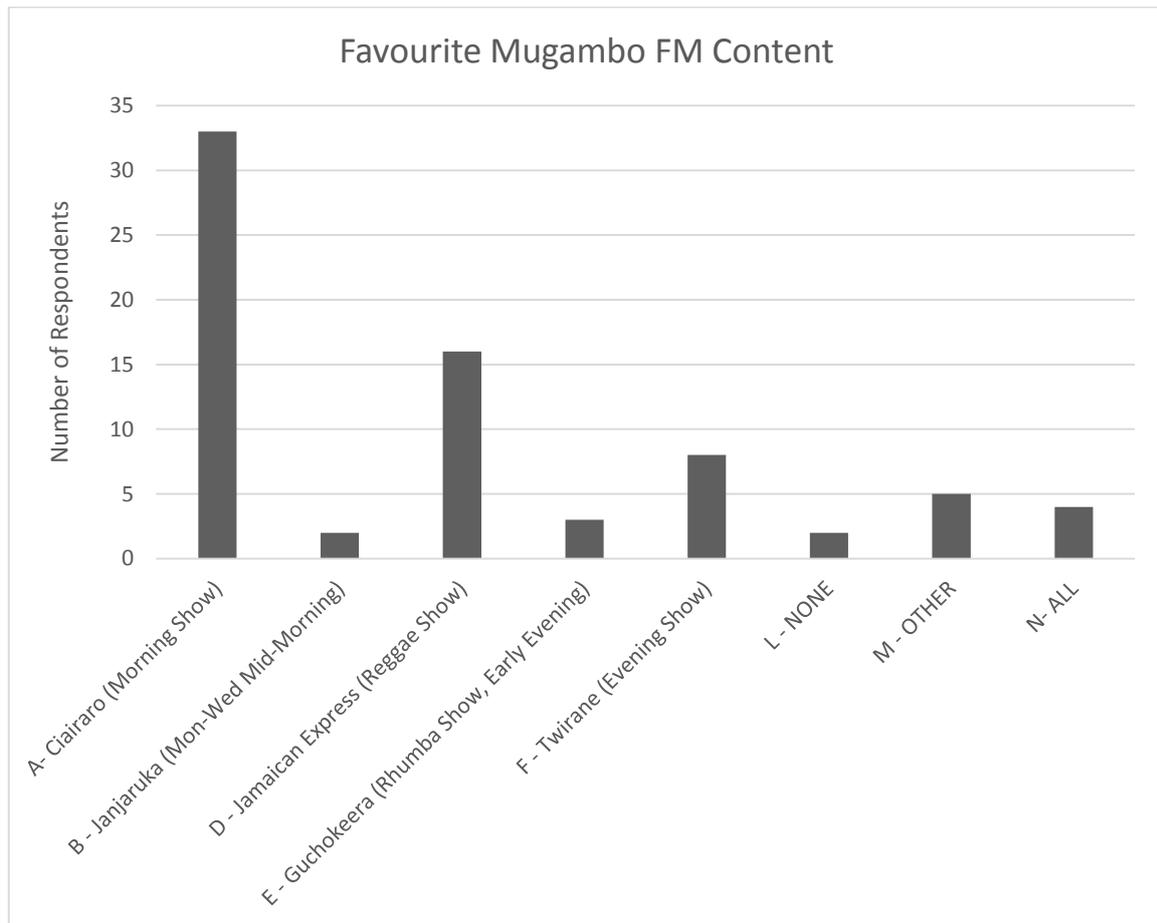


Figure 28: Favourite Mugambo FM content

These findings are in line with the previous finding that the majority of radio listeners tune in to radio in the morning and evening. As well, it is a reflection of the stated content that respondents said they seek from radio in general. In group discussions, the majority of respondents said that they listen to radio in order to catch up on local news. *Ciairaro* ('overnight happenings'), the morning news show, performs this news function. Also of note is that although a low number of respondents indicated that they tune in to radio in the afternoon, the reggae show came out as a strong favourite among its listeners. Among the youth, reggae was their top listenership choice, as reflected by the listenership figures for

Jamaican Express, the reggae show. The specificities of content and community interactions with it come in Chapter 6.

5.5.7 Mugambo Jwetu FM Non-Listeners

Reviewing the reasons given by non-listeners as to why they do not listen to Mugambo Jwetu FM offers further insights. Among the non-listeners, ‘No Interest’ (37%) and ‘Never Heard of It’ (33%) were the reasons most frequently advanced for not listening to Mugambo FM. Only 3% indicated that other media were more interesting. In addition, only 7% cited not understanding the language of broadcast. It would therefore seem that the two greatest reasons that potential listeners do not listen to Mugambo Jwetu FM is a lack of interest and a lack of awareness that the station exists. This is displayed in Fig. 29.

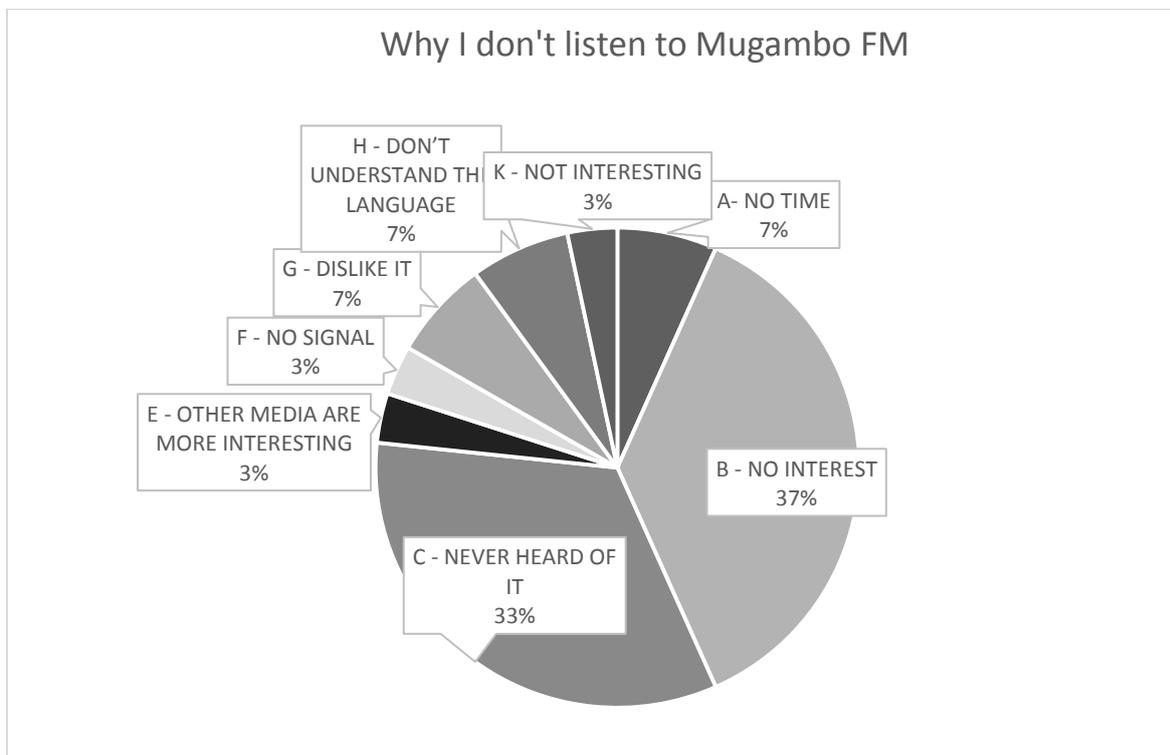


Figure 29: Reasons not to listen to Mugambo FM

The high figures of respondents unaware of the station (33%) is of interest, especially given the high daily listenership figures for Mugambo Jwetu FM. This is likely related to the station’s change of strategy to broadcast to a wider radius. As indicated in the previous section, listenership to the station is highest closest to the station and lowest furthest away from it. The respondents hailing from the vicinity of the station are aware of the station’s existence as an institution, and have interpersonal relationships with it. However, for those geographically far,

they may have other stations closer to them, or simply are more aware of national and regional stations, rather than of this community station. This lack of awareness once again highlights geographical radius as an indicator of the community that a community broadcaster serves. Although a community station may have a wide broadcast area, it may not be popular in distant areas, and its content may be irrelevant for those further away from it. As well, it does not have the benefit of affective ties with a community that it is located far away from. The kinds of relationships around Mugambo FM are tackled in the next section.

5.5.8 Fan Groups

Unlike 'typical' fan communities where fans are co- and re-creators of content, the groups in the Mugambo FM area take the shape of financial and social self-help groups. They exist across gender divides, with some being for men only, others for women only, and others in mixed gender groups, from young adults to older members of the community. The social solidarity in these groups is based on their culturally and demographically defined characteristics (gender, age, etc.). They are all part of a broader, 'space-bound' (Miloni 2009) community that has a shared culture, but are further sub-divided into smaller groups in which they mobilise their social characteristics to achieve certain goals. However, regardless of the composition, these groups have in common that they aim to improve the lot of their members, especially financially.

Unlike at Kangema FM, these groups existed prior to the inception of Mugambo FM. After the station was launched, the self-help groups incorporated it into their communication repertoire and took on an additional identity as fan clubs. Fan club members come together regularly to contribute funds and work on income-generating projects, and use the name of the station as an umbrella. Indeed, all members of these groups now have an individual 'Fan Number'.

An example of such a group is Ruiru Men's Fan Club. It started out as a group of men involved in sports and income generating activities. After Mugambo FM was launched, the club gradually forged a relationship with the station as a partner in achieving the club's goals. The members use the station to make announcements about their meetings and other activities, and as an on-air socialisation forum, for instance sending greetings to one another. The station in turn relies on group members not only to call in during on-air discussions, but also to act as a mobiliser for community functions. For instance, if a producer needs to interview or get in

touch with people from the area in which the fan club is located, the group acts as a facilitator, with members even offering their premises as a meeting point. This cooperation is not a formal contract but rather, is based on the interpersonal relationships between the producers and the fan clubs.

From the example of this group, one notes that Mugambo FM is taken to be part of the communication resources available to fan clubs in the community. Content-related participation for these groups is not in 'formal' content production, in that they do not co-decide the content to be aired or evaluate it formally. However, in using Mugambo FM to extend their interpersonal communication, they engage in self-representation in the public sphere. At the same time, these fan groups engage in socio communicative relationships with Mugambo FM, for instance when they provide a venue in the community for station functions. These groups' engagement with Mugambo FM is thus both through the media and, to a lesser extent, in the media. In reference to Carpentier's (2012) distinctions of access, interaction and participation, the groups have access to the station, and through their engagement in on-air debates, they participate through the media. At the same time, they interact with the station in the form of sociocommunicative relationships with the producers and station manager.

5.6 Conclusion: Discussion of Listenership Trends and Social Formations

For all three communities in which the radio stations are located, radio listenership is a key way to get informed. Radio listenership in both the rural and the urban areas studied takes place chiefly in the morning and in the evening, before listeners leave home for work and after they get home in the evening. This suggests that radio listening is an active engagement which is done purposely at specific times, rather than mere background noise. From this pattern, one notes that radio listening is not concurrently done with other activities, but rather, is more "a discrete act, anticipated in time or marked off from the day's activities in some other way"(Couldry 2011, 223). It is construed as a distinct leisure activity, rather than "an accompaniment to work or socializing"(Ambler 2002, 131).

Daytime radio listenership radio figures are highest at Korogocho, where Koch FM airs. This points to the radio being more of a constant daytime companion in the urban setting as compared to in the rural settings, even if not by a majority of the population. Nevertheless, even with the higher daytime listenership in urban area, access to radio still seems to be through radio sets rather than via mobile technology, as discussed below.

Among the respondents in the three communities, mobile phones are not yet the preferred mode of listening to radio. In all three areas surveyed, less than 10% of the respondents stated that they tune in to radio on their mobile phones. Interestingly, the urban area has the lowest incidence of technology use for radio access. This implies that location in a rural or urban setting is not the main determinant for technology adoption and use. Despite the ubiquity of mobile phones in Kenya in the past decade,¹⁰⁷ these radio listeners have not necessarily appropriated this technology as a replacement for their radio sets. Rather, listeners still primarily listen to radio at home, across all age groups in all the three settings studied, and use their mobile phones to call in and text during discussion programmes. Hence, the introduction of technology does not automatically result in major lifestyle changes with regards to listening habits. Rather, people appropriate new technologies purposively, for some functions and not others. For instance, mobile technology for interacting with radio programmes rather than as a replacement for radio sets.

In terms of listenership to the community radio stations, each of the stations has a relatively high listenership, with at least a third of the respondents tuning in despite the presence of other stations.¹⁰⁸ From these listenership figures, community radio meets information or socialisation needs for the communities that it is found in, enough for them to regularly tune into these stations.

Listening styles however vary in the three settings. For Kangema FM and Mugambo FM, situated in the rural areas, the majority of respondents tune into the community stations daily. At Koch FM, based in the urban slum, they tune in to Koch FM on average once a week. Yet, it is in Korogocho that radio listenership is a whole-day activity for at least a third of the respondents. Therefore, it is not that Korogocho residents listen to radio as a medium less frequently. Rather, it is more likely that Koch FM competes less strongly against the other available stations in the broadcast area, such that it has not yet earned daily listenership.

¹⁰⁷ See for example (AudienceScapes 2010), a report on ICT use in Kenya

¹⁰⁸ According to a report on the CA website, Kenyans listen to approximately 8-12 regional radio stations, and for each region, 3-5 national stations are available. See “Competition Study – The Broadcasting Industry In Kenya – Deloitte 2012” on <http://www.ca.go.ke/images/downloads/RESEARCH/Competition%20Study%20on%20the%20Broadcasting%20Industry.pdf>)

Indeed, when it comes to not listening to the community stations, the respondents in all three settings gave the same main reason for not tuning in – lack of interest. While there are some respondents who had never heard of the stations and some who could not access the signal, this number was consistently lower than those who were simply not interested in tuning into the stations. In all three contexts, media access is selective: audiences and users tune in to specific media channels because they meet certain needs. They do not necessarily access a station just because it is available. Rather, community radio stations are part of the media repertoire available, through which community members meet their communication needs.

When it comes to favourite content for community radio listeners, there are observable differences. For Kangema FM, the favourite is the evening discussion show, while in Mugambo area, it is the early morning community news discussion show. This suggests that the two rural stations' residents being keen to participate in public sphere discussions, and taking the opportunity to do so. At Korogocho, on the other hand, the largest number of respondents had no favourite show, and the second-favourite content was non-stop music. This paints the picture of an audience more passively interacting with their radio content, rather than actively contributing to it, and could be an indicator of the media participation cultures in the different settings.

Indeed, engagement with Kenyan community media takes different forms in the different contexts, based on pre-existent community characteristics. The three stations' communities have in place different types of community organisation, not only due to the presence of a media outlet in their midst, but also based on their pre-existent social ties. The community broadcasters in one sense facilitate community organisation, as proposed by Meadows et al (2009), but on the other hand, respond and adapt to pre-existent forms of community organisation. Communities self-mobilise and then seek to co-opt the stations into their workings, rather than the stations being mobilisers of community formations in the first place.

As such, these communities act as 'constituents' (Fairchild 2010) because they are not just listeners, but also potential contributors and political participants. The activities of community members result in broadcasters distinguished by context-specific participation patterns. The Kangema FM community acts as a 'political public' seeking to influence the station's agenda, but with participation premised on interpersonal relationships with the station. Mugambo FM is more of a 'social public', with emphasis on pre-existent social ties and self-help activities in

the community itself. The Koch FM community could be termed an ‘individualised public’, with a personal rather than group civic culture, in which participation in the community-radio-created public sphere is not reliant on interpersonal relationships.

From the above, one may surmise that civic agency, at least in a community broadcasting context, is not necessarily an individual endeavour. Rather, it is sometimes undertaken as a group venture, where group members mobilise their pre-existent social ties to engage in the community public sphere. In addition, willingness to participate in the mediated public sphere of community broadcasting is sometimes dependent on interpersonal relationships with the broadcasting personnel. As such, there is a relationship between the social functions of radio and its democratic functions; these are not mutually exclusive. Instead, they complement and influence each other. It is not enough to create an opportunity to deliberate via participation in or through the media, by installing a community broadcaster in a community. Instead, interpersonal relationships - between community members themselves and between community members and station personnel – are also a factor that impacts on the potential for participation in community broadcasting.

Participation through the media is both a deliberative act and a constitutive act. Hence, the next chapter analyses the content produced by each radio station, and how community members interact with it and in this way, are constituted as different types of audiences, communities and publics.

6 KENYAN COMMUNITY RADIO CONTENT: ARTICULATIONS OF AUDIENCES, COMMUNITIES, PUBLICS

6.1 Introduction

Content is the key ‘product’ of a media organisation, and the way by which such an organisation symbolically constructs reality. Alternative and community media are taken as a way to represent the world differently from the dominant perspectives presented by mainstream media (Atton 2001, 2015). As such, some scholars argue that critical content rather than self-organized production processes is what should determine whether a media outlet is alternative or not (Sandoval and Fuchs 2010; Mano and Mukhongo 2016). Mowbray (2015), in categorising four logics for alternative media, proposes one of the logics as the ‘critical-emancipatory’ logic, which focuses on the ability of alternative media content to foster social change, and another as the heterodox-creative logic, which refers to radical and aesthetically innovative content. These two logics foreground the place of media content in delineating alternative media from other media, and in bringing about social change.

In this chapter, I explore the types of content found in Kenyan community radio stations, their difference from or similarity to mainstream content. The content discussed draws from recorded programme samples and observed programmes at the stations in the course of fieldwork. The content is discussed according to time slot. Keeping in mind that audiences are active and they not only respond to content but also engage in its creation, the chapter seeks to draw out the existent participation practices as far as content is concerned. It makes links between how, through engagement with content, various audiences, communities and publics are formed.

I start with an overview of crosscutting factors that influence content at the three radio stations. This is followed by an outline of the general types of content found in the three investigated community radio stations, and a discussion of audience interaction with and response to them. The focus is specifically on content outside of news bulletins, since detailed discussion of the latter takes place Chapter 7, which focuses on the radio station producers.

6.2 Influences on Content – Funding, Security context, Socioeconomic Context, and Technology

To contextualise the content to be discussed, I begin with an outline of several factors that impact the choice of programming at the three stations. These are funding sources, political/security context, socioeconomic context, and availability of technology. Not only do these influences impact on community radio content, but they also impact on each other. For all three stations, regardless of physical context, these factors play a major role in the content being generated by the stations.

Funding is the first major factor that has an impact on the content produced by the stations. The three stations visited cited challenges in acquiring sufficient funding, evidenced by scarce equipment for fieldwork and power blackouts (none of the stations had a functional backup generator). It was also clear that funding source plays a hand in shaping content, such as the NGO funding Koch FM, which, as part of the funding contract, requires that Koch FM incorporate climate issues in their programming. In the case of Kangema FM, and the weather information from the Kenya Meteorological Department (KMD) is an integral part of the station's content, and is, indeed, the reason for existence of the station in the first place. For Mugambo FM, funded largely by UNESCO, there is a requirement to produce health, education and sanitation programmes,¹⁰⁹ which the station regularly sends to UNESCO as proof of production. For the three stations, therefore, they may not be restricted from including diverse content in their programmes, but they are required to have specific kinds of content depending on their funding source. This is an example of extra-media level factors which have an impact on content produced. While commercial media deal with advertisers, community broadcasters deal with the organisations that sponsor them. Content is produced with the interests and requirements of these funders in mind, in addition to community interests.

The impact of political and security context is also evident at the three stations. At Koch FM, the station staff exhibit an awareness of the fact that they have to be careful that their content takes into account security concerns. In this area, residents fear their voices being recorded, and are unwilling to have their details shared with donors, even for feedback purposes, as discussed in the station description (Chapter 4.11). Especially after the unsolved murder of

¹⁰⁹ Noted on World Radio Day 2015

one of the station staff several years ago as he walked home at night,¹¹⁰ the station has been keenly aware of its security context and has made adjustments to the programme schedule as a result. The late night show ends at 8pm rather than at 11pm, as was previously the case. At Mugambo Jwetu FM, as earlier discussed, a talk show host mentioned receiving a call from the national security service after his show, in which people had called in expressing sentiments that were interpreted as ‘anti-government’ (See Chapter 4.13). In Kangema FM as well, the choice of ‘non-political’ content by KMD demonstrates the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable content for the station. This is a combination of extra-media level factors (institutions outside the media organisation) and ideological level factors delineating the types of ‘acceptable’ content. At the latter level, community broadcasters are expected to not antagonise the state, by not giving room for criticism of the state by the public. They are expected to offer an interpretation of the world that does not question the government. Yet, the ideological-level idea of media as holding the state to account is also one that community broadcasters seek to achieve. For the three stations, one notes that there is both implicit censorship from players outside of the stations, and self-censorship by the stations themselves, in view of their political contexts. As such, the stations exercise their freedom of speech only within certain parameters.

Socioeconomic and physical context is another key factor in content design for all three stations. Each station tailors its content according to its physical context, as will be discussed further in this chapter. For instance, Koch FM has free announcements for missing children, as that is a common occurrence in the slum. As well, the mid-morning shows in both Mugambo FM and Kangema FM address specific contextual issues. For Mugambo FM, these are farming issues that change per season, while in Kangema, these are more business-related, such as the price of agricultural produce in the market. As well in Kangema, the weather content is specifically based on the area’s propensity towards mudslides. I consider socioeconomic and physical contexts as a meso-level factor, which would fit between the extra-media and the ideological levels of Shoemaker and Reese’s typology. The influence is not from institutional actors, but rather, from the physical and social milieu in which the stations are found. Yet, it is also not purely about how meanings are made in the communities and so does not fully fit into the ideological level. Rather, it is a response to relatively fixed yet potentially fluid factors

¹¹⁰ Shared in informal discussions with the Team Leader, October 2016. The victim was one of the station’s founding members. It is suspected that he was murdered for his outspoken nature and his role championing the rights of the downtrodden in Korogocho.

which constitute the context of the station. Relatively fixed such as the physical context, but with the potential for evolution, for instance if the living arrangements at Koch evolve such that children no longer easily get lost in the area. In this case, announcements for missing children would no longer be relevant to the context.

Regardless of their location in rural and urban areas, each of the stations makes use of technology in its content production. Each station has a Facebook page on which they post occasional updates and receive comments from their audience. Phone text messages are also a major way in which the audiences communicate with the stations, in both the rural and the urban areas. The station staff also make use of the internet for research for programme content, as well as for downloading music from the internet for some shows.¹¹¹

6.3 Programme Content and Audience Participation

The three stations have similarities in content, in that the bulk of the airtime is taken up by talk shows and music. However, they differ in the scope of their specific shows. The stations surveyed had similarities in their programme schedules in general, although their programming was not identical. I therefore discuss the programme content based on the schedule, while pointing out the specificities of each station per time slot. For each time slot, the discussion of programme content also incorporates the ways in which the audiences engage with the content.

6.3.1 Early Morning Show

For all three stations, there are similarities in the early morning show in terms of length and content. At each station, the early morning show begins between 5 and 6 am, and consists of news of the day and a selected discussion topic. The timing of the shows keeps in mind the typical Kenyan listeners' schedule, which involves being awake and getting ready to leave the house at these hours of the morning, in order to be at work by 8am, whether formal employment or contract work that is assigned every morning. For farmers, milking takes place before dawn and cultivation starts early. At this time of the day, as the average adult is busy doing things around the home, the radio acts as a companion that keeps them informed and entertained, without requiring any extra attention. Indeed, as presented in the quantitative findings chapter, for the audiences of all three stations, the most popular radio listening times were first thing in

¹¹¹ There is no clearly outlined policy which the stations adhere to on the issue of copyright infringement, but the Kenya Music Society is over time enforcing payment of royalties to artistes whose music is played regularly at Kenyan radio stations. It remains to be seen how these stations will tread the line between copyright issues and the affordability of original music for their shows.

the morning and last thing in the evening. The listeners gave these times as the most convenient for them to listen to radio, and indicated that they usually listen to radio at home. As a member of the Koch FM audience pointed out, the early morning show "...works with my timing for leaving the house. So when the show ends I know it is time for me to head out." (Koch Women's group interview, Koch FM, 07.11.14)

She uses the show as a timing device to keep her on track with her morning schedule, even without checking her clock or watch. In this case, the radio functions not as an entertainment or education medium, but as an aid in organizing her day. She no longer needs to look at the clock to organize her morning. Rather, by listening to radio, she adapts her activities based on what is airing, thereby using radio as a kind of auditory clock that guides her activities through airing specific content rather than through actually stating the time. The time keeping function of radio was especially emphasized in the Korogocho community during group interviews. A recurring recommendation by audience members was that the station tell the time at the top of the hour, each hour, so that the community members would be able to time themselves better. This underlines the reliance of the community members on the radio as a time-keeping device, beyond the actual content that it airs. In this case, the impact of the radio on the community is not only based on the content that it airs, but on the self-organizing function that it offers through the fact that it has a regular programme schedule.

Nevertheless, the content aired still matters; indeed, the most frequent reason provided by community members at all three stations for listening to radio at all was 'to be informed'. As a listener at Mugambo FM put it, "When you wake up and tune in to Mugambo you are informed about recent happenings. You can also know more about how the children are going to school or about exams" (Mugambo Women's group interview, Urru, 10.12.14).

This is an example of the monitorial function of the media, which consists of providing information that serves to alert one about their environment. When one puts on the radio first thing in the morning, they are keen to hear what is going on, both near and far, that might affect them. The stations seem aware of and responsive to this, as they schedule news as part of the early morning show. At the three stations, national and international news are discussed during the morning show, mainly through newspaper reviews, and in Koch FM, additionally through social media reviews. Despite being community radio stations, the news focus is on national news, rather than on community-specific news. The newspaper reviews include further

explanations by the presenters, summarising the contents of the stories and urging listeners to buy the newspapers for more details. At all three stations, there is a strong strand of community engagement through the opportunity to call in and text. However, each station's morning show has its unique features as described in the following section.

At Kangema FM, the early morning show goes by the name '*Mucamo wa Ruciini*', loosely translated as 'Taste of the Morning'. Indeed the producer aims to set the tone for the day in this show, as he explains below:

I go through the newspapers, I highlight issues affecting the country. I look at both national and international news. [The Morning] show consists of local, regional, national, international news, current affairs, social life, issues affecting the community, since this is a community radio. Maybe also the region, the province, and then the national, on the African content and then international....[...]...then at 8.10 I take them through sports news. We start with the local, maybe the location, go to the national then international. Coz people around love football especially the English Premier League and other leagues in the world. So I try to cover all the sports. (MD 2014)

In the case of this show, there is no specific slot set aside for listeners to contribute to the news agenda, such as informing on local happenings or commenting on the national news. Calls and SMS take the form of greetings and song requests. These are interspersed with music in the course of the three hours of the show, with apparently regular callers and texters whom the presenter mentions by name. Some are members of fan clubs, and they take the opportunity to greet other club members and 'wake each other up'. The communication from the audience is however not limited to greetings and song requests. For instance, in one call, a fan club leader, after sending greetings to members of the fan club, asks the producer to announce a fan club meeting scheduled for the following day 'at our usual venue in xy café'. Instead of individually calling or texting each group member, the group leader makes use of the locally available mass communication channel. The radio station is in this instance used to convey interpersonal messages among community members. Through greetings and such announcements, the radio station acts as an additional interpersonal communication channel which enhances the available communication options for community members.

At Koch FM, the morning show starts at 6am, and goes by a more context-specific name: '*Koch Asubuhi*', which translates to 'Koch¹¹² in the morning'. It consists of newspaper and social

¹¹² 'Koch' is the shortened version of the area's name, Korogocho

media reviews, a debate topic, song requests, features, social announcements, sports, and a slot for listeners to give their opinions on news items of the day. Unique in this show are the social media review, the topical features and the morning debate. In the last two, there is a focus on community-specific issues; not so much giving news, as presenting information. For instance, one of the debates features the topic “what development have you been expecting in your ward which to date has not taken place?” In response, the audience calls in with issues about their specific residential areas: local roads that are not yet tarmacked, a lack of involvement of youth in various local projects, insufficient security lights on the streets, and the continued occurrence of mugging incidents. Several callers mention that in general, security should be improved in Korogocho as some sections are impassable at some hours.

In this slot, the community gets an opportunity to air their voices on issues of concern to them. Through speaking out about these shared issues, they validate their experiences and therefore their voice as a community. They, through this discourse, constitute themselves as a community public sphere. At this point, one’s individual identity does not count; all that matters is that the person has something to say that concerns the community. In the Habermasian conception of the public sphere, individuals set aside their personal characteristics and engage in rational discussion. They bracket inequalities in order to achieve participatory parity. In this slot, the community takes on these characteristics. Everyone in the community is free to text in and give their opinions, thus making their voices heard in the mediated public sphere created in this show. Coleman and Ross (2010) argue that one of the characteristics of the public sphere as a social space is universality, that is, dealing with collective priorities that are agreed upon in the minds of the public. The contributions to this show have this characteristic, and situate the morning show audience as a public in which members make their social presence felt through their participation in the discussion.

The Korogocho community is also constituted as a public concerned with civic issues in the feature insert, found in the last hour of the ‘Koch in the morning’ show. In one instance, the insert is about Kenya’s constitution, in a slot titled ‘Know your constitution’. It tackles Chapter 5 of the national constitution, which concerns land and environment. In the insert, a legal representative from an NGO extrapolates on the constitution’s provisions about land, and the devolution of land services. The producer then asks listeners to tune in on Tuesday morning the following week for further discussions on the constitution with the expert. Technically speaking, this insert does not sound professional – it features considerable background noise

and some skipping/repetition. However, it tackles an issue of importance to the community, addressing its audience by virtue of the fact that they are not only Korogocho residents but also Kenyan citizens and therefore subject to the constitution. The insert demonstrates the station's conception of its audience not only as residents in the local insulated from external influences, but rather, as members in the larger national scene who need to be aware of national policy that impacts on them.

At both Koch FM and Kangema FM, sports is an important part of the early morning show offer. For Kangema FM, from 8am, there is a focus on sports news, and the producer is openly a fan of a certain English Premier League Club. A lot of banter with listeners revolves around team standings, with texts either celebrating or complaining about the performance of their teams. At Koch FM, in the sports news slot, the producer gives updates about both Kenyan and international football, such as FIFA rankings for Kenya, match fixtures for the English Premier League, politics of the sport in Kenya, local match fixtures, and where to get tickets and their prices. Koch FM tailors its information based on its physical location: given the location of the station in Nairobi, the producer assumes that listeners would be interested in attending the matches held there. He therefore provides logistical information on the same. At both stations, the detailed sports information springs from listeners' interest in the game, which cuts across their location as rural or urban audiences. Attending to sports through the media is a shared ritual, which creates and affirms common identities that cut across geographical location.

Similar to the other two stations, at Mugambo FM, the early morning show also features newspaper reviews of the national news. At this station however, there is a specific slot for community members to call in and contribute to the news agenda. This is reflected in the show's name: '*Ciairaro*', translated into 'Overnight Happenings'. In this slot, community members call in with updates on things that happened in their villages the previous evening that are newsworthy. Community members are placed in the position of judging what they term as news and what not. Details of this show and its participation possibilities are covered more extensively later in this chapter.

As seen from the excerpts above, the early morning show for all three stations is a news show, especially national news, but allows for different kinds of community participation. In the case of Kangema FM, the participation is in the form of sending in greetings to each other and

making community announcements. The emphasis is on social connections. In Koch FM, there is an opportunity to comment on national news, and the topical debate allows for discussion of local issues of concern. At Mugambo FM, listeners call in with local news updates. Thus, the three stations play a strong information-provision role for their listeners through the morning show, and so maintain listenership among their audiences. However, with the exception of Mugambo FM, the news aired on the morning show is national and international rather than local/community-focused. Community news only comes later in the day in the rest of the news bulletins. The Koch FM and Kangema FM early morning shows therefore play less of a monitorial role as far as happenings in the immediate vicinity are concerned. Nevertheless, all three stations use the early morning show as a time to air news updates to start off the day.

The choice at all three stations, despite their different contexts, to air national news as the first item of the day, suggests an underlying school of thought about the role of the media, which imagines listeners first as national citizens and then as local community members. It may draw from the ‘nation-building project’ (Ogola 2011) which has over the years strived to constitute Kenyan identity first as a national one, which takes precedence over belonging to a certain ethnic group. It also illustrates Nyamnjoh’s (2005) argument that media practice in Africa deals with both national and ethnic loyalties. Community stations are located at the local level but conceptualise their listeners as both local- and national-level citizens. Although mandated to deal with community-specific issues, community broadcasters seemingly operate on an implicit logic that defines part of community interests as information on national happenings. However, unlike bigger stations, community media concurrently provide their listeners with the opportunity to participate in local-level discourses about community issues. As an example of community participation in content production and the nuanced nature of participation, I examine the Mugambo FM morning show more closely below.

In the Mugambo FM ‘Overnight Happenings’ show, which includes a news roundup of events in the locality, the content is moulded both by the community members and by the show host. People call in with information about happenings overnight from their villages. The show host gives guidelines on the kind of content expected: nothing currently in court or being investigated by the police, and nothing of purely personal interest (i.e. it has to be relevant to the community). In addition, anonymous calls are not entertained – anyone who calls in should be ready to give their name – “even a fake name, but a name” (TD, Producer, Mugambo FM

2014). The host then selects an issue for discussion, and asks community members to call in with their opinions about the same. At times this may be a local issue, at other times it may be an issue on the national news. As evidence that the whole community participates in this discussion, he mentions that “even old mamas, they call me, just to debate, to discuss the issue we are debating...I have some 3 fans, who are old mamas over 70, and they are calling...” (TD, Producer, Mugambo FM 2014) Another producer who alternates on the same show mentions that the target audience is “Everyone in the community. We try to have something for everyone” (MN 2014). However, interviews with different groups in the community regarding their participation in the show reveal a different picture. Whether intentionally or not, it is exclusively the adults in the community who contribute to this show. The youth state that they do not feel that they have the right to call in, and explain it in this way:

... If there is a show contributed to largely by the adults you will take it as belonging to them, so even if it is something interesting to you as a youth, you will not have the confidence to contribute to the discussion. If you are with your parent you tell them your opinion and then they can call into the station on your behalf, because you don't want to be heard commenting on that issue...we are afraid to be heard “oh, so-and-so is a gossip” especially when we meet in the afternoons as youth in the market... (Mugambo Youth 2014)

This thought is echoed by the adults, who state that the morning show is their special show, and the youth should focus on ‘their’ show, that is, the reggae show in the afternoon. As a respondent during group discussions explained, “The youth don’t call in the morning. They know the morning is for the adults...those are issues for adults, the youth should let us be.... Even my son at reggae time tells me ‘now let me have the radio’ and I let him have it to listen to the reggae show” (Mugambo Women 2014).

Thus, much as the show’s producers assume that the show is open to participation by the whole community, participation in the show follows the already existent social norms - in this case, that young people should not engage in conversations where adults are speaking. As such, participatory parity in the Habermasian sense is mediated along age lines. Fiske (1992) sees audiencing – the practices of audiences - as a way of understanding culture. In the case of this show at Mugambo FM, the delineated participation in audiencing the show demonstrates community values. It brings to mind Moemeka’s description of communication norms in what he characterizes as communalistic societies, of which African societies are a part. He points out that verbal and non-verbal communication are delineated along age lines:

Whereas elders have the right to communicate mostly verbally, young children and youths are, by tradition, expected to communicate mostly nonverbally. Because younger generations are presumed to have limited experience in life, they are expected to watch and listen, and act according to what is judged to be the best for them in the context of the overall welfare of the community (Moemeka 1998, 133)

In such societies, should the young people have something to say about an issue being discussed by their elders, then they would be expected to communicate these views through someone who has the right to communicate in that situation: another adult. Such a community defers to gerontocracy, that is, the older someone becomes, the more traditional and social authority they are garner in the community (Moemeka 1998). This seems to be the case in the community around Mugambo FM. Calhoun (1993) however argues that there is no 'primordial' tradition that has always existed; rather, all traditions (including those that make up ethnic groups) are created. Further, he sees tradition as grounded less in the historical past and more in everyday social practice. It is the tacit knowledge which guides participation in social life, and is therefore not rigid. It is often reinterpreted and reshaped to fit contemporary situations. This is the case for the Mugambo FM morning show, where both the youth and the adults implicitly agree that the show should be contributed to by adults and not by youth. This idea is verbally stated by both groups, almost as an 'obvious fact', and is reproduced and reinforced by social censure among the youth, where they fear losing social standing among their peers if they should be heard participating in this show.

Apart from debating on national issues and giving community updates, the Mugambo FM morning show also tackles specific community issues which offer the possibility to tackle 'taken-for-granted' issues that have an impact on the community. One example is the fact that children in the area walk to and from school before dawn and after dark, because they are enrolled in schools far away from their villages. Not only is this exhausting for the students, but it is also unsafe for them, and often more costly for their parents. However it has long been seen as a necessary practice to ensure academic success.¹¹³ Discussing this issue is a way of challenging the assumptions around this practice, and seeking an alternative way to achieve desired outcomes. It is not an explicitly political issue, but it is certainly one of importance to the community, questioning the existent relations between 'good' and 'bad' schools, and

¹¹³ During discussions with the station staff, it emerged that one of the issues under discussion in the community was how to strengthen schools in the local area. Parents in the area usually opt to enroll their children in schools that perform well in primary school and secondary school national exams, even if this means ignoring a nearby school and taking one's child to a school many kilometres away. The idea is to give their child an opportunity to perform well in the national exams, which determine one's entrance to the next level of education.

thinking through ways to re-imagine these. It is an example of the community engaging in meaning-making processes through community media, by asking questions such as ‘is the only way to ensure our children get a good education to enrol them in far-off schools?’ Schudson (2002) argues that the most important value of news media to society is their role as cultural actors. They do not indoctrinate individuals but rather, establish “a web of meanings and therefore a web of presuppositions, in relation to which, to some degree, people live their lives” (Schudson 2002). In the case of Mugambo FM, the station arguably goes beyond establishing this web of meanings. In offering space for debates on previously unquestioned ways of doing life, it creates room for the community to challenge established meanings and norms and co-generate new ones. Hence, community radio acts as a dialogic space in which fresh value systems are discursively produced.

6.3.2 Mid-Morning Show

In the mid-morning show, while there are differences in the specific content of each station, the programmes in the slot show some similarities. For Koch FM, the mid-morning show deals with entrepreneurship, health and environment. For Mugambo, this show consists of rumba music and social topics, such as relationships, as well as topical ones such as agriculture, depending on the season. In Kangema FM, this is the greetings show and it also focuses on the discussion of social topics. For all three stations, at this time of the day, one sees a link between content and the context in which the stations operate.

In Korogocho, sanitation, health, and business strategies for small business are top priorities, and the mid-morning show reflects that in its name: ‘*Janjaruka*’, which translates to ‘Get smart/enlightened’. For Mugambo area residents, their key activity is agriculture, and the station reflects this fact by airing an agricultural feature at this time, on issues such as planting, weeding or harvesting, depending on the time of the year. This show also has a major entertainment component, with stretches of music between the features. Its title, ‘*Burudani Kazini*’, that is, ‘Leisure at Work’, reflects this. For Kangema FM, while the mid-morning show usually features greetings, music and social discussions, this slot also carries practical information such as the prices of produce in the local market. The show goes by the name ‘*Kubacanirira*’ – ‘Caring for each other’s welfare’, possibly alluding to the idea of general community good. For all three stations, mid-morning is the time when they address community-specific issues with an explicit ‘development’ aim. The focus is on meeting livelihood-related audience information needs.

This slot is a point of congruence between the community's expectations and the producers' intentions. At Kangema FM, for instance, carrying the price of market goods in this slot meets an expressed need of the community. During interviews with audience members, one of the requests for content included market prices, with a respondent stating that the station "should bring the prices of products in our market and compare them with prices in other markets so that we know how or where to go for the best business" (Respondent 3, Group Interview 1, Kangema, 26.11.14). In this case, the audience member expects the radio to be a source of information that can aid in better strategies to make a living.

In another example, a hairdresser in the Korogocho area explained why he listens to the Koch FM 'Get Smart' mid-morning show:

I listen to Koch FM once a week. Doreen's programme and a guy called Morris are usually in studio. Morris focuses on beauty and hairdressing. So I listen to that programme. I like it so much...I am not so used to listening to Koch FM, but that programme, I didn't even specifically know it. I was just scrolling through the channels then I came across it. I started listening and really found it helpful. So that is where I remained. The show usually airs on Wednesday or Thursday, so I am usually waiting for it. (Interviewee 3, Koch Men's Group Interview, Koch FM, 16.11.2014)

Similar to the previous Kangema FM example, this hairdresser finds the show useful because it directly relates to his work. He uses it as an information source to enhance his skills, and values it enough to select Koch FM out of all the other available stations at least once a week. It is another example of the purposiveness of audience access of radio content. In both cases, the use of the radio is premised on it meeting a specific, pre-existing need, as has been argued by Mano (2012).¹¹⁴

At Mugambo FM, apart from entertainment, the 'Leisure at Work' show focuses on agriculture, which is the major economic activity in the area. For instance in March 2014, the producer's focus was post-harvest storage, marketing and how to prepare the land for planting, castrating animals, vaccinating chicken, preparing hay etc. His content creation schedule included

¹¹⁴ (Mano, 2012) posits that mass media in developing countries are not merely extensions of broadcasting in the West, but rather they have developed in response to specific social and economic factors, because they meet genuine social and cultural needs of the societies into which they are introduced.

visiting the agriculture extension office for this information, interviewing officers there and airing the content.¹¹⁵

At both Koch FM and Mugambo FM, even with the focus on work-related issues, the mid-morning show is conceptualised as a feel-good show to accompany one as they work. For Koch FM, this show serves an additional community building function in carrying a greetings slot. In addition to listeners calling in to greet each other, the producer takes the time to mention various kinds of occupations in the area and sends greetings to them all as they work. An excerpt of this section of the show is below:

Greetings to all public transport vehicles plying between Koch area and town, NYS, conductors, motorbike drivers, my *githeri*¹¹⁶ people – I will pass by for a pack – shoemakers, we respect all types of work....how is the show taking you....thank you for your messages, it is me, the guy who helps you to work smarter....we respect all kinds of work...(Janjaruka - 'Get Smart' show summary, 20.01.2015)

In response, various listeners call in greeting the producer, telling him where they are working and sending greetings to each other. The occupations mentioned are in the informal sector, which may be looked down upon in the Kenyan context by those formally employed, but which are the means by which a majority of the area's inhabitants make a living. This effort to destigmatise informal professions is apparent for instance in the producer's insistence that the show respects 'all types of work'. In mentioning these occupations and associating himself with them, the producer acknowledges the realities of living in Korogocho as a way of life unique to the area, worthy of mention and appreciation. Meadows et al (2009) define culture as "our everyday frameworks for understanding and communicating our experience of the world and importantly our place within it" (Meadows, et al. 2009, 151). They argue that the media are key in producing and maintaining cultures through broadcasting, among other things, representations of community and a community's whole way of life. In this section of the show, through putting into words the everyday activities taking place in Korogocho, the community's way of life and daily experiences are recognised as valuable. Through this type of broadcast, the community is affirmed and given voice. Thus, at Korogocho, the additional impact of this show is that it not only carries out an information-provision function, but, importantly, a community-building one, because it is an arena for community narratives.

¹¹⁵ From discussion of work schedule with mid-morning show producer, Mugambo FM, March 2014.

¹¹⁶ A meal consisting of maize and beans

From the above examples, one notes that despite the different content themes, the functions of the mid-morning show are similar for all three stations: to inform audiences on work-related issues, and to entertain them in the course of their work. The producers at each of these stations apparently share a picture of who is likely to be listening to the mid-morning show: someone engaged in making a living, be it in business, farming or in taking care of a home or children, and wanting tips on how to produce optimal results at what they do. After having informed their listeners about national news in the early morning, the stations in the mid-morning focus less on news-oriented topics. They focus on ‘softer’ topics that serve an educational and entertainment function for their audiences.

6.3.3 Lunchtime and Afternoon Show

In the afternoon, both Koch FM and Mugambo FM air a youth programme. The Koch FM programme is specifically focused on giving airplay to music from upcoming artistes in the area, and is named ‘*Wasanii Maskani*’ – ‘Artistes in the Hood’. The Mugambo FM programme is themed on reggae, and goes by the name ‘Jamaican Express’. When it comes to the actual content of these shows, one notes that there is no hard news on offer, but rather, entertainment in the form of music. However, this format goes beyond entertainment to function as an arena where identities are created and enhanced.

Both shows are targeted at the youth in the broadcast areas, and work with the assumption that youth are available to listen to radio in the early afternoon hours. This supposition may not be far-fetched. As the women in Mugambo FM pointed out, “The afternoon is for our children. Mostly we are not at home at that time – we are out in the farm” (Mugambo Women’s group interview, Urru, 10.12.14). This programme is appropriately located because parents are often away from home at this time, and even when they are at home, they are aware that there is a show that the youth like listening to, and therefore willingly let them tune into it if they use one shared radio for the household. As well, even if the youth may still be engaged in house chores at this time, they use the radio as a companion to keep them entertained as they work. This programming considers social context and is designed to fit into the daily schedule of the community. It highlights the function of the radio outside of its content, specifically in terms of its intersections with daily activities. When a station is embedded in a community, it is better able to tailor not only its content but also its programming schedule to fit the social context.

Taking a closer look at Mugambo FM's 'Jamaican Express' show offers some insights into how the youth participate in radio programmes, and further expands the idea that different sections of the community interact in various ways with the programmes and are in those moments interpellated into specific formations. Identity work is a key function of the show to its listeners. To start with, the producer herself goes by a pseudonym on the show, 'Empress Natty', but uses her real name on Facebook, which she also uses to communicate with audience members. It is interesting that online, the show host goes by her real names (for instance on Facebook), while on air, she goes by her pseudonym. Similarly, the youth who contribute to the show go by reggae-related pseudonyms. This challenges the notion of the online community as being the place where social identities are created and played out. In the Jamaican Express show, radio is more of the place where social identity is constructed, rather than online. This might hint at difficulty in accessing the internet for the youth of the area and therefore using the radio as an alternative sphere to carry out activities that other youth might carry out online. It could also point to the notion that the social function of radio among youth in the African context has been overlooked, especially keeping in mind orality as a cultural trait. Radio has been viewed as a medium through which to receive information, but as exemplified here, plays an equally important social function of identity construction.

The *Jamaican Express* show discusses social issues, often revolving around relationships. In this slot, the youth offer their opinions and ask for advice from each other and from the show host. Often, the show host asks a question or raises a topic, and then asks the listeners to contribute to the topic and request for the songs that they would like her to play. The youth contribute to this show through Facebook posts, SMS and calls. As the programme runs, the producer checks her Facebook account and responds to comments and song requests.¹¹⁷

The reggae show producer sources the latest hits from the internet knowing that her audience is interested in and aware of international trends in reggae music. The show features a mix of languages, and is not limited to Meru, the local language; the producer speaks in Kiswahili, English and Sheng, and the international reggae music played is mostly in English. As such, the audience for this reggae show is delineated not only by age, but also along language lines. Given the additional variable of language used for the show, I view the youth who participate in the afternoon show as a separate speech community within the Mugambo community. They

¹¹⁷ Noted during observation sessions at the station in 2014/2015

are simultaneously an independent speech community but at the same time youth embedded in the Mugambo community. The language of the afternoon show at Mugambo FM is one that clearly sets it aside from other programming, as explained by youth in the area:

Youth 3: [The reggae show] inspires me to.....you may get some information in some reggae [songs] that may help you in life.

Interviewer: Information like? You know information can be anything. Is it mathematics, is it English?

Youth 3: No, it can improve even your way of life even you can hear some pronunciation of words, English words that you were not aware of before.

(Interviewee 3, Mugambo Youth, Urru, 09.12.14)

Morgan offers a useful definition of speech communities as “groups that share values and attitudes about language use, varieties and practices”, based on the premise that “language represents, embodies, constructs and constitutes meaningful participation in society and culture” (Morgan 2014, 1). She further states that, “What is fundamental to both speech and community is that a system of interaction and symbols is shared, learned and taught, and that participants and members are aware they share this system. This is why speech communities are one way that language ideologies and social identities are constructed” (Morgan 2014, 2). In the case of this show, there seems to be a construction of social identities and a system of interaction going on, for instance the idea that the youth listen to the show in order to be able to speak in a certain way.

As Morgan elaborates, many people operate within multiple speech communities in order to participate in words and ideas exchange, and to represent their identities as ‘full social actors’. Speech communities are organized “around people who want to share their opinions, identities, thoughts and solidarities and generally communicate with their evolving social world” (Morgan 2014, 18). Similarly, the fact that youth speak in other languages during the afternoon does not mean that they do not speak their local language at home – they do. But in the moment of listening to the reggae show and contributing to it, they express their membership in another speech community, through a specific form of self-expression that befits the listening community that they are a part of. They use the show as a space to exchange ideas pertinent to them, through the use of codes they have developed. They put on the identity befitting the speech community they are members of at different times of the day, creating and enhancing their multiple identities.

As stated, in their contributions to the show, the youth often identify themselves using

nicknames, taking up different identities from their 'official' ones. In addition, they speak in a mixture of their local language and Jamaican patois, the latter used in much reggae music, and in this way communicate using a code that the adults don't understand. Through this show, the youth have an arena to openly converse about issues that they might not be comfortable discussing in the hearing of adults. Since they are on air and cannot prevent any adult from tuning into the station and listening to them, they create their own alternative on-air meeting space with its own language code to keep out those who do not belong and keep connected those who do. As one mother put it, "they start saying 'reee.....leeee....' things we don't understand. But they themselves understand, and you see that your child is engaged with the radio, even when they are doing their washing you see they are enjoying themselves listening" (Interviewee 2, Women's Group Interview, Urru, 10.12.14). As such, this speech community is marked by its simultaneous exclusivity of adults and inclusion of youth.

In some instances, apart from the use of special language, song requests are a way of contributing to debates on the show, as explained by one youth during group interviews:

Interviewer: So what are the debates on the reggae show about?

Youth 2: It can be a discussion about relationships, for example, how youth relate. And young people start to call in with comments and questions.

Interviewer: And do you contribute to this show?

Youth 2: Of course.... For example, you can request a song within that motion [i.e. debate]. Let's say if the debate is talking about how youth behave, you ask for Lucky Dube's¹¹⁸ song 'A question is a crime', so I contribute to the discussion through that song. (Interviewee 2, Youth Group Interview, Urru, 09.12.14)

Through clever use of a code recognised by fellow youth, that is, song lyrics which are familiar to the show's listeners, the contributor communicates a certain message. The message, which hints at the idea that youth are not allowed to raise questions, illustrates the youth's repertoire of communication resources from international music, and is at the same time, a challenge to elders' authority. Community-youth-specific issues are discussed, but the tools used for discussion are drawn from outside the community – a foreign language and an international song – which have been appropriated into the local context. Challenging of elders' authority through this contribution to the show is an example of Calhoun's (1993) argument that ethnic identity is partly constituted and maintained through conflicts. Sometimes, however, conflicts, rather, than undermining traditional identities, actually reinforce them through reproducing

¹¹⁸ A South African reggae artiste

ethnic understandings, either changed or unchanged (Calhoun 1993). This seems to be at play in the Mugambo FM context in some measure.

For instance, it is frowned upon for adults to participate in the reggae show. As one youth answered to the question ‘why can’t adults also contribute to the reggae show’, “If you are known to really love reggae – and you are a grownup - especially a woman – it can be said that you are a drunkard or you go to clubs excessively. People will wonder how come you know those songs. If you hear such a person even naming artistes it is shocking, now you see that woman is digital! You get suspicious” (Interviewee 3, Mugambo Youth Group interview, Urru, 09.12.14). The ‘suspicion’ about an adult and especially a woman being familiar with reggae indicates a clear demarcation of ideas about what it means to be a youth and what it means to be an adult, male or female, in the community. This in turn determines who can participate in which programme and who cannot. The expectations by the youth regarding how adults should behave hint at the successful reproduction of a habitus, that is, unquestioned beliefs or understandings which serve as the basis for disputing or questioning other claims (Calhoun 1993), and which, Calhoun argues, is what bounds a nation or ethnic group. The demarcations in content-related participation in Mugambo FM acknowledges and reinforces already-existent, cultural structures. As such, participation in different programmes is mediated through cultural norms, because each programme is not equally open to the participation of all.

Now focusing on Koch FM, this station’s afternoon show creates another audience articulation within the Korogocho community. In the show, titled ‘*Wasanii Maskani*’ (artistes in the hood), music from local artistes is aired and commented on. All the artistes need to do is to deliver a CD with their music to the station, and it is played at no cost. The artistes also have the opportunity to be interviewed by the show host. Often, they are singing about their daily life in the area, which the audience identifies with. Indeed some community musicians hold so much sway through constant airplay at Koch FM that community’s youth can sing along to their music word for word.¹¹⁹ As such, the afternoon show acts as not only a forum for promotion of a single artiste’s music. Rather, in promoting music from its own artistes, it becomes a site for airing of the community’s narratives from an emic perspective. Examples from the show on two different days illustrate this further:

¹¹⁹ This was observed during ‘Miss Koch 2014’, a beauty pageant organised in partnership with the station. A local artiste, ‘Daddy Carlos’, had the opportunity to make a presentation during an interval in the show, and the whole room of about 500 youth sang along word for word to his song, without prompting.

Show 1: Producer is playing songs requested by listeners, but is unable to find or recognise one specific song. At the end of the show, he asks the person who requested the song to bring the CD to the station for airplay, in case it is their own music that they wanted to be played. (Show summary, 20.01.2015)

Show 2: The producer introduces the discussion topic: equality in the music industry and what keeps it from being realised. She says that she too is an artiste, and argues that artistes from the ghetto are not taken seriously just because of where they come from, while those from other areas, even with less talent, are given more regard. Therefore, what can be done to ensure fairness? She uses songs by various local ghetto artistes as hooks to raise issues like: they have great music but are overlooked in some places, are not invited to some shows, simply because of the slum tag. Yet they rely on their music to survive, and if they don't get opportunities to make a living from it they may join gangs. Therefore, what solutions can the listener propose? Using another artiste as an example, she asks: can such artistes' work be recognized? Is lack of exposure the issue for such artistes? Her argument: if people like ghetto artiste xx were called to go and perform where national artiste yy is, the ghetto artiste would get less applause and be looked down upon despite his talent, simply because of his ghetto roots. She asks for calls and texts contributing to the discussion. To wrap up the discussion, she advises upcoming artistes to get mentors to help them 'up their game' so as to match up to the 'big' artistes. (Show summary, 29.01.2015)

From the above two examples, the *Wasanii Maskani* show seeks to act as a forum for artistic expression for the Korogocho community. Inviting local artistes to bring in their CDs for play, no matter the quality, positions the show as a space for the performance of alternative narratives. The focus is on making room for the process of self-expression, rather than on airing only technically perfect products. Warner (2003) argues that counterpublics are not necessarily subaltern, but are often related to a subculture. They are constituted partly through performance, and are "spaces of circulation in which it is hoped that the poesis of scene making will be transformative, not replicative merely" (Warner 2003, 122). They exist because they maintain an awareness of their subordinate status to the wider public. At Koch FM, the artistes are aware of their subordinate status in relation to the national music scene, and thus make use of the community airwaves to create space for their art. When these artistes perform their unique community music on air and discuss ways to experience less discrimination in the wider public, they act as a counterpublic. Fraser argues that:

...in stratified societies, subaltern counterpublics have a dual character. On the one hand, they function as spaces of withdrawal and regroupment; on the other hand, they also function as bases and training grounds for agitational activities directed toward wider publics. It is precisely in the dialectic between these two functions that their emancipatory potential resides. (N. Fraser 1990, 68)

While Koch FM artistes are a counterpublic gaining voice through making use of community media for self-expression, they, like other counterpublics, are also seeking to influence the broader, hegemonic public. As such, *Wasanii Maskani*, through discussions such as those initiated by the second presenter, acts both as a performance space and as a regrouping space to strategise on how best to penetrate the wider music industry.

Kangema FM is a clear contrast to these two stations in its conception of the community it seeks to build in the afternoons. Rather than reggae, it airs a gospel show, *Kuumaniriria* (Encouraging each other), every afternoon. In this slot, the presenter offers inspirational readings, Bible readings and gospel music. Considering that this show is aired daily, it may point to the community being very religious or holding religion as one of their core values. Even more striking about the choice to have a daily gospel show at Kangema FM is the fact the station declares itself to be non-religious and non-political. Having such a show illustrates the taken-for-granted nature of religion in that setting.

To further delve into this, one can make use of Moemeka's description of communal societies, which he categorises African societies as being (Moemeka 1998). In such societies, religion is a way of life. Scholars of religion point out that "In Africa, God has always been part of the cultural, socio-political, and economic formations of the people..." (Ukah 2012, 503), and that "A reading of African history generally supports the view that before wide-scale evangelization and colonization practices of communication with an invisible world were woven into daily life..." (Ellis and Haar 2012, 458). Furthermore, specifically looking at Kenya, since the mid-2000s there has been a renaissance in the gospel music industry with contemporary Christian music dominating the broadcast media, both television and radio, and being one of the biggest profit earners in the entertainment industry. As Parsitau points out, "...in musical charts and ratings gospel music has elbowed out secular artists to win many accolades" (Parsitau 2012, 492), and this music has "a new meaning, function, and serves as a source of spiritual sustenance, identity building, solidarity, and a source of stability in the face of incredible helplessness, unemployment, and idleness" (Parsitau 2012, 498).

Extrapolating the above contextual factors then, it is plausible that in Kangema community religion is so interwoven into the fabric of daily life that gospel music, for instance, and Bible reading, are not seen as overtly religious by the station. Rather, they are conceptualised as a part of the community's values. These are then mobilised as a resource to administer the

community, as expressed by the station manager; "...every morning we have prayers and we also have some programmes on counselling based on the Bible, *because we are very much concerned about the morals of the community*" – emphasis mine - (KJ 2014).

Interestingly, this didactic religious approach, rather than being resisted by the community or being seen as an imposition by the station, is seemingly welcomed, as per audience comments:

I like *Kuumaniriria* because it speaks about godly things and that's what I like. So I listen and encourage other people. (Grp 2, Intwewe 3, Nov 2014)

I like *Kuumaniriria*; sometimes you have something bothering you, after you listen to the show you feel at peace again. (Grp 2, Intwewe 8, Nov 2014)

I like *Kuumaniriria* because it tells us how we should keep our homes, our husbands, and things with the home are good. (Grp 1, Intwewe 4, Nov 2014)

Pastor Jose's preaching encourages us as men not to look down on ourselves, he gives some advice till you feel you are a proper man. You feel he is building something good. (Grp 1, Intwewe 5, Nov 2014)

These statements point to the expanded role of radio in this community's individual lives, from being an information source to being part of the repertoire of mechanisms to cope with day to day stresses and deal with identity questions. The above audience members talk about the religious programming on radio providing tips on how to live their daily lives, and giving them a sense of direction in fulfilling their relational roles. They make use of the programming as a reserve from which they get emotional and spiritual resources that they apply to their lifeworlds. The community apparently views itself as religious, and in listening to such radio programmes, reaffirms its religious identity.

The station's choice to make recommendations on how community members ought to live their lives through this show points back to the station's paternalistic approach to its functions in the community. The station, in its approach, seeks to create "audiences of attentive and obedient listeners rather than citizens actively participating in debate and politics" (Butsch 2014, 160). This show illustrates underlying ideology expressed in choice of programming.

For the three stations, therefore, the afternoon show plays the role of community formation, but different kinds of community per station. At Mugambo a distinct youth speech community is in action, while at Kangema, it is a religious community. At Koch FM, it is a performing

counterpublic that seeks ways to position itself in relation to the larger hegemonic public sphere through the afternoon show.

6.3.4 Early Evening Show

In this slot, Mugambo FM has an ‘old-timers’ show, which plays old, mostly East and Central African music that was popular in the 1970s and 1980s. Titled ‘Back to the Roots’, the show’s music is usually in Kiswahili or in Lingala, a Congolese language. For the presenter of this show, the target audience is someone who has just come from work and wants to unwind in the evening. From the choice of music, it is implied that this ‘someone’ is not a youth, but rather, someone aged above 35, and it is also implied that this person is usually male. Indeed, the audience members in this show are often addressed as ‘*Mzee wa Kazi*’ (Workman) by the show host. Koch FM has a similar show, titled *Zamia Kale* - ‘Former Times’, in its late evening slot. While it is not surprising for Koch to have such a programme given its multi-ethnic context, it is an intriguing choice for Mugambo FM, which airs primarily in Meru language. Despite this show’s music being predominantly in Kiswahili and Lingala, it is popular with the audience of a certain generation, based on their shared history of what used to be the hits on national radio in former times. This audience’s music taste is influenced by not only their immediately surrounding culture, but by their shared auditory media experience in previous times. It demonstrates radio’s ‘historical-nostalgic value’ (Mudhai 2011, 254). This particular type of music has transcended national and ethnic boundaries, and is appreciated by diverse audiences based on a common national and regional aural history. It is an example of radio’s creation and recreation of a community of those with similar cultural experiences across diverse contexts and times.

For the early evening slot, Koch FM has a greetings and social discussion show, from 4pm to 6pm. The show goes by the name ‘*Mabeshte*’ – ‘Buddies’ – and consists of hip hop and social discussions. It is targeted at the youth. Kangema FM is similar to Koch FM in its choice of programming for this slot. From 5pm to 7pm, Kangema FM features a youth music show, which consists of trending music and discussion of youth and social issues. This show goes by the name ‘*Kumurika*’, that is, ‘Shining a light upon/Spotlighting’. The producers use the time to discuss issues like youth behaviour. While Mugambo FM targets the older generation at this time of the day, Kangema FM and Koch FM have a youthful constituency that they address.

For all three stations, this time seems to work for their different target audiences – at each station there are calls and sms received from listeners during the show. This divergence in choice of content for this slot highlights the impact of social context on programming. The stations are aware of the schedules of the various age groups in their broadcast areas, and tailor their programmes accordingly.

6.3.5 Late Evening Show

The late evening show starts between 7 and 8pm at Mugambo FM and Kangema FM, and runs until about 11pm. For Koch FM, the late evening show is much earlier. It commences at 6pm and runs till 8pm. After this, auto-playing music runs till morning. Koch FM originally had a later show, but made the decision to have an earlier end due to insecurity concerns as highlighted at the start of this chapter. As a result of its social context, Koch FM has had to adjust its programming schedule for the sake of staff safety.

Despite the different timings, Koch FM and Kangema FM are similar in that they have designated the evening as a music and chat show. However, the music themes are different. For Koch FM, the show is reggae and rhumba themed, while for Kangema FM, the music is more eclectic and often Kikuyu (the language spoken in the region) pop music. As well, at Kangema FM, studio guests are regularly invited to offer counsel on family issues, or sometimes on religious issues, for up to two hours during the show. The rest of the time, and in the days that there are no studio guests, the presenters engage in banter and receive calls from audience members contributing to the discussion of issues raised or requesting for particular songs to be played. At Koch FM this show rarely features studio guests. I delve deeper into the Kangema FM evening show to illustrate the programme format and participation possibilities for listeners.

The Kangema FM late evening show starts between 7 and 8pm, and runs until about 11pm. It is designated as a news, features, music and chat show, sometimes with guests called into the studio. The show goes by the name ‘*Nyihia Hwai*’, literally translated as ‘reduce the evening’ or ‘while away the evening’. *Nyihia Hwai* is a ‘light’ show, and from the audience survey, it was the most popular with its listeners out of all the station’s programmes. The opportunity it provides for listener participation may be one reason it is so popular. According to one of its hosts, the audience drives the discussion:

It's a special programme based on the content and time and is very interactive. It runs from 8.30pm to midnight, where most of the listeners are free and at home. It is a platform where we interact with them, we discuss the very real issues that affect their lives daily. Putting in mind that the people are at home, we have a very good platform where we interface with them through phone calls, SMS, and we give their views and opinions a very high [preference]....meaning if you come up with a topic about a very important issue we do at times, not always, but at times, we can reschedule a programme and go into whatever you have raised... You know it's a very free programme. You can call and tell us 'okay in our village a man battled his wife and this and that', and out of that you can just have a very nice topic. Because you [the producer] are there to interact with your fellow listeners, and you cannot develop everything for them. You can just be giving them a chance to develop your content. And when they realise that their content is making sense to whatever you are airing, they will be more interactive, you see? So we do encourage that interaction with them... (MP 2014)

In this show, the Kangema FM producers rely on the call-ins from the audience to guide discussions, instead of rigidly sticking to a pre-selected topic. Rather than visualizing themselves as the providers of information to listeners, the producers view listeners as knowledgeable and capable of raising content worth discussing, and therefore create space for that. The audience are therefore not just listeners, or contributing to discussion topics selected by the producers, but rather, are part of the idea generation for discussion topics in the first place. As such, there is space for democratic communication driven by the audience. The latter are in a position of agency in generating discourse. The producers, by selecting from the discussion topics raised and creating room for further debates around them, act as coordinators of this on-air discursive activity.

The creation of this discursive space does not go unnoticed by community members. As expressed in group interviews, the opportunity to participate in community debates is valued:

I like the debates in [the evening show], because in the course of it one learns many things. (Interviewee 8, Group 2, Kangema, 26.11.14)

I like [the evening show] because one gets to know how the country is going on, plus bidding each other goodnight is a good thing that causes us to know each other and we each know that we are still there. (Interviewee 7, Group 2, 26.11.14)

Not only do community members find the show useful for keeping them informed, they also use it as a way to connect with one another and to stay entertained, as expressed above. This underlines the importance of local community media as a place for a community's cultural expression, in addition to providing a public sphere for the discussion of pertinent community

issues. In expressing their opinions and discussing day to day community happenings, the participants build up their sense of unity and identity as a community.

Mugambo FM diverges from these two in its choice of late evening show. The show is a sort of rerun of the day's early morning show, with a focus on news and happenings of the day. It is titled '*Twirane*' – 'Let us talk together'. Studio guests may be invited in for comment, but sometimes the show host keeps the show running without a guest in studio. Usually, a current topic, often to do with national politics, is introduced by the producer, and then community members are asked to call in to debate on it. In this show the producer, rather than the audience, selects the topic. Nevertheless, the show aims to be a discussion forum in which rational-critical debate takes place especially on mainstream political issues. For this time of the evening, and in comparison to the other two stations, this is a serious show, with a focus on engaging a deliberative public. It may be an indicator of more politically engaged producers and community members. It at the same time illustrates the station's ideological stance, which includes creating room for community deliberation.

6.4 Content Formats and Functions

From the foregoing, and as summarised in Fig. 30, all three stations play information, monitoring, community building and entertainment functions for their audiences at different times of the day, based on their conceptualisations of their target audience and their knowledge of the daily schedules of the community. However, the roles that the programmes play are not neatly demarcated per show. Rather, each show is often a mix of several functions, with one predominating.

One communication trend that is implicitly present in all three radio stations is that of edutainment– education and entertainment. Edutainment is a form of communication that has featured in communication for development circles, especially within the modernization paradigm which addresses development challenges through the provision of information. For instance, this genre has become a staple in health communication initiatives, such as television and radio dramas that address HIV and AIDS.¹²⁰ In Edutainment, the main idea is to 'enlighten' the community through the provision of information, but to keep such information entertaining.

¹²⁰ An example is *Soul City*, a long running South African TV series that has been evaluated as highly successful creating awareness about HIV and AIDS. Tufte (2008) provides a comprehensive summary of the series' choice of genre and its impact.

	KOCH FM	MUGAMBO FM	KANGEMA FM	
5		‘Overnight		5
6	‘Koch in the Morning’:	Happenings’: Prayers,	‘Taste of the Morning’:	6
7	Governance, news	greetings, news,	Current affairs, newspaper	7
8	headlines	announcements,	review, news, weather,	8
9	(ROLES:	happenings from the	business, sports, live	
	MONITORING +	village, morning debate	interviews	9
	COMMUNITY	(ROLES:	MONITORING +	
	PUBLIC SPHERE)	MONITORING + AGE-	INTERPERSONAL	
		DEFINED	COMMUNICATION)	
		COMMUNITY PUBLIC		
		SPHERE)		
10	‘Get Smart’: Health,	‘Leisure at Work’:	‘Caring for Each	10
11	environment,	Music show, farming tips,	Other’: Greetings, music,	11
12	entrepreneurship features	SMS comments	social discussion	12
	with music	(ROLES: EDUCATION,	(ROLES:	
	(ROLES:EDUCATION,	ENTERTAINMENT)	ENTERTAINMENT,	
	COMMUNITY		GENERAL)	
	AFFIRMATION)			
13	‘Artistes in the Hood’:	Jamaican Express:	‘Encouraging Each	13
	Talent promotion	Reggae show	Other’: Inspirational	
	programme	(ROLES: SPEECH	stories, Bible readings,	
	(ROLES:	COMMUNITY,	gospel music	
	COUNTERPUBLIC,	ENTERTAINMENT,	(ROLES:RELIGIOUS	
	ENTERTAINMENT)	YOUTH)	COMMUNITY,	
			EDUTAINMENT)	
14	‘Buddies’: (greetings and			14
15	music)			15
16	(ROLES:			16
	ENTERTAINMENT,			
	YOUTH)			
17	‘In Former Times’:,	‘Back to the roots’:	‘Spotlighting’: Music,	17
18	Rhumba, advice	Rhumba and soul	development and social	18
	(ROLES:	(ROLES:	discussion	
	ENTERTAINMENT,	ENTERTAINMENT,	(ROLES:	
	ADULT)	ADULT)	ENTERTAINMENT,	
19		‘Let us Talk’: News,	YOUTH)	19
20	Non-stop Music	discussion show	‘Shortening the	20
21	(ROLES:	(ROLES:	Evening’: Call-in show	21
22	ENTERTAINMENT)	MONITORING,	with music and studio	22
23		DELIBERATIVE	guests	23
		PUBLIC SPHERE)	(EDUTAINMENT)	
24	Music	Station close	Music	24

Figure 30: Overview of functions of community radio content in Koch FM, Mugambo FM, and Kangema FM

The uppermost aim of the programme is to educate the audience, but entertainment is consciously incorporated into the show through, for example, in the context of radio, choice of music accompanying the information. Despite a shift towards participatory communication, the edutainment model is still implicit in communication for development projects, of which community radio stations in the Kenyan context are a part. Regardless of the funding structures of the radio stations, that is, whether government funded, donor or jointly funded, as the three studied radio stations are, the development for communication paradigm is prevalent as one of the aims of the radio station, and mostly expressed through edutainment. The mid-morning show especially is when this approach is most obvious, but even in the shows later in the day, the desire to inform the community and not merely entertain them is uppermost in the producers' minds.

In Figure 30, I have delineated the communication functions played by the various shows into monitoring, education and entertainment, but also added the categories of community building and edutainment. Greetings programmes are another genre of interest that cuts across all three stations. These are discussed below.

6.5 Community Radio as a Performance Site: Greetings and Calling in

Regardless of location, the three stations each have a 'sending greetings' show. In this show, the listeners call into the station with greetings to their friends and relatives in the community and outside it. Sometimes these are people who see each other regularly, but not always. The greetings are a way of keeping in touch. Anderson describes newspaper reading as a community ritual, in that there is an almost simultaneous consumption of the newspaper news by readers every morning. Each reader of the newspaper is aware that the same ritual is being performed simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others whose existence he is aware of, but whose identity he does not have the slightest idea of (Anderson 2006). One can draw parallels of this among the communities listening to community radio. Much as they are all located in the same geographical area, they do not all know each other individually. However, they are aware of each other's existence. Typically, greetings are sent between people who know each other first, and then extended to 'the others listening there with you', as well as to 'popular'¹²¹ community members who may be leaders of fan clubs and who contribute regularly

¹²¹ By popular here I mean 'well-known'. Often these people are opinion leaders for the community due to the frequency of their contributions to the discussions on the community radio. This is a different use of the word, as compared to e.g. Mano (2011) and Ligaga (2011) who use 'popular' to refer to protest from below.

to discussions on air. Together with the greetings, there is an opportunity to request a song to be played and to include a message. In these messages, listeners have the chance to say something unique, and some take the opportunity to compose a funny statement to be relayed to the person or people that they are greeting.

Community radio in such sessions acts as a space for ‘ritual communication’ (Carey 2002). Community members express a sense of communion by sending greetings to each other. Togetherness and a sense of being connected are vital to the continual flourishing of the community, and these radio stations provide an additional way to keep the warm collective ties. Instead of one needing to go in person to greet their neighbour or friend in the area, they have the option to simply call into the radio station and send their greetings, and in fact, this is a much more efficient method as there is the possibility of greeting several people at the same time. Through radio call-ins, members of the community are able to fulfil their ‘social duty’ through the use of technology. This in some way illustrates Faniran’s assertion that “...communication is a phenomenon that lies at the core of what makes someone a person and what makes a community human” (Faniran 2014, 153), and that “...individuals...are not atoms, but beings-in-relation, who maintain a tense relationship between individuals and the community, which, in turn, impacts on every aspect of their lives, including the process of communication and meaning making” (Faniran 2014, 156). In this case, community radio broadens and reinforces the community practice of keeping in touch with each other. It functions as a literal extension of the body in the McLuhian sense, fulfilling the functions that one would undertake via their feet and mouth: walking to a neighbour’s house to greet them.

Regular contributors to the discussions get to know of each other through the airwaves, and even end up sending greetings to each other without ever having met in person. In audience group interviews during this research, the selected audience members expressed delight at meeting each other finally, with comments such as “oh, you are so and so who calls in from such and such location?”¹²² Often the presenters themselves do not know these individuals in person, but recognize their voices due to the frequency of calling.

¹²² Observed during audience group interviews in 2014 at all three stations. In Kangema FM, because the audience members are already organized into fan groups they know each other. They however did not instantly recognize the producer during interviews, as they know the voice but not the face.

However, sending greetings is not only prevalent where there are challenges of distance or time in accessing each other. Sometimes, next-door neighbours send greetings to one another, despite meeting in person on their daily rounds. In this case, they use the radio to create an additional, concurrent, identity, to define oneself as one wants to be seen by the community through discursive activity. This use of the greetings slot may be looked at as an example of the presentation of the self as per Goffman (1956), where certain ways of acting and projecting oneself are put on in public or ‘front-stage’ spaces in order to create a certain image of oneself to others. Goffman proposes that each individual tries to manage how others view and react to him or her through two kinds of sign activity: the verbal expression he gives and the non-verbal expression that he gives off, that is, non-verbal communication. In case of a discrepancy between the two, the latter is believed more than the former. In the case of radio, the public space is not a physical one, but rather, a purely aural one, and is therefore dependent on what one says, not on physical action or demeanour. Yet, I argue, audience members who call in to the community radio stations still act both roles – give expression and give off expression, but in different arenas. In the physical day to day space of the neighbourhood, they give off a backstage impression or ‘ordinary’ behaviour, while in the aural setting of the radio station, they discursively create a persona that consists of how often one calls in, what views they consistently hold, and the kind of language that they use, over and above what they actually say on radio. They construct an on-air identity that is not necessarily identical to their face to face one.

Participation in the construction of an on-air identity is not only through the greetings show, but also through calling in to talk shows, to express one’s opinions on whatever issue is being discussed. For instance, if one constantly calls in with a controversial opinion, the audience comes to expect her or him to always call in with such an opinion, and the presenter sometimes even provokes such a caller to call in during discussions, if the person has not participated in that debate. Hence, when a community member consistently calls in and expresses themselves, they are recognized as a kind of expert with the right to speak, by both the producer and the community.

Thornborrow (2015) argues that participants in discussion programmes such as talk shows, studio call-ins and so on “engage in a range of discursive activities that are actually not about being ordinary at all”; in that they “establish a relevant local identity for themselves as speakers at that moment...[they]...invoke some kind of expertise in relation to whatever topic they are

talking about...[and]...they often speak for or on behalf of other people, not just for themselves” (Thornborrow 2015, 13). Some use nicknames that have no link to their official names, granting them anonymity in the case of controversial opinions, yet also fame. As such, engaging in calling in is a way to achieve status for an ordinary community member. One instance during the Koch FM early morning show illustrates this:

In this show, the discussion topic was ‘what is not working in your area/what has the government failed to do that they should have done’. During this debate, the producer got a text message from an audience member (going by a nickname), saying that s/he had not texted earlier in the show, although s/he heard a contribution to the topic that was read by the producer as having come from her/him. The audience member’s text asked that the producer tell the person trying to steal the nickname to put a ‘junior’ in front of it, so that one could distinguish clearly who was contributing to the show. The producer read the message on-air as received, relaying the message to whoever had sent the previous message in the name of the said audience member. (Koch Asubuhi summary, 20.01.15)

In the above case, the audience member is a regular contributor to the show, and is a sort of public figure (under his/her pseudonym) as a result of that. If indeed s/he is not the one who sent in the first text message, then this is an example of someone using an already recognised name to contribute to the debate, perhaps as a way to ensure that their view gets aired.

The performance aspect is not limited to the audience that calls in. The producers at the stations also approach their work as a sort of performance. Wolfenden (2012) points out the difficulty of separating an on-air self from an everyday self for radio producers. She contends that much as being on-air is a kind of performance, radio producers often do not see it as a performance. Rather, they see it as expressing a part of their authentic self. Yet, at the same time, they have an awareness of needing to be a certain radio persona who, for example, is not allowed to give in to a bad mood and express it on air (Wolfenden 2012). This integration of the on-air and off-air self certainly seems to be the case for the producers at the three stations. Almost every producer interviewed had what one referred to as a ‘stage name’¹²³: a nickname that they use when they are on air. While the producers are relatively ordinary community members, when they are in their producer role they take on another persona, not only in manner of speaking, but also in identification. This character is seemingly integrated into the producers’ everyday personality, and is viewed as an always-present alternate identity. For instance, at the start of almost all interviews with the producers, when asked for their name, the producer would either

¹²³ TD, Mugambo FM, 11.03.2014

ask “my real name or my stage name?” or volunteer both names i.e. “I am [official name] aka [stage name].” This points to the multiple identities at work when producers are on air and off air. As such, community radio, through greetings shows and discussion programmes, is not only a site of democratic communication, but also a site of performance, gaining fame and an avenue through which social ties are enhanced.

The mediation of access to on-air space: Recognition and Status as Resources

Participation in greetings shows is however not always a straightforward matter. The participation is mediated by producers through various means: in Mugambo FM and Kangema FM, apart from calling in or texting, one can buy a greeting card and name up to ten people that they would like to greet. The presenter then reads these aloud on air. In Koch FM, there are no greeting cards; rather, community members call in or text their greetings. In the three stations, the producers act as gatekeepers to accessing the radio’s on-air space. This gatekeeping of the on-air space of radio, while a routine part of working in a broadcasting organisation, is also an arena for power struggles. While some producers delight in recognising individual callers, others feel that it is their duty to control who is recognised in the on-air space and who is not. At Mugambo FM, access to the on-air space is managed through limiting the number of people one can greet when live on air, so as to free up the phone line for others to call in.¹²⁴ At Kangema FM, however, gate-keeping takes a different format. During group interviews, one of the sentiments by the fan groups was that the producers no longer recognised even the frequent callers by name. This was taken as an indication that the presenters no longer cared about their listeners, and as a result, the fans interviewed were no longer so keen to call into the station. When addressing this comment to the producers in a feedback interview, one of the longstanding producers clarified that this ‘non-recognition’ was in fact a deliberate move on the part of Kangema FM. Apparently, when the station first started, some producers would save frequent callers’ numbers in the studio phone, and therefore would be able to recognize the callers instantly. However, the station management felt that this recognition of some people and not of others was alienating those who were not known personally by the producers. Therefore, the station management made the decision to delete all saved numbers in the studio phone and treat all callers ‘equally’.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ During group interviews with women and men in December 2014, both groups recommended that especially in the morning show, one person should be allowed to greet a maximum of ten people only so as not to monopolise the phone line.

¹²⁵ Producers’ feedback session, Kangema, Oct 2016

While this decision was ostensibly made with the considerations of ‘equal treatment’ of all callers to the station, it can also be read as a way of limiting the status of the caller, because their foray into the public discussion space is not met with recognition of them as a unique individual, but rather, as one of many, equally (un)recognised people.

As already discussed, community members seek to achieve status through associating with the station. One way is through having their names mentioned in greeting sessions, and another way is through being recognised individually when they call into the station. This desire for celebrity through the radio stations was also noted during group interviews. In their suggestions for how Kangema FM could improve, fans recommended a quiz show in which they would compete for a prize. Across the fan groups interviewed, the prize that was suggested as appropriate for winning such a quiz was for the winner to be featured on one of the shows at Kangema FM.

Seemingly, being recognised on-air is valuable for community members. They may not be able to enhance their economic capital through the station, but activities like calling in to greet each other and express their opinions are a way to accumulate social capital. However, the station staff seek to intervene in this accumulation process through limiting who can access the premises, and who is recognised on shows. Kangema FM in this case acts a site for struggles and negotiations over the enactment of status. When the producers explained that they deleted all personal fan numbers so that ‘each person is treated equally’, this is a tacit acknowledgement of the power accrued when one is recognised on air. The producers see themselves as the mediators of this power of recognition, having themselves been ordinary community members before they started working at the station. It could be that if they recognise too many people, then the social status gained through public recognition becomes less of a scarce resource, and its value is diffused or even lowered. This in turn lowers producers’ status as somewhat ‘elite’ members of the community. To prevent this, it is essential to make sure that the number of people who can gain such celebrity is limited. If the rarity of recognition is retained, the amount of clout associated with working at the station is not diluted. From this example, calling in to community broadcasting stations functions as a means to accumulate social power. If an ordinary community member is publicly recognised on-air, they have a status that they can also use outside the station, in their day to day social interactions. This is a unique possibility arising from the placement of community radio as a local-level broadcaster. Callers to such stations have relatively higher chances of knowing each other personally, since they reside in the same

locale. As such, recognition on-air has the potential to be transformed into recognition in the shared physical locale. In this way, the possible types of power to be found inside and outside community radio stations overlap and influence each other.

6.6 Conclusion: Content and Audience Articulations

As explored in this chapter, there are similarities and differences in the content found across the three radio stations. One major similarity that all three stations share is that the bulk of the airtime is taken up by music and call-in programmes. However, they differ in the nature of their specific shows, based on their contexts. These different flavours of shows are a reflection of community issues, station context and funding structures.

An outstanding aspect of community radio content at these three stations is the creation of social formations through ‘audiencing’ (Fiske 1992). During different time slots in the course of the day, diverse forms of publics and communities are constituted through their audiencing practices. During the morning show at Koch FM and Mugambo FM, deliberative publics are constituted through debating on community issues. At Mugambo FM, however, this deliberative public sphere of the early morning show is not open to everyone; rather, it is delineated according to age lines. At Kangema FM, the early morning show content is seemingly aimed at creating representative public sphere, working with the assumption that listeners tune in to be informed, rather than to air their opinions in the community public sphere. During the mid-morning show, all three stations seemingly conceptualise a working listener as their target audience. The content at this time of the day is occupation-related, mixed in with entertainment. For the afternoon show, Mugambo youth are constituted as a separate speech community. They not only deliberate on youth issues, but do so in a language different from that spoken at home. Meanwhile, in the afternoon slot Koch FM targets musicians in the community, whom it addresses as a subaltern counterpublic. The show acts as a space for regroupment and strategizing on how to influence the dominant public sphere of the Kenyan music industry. At Kangema FM, the social formation constituted by the afternoon show is a religious community. At this time, religious values are reiterated. The evening shows for the three stations act as a site for enjoyment of historical-nostalgic values which are country-wide rather than community specific, for reinforcing community norms, and as a deliberative public sphere.

Thus, although broadcasting to the same geographical community all day, through the content offered, there is interpellation of different sections of the community into diverse configurations at various times of the day. These configurations are however not mutually exclusive, in that taking part in one configuration does not prevent one from being part of another. Rather, membership in the various social formations overlaps. Audiences, through their participation practices, act as publics, counter publics, and different types of communities. As discussed in this chapter, the nature of community radio content offers insights into the possibilities of participation in it by audiences.

Lastly, greetings and call-in shows function as a performative space for community members. The on-air space is a site where access to celebrity is negotiated, with producers playing a gatekeeping function as to who gets recognised. While community broadcasting is envisioned as an opportunity for the historically voiceless to have a voice, the fulfilment of this ideal is mediated through the community members who work at the stations as producers. The on-air space is not neutral, but one where struggles over validation are enacted, and where social power for use outside the station is accrued.

This chapter has addressed the questions of what kind of content is found in Kenyan community radio stations, and how audiences participate in it. It has also alluded to the fact that community radio producers work with various motivations and constraints. The next chapter explores in more detail the contexts, work routines and self-conceptualisations of the producers who work at the three community radio stations studied.

7 PRODUCTION PRACTICES AND JOURNALISTIC CULTURES IN KENYAN COMMUNITY RADIO

7.1 Introduction

Access to the means of media production has often been the greatest emphasis in alternative media, working with the logic that opening media production to ordinary people has emancipatory potential (Howley 2010; Hallett 2009). In the Kenyan context, partly as a result of existent regulation, rather than ‘ordinary’ people being engaged sporadically in content production at community radio stations, community broadcasters tend to have specialised producers trained in journalistic work. This is especially following legislation approved in 2013 which limits who can be accredited as a journalist. These producers are in charge of generating the content aired by community radio stations. Through the content they generate, the producers, and by extension the radio stations, offer certain interpretations of the world to their audiences. These interpretations are presented as objective truth, rather than as a selection of occurrences packaged into events. Pepper (2013) points to the need to foreground individual producers’ actions when examining media industries, in addition to examining the larger media structures. She states that “...by seeing media industries as a site of contestation, producer intentionality must come into play as long as consideration of that intentionality takes into account broader political and cultural contexts” (Pepper 2013, 131). Indeed, producers individually shape the content that they present as news or entertainment, but this shaping is subject to both individual autonomy and contextual factors. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) summarise these factors from an individual to a society-wide level when they posit that:

Influences on media content can be ranked hierarchically, from the ideological and other macrosystem-level factors to the more micro characteristics of individual media workers. Each level has its own range of influence but is subjected to and has limits set by each hierarchically superior level. What explains the role conceptions of journalists? Their socialization to the routines of the workplace. Why do such routines exist? In order to meet organizational standards and goals. What is the source of these standards and goals? Pressures from advertisers and audiences, sources, the market economy, and so on. Why do these extramedia factors relate to the media in the way they do? Because of ideological and cultural imperatives on the role that the mass media should play in society. (Italics by authors, Shoemaker and Reese 1996, 252)

Keeping these factors in mind, this chapter focuses on the day to day work routines of producers at community radio stations and seeks to link it to their personal attitudes, training, and their

organisational, social and political contexts. To illustrate these influences, it draws on the concepts of journalism cultures as proposed by Hanitzsch (2006).

Research on journalism cultures has tended to focus on the national and international levels, with interest in cross-national comparative analysis (Hanitzsch et al. 2011; Hanitzsch 2006; Oller Alonso 2017; Reese 2001; Hallin and Mancini 2004). However, there are few studies of intra-national journalism culture especially in developing countries (De Beer 2008), and of journalistic values in community media specifically. Community broadcasting is of interest because it is subject to alternative media values (Hatcher 2013), but at the same time operates in the context of a larger broadcasting landscape. This chapter therefore contributes to the discussion on journalism cultures by looking at how they play out in a community broadcasting context.

This chapter also engages with journalists and sources as interpretive communities (Zelizer 1993; Berkowitz and Terkeurst 1999). Relationships between journalists and sources in the community, and alternative media values as additional factors impacting news work are explored. The promotion-assembly-consumption process of newsmaking as proposed by Molotch and Lester (1974/2009) is also applied as a tool to analyse how the newsmaking process may be altered in a community broadcasting context, especially in view of limited resources to carry out journalistic work. The focus is on news production and the intricacies of news generation, as well as audience responses to news content.

I make use of data from observation at the stations and the interviews with producers about how they generate programme content and air it. Of interest is producers' views of who they envision as their audience and the efforts they make to package their programmes in certain ways to meet the perceived needs of that audience. In addition, the producers' self-perceptions and relationships with each other, with the station management and with their audiences, and how these various relationships impact on content production processes is explored. Each station's news production process is presented individually, followed by a general discussion of the trends noted and issues raised.

7.2 News Beats and Specialties for Hyperlocal Content:

Becker & Vlad (2010) delineate two broad means of story generation, that is, the creation of news items. One is news beats - assigning reporters specific institutions or areas to gather news

regularly from, such as the parliament, a certain government ministry and so on. The other is making use of specialisations, where subject matter experts are tasked with coming up with stories within their specialty areas, such as business reporters, environmental reporters and so on.

The authors point out that that having news beats in particular areas or offices “assumes that the audiences of news are interested in occurrences at these locations, that they are concerned with the activities of specific organizations, and that they are interested in specific topics”(Becker and Vlad 2010, 64). However, studies in the sociology of news work offer a more nuanced view: it is not simply that audiences are interested in the activities of specific organizations, but rather, media organisations rely on government and institutional sources for news, because such bureaucracies provide “a reliable and steady supply of the raw materials for news production” (Schudson 2002a, 255). Often, these news sources tend to be those in authority, since these, by virtue of their position, are considered the experts (Atton and Wickenden, *Sourcing Routines and Representation in Alternative Journalism: A Case Study Approach* nd).

Of the three stations, only Kangema FM has clearly predefined news beats. There is a regular beat to the courts, and the producers are also assigned geographical beats, with each person responsible for sourcing news from the sub-county they hail from. Apart from their other sources on the ground, Kangema FM producers are also in touch with local administrators such as the chief and sub-chief, who inform them of happenings taking place in the local administrative zones. The fact that a community station uses government offices and officers as key news sources, the same way the state broadcaster or commercial stations would, leaves open the possibility that there are other, non-governmental voices that are not being sought and represented, which is supposed to be one of the aims of community media. As such, this news collection strategy privileges powerful sources and silences ordinary voices, which is the opposite of the ideals of community media. Given that Kangema FM has clear government ties in its ownership, and it identifies one of its key roles as informing the community from a government perspective, one can surmise that the news beats are a tool to meet the station’s organisational aims rather than the community’s alternative information needs.

For Mugambo FM and Koch FM, content generation is based on specialisations in subject matter rather than on news beats. For instance, at Mugambo FM, the mid-morning show

producer, previously having been an agriculturalist, produces agricultural content as part of his show. At Koch FM, the producer in charge of sports news is an avid soccer player, and even initiated a sports roundup programme during weekends. In these cases, the stations rely on the passions and skill sets of their producers to generate content, rather than assigning specific content to someone who may not be interested in it much.

Kangema FM also makes use of specialisation for its content generation, but works by assigning producers to content rather than giving them leeway to select the kind of content that they would like to produce. The station administrator prepares the duty roster and the programme manager in charge of the producers makes sure that it is followed. As well, the latter is at liberty to shuffle people on the roster based on her assessment of their competencies:

...for the duties, for instance if I feel that you can't do this show I tell the administrator that I don't want you doing this. And it is done with my own reasons and observations....Even when sending people to events, you know people have different personalities, and I know if I send you to this event you will do better than in this. That is why I tell you I direct and choose who to do what. Despite the roster, I can still alternate it to suit what I want to be done. (TT 2014)

In this case, it is not the producer's prerogative to select what they would like to cover; they follow the duty roster and if they are lucky, they are assigned to something they like. The top-down management style when it comes to organizing news production is apparent here, and from the tone of discussion, the producer does not have a say in where they are assigned. Instead, the programmes manager and the station administrator make the final decision on who does what. While this highly structured approach to staff management means that Kangema FM never lacks content and producers for its programming hours, it on the other hand offers producers little if any room to experiment with producing radical and aesthetically innovative content, which is one of the logics of community media as outlined by Mowbray (2015). The highly hierarchical approach to the station's management and newswork duplicates mainstream media stations' work processes and fails to differentiate this community station as a site of alternative production practices. Consequently, when it comes to news generation strategies, Kangema FM is operationally more like a mainstream media station than a community station.

Although bearing different story generation strategies as outlined above, at all three stations, there is always the possibility of changing story assignments based on contingency: when a story needs to be covered or a feature needs to be produced and the station is short-staffed, then

one does not stick to their specialty area or beat; if they are available they will deal with it. The programme manager at Koch FM explains:

It's for us to identify – this one is good in this and can do better in this. [in reference to assigning producers to specialty areas] But again, we are less [few in number] so at times you are forced to go to different desks or to different departments... (MD1., Koch FM, 20.03.2014)

The case is similar at Kangema FM, described by the programme manager:

So that means that the people on the ground, that's the information officers, it's their responsibility to stay up to date with what is going to happen in their areas and then they let you know that 'this is happening and I'm going to cover it'. Maybe you've seen our roster. There might be an event in your area but on the same day you are expected to be in studio doing something or news desk. In that scenario you inform me then I make the arrangement on who to send in the office. We organize on whom to send there or who can do your duties in your absence as you attend the event. (TT, Kangema FM, 18.12.2014)

Hence, whether via news beats or via specialisations, or by a combination of both, these three stations are able to produce content that they believe will satisfy their audience and meet the station's aims. Having looked at the news production processes, I now focus individually on each of the stations' news production arrangements.

At each station studied, there were on average five full time producers assisted by interns. Each producer is responsible for a specific show, which translates to a slot of about three hours daily per producer. The producers work with interns as their assistants, and thus informally supervise them. The management of interns ranges from lax to strict at the various stations, which I link to the station's overall management style.

7.3 Kangema FM News Production

At Kangema FM, news production is clearly organised, with a different producer per day assigned the task of creating the daily news bulletins. The producer in charge of news is tasked with listening to the bulletins aired in other Kikuyu-speaking stations in the region and picking up titbits to compile and air. This is especially the case for national news, as Kangema FM does not have reporters located nationwide or regionally, but still wants to offer its listeners national and regional news.

Apart from the news sourced from larger stations, Kangema has producers out in the field daily, reporting from the different sub-counties, as well as a court reporter whenever the local courts sit. These producers may be assisted in their duties by interns when the latter are present at the station. Usually, an intern will be attached to a particular producer, who may either go with them to cover a story, or send the intern out to record a news clip at an event. The field reporters file their reports by noon for the 1pm bulletin, and by 4pm for the evening and night bulletin. The last news bulletin of the day is prepared at 5pm, with updates on the stories that developed over the day, and any other stories from the area, which may have been filed by the on-field producers later than 1pm. This last bulletin is aired at 7pm and repeated at 9pm. The news producer of the day is responsible for compiling all the items that come in from the field reporters, and combining them with those sourced from the larger stations. Thus, Kangema FM uses a mix of internal staff organisation and technical know-how to create news bulletins for their target audience.

Since Kangema FM relies on larger stations for national and regional news items, its producers use the same sound clips used by the larger stations. Kangema FM producers do not have access to sound clips of the whole event and therefore cannot select what would be most relevant to the Kangema FM community. They end up taking the same news selection as the bigger stations from which the clip is selected. To mitigate this, the station tries to broaden and contextualise its news offering, as explained by one producer and the programmes manager:

Maybe you go to another station and listen to what they covered about the same story and see that now this one is closer to what fits better with the station philosophy. (RG, Kangema, 18.12.2014)

You know when you get a story, you won't do it direct. You'll have to edit it and then localize. You know if a story is from *Capital* [a national radio station], there's no way I will cue it the exact way it is. I'll still do it my own way to fit my listener. We still edit it. And then we meet and then we discuss. (TT, Kangema, 18.12.2014)

In this case of picking sound clips from other stations, there is no stated mechanism in place for dealing with copyright issues. In follow up interviews however, station staff stated that they work on an 'information-sharing basis' with other journalists in the area. That is, that Kangema FM producers also share their sound clips when they have accessed a local story that other stations have not. Information sharing as a journalistic practice is not unusual; for instance, national stations draw news items from international news agencies. As well, stations

compare their news items with those found especially on leading stations, so as not to miss breaking stories. However, the difference for Kangema FM is that they are not working under a prearranged agreement with these larger stations, and they are picking from already-edited and broadcast items, as opposed to sourcing the original information in its entirety for their own packaging. This loophole is also noted by listeners sometimes, although they do not know the intricacies of the news production process at the station. During both survey interviews and group interviews with community members around Kangema FM, respondents stated that some of the news they heard on Kangema FM they had already heard on other stations, and that the news were too short (Kangema 2014) (Kanoreero 2014) (Kiereini 2014).

Because community members have access to radio content from commercial stations airing in the area, they use these as a yardstick by which to measure Kangema FM's programming offer. Sometimes, the latter's content is found wanting, as per the comments below:

Let me also say let the marketing of Kangema FM wake up and compete with other radio stations, and we will support you. And the programmes should compete with other stations, and we will be behind you. (Interviewee 9, Group Interview 3, Kangema, 26.11.14)

Yes, that is what we are saying, that the competition from these other radio stations, should be taken seriously. The programmes should be improved to match those on these other stations. They should wake up and compete. (Interviewee 8, Group Interview 3, Kangema, 26.11.14)

The above audience comments indicate that community members do not tune in exclusively to Kangema FM, and that they actively compare it to other stations. Rather than being a main information source, it is one of their available options. They have clear expectations of what informational niche the station should fill, and express disappointment when the expectation is not met.

These comments by community members indicate a community sourcing news from a variety of media channels, rather than relying on just one station. It hints at a functional approach to media access by the community. Not only does one tune in to a variety of stations – one does so in order to get a more complete picture of their world by hearing different perspectives. Were Kangema FM to focus on generating local news items different from those by larger stations, it would offer these different perspectives. However, as things stand, Kangema FM airs the same events already selected by bigger media stations as newsworthy.

Nevertheless, the desire for the hyperlocal is not always the community's top priority. Rather, in group interviews, community members recommended that Kangema FM increase the number of reporters and situate them in various parts of the country so as to provide unique news. They do not expect Kangema FM to uniquely provide hyper-local news, but rather, view it as a young station which has yet to grow into a region- or even nation-wide broadcaster, keeping them abreast of happenings far and wide, not just in their immediate vicinity. This is similar to what other commercial radio stations broadcasting into the area from the country's capital, Nairobi, provide.

As things currently stand, Kangema FM has reporters in the sub-counties and not region- or nation-wide, in keeping with the station's mandate to serve the needs of the immediate community. To fill in this gap between vision and reality, the station has come up with the system of referring to bigger media houses for its nation-wide and region-wide news, and then filling in the hyperlocal news by its own reporters. Thus, in Kangema FM's news production process, producers play a second-level assembly role, or perhaps even the dual role of consumers and assemblers, as defined in Molotch and Lester's typology: they consume the occurrences made available by other media, which are already greatly culled from the whole pool of possible events. But unlike the consumers who do not have an institutional base from which to transmit the news, the producers take up the role of assemblers in repackaging these already-packaged occurrences into public events for rebroadcast.

Kangema FM's news bulletins are thus quite similar to what one would find on a station airing from the capital city, Nairobi, with only one or two unique local items. This approach to news gathering takes a focus off local issues, and fails to position the station as one serving specific community information needs not met by other broadcasters, as outlined in community broadcasting legislation. It contravenes the alternative media ideal that they give priority to subjugated and local voices that are left out of other media.

7.4 Mugambo FM News Production

Mugambo FM is more relaxed than Kangema FM in terms of hierarchy but has a similar content production team, in which the interns are assigned to producers. However, unlike in Kangema FM, interns have more autonomy to try out new ideas, in collaboration with the producers that

they work with, and outside of studio times, they are not required to be at the station all day or even engaged in news collection, unless they wish to be.

At Mugambo FM, a different strategy is used for news collection. Each producer is tasked with sending in news to the station from wherever they may be per day, and there are also stringers who call in with news from the region, although they are not formally employed by the station. The producers and stringers make use of mobile phones as recording devices for the news they send in. This is much cheaper than having to travel in person to the station, and at the same time demonstrates the use of available technology to broaden the news offer of the station. The news gathering in the field is not clearly pre-defined, in terms of, for instance, having set news beats; it evolves per day depending on where one is. For instance, if a producer happens to know of an event nearby and goes to cover it, she or he simply lets the other producers and station manager know that they are covering the event, and a space is left in the news bulletin for it. The news is also audience-driven, as the example below from my field visits illustrates:

On administering questionnaires in a mud-logged market in the region and stating that I was researching on Mugambo FM listeners, the market women asked for their complaint to be aired at the station: that a local leader had not fixed the market ground with cement or gravel to prevent waterlogging during the rainy season. In response, the station producer whom I was travelling with for the day borrowed my voice recorder and interviewed them, created a lead and conclusion for the story, and later aired it as part of the evening news bulletins that night, asking for the area's local leader to take action. (Field Notes, 09.12.2014)

This is an example of audience-generated news, and producer responsiveness which meets the expressed needs of the people. Through such spontaneous news generation strategies, the daily experiences of the ordinary person are given room in the public sphere. At play here is an alternative production practice that privileges voice as process, that is, giving an account of one's life and its conditions. Not only are ordinary people used as sources, but also, there is an openness to them setting the news agenda, rather than producer-driven news agenda setting. This approach allows for the expression of the community's lived experiences. In giving these narratives room in the public sphere, they are treated as important and worth listening to and acting upon.

Meadows et al (2009) highlight a key impact of community broadcasting as the fact that it offers a forum for communities or groups to set the agenda for what they want to discuss, unlike

in the mainstream media where the elite set the topics of discussion. In offering those who do not have a voice in mainstream media a space to air their viewpoints, community media contributes to communicative democracy, that is, the enhancement of citizenship, democracy and the public sphere. In giving communities the opportunity to air alternative viewpoints, to receive broadcasts in their language and to cover topics unique to their community, community media affirms communities' differences from the broader society, and in this way provides them with a sense of belonging. Such openness to agenda setting by the audience is an alternative production practice that dethrones the 'experts' from the position of determining what is important to deliberate on in the public sphere, and instead privileges 'ordinary' voices which would otherwise be unheard.

When it comes to national news, Mugambo FM has a television at its reception area, usually tuned in to the national channels during daytime news bulletins. Some leads on current happenings are gotten from this source. Most frequently, however, national and regional news is sourced from national and regional newspapers. In this case, the news is translated from English to Meru language and adapted for the ear. Sourcing news from the newspaper has the distinct disadvantage of airing news that is already a day old, as what is in the newspapers is news that happened the previous day. To deal with this, apart from highlighting stories that are already headlines in other media, Mugambo FM makes use of the smaller items, such as county roundups, which are not usually aired on television or radio. In this way, they offer 'fresh' regional news to their audience, especially keeping in mind that a large portion of the target audience will neither invest in buying daily newspapers nor in reading the newspapers online. They at the same time, through this practice, engage in the transformation of media content from written and audiovisual form to aural form. The content thus undergoes a remediation.

Similar to Kangema FM, Mugambo FM plays a second-level assembly or consumer-assembler role in news gathering when it comes to the national and regional news, also with the pitfall of re-airing news already selected by mainstream news providers. However, when it comes to local news, the station seems to have a more responsive and context-specific news gathering approach that makes room for alternative voices.

7.5 Koch FM News Production Process

In Koch FM, news production is more ad hoc than prepared in advance. From observation, in Koch FM, there is on paper a defined management structure, but on the ground, there is a sense of lax organization. There is not much adherence to hierarchy, and the producers work more as independent individuals than as a team. This laxity is also seen in the management of interns, with no specific staff member charged with managing them and their daily tasks. The interns at Koch FM mostly self-organise, as they are sometimes not assigned to specific producers or shows. Rather, they show up at the station in the morning and wait around for each other to arrive, and then discuss possible news leads to follow, with or without the presence of the producers. Sometimes if a producer is present, she or he will take charge of the interns and assign them news beats and other tasks.

The interns source most of the news. Once they arrive at the station in the morning, they have an informal editorial meeting in which they assign stories to follow up to each other, usually sourced from the online sites of national television and radio stations and newspapers. The internet thus acts as the first source for news. Usually, the producers and interns use their own phones to access the internet, as the computer at the station reception is not connected to the internet. They skim through the headlines and then select stories to adapt for the station's news. As all Koch FM bulletins are in Kiswahili, the news items are not only adapted for the ear, they are also translated from English to Kiswahili. On occasion, the producers may be aware of a breaking story in Korogocho, in which case they will assign two interns to go and follow up together. Sometimes, even without a lead, the interns are asked to go out and look for stories to bring in for the bulletin. As in Kangema FM, these stories are required to be ready by noon so that the person presenting the 1pm news can go through them and present them. However, unlike Kangema FM, there isn't much reliance on sound bites for the news. Rather, the news consists mostly of the presenter reading out summaries of news stories. This is because the stories are not gotten first hand, but rather, are selected from the websites of mainstream and international media, and therefore the interns do not have access to the original sound of the event.

Here, again, the producers and interns play the role of consumers-assemblers. They do not draw from 'original' occurrences; rather, they pick from what other media have already selected and make their assembly from it. On the other hand, through transforming internet content into aural content in the area's language, they make available information that may

have been inaccessible to community members who do not access the internet. There is, arguably, an expanded access to information through this practice, although it partly duplicates what is already available on mainstream media.

Context and resources also place a clear strain on news collection at Koch FM. Resource-wise, the availability of only two recorders at the station is a constraint for local news gathering, since at any given time only two people can cover an event live and record sound clips for it. Context refers to the fears of insecurity in the area, such that the interns – most of whom do not originally hail from Korogocho - are often not comfortable traversing the area with electronic equipment to collect news; they fear being mugged. This is despite efforts to select interns based on their adaptability to the Koch FM context, according to the programme manager:

...the issue has been, how can they adjust to the environment? That has been our main challenge. Coz we really look for someone who is easy to adjust to the slums environment. Someone like would come today and tomorrow would feel comfortable, or tomorrow he feels comfortable for me to send him to field or things like that...we normally want a person who is fast to learn the audience around, coz we have got audience who are very sensitive, we have got people who are very sensitive so we really want someone who is quick to learn the environment and quick to adjust to the environment. (MD1, Koch FM, 20.03.2014)

Regarding the fears of insecurity for interns, community members argue that:

Coordination is what will save the situation. There are some friends of theirs [producers] here who can go to those [insecure] places and gather all the information. If they go there to record news they will be secured because their friends are there. (Interviewee 4, Men's group interview, Koch FM, 16.11.2014)

From this statement, there are apparently under-utilised community linkages; people who are willing to assist in news gathering, but whom the station has not thought of collaborating with. These audience members see it as their duty to help Koch FM, and state that they would not expect payment for their contribution to the newsgathering process:

Koch is still young. How we can progress as a community is to help each other. So we don't expect that when you bring in news you should be paid, but it should be responsibility of the station to see how to reward someone whichever way they can. But our responsibility is to volunteer ourselves. (Interviewee 3, Men's Group Interview, Koch FM, 16.11.2014)

Here, questions arise about how much in tune the producers are with the views of the Korogocho community and with the ideas of alternative media production. Audience members seem willing to lend a hand, but producers seem unaware of the willingness or uninterested in it. News production is apparently conceptualised by the station as a specialised practice for producers and interns, rather than as a participatory practice with the community, as the ideals of community media recommend. Consequently, the aspect of community collaboration for news gathering is one that Koch FM has not explored yet, but which might add to the quantity and quality of community-specific news. While the internet is a source of global news, community members on the ground offer the opportunity to collect hyperlocal news, which would enrich the news offer carried by Koch FM. It is an alternative production practice that stands as a possibility for the station, but which has not yet been made use of.

In the multicultural community of Korogocho, ethnic sensibilities are also a factor to reckon with for the producers in news production. For instance, when news is aired that seems to favour a certain political party, community members will sometimes go to the station and ask who wrote that news, and insist that the news has been ‘doctored’ to favour a particular ethnic group. As described by one producer:

So when you write a story, you just balance the story. Because there are some people, you write a story, you find that there is someone who is convinced – all of them they hang out here [at the station], there are those who come to listen to the news, they find you writing a story about a certain political party. Now he is a fan of that party and is eager to hear that news. He or she wants to know how you have written it. You will find that most of them crowd here when you read the headlines. You know for the headlines you can’t prevent people (from listening). You will say this politician has done this and that. You know for the headlines you leave the person in suspense. Now the person will be eager to know ‘what did the politician do? I am not leaving here till I know’. So when you write, when she or he hears the news, he/she will ask: who wrote that news? Ah, it is producer X. Oh, producer X? That one we know. That’s another problem we have here. Much as they are cooperative, there are those who feel that when you write in a certain way you are biased. (MJ, Koch FM, 20.03.2014)

Producers therefore work with an awareness of this reaction, and strive to appear balanced and objective, not favouring one side of the political field explicitly. However, despite these efforts, one’s ethnic group is taken as a sign of where their sympathies lie. It highlights the ethnic solidarities in this community that transcend the solidarity arising from a shared geographical space and shared material conditions.

Focus of news content is also an area of contrasting expectations between producers and other community members. During group interviews, Korogocho community members consistently pointed out the need to have more news from within Korogocho and its environs, stating that they already access national news from the national and regional radio broadcasters. This expectation is in contrast to the Kangema FM community, for example, which expressed more interest in hearing national news. According to a Korogocho respondent, “The songs can be entertaining but one important thing about a station is breaking news. We take it seriously. For example if there is an emergency like a fire, the resident should get that information on radio even if she or he is physically far away from the place” (Interviewee 2, Men’s Group Interview, Koch FM, 16.11.2014). This may point to the Koch FM community’s satisfaction with the national and regional news offers from commercial broadcasters airing in the area, and perhaps a clearer understanding by the community of the niche that the community radio station was designed to fill.

During group interviews with community members, another value that emerged as important for the Korogocho community is the technical quality of news content. Given that the interns are still in training in news production and presentation, the stories written are of varying quality, and while some interns do well in presenting the news others audibly struggle on air. Some are not yet comfortable in front of the microphone or with Kiswahili, and therefore stumble over their words while reading the news. The lax supervision and training of interns means that there is no quality control when they go on air. During group interviews, several community members noted that Koch FM news did not sound professional as compared to other stations:

Koch FM news is not something where one is seen live like on television. It is something one is told or something one gets on the internet. The person should know in advance and rehearse. So that by the time they are on air they know what they are doing. This will add to the perfection [of the news presentation]. (Interviewee 1, Youth Group Interview, Koch FM, 07.11.2014)

From the comment above, professionalism is an expectation taken seriously by the audience, and noticed when it is absent. Yet, through its news production routine which heavily relies on interns, Koch FM contravenes the expectation of professionalism as a key value.

Here once again one senses a disconnection between the station and the community in terms of expectations for news. The producers may be convinced that what they are offering as news

suffices for the community in terms of quality, but from this exchange, the community thinks otherwise. The challenge of professionalism in community media is tackled later in this chapter.

Having discussed the news production process at each station, the next section takes a more in-depth look at the interactions between producers and sources, which forms part of producers' routine work.

7.6 Accessing Sources

The news produced at community radio stations is determined by the producers' choice of and access to news sources. While each of the stations largely faces a lack of direct access to newsmakers at the national and regional level, when it comes to the local level, one of the challenges is negative reception, seemingly springing from a perception of the stations' lack of influence. At Kangema FM for example, one of the producers says that people sometimes refuse to be interviewed because they feel that the news will be heard 'only here'¹²⁶ (that is, the area immediately around the station).

In examining the dynamics between reporters and sources, Berkowitz (2009) points out that "the interaction between reporters and their sources is a delicately negotiated relationship, with each party hoping to achieve their goals and maintain their organizational and societal status" (Berkowitz 2009, 103). While the journalist potentially risks their credibility every time they write a news item, news sources potentially risk their career success through sharing information with the journalist. Sources seek to maintain a positive public opinion through strategies such as taking part in debates on items in the news agenda, influencing the slant of an item featured on that agenda, or even keeping an item away from the public agenda. Journalists, on the other hand, seek to make meaning of a news item from the position of their professional ideology such as norms like objectivity and fairness, the organizational and editorial policy of their media house, as well as through the interpretive community of other journalists. Berkowitz argues that a source with a high level of power in comparison to the journalist can thwart that journalist's information gathering, while high power reporters, on the other hand, are in a position to gather more information from more sources. When power levels between journalist and source are approximately equal, the relationship tends to be cooperative

¹²⁶ RG, Kangema FM, 11.3.2014

and symbiotic, while when either the journalist or the source is perceived to have more power, the relationship tends to be more adversarial. This dynamic is evident for community broadcasters, as explained by one producer at Kangema FM:

Sometimes people don't want to talk to you... Like one day I went to K- primary school. It's just there and I said I will not go back to that school...I was covering an event, no, not an event – there was a case, a girl she was in class 7. She was chased away from school because some books were...she had lost some books. So I went to the parent and I heard from her, then I wanted to go to the school. I went there and got the deputy. He told me, 'now, why don't you be like *Inooro*¹²⁷, you should assist that kid, not coming to us. Now, what do you want us to help you, and that kid has lost those books. Si you pay those books (why don't you pay those books)?' ...I was demoralized. And I said the last thing I will do is go to that school. I felt so bad....So when I went there it was early in the morning....I even didn't report back to the office because I was...I felt bad. You see those are some of the challenges you get [out in the] field, but you have to continue. You have to continue. (RG, Kangema FM, 18.12.2014)

This is an example of differential power between source and journalist. In the above illustration, the interaction is clearly adversarial. The source is acting to protect the school's reputation through keeping information away from the public eye, and is not afraid to make it clear that they are doing so, based on the perception that a Kangema FM reporter is not as important as one from the big private station. Producers specifically at Kangema FM shared that this negative reception by sources is not infrequent. It seems to go back to the relationship between the station and the community. As discussed in Chapter 4.11, although the station is based in the community, it defines itself as a government partner rather than as a community-owned resource. Consequently, community members apparently do not feel a sense of ownership and goodwill toward the station, such that they would be cooperative with its reporters. Moreover, since community members already view the station as competing poorly with large commercial stations especially in news offering, they may not take it as a 'serious' station worthy of their respect.

Audience comparison of community broadcasters with larger broadcasters comes out in the interaction above. In this example, there is a verbalized expectation that similar to national stations, Kangema FM should intervene in resolving the issue, rather than making it known to the public as a news item. These contradictory expectations between the journalist and the source illustrate the tension that exists between journalists and the communities they work in

¹²⁷ A nation-wide private radio station that airs in the area. In the case of someone unable to meet a financial obligation, it has become a practice among Kenyan media to either donate funds or mobilise people to donate funds to meet the need.

when it comes to the construction of shared meanings of events. Apparently, this tension is more so felt when the station is at the local level and therefore expected to be in tune with community expectations. While the journalist wants to tackle the issue as a news item to discuss, the source wants the issue to be interpreted as an occasion for the media house to step in as a philanthropist. Here, there seem to be at least two journalistic cultures at play which community radio producers must select from in accomplishing their daily work. On one hand, in terms of professional norms learnt in school, the producers should be objective and impartial, presenting and interpreting news events. On the other hand, in terms of societal expectations at the local level, shaped partly by the actions of big media houses which have set a precedent, the producers should actively intervene in the situation rather than presenting it as a news event. It is an example of values-centred journalism culture and professional journalism culture struggling for supremacy in the day to day tasks of community radio producers. The more influential journalism culture in this case may be the values-centred one, because the source, who apparently has this view of the media's role, also has control over the information to be made news. Based on how they think the information will be used, the source can choose to divulge it or not. Thus, everyday journalistic work is impacted by a confluence of pressures from social context, relative power between journalist and source, and professional journalism standards. The following section focuses on the producers who navigate these contexts and relationships.

7.7 Producer Profiles

The producer recruitment processes vary per station. However, as stated at the start of the chapter, each of the stations has a minimum of five producers, each with their own show. Koch FM and Mugambo FM each have five regular producers, each producer with their own time slot. Kangema FM has the highest number of producers, ten, with rotational duties in the studio and in the field. The stations have producers ranging from those with a high school education to those with a masters' degree. This challenges the idea that community volunteers are usually not well educated, and is an example of the diversity of the community members represented in the stations. I give several examples here from each station:

Koch FM:

MD1-: College educated, diploma in journalism, started as intern and then trained on the job. Producer: mid-morning show, and programme manager. Age: early 30s

MJ-: College educated, diploma in journalism with specialization in news reporting and writing. Soccer player. Producer: early morning show, sports reporter, presenter and sound editor. Age: mid-20s

Mugambo FM:

MT-: Master's degree holder, former agriculturalist, worked at other radio stations. Farmer on the side, runs agriculture clubs in nearby university. Hobby music collector. Producer: mid-morning show. Age: mid-40s

MF-: Secondary school graduate, approached the station as a volunteer. No post-secondary training, first job. Producer: youth reggae show. Age: early 20s.

Kangema FM:

TT-: College degree in journalism, work experience at other stations. Programmes officer. Age: early 30s

GJ-: College degree in media technology, started as a producer and is now the station's technician; evolution of roles as radio station has grown. Age: early 30s

From the profiles above, the idea of uneducated volunteers running the station does not hold. Rather, the producers working at the station have at least a secondary school education, and many have progressed further in their studies to specialise in journalism or related fields. It hints at the idea that it might not be so easy to walk into a community radio station and volunteer one's services, simply by virtue of being a member of the community. Rather, one needs to show evidence of some training in order to get an opportunity to work at the station. In Kangema FM, this is explicitly stated in their hiring procedures. According to the programmes manager, the minimum requirement for hiring is:

PM: Grade of C plain [in the secondary school final exam], and a diploma in either journalism or public relations.

Interviewer: So someone cannot come straight from high school and join?

PM: No, it's not possible

Interviewer: So even as a volunteer...

PM: We also look at that. You know, *media is very sensitive. And you should not take any chance that can make you regret why you did it.* That is why we try to get those who understand what they are doing, they have some background understanding of what they are doing. (Italics mine, Programme Manager, Kangema FM, Dec 2014)

Thus, at Kangema FM working at the station is not viewed as an opportunity for all community members to partake in, but rather, as a specialized job requiring specific training and knowledge. This is a departure from the idea of a community broadcaster as a site of alternative media characterized by self-organized production processes, where ordinary community members engage in media production. As discussed in Section 4.4, the MCK holds onto the idea of 'ordinary community members' rather than trained journalists working at community stations. It holds an idealized, homogenous view of community as a group of uneducated and untrained people. Yet, the MCK is at the same time adamant that it does not recognise as a journalist anyone who does not hold formal journalistic training. This is in keeping with

legislation that was put into effect in 2013 which requires anyone who wants to be accredited as a journalist to have a diploma education in journalism. This was partly to lower the chances of the media being used to transmit hate speech due to a lack of awareness of media ethics, an issue that came to the fore since the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. Hence, the expectation that untrained community volunteers working at community broadcasting stations is not supported by the legal framework. In view of this legal requirement, for all three stations, the producers have undertaken some form of journalistic training, and a majority have gone ahead to secure formal journalistic qualifications even though they started out untrained. Having only the formally trained working at community broadcasting stations introduces an element of elitism in the composition of station staff, since untrained volunteers are less and less eligible to work at these stations. With this trend, the production processes in community broadcasting may gradually move exclusively into the hands of a trained elite, rather than reside in the control of untrained community members. There is, arguably, a danger of reproducing the working structures in private and state media, where content production is not open to everyone. Working out equivalent qualifications for those who may not afford a diploma education would be an option to resolve this.

Even so, how working at a community radio station is not contingent only on the producers' education levels. Individual values are also a factor in who chooses to work at these stations and how they carry out their duties. The following section engages with this aspect.

7.8 Radio Producers' Self-conceptualization and Roles

The radio station staff at the three stations have different conceptions of their role as media workers in the community. Some speak of acting as spokespeople to the powers that be, while others have visions of a time when they will be able to provide for the community's financial needs. Others speak of working to provide more entertaining content to their audience. Yet others give examples of not only airing stories from their communities, but also going a step further and mobilizing the community to make a difference, such as contributing towards rebuilding someone's destroyed house. In general, the community radio producers do not perceive themselves as 'ordinary' members of the community; rather they see themselves as not only out to make a living, but also vested with a responsibility to do good to the community.

Hanitzsch et al (2011) distinguish between 'interventionist' journalists, who are "involved, socially committed, assertive and motivated", and those who are "detached and uninvolved,

dedicated to objectivity, neutrality, fairness and impartiality” (Hanitzsch et al 2011, 275). They define interventionism as “the extent to which journalists pursue particular missions and promote certain values”, and propose this as one of the possible journalistic cultures. The interventionist stance holds true for the Kenyan community media scene. None of the producers put earning a living as the first reason they are at the station. Rather, they give reasons which revolve around providing a service to the community. As expressed by a producer at Mugambo FM:

That’s why I am saying maybe they [the community] are looking forward to times when we shall have a programme, whereby we shall now be paying school fees for the poor, we pay the hospital bills, and other things. Or maybe when we have a programme of physical(*sic*) challenged persons, maybe we shall donate wheelchairs, maybe we shall donate you know other materials that they use, maybe shoes, or maybe spectacles, or gloves....I am very sure that the community is looking at that time that we shall be maybe walking out and calling the groups and donating something. But nowadays you know we don’t donate anything because also we are not grown to that level. But we are also looking forward and I hope, maybe with time, we can reach that level, and maybe the community will be, yeah, community is satisfied with us, but there is still a lot. (MN, Urru, 11.03.2014)

For the above producer, the station is not merely a radio station, but simultaneously a philanthropic organisation that is meant to cater to the community’s material needs. He views the station’s greatest contribution to the community not as the discursive possibilities that it offers, but rather, the material help that it could eventually provide the community with. This example points to the blurred lines when it comes to working in a community station in one’s own community. The producers feel an obligation not to merely inform, educate and entertain, as per their training in journalism, but to engage further in the community issues of which they are a part. This is an example of an ‘embedded communicator’ (Rodriguez 2016), who, by virtue of belonging to the community, does not only speak to the community, but also speaks for it.

Ramaprasad and Kelly (2003) suggest that journalistic values are determined to an extent by political context. Their research proposes that journalistic values specific to a developing country context include development journalism, citizen education, public advocate, culture promotion, positively portraying the country, and news as a social good for national development. At the community radio stations studied, the roles that the producers play in their communities are influenced by context. Producers act not merely as media professionals, but also as active community members. To illustrate, I turn to the various roles that the

producers play in the community, in the course of executing their day to day duties. I categorise these roles as mediation, mobilisation, space-creation, education, and entertainment.

7.8.1 Mediation

Producers act as mediators between experts and the community members. In many call-in programmes, the producers see their role as contacting and interrogating the experts, leaders and so on, on behalf of the community. As the early morning show producer at Mugambo FM puts it:

We are helping the poor because the poor have no voice. Because they cannot reach the chief, they cannot reach the Lands [Office], they cannot even approach the court, now someone is dying slowly. But now through Mugambo, we can make it known to the community itself...that so-and-so is a very rich person, but what he is doing is to humiliate people and to grab land. Public land or somebody's land. And through us or through those programmes, then the poor person maybe who never got assistance [gets assistance]. Because those leaders [are afraid of being mentioned publicly]...because at times we focus on them. If you are chief of a certain area, I come and ask 'this poor woman or poor widow her land is grabbed by someone who is on top, maybe in the government offices. What is happening?' He is chief in that area, assistant chief in that area, maybe DO, maybe a Member of Parliament, so because of that, they now chip in, and they help. But still we have a lot to do. (MN, Mugambo FM, 10.12.14)

Similarly, at Koch FM, producers view the station, and indeed themselves, as mediators between the community members and the local authorities. The following is an example of how this mediation takes place, according to the early morning show producer.

Before even I discuss...those issues, I...look for the experts. Like let's talk about...insecurity, we have our chief here. I will just go to the chief: 'by the way, of late [how are things going with] insecurity? [He will tell me] the security is abcd. And 'which measures have you taken to curb this insecurity?' 'We have done abcd'. 'Actually how can we end this insecurity, and what advice can you give to the young people.' Now before, I will tell [the audience]...our topic today from 8-10 is about insecurity in this area. But before you...start calling in, I will...play the clip of the expert. The expert has said abcd. Insecurity is abcd. First of all, do you agree with them? You are the resident. You are the one who wears the shoes. You know where it pinches. Do you agree with whatever the chief has said? Others will say yes, others will say no, we just have that argument for around 30 minutes. Some people are disagreeing with the chief, some people are for the chief. 'Okay, you people from the community, let's leave the chief aside, as you people, what do you want the policemen to do? You are saying that they can't do their job. Give us whatever you want them to do.' People will give you their answer. So you note down they want this...then, it will be my duty to go back to the chief: '[Mr] chief, yesterday you told me about abcd. Most

people are for this, others are for this. And then, this is what those people are proposing.’ Now whatever you’ll tell him, [the ball is in his court]. (MJ 2014)

In both cases above, producers act as spokespersons for the community. They focus on issues of concern to ordinary community members, and seek to hold leaders to account. The latter is one of the tenets of good governance, an international democratic value. In this role, the voices of the less powerful in society are given a platform to express their realities and to contribute to debates about possible solutions to them. This facilitation role is similar to Ramaprasad and Kelly’s ‘public advocate’ role.

7.8.2 Mobilisation

In times of crisis, the producers have acted as mobilisers of the community to aid their fellow community members. This role was mentioned repeatedly in the narratives of the producers at the two stations in rural areas (Mugambo FM and Kangema FM), but was not observed or mentioned at Koch FM, the urban station. Apparently, this community mobilisation role is not contingent on station management and funding structures. Rather, social context and community ties seem to be the determinant for whether producers act in this way or not. Some instances of mobilisation by the two rural stations follow. At Mugambo FM, as explained by one producer:

... 2010 or 2011, this area was very dry. There was a drought. And we started a programme, telling people if you are around and you have something, there are people who are dying of hunger. You can contribute either money, we gave them a number, or if you don’t have money but you have either beans or maize, you can even bring them to our station. And there were so many things that were brought here. Sacks of maize, sacks of beans, fruits, everything. Bananas, then we took everything and we gave out to a certain village where they were dying...because of hunger. So, there are so many things to do when you are working in a community radio station. (MN, Mugambo, 11.03.2014)

Kangema FM has a similar story, where they mobilised community members for a benevolent project. According to the programmes manager, among the achievements of the station is that “We have worked hand in hand with them [the community] like...we helped build a house for [a] woman who is not mentally stable and she has kids and stuff. So through our airwaves we advertised, we got people to volunteer come help build the house, bring materials, [and so on]” (PP 2014)

In both cases, this ‘helping the community’ narrative is part of the station’s organisational history, and is mentioned as proof of the radio station’s impact in the community. At both radio stations, producers move beyond the normative role of ‘objective reporters’ of happenings in the community. Instead, they take on a much more interventionist role. Because they are part of the communities in which they work, the producers feel a sense of responsibility for not merely talking about negative happenings, but rather, going further to play an active role in resolution or at least amelioration of such circumstances. This trait could be traced to being part of a broader national journalistic culture, in which large commercial stations in Kenya which have asked for cash donations from citizens in order to feed their fellow Kenyans.¹²⁸ However, the community broadcasters studied go beyond appealing for financial aid. They mobilise community members not only to give in cash and in kind, but also to be physically involved in resolving the identified issue. Station staff themselves are also physically involved in generating a solution to the issues reported on, such as distributing donated food or participating in building a house for a community member. They rally the community to action based on their face-to-face interactions and on the levels of trust and goodwill that they have as individual community members. Because they are based at the local level, they have additional social ties to the people they broadcast to. Hence, the interventionist aspect of the national journalistic culture takes on an expanded dimension at the local level for the two rural stations.

In contrast, Koch FM does not cite such mobilisation of community members. The closest Koch FM comes to community mobilisation is in offering a free announcements service that arises from the station’s physical context. People whose children are lost in the slum can visit the station to request for an announcement to be made, and this is done free of charge.¹²⁹ This ‘finding lost children’ narrative was also noted in Pamoja FM, the other slum-based station visited during the pilot study. The presence of this narrative at both slum-based stations

¹²⁸ Since the horn of Africa famine in 2011, Kenyan commercial media have made almost annual appeals to the citizenry to contribute funds towards relief food for starving Kenyans in the north of the country. The mobilisation function in the Kenyan journalistic culture came to the fore during the 2011 horn of Africa famine. According to research, there was lack of leadership by the Kenyan government and the international community in addressing the crisis “until media coverage ultimately triggered it” (Maxwell, et al. 2014, 5). During this disaster, the media did not only report on the magnitude of the famine and call for government action. They went further to get involved in mobilizing the citizenry to make donations to save their fellow Kenyans, framing it as a moral obligation.

¹²⁹ It is a somewhat common occurrence for children to get lost in the slum, given the density of the housing

underlines the impact of social context on station conceptualisations of their role in the surrounding community.

The lack of other, more interventionist forms of community mobilisation may simply be because the occasion has not arisen for such engagement. On the other hand, it may be a reflection of the communal bonds in Korogocho, an urban setting. As alluded to in the discussion on social formations in Chapter 5.4.7, Korogocho residents seem to co-exist as several ethnic and religious communities side by side who try not to antagonise each other, rather than as one cohesive entity with shared values. Much as community members live in the area most of the year, they are still emotionally invested in the areas that they originally came from, which they consider as being truly home. As expressed during group interviews, the inhabitants of Korogocho area travel home – the rural areas that they originally hail from – at least once a year, and would like for Koch FM’s coverage to reach those areas. With this mindset, it is probable that the residents of Korogocho would be more inclined to contribute to their home area rather than to their current dwelling area, which they consider as a place for work rather than as a home. As well, given the heterogeneous composition of Korogocho, producers may not have pre-existent social relationships with all sectors of the community, which they could call on in times of need. Koch FM’s non-mobilisation underlines the impact of social context in determining which journalistic values evolve at a community station.

7.8.3 Space-creation

The radio stations also play a space-creation role for the communities in which they are located, in that they facilitate access to the public sphere(s). Odhiambo (2011) posits that a culture of participatory democracy is enhanced through transforming radio “into a dialogic space where there are numerous possibilities for listeners to engage more actively with information as it flows out of the radio into the public sphere” (Odhiambo 2011, 41). In the three stations, however, there are different conceptualisations of the kinds of public spheres that the community should have access to.

In Mugambo FM, space-creation occurs for example in the airing of information about fan club meetings and the morning show where community members call in with overnight happenings in their locales. The opportunity for ordinary community members to call in and influence the news agenda is significant, because this role is usually the preserve of those in influential positions in society (Molotch and Lester, 1974/2009). In this show, ordinary community

members play the role of promotion - framing everyday occurrences as newsworthy events – which is usually done by the elite. Ordinary people thus take up a position of agency in the production of media content. Through calling in with highlights about what they consider important among the happenings of the previous day, community members have the opportunity to shape what news is. This suggests a space based on participation and reciprocity, characterised by access for all, which is one of the public sphere characteristics highlighted by Coleman and Ross (2010).

It is however in Koch FM and Kangema FM where the differences in space-creation roles and in conceptualisations of the public sphere are clearest. To start with, Koch FM provides a forum for budding music artistes to present their work in the '*Wasanii Maskani*' ('Artists in the Hood') show aired twice a week. As outlined in the chapter about radio content, in this show artistes get a chance to have their music played for free, so long as they provide it to the station on CD, and they also have the opportunity to be interviewed by the show host. Through the *Wasanii Maskani* show, Koch FM creates access to the public sphere for local artistes. It provides them with airplay which is not easy to get in larger commercial stations. It is in fact likely that without the room created in Koch FM, such artistes would otherwise not get their music played, since the submitted CDs are not always of high technical quality. This show functions as a democratic-creative space. Community members can actively participate in expressing themselves through their artistic creations, even though technically imperfect, and in the process carry out mediated witnessing of their lived experience.

For Kangema FM, community artistic expression is handled differently. In the audience survey, several audience members asked for the opportunity to present their compositions at the radio station. One was a church choir that had been looking for a place to record their music at reasonable rates, but at the time of the survey they were not sure how to go about contacting Kangema FM to make enquiries about the possibility of such an arrangement. During a feedback session with station staff where this request was discussed, both producers and station manager at Kangema FM made clear that they would not play 'just anything' presented to the station. The sentiment expressed by the station staff was that many of the music CDs provided by community members were either of poor technical quality or sounded 'not original' in terms of tune and rhythm. Therefore, the station was unwilling to play them.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ During feedback session at Kangema FM, October 2016

In this case, Kangema FM plays the role of arbiter of which creative expressions gain access to the on-air public sphere and which not. The station is not keen to create room to reflect the creative tastes of the community. Rather, it seeks to shape them according to a pre-determined standard. The station thus takes a cultural management approach (Coleman and Ross 2010) to the public sphere in selecting what receives airplay and what does not. The public sphere created by this station is not open to autonomous expression, but rather, is subject to the constraints set by the station staff. The station perceives the community as an audience ‘under tutelage’ (Coleman and Ross, 2010), and whose musical tastes cannot be trusted. In this case, there is limited creative space for community members. Community voice is muted, since community members lack control over the material means of expression of their voice. It is not a space which allows for everyday, ordinary, means of expression, which should be one of the characteristics of alternative media.

These two stations further demonstrate the impact of organisational values on practices and content. From the above, Kangema FM ranks professional sound highly. Indeed, the insistence on technical quality of what is submitted for airing ensures that Kangema FM maintains a consistently high technical standard, even as it locks out those who do not have the means to reach that standard. In contrast, Koch FM ranks community access to the airwaves highly. While this opens room for everyone interested to participate, it also means that the station sometimes airs unprofessional-sounding content, as has been noted by Korogocho community members. In both stations, the organizational values of technical quality and access have the biggest impact on whether producers play a space-creation role or not.

7.8.4 Information

For all three stations, producers see their role as informing or enlightening the community, through keeping them updated on happenings which may affect their day to day routines. The information provision is in keeping with the monitorial role proposed by Christians et al, where the media provide “advance intelligence, advice, warning, and everything of general utility for information seekers”(Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, & White 2009, 31). In Koch FM, the information provision role is mostly in the airing of information such as healthy eating tips in the mid-morning show, and newspaper reviews in the early morning show. However, it is at Kangema FM and Mugambo FM that the information role based on context and organizational aims is most clearly seen.

For instance, based on the fact that Mugambo FM is located near a national park, one producer points out the station's role in alerting the community in cases of danger from wild animals as follows:

When elephants break, because we are around a bush. When elephants break the electricity walls [i.e. electric fence]. You know now when someone sees that one he or she tells us the state and we announce. Telling there is a danger those sides, maybe the school kids they should be secure [when they go to school in the morning], or when there is a bridge somewhere [that has broken]. (MN, Mugambo, 11.03.2014)

The above information could be compared to traffic updates aired in urban areas in morning drive shows, alerting drivers on which routes to avoid. In this case, Mugambo FM's physical context determines the kind of logistical information it transmits to the community.

Kangema FM producers play a similar information role in their regular announcements of weather forecasts, which run several times a day and are the station's stated reason for existence. As described by the early morning show producer:

My show deals with weather, yeah, they have to know the kind of clothes they should wear for the day...I want them to be at least, they should have an idea of what is happening in the surrounding, in the region, the nation, and the whole of the world.... Most of all I start with the local county. Coz there are some things you look at as journalists and in terms of media, there is a term I learnt in school – proximity – proximity with the area. You know this is a local station. You cannot start talking about Mandera, and yet there is something that has happened within Murang'a County, within Kangema Sub County. So if there is anything that has happened within Kangema Sub County you start with Kangema, then you go to the whole county Murang'a, then you go to the other regions and counties in Kenya... You know there are some people, they are ignorant. People here, most of the people here are ignorant. They don't want to know what is happening in the surrounding. So, I want at least, they should be well informed. I want to inform them. (MD, Kangema, 26.11.2014)

The show consists of national and international current affairs, social issues affecting the community, and sports. The producer has not included a slot for community participation in news generation through calling in or texting, since the information is assumed to flow from the station to the community and not vice versa. In this case, the impact of organizational priorities, professional training and personal attitude is seen in the choices the producer makes in selecting informational content to air. First, weather content is the station's main aim, and so is prioritized by the producer. Secondly, professional standards about news values¹³¹ –

¹³¹ Galtung and Ruge (1965) suggested a taxonomy of news values according to which media organisations decide what qualifies as news and what does not. Among these values is that of proximity. The study, critiqued

proximity in this case - come into play in selecting the scope of news to focus on. Thirdly, personal attitude influences the producer's approach. The producer works with the assumption that the community lacks information, and structures the show to meet the assumed information gap. In this example, organizational values, professional journalistic culture and individual traits combine to influence how the producer imagines and implements their role.

While the information-provision role is useful in updating the audience, it involves using a limited number of interpretive frames to present the world to its audience (Christians et al 2009). For instance, in the newspaper review segments found in all three stations, mainstream national newspapers are the focus. The producers read the headlines and give synopses of the stories covered, and urge listeners to purchase the newspaper for further details on those stories. At all three stations, the producers only summarise the contents of the stories, rather than giving an additional angle that may critique the viewpoint presented in the newspaper. Consequently, the interpretive frames selected by the newspapers are reproduced via the radio stations, effectively limiting alternative viewpoints.

7.8.5 Entertainment

Nevertheless, producers do not only view themselves in the 'serious' roles of aid workers, space-creators and information providers in the community; they also view themselves as entertainers with a responsibility to provide sufficiently stimulating content to the community. According to one producer at Mugambo FM:

Once the transmission is 'rectified' [i.e. wider coverage] – I'll have to add more content – not just music and amusing them by some crazy jokeswe'll still continue, but now we'll have to involve them and give them a touch of being catered for. For me I'll change my formatting to make it better and more entertaining – I don't know about my other colleagues but I'm already in the process of redesigning, and once I'm allowed I implement it. (MT, Mugambo FM, 11.03.2014)

In the above example, the producer sees their duty as being to provide high quality entertainment, apart from the stated development aims of the station.

In Koch FM and Mugambo FM, the producers' personal preferences play a huge part in determining what kind of content they air in their shows, especially music genres. Even with

and expanded on by numerous scholars including Harcup and O'Neill (2001), became seminal both in research and in journalism training.

outreach groups (such as in Koch FM) going out to the community to find out issues to address in their programmes, usually it is the producer who proposes a programme concept to the station manager, and then is given an opportunity to transform this concept into a programme. Apart from the topics discussed, the producer is at liberty to play music that they find appropriate to the concept they have in mind. Often, this music is a reflection of the producer's personal taste, and is targeted at the kind of audience they think listens to the show, or which they would like to listen to the show. For instance, in Mugambo FM, the reggae show host is a reggae fan, and constantly updates herself on the latest trends in this genre of music via the internet.¹³² On the other hand, the mid-morning show producer is an avid fan of Rhumba and East African music, and boasts a large personal collection of the same. In his show, this is the music that features the most, regardless of the topics discussed. He is a fan of this kind of music, but is also driven by pragmatic considerations, as summarised below:

He says that one has to know the latest music to be able to be effective in radio, therefore either download music or buy. He personally prefers to buy CDs. He has old music (1950s, 1960s). He collects antiques as a hobby – old record players and radios, cassettes, gramophones. He has a problem keeping up with the latest music, but the reggae show colleague helps him. She informs him what is the latest, what is trending. He also checks the internet for the latest *Bongo*¹³³ music and listens to other radio stations to know what is trending. Even so, he finds music goes in and out of fashion too fast for him to keep up. He therefore prefers rhumba – golden oldies – they are never out of fashion. (Interview summary, MT, Mugambo FM, 11.03.14)

For these producers, the internet is a valuable resource in keeping up with global music trends. However, using the internet as a music source depends on personal characteristics. While the young reggae show producer mostly relies on the internet for music updates, her older mid-morning show colleague prefers to draw from his personal collection of classic East African music to play in his show.

Similar to Mugambo FM, for Koch FM, producer preferences play a big part in the structuring of the shows. For instance, the mid-morning show producer selects music from the East African region, mostly in Kiswahili, as does the evening host who is elderly and a rhumba fan. Thus, even as the producers at these stations seek to cater to a local audience, they do it with an awareness that they exist within a bigger national and international landscape which they need to be up to date with.

¹³² Interview 11.03.2014

¹³³ A genre of Tanzanian music, which is popular in the East African region

In Kangema FM, however, producer preferences in the choice of programme content does not feature strongly. Instead of the individual producers coming up with programme concepts, the station management decides on the programme schedule, and then assigns two people per show, with the option of rotating them every several months. The ownership of the show is less in the producers' docket and more in the management's one. Nevertheless, the producers interviewed seem to be passionate about the shows that they are assigned to. This may be intrinsic enthusiasm, but may also be due to organisational pressure. At this station, each producer is expected to produce 'ratings' for their show, and therefore has an interest in making sure that the show is well presented and received. Even if a producer did not like the show that they are assigned to, they would need to cultivate a passion for it so as to meet the organisational performance requirements. Thus, for the entertainment function, personal characteristics and organisational pressure influence individual work performance.

7.9 Volunteerism Model, Professionalism and Management Style

Apart from Kangema FM where the producers are full time employees with a salary, at Koch FM and Mugambo FM, the producers are engaged in other activities in order to make a living, and view working at the station as something supplementary. As one producer at Mugambo FM put it, when you choose to work at a community station,

You are ready to give to the community. Not because you are getting something, but because you are ready to give something. But when you look at the life of working in a commercial radio, you know that is work. So even the approach to get that job is different from the approach to coming to work for a community radio. (MN, Urru, 11.03.2014, Italics mine)

This statement was in response to how he got recruited into working at the station. In categorising work in a community radio station as not 'real' employment, and implying that one doesn't need to rigorously prepare for seeking work there as compared to a job in a commercial station, he communicates that work at a community broadcaster is not to be taken too seriously. This voluntary aspect of working in community radio may be a factor in how dedicated one eventually is. Since one is not bound to be present at the station regardless of whether they are being paid or not, then they are likely to feel more free to skip coming to the station or to schedule other things to attend to during the time they should be at work.

At Koch FM for instance, there was a distinct laxity observed in how the producers carry out their day to day tasks. On occasion, interns end up filling in for producers who fail to show up for their programmes, as noted in the following illustrations from field notes during research visits to the station.

Today MD1 didn't come for her show. An intern was left to run it. I left her (the intern) in a fit of nerves saying that she has never been on air before and was not prepared as she was still at the introductory stage at the studio work.¹³⁴ (Fieldnotes, 06.11.2014)

At the time of its happening, this unexplained absence seemed unusual, but in subsequent visits to the station, I noted that this was not an isolated case. More than once a producer would fail to turn up for their show without prior notice, and they had to be hastily replaced. Just the next day, another unplanned-for absence took place, as noted below:

Today SS- was the one missing without prior notice, like MD1 yesterday. The interns are walking in and asking where 'everybody' is and trying to self-organise. Asking each other to look for news items online for the 11am news bulletin. (Fieldnotes: 07.11.2014)

On enquiring further about these absences, the producers explained that sometimes they enrol for a training or conference, usually one in which they will get a per diem payment, but they neither inform their colleagues at the station nor arrange for a replacement for that day, as they are not keen on everyone else knowing where they are. Rather, they simply fail to show up on the specific day, and do not pick calls either, leaving those present at the station to either fill in the airtime with music, or to designate an available intern to fill in the slot in the show, if none of the producers wants to fill in for their colleague. This lack of seriousness by the producers in the work that they carry out at the station may be linked to the financial benefits that they accrue there. If a producer is part of the 'informal network'¹³⁵ that benefits from the station funds, they may be more motivated to be consistent, as it does not feel like a waste of time financially to be at the station.

¹³⁴ Observed during a visit to the station, on my way to conduct the audience survey in the community

¹³⁵ This term was used by one of the training organisations involved with Kenyan community radio to refer to the fact that when budgeting funds for community stations, these organisations also include stipends for the producers/volunteers. However, they have observed that sometimes these stipends do not reach the intended beneficiaries. Rather, the funds are distributed to specific people both within and outside the station who are on good terms with the station management. This was also raised by a producer at the station, who shared informally that when funds are received, they go to specific people, not everyone.

This is a pitfall of the community volunteer model recommended for working in community stations. Yes people choose to be there, but they are equally free to choose not to show up whenever they have other things to attend to, and regardless of whether the programme will go on or not. If they view their role at the station as ‘giving to’ the station and to the community, without any apparent benefit to themselves, then they may not have qualms about being inconsistent, especially when their absence means getting an income from other activities. Indeed, some producers themselves critique the volunteer model of working at a community radio station, as this one at Mugambo FM:

That’s why there is a problem with the set-up of the community radio....when they were starting the community radio, they wanted the community to run the radio, the station, by themselves. [You volunteer] for just a few hours, maybe one hour, you leave the station you go for work. No pay, nothing. You just volunteer. But how do you do that in the present society? It’s just...the station can even collapse...the set up must be...somebody should look at it. Yeah. The whole concept is totally different from the reality. (TD, Producer, Mugambo FM, 11.03.2014)

To mitigate this, training organisations such as Internews have been working with community stations to develop a business plan as a way of ensuring sustainability. Nevertheless, the challenge of the legal framework within which community stations exist still stands. As explained by a journalism trainer from one of the capacity building organisations:

...there is never a time they [community stations] will get enough business to be sustainable, that’s why they will have to struggle and have a high turnover [of staff] because you can’t pay guys. They’ve gone to school, who expect some money, they’ve got rent, they’ve got bills to pay, so that’s why there’s also a very high turnover...the model for community stations I think has a flaw in terms of sustainability. (NT 2014)

As such, the volunteer model as the ideal way of working in community media is worth reconsidering, not only to improve consistency in work patterns, but also for the sake of ensuring quality content that is attractive to its own communities.

Looking at the three stations, though, the volunteerism model does not wholly account for the different levels commitment noted in staff at the three stations. From observation, it is plausible that another key factor in whether producers will be consistent in their work or not is the station’s management style. Where the management is more organised and even strict, the producers are more diligent, while if the management is visibly ad hoc, then the relaxed attitude is reflected by the producers, to the extent of them not seeming to take their own work seriously. For instance, while the staff work under volunteer conditions at both Mugambo FM and Koch

FM (that is, they are not on a monthly payroll unlike at Kangema FM), the approach to their duties is markedly different. At Mugambo FM, which has more of a hierarchical structure with the station manager clearly in charge, the duty roster is followed, and each producer is present for their slot or makes arrangements for replacement when away. In contrast, at Koch FM, which features a more egalitarian, horizontal management structure, there is a much more laissez-faire approach to the work, with producers absconding their duties at will. Arguably due to station management style, there is no mechanism in place to deal with such laxity; rather, the station relies on the individual commitment of each producer to be faithful to their station duties. This state of affairs challenges the ideal that community media should be characterised by horizontal structures and collective organisation. While Koch FM features a horizontal structure with little power distance between the team leader (as the station manager prefers to be called), the programme manager, and the producers, it also seems to run the least efficiently of the three stations. From the approach to their work, the individual producers do not feel accountable to each other or to the station management team, and leave production to interns. This in turn impacts on the eventual quality of programming produced by the station.

Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) have questioned 'self-organized production processes' as the distinguishing feature of alternative media. They argue that community voice and empowerment is not guaranteed solely by the presence of participative structures. From the Koch FM example, horizontal organization structures also carry the risk of institutional disorganization and inefficiency, which results in poor quality of content produced. This thwarts the aim of the station acting as an alternative community voice that is listened to by its own community and in the broader public sphere. It is therefore worth questioning whether creating horizontal organizational structures is the most effective way to mark community participation in community media. A more fruitful approach could be the creation of relatively hierarchical organizational structures for the station's operational efficiency on one hand, while on the other hand still actively engaging the community in content generation through maintaining an attitude of openness to the community setting the discussion agenda.

7.10 Conclusion

As per their stated aims, Kenyan community broadcasters seek to serve local information needs, but in their ambitions, they attempt to play the role that national and regional broadcasters play.

One here notes the disconnect between stated aims and actual practice of the stations. In their founding documents, the stations describe themselves as community stations dealing with community issues, but in practice they fail to go ahead and produce news content that reflects that aspiration. Rather, they use commercial stations as their yardstick for performance, instead of seeking to carve out a niche for themselves.

The community broadcasters studied use larger media houses as their sources for national and regional news items, and use local newsbeats to provide hyperlocal, context-specific news items that are not carried in other media. These stations consequently end up acting as second-level gatekeepers, sifting from what was already selected by other media houses, which had also been sifted from a field of possible events for coverage. Hence, the three stations studied offer their listeners an even smaller proportion of views in their news, since they do not take all the news items from larger media houses, but rather, sample from those they deem appropriate for their audience. With this news gathering strategy, the voices that already have hegemony through the larger media are amplified at the local level, such that alternative voices that were not selected by the larger media outlets in the first place are also locked out by community stations. Considering that one of the aims of community media is to serve as an alternative to the mainstream, when it comes to news production, these three stations are not offering much of an alternative view but rather, amplifying the dominant view through their national and regional news.

Sourcing news in this way could be termed as an alternative production practice, but it is, unfortunately, not inspired by creative impetus but rather, by seemingly misplaced priorities. Although the legislation clearly designates community broadcasters as small scale media and the stations' organisational structures reflect that fact, community radio stations try to circumvent their local nature by seeking to provide regional and national news. While this may be an attempt to meet community information needs, it diverts a portion of the stations' resources that could have been better used to strengthen their local news offer. As it is, community radio stations seem to currently measure their success in news provision against national and regional commercial stations. Yet, the latter stations are out to fulfil totally different aims, have different ideologies and most importantly, are significantly better-resourced than community radio stations. However, when it comes to the content outside of news bulletins, there is a distinct focus on local voices.

As far as alternative production practices are concerned, Kenyan community radio is characterized, not so much by self-organized production processes, but by the opportunity for local voices and local issues to be heard in some programmes. However, the volunteerism model envisioned by legislators and regulators as the ideal way of working in community radio is contradicted by the existent regulatory framework for journalistic practice. As such, community radio stations are staffed by trained workers who, without formal qualifications, would not be recognised as journalists. The legal requirement for trained journalists reduces the space for untrained volunteers to participate in community radio content production.

As discussed in this chapter, at all three stations, the producers draw on developing country journalistic values (Ramaprasad and Kelly 2003) in their day to day work. One instance is the mediation role, which is akin to that named ‘public advocate’ by Ramaprasad (2001), in which the journalists “investigate government claims and give ordinary people voice in public affairs” (Ramaprasad 2001, 304). Concomitantly, however, these producers draw on western media values, gained through their journalistic training. These include information, entertainment and freedom of speech, as exemplified in the space-creation and entertainment roles. Unique to these community radio stations is the mobilisation role, which moves beyond the realm of normative journalistic work. In this role, the producers do not only see themselves as responsible for reporting on community misfortunes. They also feel obliged to go beyond reporting to taking action to mitigate the same. As members of the communities that they report on, they are ‘embedded communicators’ (Rodriguez, 2001), and may be more accurately described as community workers rather than journalists. Because they share the same material conditions as the communities that they report in and to, they engage in native reporting.

Thus, these community stations draw from a national journalistic culture of interventionist journalism, but take it a step further by not only encouraging community contributions, but also getting logistically involved in community mobilisation and resolution of the identified problems. While these community stations clearly duplicate some roles and content of larger commercial stations, their location at the local level positions them to take a much more interventionist role than bigger stations can.

8 CONCLUSIONS – BEING KENYAN COMMUNITY RADIO

8.1 Introduction

Kenyan community radio is the newest sector in the country's broadcasting landscape, having emerged following the liberalization of the media. The first community radio station was licenced in 2004, and until 2012, there were fewer than 15 licenced community radio stations. In its first decade of existence, this broadcasting sector has grappled with issues of sustainability due to limited financial resources, unclear station identity, and inconsistent community support. Yet, the sector has at the same time experienced notable growth between 2013 and 2017, with about ten new community broadcasting stations launched within that time. Indeed, despite the still existent challenges, the sector is growing. This study begun in 2014, when there were only 12 active community broadcasting stations, and has therefore had the advantage of being witness to a time during which the sector has expanded to almost double its initial size.

In view of community broadcasting's entry into and survival challenges in the Kenyan media scape, this study sought to engage with how the sector is structured and how it operates in the communities in which it is based. In other African and global contexts, community broadcasting has been shown to be valuable as an emancipatory communication tool, enhancing the right to communicate and to participate in public discourses for all. However, in the Kenyan context, this is more a taken for granted assumption; there has not been much meaningful empirical investigation specifically of the community broadcasting sector. Thus, the research was interested in finding out the unique characteristics of community broadcasting in the Kenyan context, which generated the following research objectives: to identify the stated ideological aims under which community radio functions, explore the organisational structures that characterise community radio, analyse content and content production practices as well as contexts, and assess the listenership trends and participation practices taking place in community radio.

In order to meet these research objectives, a multi-sited case study approach was adopted, because it allows for a variety of methods that enable going in-depth into the studied phenomena. Three radio stations were identified, following which a mix of quantitative and qualitative methodology was used to elicit the necessary data for analysis. By deploying a quantitative method, more specifically a survey, I engaged with listenership trends, while the

rest of the research questions were addressed through qualitative methods consisting of interviews, observation, and textual analysis. The data interpretation was informed by concepts drawn from the fields of alternative media, communication for development, and journalism studies. Given that the study examined organisational structures, production and reception practices, and radio content, it was insufficient to draw on concepts from any one sub-field and hence the complementary approach to conceptual frameworks.

Based on literature review and observation of the existent Kenyan community broadcasting sector, the study's working definition of community radio was: community-run stations operating under a community radio license, and running a non-profit model (regardless of funding source). Kenyan community radio stations were conceptualised as a form of alternative media, which plays the role of a 'third sector' existing between state and commercial broadcasters. This is especially in view of the ideas on which community and alternative media are founded: that concentrated media power especially in a neoliberal context reduces the plurality of voices in the public sphere and privileges elite and powerful voices. Hence, it is necessary to have means by which other perspectives can be heard, such as through community and alternative media. In creating opportunities for access to the means of media production by ordinary people, and to different possibilities for media consumption and distribution, it is possible that the everyday perspective of the ordinary person can be heard and valorised in the public sphere. It was hypothesized that community radio stations would serve the information needs of a particular geographical community, create a forum for minority voices to be heard, and offer participation opportunities, as per the conceptualisations set out in the literature on alternative media and the Kenyan legislation on community broadcasting.

Against this backdrop, the research set out to investigate whether or not community radio stations fulfil roles different from those played by state and commercial broadcasters. The research sought to find out if and how processes of alternative production, consumption and distribution are taking place in the Kenyan community radio context, and in what ways communities are participating in the media sector. At the same time, although community media operate at the local level, they are also positioned within a broader national and international context, which necessitates complementing the study of micro-level community processes with a macro-level analysis. Therefore, the research also investigated legal and institutional provisions and apparatuses at national level in order to understand the legal and socio-political conditions under which these media operate.

Following a study of the three stations, various issues and observations came to the fore. These are detailed in the rest of the chapter under the broad rubric of the influences that various actors, individual, collective and institutional, wield as they participate in the community radio sector. These consist of the legal framework set by the state to define operational parameters for these stations, the influence exerted by those who fund the sector, the symbolic resources used to construct meanings, which the stations hold, and the individual and collective agency that communities employ in their interactions with the media institutions in their midst. These intertwined relationships and processes are at play to make the Kenyan community broadcasting sector what it is today.

8.2 Ideological Aims in Kenyan Community Broadcasting

As outlined in Chapter 4, Kenyan community radio works at the juncture of international, national, and local media values. This hybrid approach partly draws from choice of funding sources, which is in turn delineated by existent legislation. Current Kenyan legislation stipulates that community broadcasting funding should be generated from grants and sponsorships but not from major advertisements. Based on this, community broadcasters tend to approach foreign donors – either development agencies, civil society and religious organisations, of western nations or usually based in the northern hemisphere – for funding. This funding from non-commercial sources does offer an option for community broadcasters to be free of commercial interests, which is one of the ideals of community broadcasting globally. However, the funding comes with specific points of view which these community stations are then constrained to adhere to, in order to remain eligible for future funding. Concurrently, community radio stations operate within local contexts which come with their own ideals for community broadcasting. Thus, the three community stations researched find themselves working at the nexus of international and national media ideals, and constantly look for a way to meet both. This negotiation of values however looks different at each station, partly due to funding model and partly due to socio-political context.

8.2.1 Funding Model

Each station's funding model plays a part in determining which set of ideals the station will adhere to with more fidelity. If it has non-government-related funding, the station is likely to find it easier to play the internationally-conceived role of the fourth estate, being a watchdog of the government. In contrast, if the station is financially reliant on the government, it is more

likely to focus on the nationally-conceived developmental role, that is, information dissemination. This role does not offer a democratic communication space for all in the community to discuss issues of public interest. In the case of a mixed funding model, loyalty to both the democratic and the developmental roles is discernible in a station's aims and operations. The three stations demonstrate that funding, even when from non-commercial sources, is not a neutral input; it comes with strings attached and influences station priorities in terms of content and operations.

Existent community broadcasting legislation seems to be cognisant of the importance of funding, and has addressed the issue through restricting funding from commercial sources and requiring that community broadcasters run a non-profit model. However, while much alternative media rhetoric and scholarship recommends a non-commercial and non-profit model to ensure editorial independence (AMARC 1998; Windhoek 2001; Gordon 2009; Myers 2011), this is seemingly not the most important factor to ensure free media. In the Kenyan case, in prohibiting commercial sources of funding, the legislation at the same time inadvertently opens the door to the current donor dependency by community broadcasters. Thus, although community broadcasters avoid commercial influence on their editorial agenda, they find that this agenda is still impacted due to their position of dependence in relation to their donors. Current Kenyan community broadcasting legislation therefore needs to go beyond ensuring freedom from commercial influence to ensuring community control of community broadcasting, through instituting further mechanisms to ensure more financial control at the community level.

Of note, however, is that although funding from organisations with different ideals influences station priorities, pre-existent politico-national ideology about the role of the media – specifically, that mass media are a development tool - impacts on how these new broadcasters conceive their role. Community broadcasters, who in theory operate according to a different set of ideals, still draw on this 'homegrown' ideology to conceptualise their role in the community. This implies that the eventual ideas according to which new broadcasters such as community broadcasters operate are very context- and history-dependent, regardless of universal community broadcasting ideals. Context thus needs to be taken into serious consideration in seeking to understand community broadcasting. The impact of the contexts in which community radio stations operate is elaborated on below.

8.2.2 Socio-Political Context of Community Radio Operations

As observed at the three stations, apart from the legislation and politico-national ideology about media roles, local political and social context impacts on each community radio station's operations and interactions with its community. While the legislation envisions community broadcasters as tasked with meeting the interests of local communities, on the ground these broadcasters must concern themselves with not only meeting community interests, but also with strategically navigating local political interests. Kenyan community broadcasters, even while seeking to be an arena for alternative discourses, only act within the room provided in their local political contexts. Community broadcasting is tasked with occupying 'the space between' (Hallett 2009) public broadcasting and commercial broadcasting, but this space is not an independent, free space. Rather, it is a space structured to a large extent by state power. Explicitly, it is shaped by existent legislation, and implicitly, it is impacted by relationships with politicians at the local level. These interrelationships in turn impact community engagement with community broadcasters.

For stations that are seen to be close to state power, the audience engagement is minimal, with limited access to station premises and an audience preference for engaging with station issues outside of the station vicinity rather than within it. For stations that have taken a more adversarial stance to the state, in keeping with the general attitude in their local context, more freely engaging audiences are visible. And for stations that seek to pursue a middle ground, they exist in a state of constant negotiation. They strive for balance between cooperating with the local government on one hand and representing the local community in holding that same local government to account on the other hand. In some instances, when their cooperation efforts on either side are not successful, they face negative repercussions.

The three stations, therefore, do not operate apart from their political context. Rather, they are embedded in it, and make management decisions in both the short and the long term in order to navigate the socio-political terrain. More importantly, each station's position in the social field makes a difference in how it functions, how it is viewed by the community and how the community relates to it. The stations' perceived ties with the state determine community engagement with them. Even when not explicitly laid out, these ties impact on how 'community' a community broadcaster eventually is. Hence, a radio station may hold a community broadcasting license, but it may not necessarily attract community participation based on its perceived closeness to or distance from the state.

The three stations studied illustrate the intertwined relationship between the state, the media and audiences, and highlight the fact that ‘the space between’ is not only found in the niche between public and commercial broadcasters. At a more local level than other media, community broadcasters act in an intermediary position between the state and its citizens. These broadcasters are in some cases instrumentalized to meet state information goals, while they in other cases function as an arena for community self-expression and an opportunity to hold the state to account. This ‘space between’ is fluid, and is impacted by a station’s relationship with its community on one hand and with the local government on the other. It constantly evolves depending on which of these two poles a station tends towards.

The diverse nature of this space between is also evident in the organisational structures and content of community broadcasters, as outlined in the following sections.

8.3 Organisational Structures in Kenyan Community Radio

Ideally, community media and alternative media are characterized by horizontal structures with no room for hierarchy (Atton 2001; Fairchild 2010; Couldry 2015). This, however, is not the case at all the community stations studied. At two of the stations, the management hierarchy is clear and community members acknowledge it, and seem not to want to interfere with it, even if they have reservations about the management processes. The non-interference attitude by community members is clearly expressed, yet they also make it clear that the attitude draws from wanting to keep the peace, not from having no complaints or wishes. The third station, in contrast, has a more egalitarian management structure. However, this horizontal structure, while conducive to power sharing and community access to the station, leads to work inefficiency. As noted in Chapter 7, should the producers be undisciplined or more inclined to pursue priorities outside of their station duties, work at the station suffers. This implies that a horizontal structure’s success is reliant on individuals who are committed to carrying out their production tasks. Conversely, the hierarchical management structures which are not taken as positive when conceptualizing alternative media seem to ensure working efficiency. These stations hence illustrate that horizontal management structures do not necessarily assure the effectiveness of a community broadcaster. They may ensure physical access by audience members to the station, but they do not necessarily assure participation that is meaningful to the community, such as decision-making on station priorities. These findings align with Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) and Fuchs (2010) who argue that self-organized production

processes should not be the indicator of whether a media outlet is alternative or not. They propose that critical content, regardless of management structure, is what distinguishes alternative media from other media. In the case of Kenyan community radio, this should also be a consideration. Since horizontal management structures as demonstrated in this study may actually hinder the work of such stations, the question of whether their content is ‘critical’ needs to be evaluated.

8.4 Kenyan Community Radio Content

According to alternative media principles, community voice has the greatest value (Pettit, Salazar & Dagon 2009; Atton 2001; Windhoek 2001; Couldry 2010). But as per neoliberal principles, the bottom line – profit– is the most important consideration. Community broadcasters in Kenya work at the nexus of these two schools of thought. They attempt to merge alternative media values with commercial media values to ensure survival. Hence, while on one hand community broadcasters seek to adhere to alternative media principles which focus on giving voice to the voiceless, they also seek to provide content comparable to that aired by commercial broadcasters. They work with an awareness that the communities around them have other media options, and will not necessarily tune in to community radio if the content there is not as attractive as that available in other broadcasters, usually commercial broadcasters. Much as community broadcasters receive training on what they are supposed to air, according to global community media principles, they live in the reality of possibly lacking listenership due to competition from commercial broadcasters airing in the same area. As such, Kenyan community broadcasters do not work independent of the commercial broadcasting landscape, but rather, navigate it.

Due to their small size and limited reach, community broadcasters are rarely esteemed over bigger stations by their communities. Community members point to the bigger, regional or national stations as exemplars of what community broadcasters should be, instead of seeing a unique, community-focused niche for community broadcasting. The station managers and producers are aware of this view, and seek to prove their legitimacy through offering content comparable to that found in larger stations. These radio stations, rather than insisting on exclusively providing alternative, hyperlocal news that is a complete departure from state and commercial broadcasters, instead seek to comply with community expectations for national and regional news content. However, Kenyan community radio stations are limited in their ability to provide regional and national news, as they do not have the financial and logistical

resources to do so, for instance having reporters regional- or nationwide. This lessens their legitimacy as news authorities in their communities.

To be of relevance to their communities, community broadcasters offer a mix of context-specific programming and commercial radio formats. Context-specific programming includes creating room for local voices through talent discovery programmes, and call in programmes which not only allow the audience to shape the local news based on what they deem to be important, but also to critique and dialogue with local leaders. Also based on local context, programming deals with specific community issues such as farming information, warnings about adverse weather and announcements for missing children. The physical and social context forms a meso-level factor that influences content production, and is a distinguishing characteristic for community radio stations transmitting to a limited geographical area, as is the case for most community broadcasters in Kenya. This context-specific programming is one of the strengths of community radio stations. It offers a chance for the community to air its opinions and share its narratives from a contextualised viewpoint, in this way valorising community voice.

Commercial formats adopted by community radio stations include coverage of national and regional news as prioritised by commercial stations. This involves production practices that result in transformation of content by community radio stations. There is an active sourcing of content from other media such as the internet, television and newspapers, which is then translated from English into the broadcasting language of the station, and reworked to suit aural communication. Hence, there is, unfortunately, a lack of originality in national and regional news content. At all three stations, viewpoints carried on national and regional news channels are recirculated via community radio, due to the latter's lack of first-hand access to sources. Thus, hegemonic interpretations of happenings are reinforced rather than challenged, meaning that in this instance, Kenyan community broadcasters extend rather than contest the dominant media voices.

On the other hand, the transformation of content, both translating and rewording it, repackaging it to suit different types of audiences and reception styles, is an innovation on the part of community broadcasters. They move content across platforms and remediate it through the aural medium of radio. Content that may not have been previously available to community radio audiences, such as English content on the internet, is made available at the grassroots in

local languages. Through this sourcing of diverse content, the stations broaden their communities' access to information that originates beyond their immediate vicinity, and act as a link between the global, the national, the regional and the local.

Kenyan community media thus offers critical content by way of its situation in the local, which allows for previously marginalised voices to have their say. However, it simultaneously relies on and competes with commercial broadcasters, rather than working independently of them. From this situation, the challenge faced by media trying to operate on a different model and offer alternative content in a neoliberal media environment is brought to the fore.

8.4.1 Community Radio Content and the Imagined Audience

At the three stations, the types of content aired are a reflection of the kinds of imagined audiences on the part of the producers. In the early morning, through a mix of news and debates, listeners are addressed as publics with a relationship to both the local and the national. In the mid-morning, through music, greeting slots, and farming and business tips, the stations address their communities as working publics. Community radio content sometimes also conceptualises its listeners as a religious community, even when the stations themselves carry a secular tag. Religious programming is used to 'guide' community behaviour, discursively constructing its target audience as religious subjects needing guidance. For its listeners, the religious programming is welcomed, and treated as a resource for navigating their social context. In some shows, East and Central African Rhumba music is played. This cross-cutting genre appeals to a specific age group at all the three locations. It conceptualises its listeners as part of a broader East African community, not only as local or national community members. The listeners are hence constituted as a transnational community with a shared auditory history. In the afternoon, through the opportunity for local artistes to get their music aired and to strategize for further exposure, a performative counter public – one negotiating for space in the mainstream Kenyan music scene - is appealed to. Also in the afternoon, Sheng and English-speaking reggae shows position the youth as a distinct speech community, in addition to their identity as local youth. In these reggae shows, the listeners take part in a translocal youth culture, again functioning as a community that transcends geographical boundaries. Thus community radio, despite its local placement, through some of its content addresses its listeners as part of a global rather than a local community.

For each of the three stations therefore, different types of imagined audiences are addressed through diverse content: working publics, performative counterpublics, speech communities, religious communities and transnational auditory communities. There is a multiplicity of subject positions offered all through the day for listeners to take up, some attributing more agency to the listener than others. Per programme, different amounts of dialogic space are available and appropriated by diverse sectors of community broadcasting audiences. Although not expressly stated in the stations' mission statements, community radio content reflects an understanding of its communities as heterogeneous, and attempts to appeal to that heterogeneous nature. As well, producers' personal outlooks determine the kind of audience that is imagined and addressed. This is evident in content production choices, seen through content production processes.

8.4.2 Content Production Processes in Kenyan Community Radio

In Kenyan community radio, there are hybrid journalistic cultures which influence how the radio producers conceptualise their audiences and consequently carry out their tasks. On one hand, they view their role within the western-based normative journalistic values of information, education and entertainment of their listeners, and seek to achieve this. On the other hand, based on their local contexts, they play additional roles, such as supporting government projects – one of the developing-country journalism roles proposed by Ramaprasad (2001), and facilitating the expression of local artistic talent. As well, they seek to uphold alternative media values. They thus draw from their training, national ideology, organisational and community values in their day to day work. They work at the local level, but reflect professional, national, organisational and context-driven journalistic values. Even as they carry out context-specific media roles, they seek to fulfil broader normative media roles based on the tenets learnt in journalism school and through training in community media principles.

At the same time, voice as a value is upheld or downplayed by community radio producers depending on their imagined audience, which also draws from organisational standards set by the station's management. Some stations focus on creating an opportunity for community voice – no matter how imperfect – to be heard, by providing access to the airwaves. These work with the idea of a participative public, even when it negatively impacts technical quality. At other stations, however, the opposite is the case. Technical quality trumps community expression, meaning that the stations do not air anything below a certain technical quality, no

matter how authentically ‘community’ it is. Their target audiences are seemingly conceptualised as being under tutelage, and needing improvement of their cultural tastes, which is one role of public broadcasters suggested by Coleman and Ross (2010). As far as community expression is concerned, therefore, such stations play more of an administrative, overseeing government broadcaster role than a community broadcaster role. As seen in Chapter 7, the choice to prioritise either access or professionalism draws from the station’s conceptualisation of its audience. The more an audience is viewed as having the right to participate in the public sphere, the more access is prioritised, and vice versa. Community radio stations are set up as institutions to enhance community voice, but depend on individuals - the producers and managers – to make this a reality. Especially due to the relatively small operational structures of such stations, individuals have more leeway to act according to their personal standards. Depending on their orientations and attitudes therefore, media workers at community stations can be active participants in broadening the discursive space available through community radio or in limiting it. Thus the place of individuals in the functioning of Kenyan community radio should not be overlooked.

Importantly, being situated in a local context gives community broadcasters the opportunity to play a unique role: mobilisation. In this role, the broadcasters spur their communities to take action on social problems identified. Rather than calling on the government or other institutions to solve the issue, community radio stations call on their communities to act to mitigate problems. This role is a form of interventionist journalism, but all the more notable because in the community broadcasting context, mobilisation relies on existent community ties and goes beyond making financial contributions to giving in kind and in physical effort. The fact that the three community radio stations are each located in a specific, geographically bounded local context enables them to carry out mobilisation in a way that larger commercial stations would not be able to.

The work patterns at the three stations demonstrate that there is a fluidity of roles that producers take on in their daily work. While they work primarily as journalists, they also act in their capacity as community members and make use of affective ties with the community to bring about social change. Calling on the communities to act to resolve problems acknowledges communities’ agency in their own lives, as opposed to waiting for help from actors external to the community. It is an example of voice as process, in which the communities make alternative narratives about their lives, and in doing so ascribe themselves the agency to change

their material conditions. Community radio in this way acts as a rallying point for new self-conceptualisations by communities, moving the narrative from dependence to agency.

8.5 Community Radio Listenership

As laid out in Chapter 5, community radio is not listened to by everyone in the communities that it broadcasts in. The quantitative data revealed that for each station there is a clear secondary audience that is loosely connected to the stations, while the qualitative data illustrated the simultaneous existence of a primary audience for each station: a core of passionate individuals and fan clubs and groups who value community radio as part of their communication repertoire.

For both these kinds of audiences, two major listenership patterns were noted. One is that community radio is not the only news and entertainment medium accessed by the communities it serves. Rather, it is one of many options that potential audiences have at their disposal. Community radio audiences access community radio intermittently, and listen to other stations too. They access different media channels and compare the content they get from each, in a bid to be well informed about matters at both the local and the national levels. They work with an understanding that different media houses have different priorities, and therefore offer different aspects of daily happenings. The community radio audiences studied hence exhibit a complementary approach to media access and use.

Secondly, radio is listened to before and after work in the morning and evening, rather than via mobile phone in the course of the day outside the home. Indeed, with the exception of the afternoon reggae shows, favourite programmes for respondents in all three communities were those in the early morning and in the evening. Despite the availability of new technology such as mobile phones, the three communities still have a 'traditional' mode of listenership, using their home radio sets. Respondents in the three communities use mobile phone technology for its more 'traditional' function – calling and texting – to make contributions to programmes, rather than having it as a replacement for their existing radio sets. They incorporate the functionality of new technology into their already existent listening habits and communication technology repertoire.

These two trends highlight community broadcasting's place as part of a community's media ecology rather than as a stand-alone media option. Community broadcasting and new

technology function in a shared media environment, with communities using them alongside other already-existent media options. This makes the case for community broadcasters to determine and focus on a specific broadcasting niche such as hyperlocal content, instead of trying to provide for all of their audience's information needs, which, as earlier demonstrated, community stations do not have the resources to meet competently. This would strengthen community broadcasters' position in the broadcasting field, because they would be providing content that is not already available on other media channels. There is therefore need for community broadcasters to reconceptualise themselves as only one option for their audiences and to then create work models that maximise the inherent possibilities of that position, rather than the current situation where they make programming decisions based on the assumption that they should attempt to function as the sole media option for their target audiences.

8.6 Content-Related and Structural Participation in Kenyan Community Radio

At all three stations, to varying degrees, there is clear content-based participation, especially through community members calling in to contribute to social and political discussions. In debates about local issues, community members actively bring to the fore issues of importance to them. They constitute a community public through such discussions. Since the conversations are at the hyperlocal level where community members have a language, material conditions and some cultural aspects in common, contributions to on-air discussions stand the chance of being taken more objectively, rather than being attributed to ethnicity or religion and subsequently being discounted as subjective. Locality in this case is a big advantage for the stations, because it increases the possibility of the audience sharing cultural mores, whether ethnically or geographically cultivated. They are able to speak from a shared local perspective and thus define and redefine what it means to be a member of the local community. The discursive space created by community radio hence offers heightened potential for participative parity. At the same time, however, community is not homogenous, and is made up of different social categories which exercise their right to speak in different contexts according to pre-existent social norms. This in turn affects the possibilities for participative parity, as seen for example in the case of age-delineated participation. Much as producers view their target audience as everyone in the community, community members use norms about age-appropriate public speech to decide if to call in or not. They do not bracket their age differences so as to equally participate in the community public sphere but rather, adhere to the norm that youth and adults should not speak in the same arena. Equality in media participation therefore, while more possible through local media such as community radio, is not automatic once there is an

available media channel. The decision to participate and modes of participation in public discussions are filtered through pre-existent social norms and structures. This highlights the need to further investigate participation keeping in mind the impact of pre-existent norms on participatory parity.

At the same time, it is not only pre-existent social norms which impact on content-related participation. Community interrelationships are also a moderator of participation, as explained in the following section.

8.6.1 Affective Relations and Celebrity in Participation

Engagement in the on-air discursive space is linked to affective relations with the stations. As shown in Chapter 6, there is an unwillingness to participate in calling in to programmes if community members feel that their personal relationships with the producers are not cordial. At the three stations, calling in is a continuation of existent social relationships between both audience members and producers outside the station. As such, affective ties in the community and public sphere participation are intertwined. In some cases, affective ties determine engagement in the public sphere.

Apart from calling in to discuss public issues, content-based participation also takes place through engaging in ritual communication (Carey 2002) via radio, specifically through greetings shows. In this form of communication, the focus is on sharing and reinforcing cultural mores, as opposed to merely transmitting information. In greeting shows, performance as a communication style is seen in both producers and audiences, in the personas that they take up when on air. Greetings are a form of self-performance where community members publicly keep in touch, and sometimes take on alternate identities, using pseudonyms. Regular senders of such greetings are recognised within their social circles outside the station, and so possess a form of celebrity. Community radio in this instance acts as a space to enhance social ties and to increase one's status through celebrity. As the research demonstrated, this socialisation and celebrity function is highly valued by its audiences. Participation in community radio is hence not only a complement to interpersonal relationships, but also provides the possibility to access celebrity. However, the possibility of celebrity for all through on-air recognition is not embraced at all the stations. As demonstrated, at some stations access to this type of celebrity status is closely controlled by the producers, and is taken as a form of influence that should not be granted freely to everybody. The on-air space thus is not only an

arena for connection and self-expression, but also a site of struggle to accrue the power that comes with celebrity status, for both producers and audiences. Community radio stations are thus a space for both social and political connection, not one or the other. They illustrate that the political and the social are not separate from each other when it comes to participation in community media. Rather, they enhance and even depend on each other.

8.6.2 Structural Participation

Structural participation is however not as clear. Despite the active engagement with content as described in previous sections, the research found little evidence of engagement by ‘ordinary’ community members in station management. At all three stations, regardless of station funding and organisational structure, station management is taken to be the docket of those selected or elected into the position. Ordinary community members are hesitant to engage in critiquing or engaging deeply in matters of station management, especially without an explicit invitation to do so. They prefer to give input informally where necessary, and in fact view critiquing station management as interfering in the work of those they have selected to do the job for them. They interact with the station management teams, but do not formally take part in the decision-making processes at the stations. Hence, judging from Carpentier’s Access-Interaction-Participation model (2012), for all three stations, access and interaction is taking place in various forms, but participation in the form of egalitarian power in making decisions about the station is still a goal to aspire to.

Community members feel that they have a stake in the stations, but express this through trusting that the individuals charged with the day to day running of the stations are doing what they should, rather than constantly questioning or counterchecking their work and decisions. While this attitude creates an atmosphere of support for the elected and selected station management team, it at the same time exempts these individuals from needing to prove their accountability to their communities. If anything, station management teams are more answerable to their funders than to their communities. Although these stations are initiated for the benefit of their communities, ordinary community members are not the ultimate decision-makers in determining the agenda of the stations. This power still lies with the funders and the management team. This again highlights the complexity of ensuring community ownership and control of community radio stations.

Yet, community members do not seek to counter this model. Rather, they seek to exert alternative forms of power through their engagement in group relations, specifically fan clubs and groups. In these groups, they lobby and address the stations. This group self-organisation illustrates the need to expand the boundaries of what counts as structural participation in community media settings. It raises the question of whether the most effective form of structural participation in community media for community members should be conceptualised as that which derives from being part of the formal management team, or whether it is better grasped through focusing on alternative group relations which seek to influence formal station management. The following section focuses on these group relations.

8.6.3 Community Radio and Social Organisation

Even when the staff working at the stations are community members, the fact that a community radio station is a media institution with the power to interpret the world makes it the site of struggle for control, sometimes subtle and sometimes explicit. Rather than generating new community structures and forms of community organization, community radio stations negotiate both with already existent and emergent forms of community communication and organization. Fan clubs, as noted, are created outside of the station although linked to them, and they perform diverse functions for their members including fundraising. These groups use the station as an addition to their interpersonal and organisational communication repertoire, for instance making meeting announcements. Fan club members enhance their existent group communication possibilities through community radio.

The three stations illustrate the diverse nature of these group formations. At one station, fan groups contribute to on-air debates, and invite station producers to some of their meetings. At another, there are no existent fan clubs or listenership groups that have come up around the station, despite efforts by producers to initiate them. From the producers' failed efforts to establish listener groups, one notes that community formations occur only when community members see the need to create them. At the third station, it is ironical that while the station focuses on limiting political content aired, the political is taking place within the community through fan clubs. Through these groups, community members mobilise each other and lobby the station to support their interests. This can be read as a form of organisation from below to counter the control that the station attempts to exert through its top-down approach.

At all three stations, therefore, community members act as a public arising in response to the station as an institution, rather than purely in response to the radio content from the station. This implies that sometimes, the publics that arise around a community station are independent of the content aired. They demonstrate that in a community broadcasting context, the political is not limited to or even based in the community radio institution and content itself. Rather, it exists both within and outside the station in diverse formations, and is mobilised to achieve certain ends, such as the collective power harnessed to achieve fan group goals. As well, while in some circumstances social formations can evolve subsequent to the introduction of a community broadcaster in the area, it is more likely that a community broadcaster will enhance already existent relations rather than create some where none were pre-existent.

As such, some of the value of a community broadcaster lies not only in the provision of new information, but also in the provision of multiplied possibilities for interpersonal communication, and in enhancing social formations that were the initiative of the community. Rather than being station-driven, community formations in relation to community broadcasting stations succeed when they are the initiative of community members themselves. If members perceive a desired goal and wish to mobilise each other to work towards it, then new formations can arise. However, it is unlikely that goals can be successfully imposed on them by the station, and neither can community radio producers create social formations simply based on the fact that they work at the station, even when they themselves are members of the community. Thus, the community organisation function of community radio (as discussed by Meadows et al (2009) for example) is not a uni-directional one, flowing from station to community. Instead, community members express agency in their relationships with the stations, and to a large extent, set the parameters for these relationships. Consequently, community stations are predominantly in the position of negotiating with and responding to community formations and attitudes, rather than initiating them.

8.7 A Political Economy of Kenyan Community Radio Broadcasting

These intertwined relationships give a hint into the political economy around Kenyan community broadcasting. On one hand, legislation supports the idea of community broadcasting as a way to give communities voice in the public sphere. On the other hand, it also restricts funding sources for these stations and limits who can work in community broadcasting by setting training requirements. Apart from the set-out legislation, community radio stations also negotiate implicit political pressure emanating from their local contexts.

They make management decisions in consideration of not only legal but also political environment. Thus, community broadcasters' functioning is rooted in their specific local contexts.

Whereas community broadcasting is conceptualized as being based on the citizen participation tradition as outlined by Christians et al, in the Kenyan context these media exhibit traits drawing from the corporatist and liberal-individualist schools of thought, similar to other sections of the broadcast media sector, with a strong element of the social responsibility tradition. The main differentiating factor is that while other media have access to advertising funds, community broadcasters are constrained in their funding options and therefore have less room to manoeuvre in selecting their organisational priorities. As well, the public broadcaster, which is formally tasked with the social responsibility role, has access to government funding and has an agenda that draws from state priorities. For community media, the legislation envisions a clear social responsibility role, but this is arguably the maximalist version of the role, given the discernible government intervention restricting the sector's funding, scope and aims. The legislation seemingly draws from a diffusionist approach to communication, rather than viewing these media as providing space for community self-expression. Community broadcasters are legally envisioned as a kind of social responsibility media, but with limited resources. The legislation therefore acts as both an enabler and a constrainer of community broadcasting ideals. It illustrates Coyer's (2014) argument that although much broadcast regulation is enacted retroactively following developments in the media landscape, the younger sections of a media sector need facilitative and even protective legislation in order to thrive.

Relationships between the communities and the stations are not neutral either. They engage in a symbiotic relationship in which they attempt to benefit from each other. However, they do not always have a shared vision. In some cases, the power seems to lie in the community, when they resist station overtures and in fact incorporate the stations into their groups' communication repertoire. In other cases, the power seems to lie with the station, when the station management resists pressure from fan groups and carries on with a predetermined agenda. This power balance is not static, but constantly shifting. However, regardless of how the power balance shifts, this collective power is ever-present and ready to be mobilised by community members, outside of the control of the station.

For all three stations, ‘the community’ is the calling card for the stations’ continued existence. The communities in which the stations are located function as the stations’ ‘unique selling proposition’¹³⁶ – the reason why funds should come to them and not to other stations. In the same way commercial media have been said to make use of the audience commodity (Smythe 1977) – selling audiences to advertisers - it could be said that community broadcasters are engaged in ‘selling’ communities to potential funders as a way to ensure the station’s continued survival. Even as the stations seek to benefit their communities through the provision of information and democratic space, they too seek to benefit from the communities they are situated in to secure funding. Unlike commercial stations, community stations do not approach their listening constituencies as consumers to be sold to advertisers. However, ties between the station and the community are mobilised as a tool in community broadcasters’ search for funding.

At the same time, funders benefit from their association with community broadcasters. Larger institutions, both state- and civil society-related, value community broadcasters for the possibilities they provide to access the local. These stations are a cost-effective way to extend a funding institution’s values, especially if the institution is targeting a specific geographic community. Community broadcasters are viewed as gatekeepers to the community public sphere, and through providing funding to them, extra-media institutions secure an opportunity to exert influence on the community communication agenda.

As such the relationships between the funders, communities and the stations are not neutral. On one hand, the community wields its collective power, for instance through fan groups, to influence community-station interactions. On the other hand, the funders wield their financial power to influence station content priorities. The stations on their part navigate these two and wield the symbolic resources that they possess to manage community pressure and to secure finances from funders. Each player in the sector wields the resources they have in order to accrue some benefits.

8.8 Reflections and Implications for Future Research

This study has highlighted the complex social and political environments in which community broadcasters operate, and how this impacts their ideologies, work processes and radio content,

¹³⁶ As proposed by an NCS official regarding how community stations can compete with larger stations if they are not allowed to take advertising

with various theoretical, empirical and methodological implications. The use of a broad conceptual and methodological framework allowed for exploration of the multifaceted nature of community broadcasting. It offered a way to delve into production, consumption, content, structures and relationships as overlapping aspects of community broadcasting. Further inter- and multi-disciplinary approaches would be useful for grasping this sector in its complexity, keeping in mind its situation in a dynamic socio-political, economic and cultural local and global setting.

Methodologically, making use of a case study approach allowed for the use of multiple research methods to understand the different layers that contribute to community radio. The quantitative methodology gave insight into listenership patterns, favourite content and technology use, while the qualitative methods offered an entryway into understanding the nuanced relationships between communities, content, stations and funders. The use of both quantitative and qualitative methods for audience research was not only useful for data triangulation, but also made clear that there are primary and secondary audiences in community broadcasting settings. Additionally, going beyond a textual analysis of the content aired by community broadcasters into audience responses and relationships provided an important contextualising element for the content. The mixed methods thus produced a more robust picture of community radio at both the micro and macro levels, and make the case for further studies of community radio as part of a community's media repertoire.

This research shows that both in station structures and community engagement, the place of the state as an ever-present actor is felt. Community broadcasting stations seek to provide voice to communities through creating participative spaces, but these spaces are impacted by state power in the form of legislation and censorship. While in an ideal situation community media is envisioned as an independent third sector with the state only coming in to provide legislative parameters, in reality the state's influence, flowing from both the national and the local government levels, is much more pervasive. It goes beyond enacting legislation to monitoring content and withholding or providing financial resources. Therefore, the state's role cannot be downplayed in community broadcasting, in Kenya and possibly in other similar socio-political contexts. There is hence need to conceptualise community broadcasting within a broader political context, apart from the local level in which it operates, and to engage in further research on the political economy of community broadcasting.

Despite a shared national legal context, there is a distinct non-homogeneity among community broadcasters, because the operations of each station are informed by its local specificities, which in turn impacts on the content produced. Community broadcasters work with a merger of ideas drawn from the international and national levels, but ultimately filter these through their local settings. While Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) hierarchy of influences model is a valuable analytical tool for understanding why media produce the content they do, it can be complemented by adding 'physical/social context' as a further level of influence when examining community broadcasting content. This factor draws from the locality of community broadcasting, and hence may not apply to broadcasters who air over large regions, but is useful specifically for understanding the content produced by spatially limited broadcasters.

Kenyan community radio content also illustrates the diverse nature of audiences at the local level. It addresses multiple kinds of audiences within a small geographical area, showing that 'the community radio audience' does not have one fixed identity but rather, consists of overlapping identities and relations which come into being through the activity of audiencing. Community broadcasting audiences therefore need to be broadly conceptualised beyond their placement in the local.

Also worth noting is the transformations of news content from other media that is taking place through production practices in community radio. These transformations are taking place multi-directionally: Kenyan community radio producers source content from both 'old' and 'new' media: from newspapers, television, radio and internet. Internet and television content are being transformed 'backwards' into the older medium of radio, while newspaper content is being transformed 'forwards' into the relatively newer medium of radio. However, it may be more useful to think of these as transformations across various media rather than as moving backwards or forwards on a spectrum of old and new. This is especially true when one considers that there is also the drawing of content from other radio stations, only that they are commercial stations rather than community ones. Thus, much as these content production practices arise out of a lack of resources, they are innovative in highlighting the multiple possibilities of content transformation and remediation across media platforms. In appropriating content from other kinds of media, both national and international, community broadcasters work beyond their geographical limits. They demonstrate that community broadcasting content, although targeted at local audiences, is not spatially bound. Rather, both the global and the local are mobilised in content creation, resulting in hybridity in the final

content produced. Community media thus offer fertile ground for further research into genres that arise from content transformation practices.

As demonstrated through the research findings, horizontal organizational structures, although an ideal of community broadcasting, sometimes negatively impact on work processes at community stations. This supports the school of thought that argues for conceptualising alternative media as that which offers alternative content, rather than that which features a specific type of management structure. In the Kenyan context, the three stations have demonstrated that there is a multiplicity of organisational structures under which community broadcasting can exist, and yet still carry out alternative media functions.

This research demonstrates that community broadcasting is not a one-way process of influence from station to community but rather, a negotiation with existent community norms and formations. It shows the self-organisation of communities in response to community media institutions to be a form of collective civic agency, through which communities engage with the media. Additionally, factors impacting on participation in and through community media such as community norms, producers' perceptions of the audience, the quest for celebrity, and affective ties between community and station have been brought to light. Hence, the study adds to the complexity and variety of what participation entails in different broadcasting contexts. Further research on the links between the affective and democratic participative functions of radio would be valuable, as would research on celebrity as both a production value and an audience value.

APPENDIX A: EPILOGUE - UPDATES ON STATION DEVELOPMENTS

As of 2016, there were changes to the stations' operations which exemplify some of the survival constraints outlined in the preceding chapters.

Koch FM

In 2016, Koch FM's main donor, Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), stopped funding the station, following the reclassification of Kenya as a Middle-Income Economy by the World Bank¹³⁷ in 2015. As of October 2016, Koch FM was in the process of reworking its strategic plan in order to have a clearer vision of the next steps to take, and to develop new strategic partnerships with other organisations. Thus, though based at the local level, this station is having to deal with the ramifications of national and international developments.

Kangema FM

Kangema FM continues to strengthen its collaborations with government bodies, and is investing more in being a channel to transmit information deemed necessary for the citizenry. For instance, starting in September 2016, a new programme was introduced in collaboration with the Kenya Agriculture and Livestock Research Organisation (KALRO), aired every Monday evening. KALRO selects the topics and provides subject matter experts who are featured in each week's show. The station thus continues to run according to a top-down development agenda.

Mugambo FM

In late 2015, the station's transmitter broke down. Mugambo FM organised for a community fundraising to fix the transmitter, and got sufficient funds to do so. However, the transmitter broke down again in the space of a few months, and the station was reluctant to ask the community to chip in once again. According to its policies, UNESCO will not provide funding without a matching contribution from the station. Mugambo FM thus opted to approach the local county government for funding in exchange for free airtime and incorporation of county officials in the station's management board. Despite a memorandum of understanding signed to that effect, as of October 2016, this plan had not borne fruit. The station manager complained that the county officials had refused to approve the procurement of the transmitter without

¹³⁷ See <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2015/07/01/new-world-bank-update-shows-bangladesh-kenya-myanmar-and-tajikistan-as-middle-income-while-south-sudan-falls-back-to-low-income>

being involved in the procurement process themselves. The station's management board was therefore considering applying to the Communications Authority of Kenya (CA) to convert the community broadcasting license into a commercial broadcasting license. The logic is that operating on a commercial license would give the station the right to have a larger broadcast radius and seek large scale advertising, which would ensure long term financial sustainability for Mugambo FM. The station hence finds itself fighting to survive in the Kenyan media landscape, and is considering all options including reinventing itself as another kind of broadcaster.

APPENDIX B: FIELD INTERVIEW LIST

INSTITUTION	LOCATION	RATIONALE	INTERVIEWED AND DATE
1. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	Nairobi	Major funder and trainer of several CR stations including Mugambo Jwetu	1.Regional communications officer - OJ (**NOT RECORDED) - 06.02.15
2. Norwegian Church Aid (NCA)	Nairobi	Major funder of Koch FM	2. Programme officer – IB (04.02.15)
3. Internews Kenya	Nairobi	Heavily involved in training on content development and CR management	3. Trainer – NT (05.03.14)
4. Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET)	Nairobi	Heavily involved in CR capacity building	Attendance of CR workshop - Workshop observation notes (25.03.2014/26.03.14) 4. Coordinator – Njuki Githethwa – 18.03.14 5. Trainer – Tom Mboya – 14.11.14
5. Community Radio Association of Kenya (CRAK)		CR representative body	6. Coordinator - RD (04.03.14)
6.Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK)	Nairobi	Manages CR regulatory framework	7. Staff – MS (*DECLINED TO BE RECORDED) - 04.03.14
7. Media Council of Kenya	Nairobi	Involved in CR content regulation, licensing of CR volunteers	8. Training coordinator – MR (06.03.14)
8. BBC Media Action	NAIROBI	Heavily involved in CR capacity building	9. Trainer – KM (25.2.2014)
9. Kenya Meteorological Department (KMD)	NAIROBI	Holds CR licence for Kangema FM	10. Project coordinator - Onesmus Ruirie (06.03.14)

10. Koch FM	Korogocho	CR in urban slum setting, clear community engagement	<p>11/12. Youth and Women Focus Groups (07.11.14) 13. Men's Focus Group (16.11.14)</p> <p><u>Producers</u> 14. MJ (20.03.14) 15. SS (13.01.15) 16. MD (20.03.14)</p> <p><u>Management</u> 17. MM Re: finance (13.01.15) 18. MD1 (Management) – 20.03.14 19. MT (Management) – 27.2.14</p>
11. Mugambo Jwetu FM	Meru	CR in rural setting, possibility of going commercial	<p>20. Youth focus group: 09.12.14 21/22. Women and men focus groups: 10.12.14</p> <p><u>Producers</u> 23. TD (11.03.14) 24. MN (11.03/10.12.14) 25. MT (11.03.14) 26. MF (11.03.14)</p> <p><u>Management</u> 27. MR (11.12.14) 28. MX (11.12.14) 29. PP (Intern – 11.03.14)</p>
12. Mugambo Jwetu community group	Meru	CBO that started Mugambo	30. DD (head of management board) – 04.12.14
13. Kangema RANET FM	Murang'a	CR in rural setting, government funding and management	<p>31/32/33. Audience Focus Groups (3 – 26.11.14)</p> <p><u>Producers</u> 34. MM (25.11.14) 35. MP(25.11.14) 36. RG (13.03.14/18.12.14)</p>

			<u>Management</u> 37. KJ (13.03.14) 38. WW (18.12.14) 39. JJ (18.12.14) 40. TT (18.12.14) 41. PP (13.03.14) 42. NN (25.11.14)
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SUMMARY OF DATA

Number of group interviews	9	Number of stations	3
Number of producer interviews	10	Number of donor organisations	3
Number of station management and admin interviews	12	Number of training organisations	2
Number of donor/trainer/regulatory org interviews	10	Number of representative organisations	2
Number of management board interviews	1	Number of regulatory organisations	2
Total number of interviews	42	Total number of organisations	12

APPENDIX C: SAMPLE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

MUGAMBO QUESTIONNAIRE FOR AUDIENCE SURVEY			LEAVE BLANK
	Name of interviewer	Date	Questionnaire Number

PART A: INTERVIEWEE DATA

1.	GENDER				1	
	A.	MALE	A.	MUME		
	B.	FEMALE	B.	MKE		

Let us begin with some questions about you.

2.	HOW OLD ARE YOU?				2	
	UNA MIAKA MINGAPI?					
	A.	UNDER 16/CHINI YA 16	E	41-50		
	B.	16-20	F	51-60		
	C.	21-30	G	OVER 60/ZAIDI YA 60		
	D.	31-40	H	UNDISCLOSED/SIRI		

3.	WHAT IS YOUR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION?				3	
	UMEFIKISHA KIWANGO KIPI CHA ELIMU YA SKULI?					
	A.	NONE	A.	BILA		
	B.	NURSERY/ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	B.	NASARI/MSINGI		
	C.	PRIMARY SCHOOL	C.	SHULE YA MSINGI		
	D.	VOCATIONAL	D.	UFUNDI		
	E.	SECONDARY SCHOOL	E.	SHULE YA UPILI		
	F.	COLLEGE / UNIVERSITY / TECHNICAL INSTITUTE	F.	COLLEGE		

4.	WHAT DO YOU DO FOR A LIVING?				4	
	UNAFANYA NINI KIMAISHA?					
	A.	BUSINESS	A.	BIASHARA		
	B.	FARMING	B.	UKULIMA		
	C.	STUDENT	C.	MWANAFUNZI		
	D.	OFFICE/INSTITUTION/FACTORY EMPLOYMENT	D.	KAZI YA KUANDIKWA		
	E.	HOUSEWIFE	E.	MALEZI		
	F.	HOUSEHELP	F.	MFANYIKAZI WA NYUMBA		
	G.	NO EMPLOYMENT	G.	KUTAFUTA KAZI		
	H.	OTHER (SPECIFY)	H.	INGINE (ELEZA)		

PART B: RADIO USE

Allow me to ask you some questions about listening to radio

5.	DO YOU LISTEN TO RADIO?				5.	
	WEWE HUSIKIZA REDIO?					
	A.	YES (Go to Q 7)	A.	NDIO (Enda swali nambari 7)		
B.	NO (Go to Q 6)	B.	HAPANA (Enda swali nambari 6)			

6.	IF NO IN THE QUESTION ABOVE: WHY DON'T YOU LISTEN TO RADIO? (THEN GO TO PART C)				6.	
	KWA NINI HUSIKILIZI REDIO?					
	A.	NO TIME	A.	SINA WAKATI		
	B.	NO INTEREST	B.	SINA HAJA		
	C.	NO RADIO	C.	SINA REDIO		
	D.	OTHER MEDIA ARE MORE INTERESTING	D.	TV/INTERNET/GAZETI NI AFADHALI		
E.	OTHER REASON (SPECIFY)	E.	SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA)			

7.	HOW OFTEN DO YOU LISTEN TO RADIO?				7.
	WEWE HUSIKILIZA REDIO MARA NGAPI KWA MWEZI AU WIKI?				
	A.	LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH	A.	CHINI YA MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI	
	B.	ABOUT ONCE A MONTH	B.	MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI	
	C.	EVERY TWO WEEKS	C.	MARA MOJA KWA WIKI MBILI	
	D.	ABOUT ONCE A WEEK	D.	MARA MOJA KWA WIKI	
	E.	EVERY 2 – 3 DAYS	E.	BAADA YA SIKU MBILI AU TATU	
F.	EVERYDAY	F.	KILA SIKU	Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika	

8.	WHAT TIME OF THE DAY DO YOU LISTEN TO RADIO?				8.
	WEWE HUSIKILIZA REDIO SAA NGAPI/WAKATI UPI?				
	A.	MORNING	A.	ASUBUHI	
	B.	AFTERNOON	B.	ALASIRI	
	C.	EVENING	C.	JIONI	
	D.	NIGHT	D.	USIKU	
	E.	ALL DAY	E.	SIKU NZIMA	

9.	WHY DO YOU CHOOSE THIS TIME TO LISTEN? THIS IS.....				9.
	KWA NINI HUWA UNASIKILIZA REDIO WAKATI HUU? NDIPO....				
	A.	WHEN I GET HOME	A.	NINAFIKA NYUMBANI	
	B.	I GET RADIO FOR FREE	B.	NINAPATA REDIO BILA KULIPA	
	C.	THE INTERESTING SHOWS AIR	C.	KUNA VIPINDI VINAVYONIPENDEZA	
	D.	I HAVE TIME	D.	NINA WAKATI	
	E.	OTHER REASON (SPECIFY) _____	E.	SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____	

10.	WHERE DO YOU LISTEN TO RADIO?				10
	WEWE HUSIKILIZA REDIO UKIWA WAPI?				
	A.	AT HOME	A.	NYUMBANI	
	B.	AT FRIENDS' HOMES	B.	KWA RAFIKI	
	C.	ANYWHERE (ON MOBILE PHONE)	C.	POPOTE (KWENYE SIMU)	
	D.	AT WORK	D.	KAZINI	
	E.	HOTELS/PUBS/SHOPS	E.	HOTELI/BAA/DUKA	
	F.	IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT	F.	KWA MATATU	
	G.	IN PRIVATE TRANSPORT	G.	KWA GARI LANGU	
H.	OTHER (SPECIFY) _____	H.	MAHALI PENGINE (ELEZA) _____		

11.	WHICH STATIONS DO YOU LISTEN TO?				11
	WEWE HUSIKILIZA STESHENI GANI?				
	A.	CITIZEN	M.	KISS FM	
	B.	CLASSIC 105	N.	KOCH FM	
	C.	COORO	O.	MERU FM	
	D.	EASY FM	P.	MILELE FM	
	E.	FAMILY FM	Q.	MUGAMBO JWETU	
	F.	GHETTO RADIO	R.	MUUGA FM	
	G.	HOPE FM	S.	MWARIAMA FM	
	H.	INOORO	T.	RADIO MARIA	
	I.	KAMEME	U.	WIMWARO FM	
	J.	KANGEMA FM	V.	OTHER RELIGIOUS	
	K.	KBC ENGLISH	W.	INTERNATIONAL	
	L.	KBC KISWAHILI	X.	OTHER/NYINGINEZO	

WHAT KIND OF RADIO PROGRAMMES DO YOU LIKE?			
--	--	--	--

12.	UNAPENDA VIPINDI VIPI KWENYE REDIO?				12	Multiple answers possible Majibu yanawezakuwa Zaidi ya moja
	A.	LOCAL NEWS	L	LOCAL DRAMA		
	B.	INTERNATIONAL NEWS	M	DATING SHOWS		
	C.	TALK SHOWS ON POLITICS	N	HUMOUR		
	D.	TALK SHOWS ON SOCIAL ISSUES (Eg. Family life)	O	REGGAE		
	E.	TALK SHOWS ON DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	P	LOCAL HIPHOP		
	F.	SPORTS	Q	INTERNATIONAL HITS		
	G.	RELIGIOUS MUSIC	R	R & B		
	H.	RELIGIOUS TALK SHOWS	S	VERNACULAR MUSIC		
	I.	SERMONS	T	OTHER MUSIC		
	J.	NEWSPAPER REVIEWS	U	NONE		
	K.	FEATURE PROGRAMMES	V	DON'T KNOW		
			W	OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____		

13.	WHY DO YOU LIKE THIS/THESE PROGRAMME(S)?	13	
	KWA NINI UNAPENDA VIPINDI HIVI? _____		

14.	WHICH PROGRAMMES DO YOU DISLIKE?				14	Multiple answers possible Majibu yanawezakuwa Zaidi ya moja
	NI VIPINDI VIPI HUPENDI KWENYE REDIO?					
	A.	LOCAL NEWS	L	LOCAL DRAMA		
	B.	INTERNATIONAL NEWS	M	DATING SHOWS		
	C.	TALK SHOWS ON POLITICS	N	HUMOUR		
	D.	TALK SHOWS ON SOCIAL ISSUES	O	REGGAE		
	E.	TALK SHOWS ON DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	P	LOCAL HIPHOP		
	F.	SPORTS	Q	INTERNATIONAL HITS		
	G.	RELIGIOUS MUSIC	R	R & B		
	H.	RELIGIOUS TALK SHOWS	S	VERNACULAR MUSIC		
	I.	SERMONS	T	OTHER MUSIC		
	J.	NEWSPAPER REVIEWS	U	NONE		
	K.	FEATURE PROGRAMMES	V	DON'T KNOW		
		W	OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____			

15.	WHY DO YOU DISLIKE THIS/THESE PROGRAMME(S)?	15	
	KWA NINI HUPENDI VIPINDI HIVI? _____		

PART C: COMMUNITY RADIO USE

Allow me to ask you some questions about listening to community radio

16.	DO YOU LISTEN TO MUGAMBO JWETU FM?				16
	WEWE HUSIKILIZA MUGAMBO JWETU FM?				
	A.	YES (Go to Q 19)	A.	NDIO (Nenda kwa swali 19)	
	B.	NO (Go to Q 17 AND 18 then skip to Part D)	B.	HAPANA (Nenda kwa swali 15)	

17.	WHY DON'T YOU LISTEN TO MUGAMBO JWETU FM? KWA NINI HUSIKILIZI MUGAMBO JWETU FM?	17																						
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>A NO TIME</td> <td>A SINA WAKATI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B NO INTEREST</td> <td>B SINA HAJA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C NEVER HEARD OF IT</td> <td>C SIJAWAHI KUJUA IKO MUGAMBO JWETU FM</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D NO RADIO</td> <td>D SINA REDIO</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E OTHER MEDIA ARE MORE INTERESTING</td> <td>E TV/INTERNET/GAZETI NI AFADHALI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>F NO SIGNAL</td> <td>F HAISHIKI KWA REDIO YANGU</td> </tr> <tr> <td>G DISLIKE IT</td> <td>G SIIPENDI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>H DON'T UNDERSTAND THE LANGUAGE</td> <td>H SIELEWI KIKUYU</td> </tr> <tr> <td>I OTHER STATIONS OFFER SIMILAR PROGRAMMES</td> <td>I STESHENI ZINGINE ZINA VIPINDI KAMA VYA KANGEMA FM</td> </tr> <tr> <td>J NO POWER/ELECTRICITY</td> <td>J SINA STIMA/BETERI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>K OTHER REASONS (SPECIFY) _____</td> <td>K SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____</td> </tr> </table>	A NO TIME	A SINA WAKATI	B NO INTEREST	B SINA HAJA	C NEVER HEARD OF IT	C SIJAWAHI KUJUA IKO MUGAMBO JWETU FM	D NO RADIO	D SINA REDIO	E OTHER MEDIA ARE MORE INTERESTING	E TV/INTERNET/GAZETI NI AFADHALI	F NO SIGNAL	F HAISHIKI KWA REDIO YANGU	G DISLIKE IT	G SIIPENDI	H DON'T UNDERSTAND THE LANGUAGE	H SIELEWI KIKUYU	I OTHER STATIONS OFFER SIMILAR PROGRAMMES	I STESHENI ZINGINE ZINA VIPINDI KAMA VYA KANGEMA FM	J NO POWER/ELECTRICITY	J SINA STIMA/BETERI	K OTHER REASONS (SPECIFY) _____	K SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____	
A NO TIME	A SINA WAKATI																							
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H DON'T UNDERSTAND THE LANGUAGE	H SIELEWI KIKUYU																							
I OTHER STATIONS OFFER SIMILAR PROGRAMMES	I STESHENI ZINGINE ZINA VIPINDI KAMA VYA KANGEMA FM																							
J NO POWER/ELECTRICITY	J SINA STIMA/BETERI																							
K OTHER REASONS (SPECIFY) _____	K SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____																							

18.	HOW OFTEN DO YOU LISTEN TO MUGAMBO JWETU FM? WEWE HUSIKILIZA MUGAMBO JWETU FM KAMA MARA NGAPI KWA MWEZI?	18												
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>A LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH</td> <td>A CHINI YA MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B ABOUT ONCE A MONTH</td> <td>B MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C EVERY TWO WEEKS</td> <td>C MARA MOJA KWA WIKI MBILI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D ABOUT ONCE A WEEK</td> <td>D MARA MOJA KWA WIKI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E EVERY 2 – 3 DAYS</td> <td>E BAADA YA SIKU MBILI AU TATU</td> </tr> <tr> <td>F EVERYDAY</td> <td>F KILA SIKU</td> </tr> </table>	A LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH	A CHINI YA MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI	B ABOUT ONCE A MONTH	B MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI	C EVERY TWO WEEKS	C MARA MOJA KWA WIKI MBILI	D ABOUT ONCE A WEEK	D MARA MOJA KWA WIKI	E EVERY 2 – 3 DAYS	E BAADA YA SIKU MBILI AU TATU	F EVERYDAY	F KILA SIKU	
A LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH	A CHINI YA MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI													
B ABOUT ONCE A MONTH	B MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI													
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D ABOUT ONCE A WEEK	D MARA MOJA KWA WIKI													
E EVERY 2 – 3 DAYS	E BAADA YA SIKU MBILI AU TATU													
F EVERYDAY	F KILA SIKU													

19.	HOW IS THE QUALITY OF THE SIGNAL? MITAMBO INAPATIKANA VYEMA MAHALI ULIPO?	19						
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>A GOOD</td> <td>A VIZURI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B FAIR</td> <td>B WASTANI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C BAD</td> <td>C VIBAYA</td> </tr> </table>	A GOOD	A VIZURI	B FAIR	B WASTANI	C BAD	C VIBAYA	
A GOOD	A VIZURI							
B FAIR	B WASTANI							
C BAD	C VIBAYA							

20.	WHICH PROGRAMMES DO YOU LISTEN TO ON MUGAMBO JWETU FM? UNASIKILIZA VIPINDI VIPI KWENYE MUGAMBO JWETU FM?	20																
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>A. MORNING SHOW (Prayers, greetings, news, announcements, happenings from the village, morning debate)</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>B BURUDANI KAZINI (music show, SMS comments)</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>C REGGAE SHOW</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>D RHUMBA AND SOUL</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>E EVENING TALK SHOW</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>F NONE/HAKUNA</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>G ALL</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>H OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	A. MORNING SHOW (Prayers, greetings, news, announcements, happenings from the village, morning debate)		B BURUDANI KAZINI (music show, SMS comments)		C REGGAE SHOW		D RHUMBA AND SOUL		E EVENING TALK SHOW		F NONE/HAKUNA		G ALL		H OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____		Multiple answers possible Majibu yanawezakuwa Zaidi ya moja
A. MORNING SHOW (Prayers, greetings, news, announcements, happenings from the village, morning debate)																		
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D RHUMBA AND SOUL																		
E EVENING TALK SHOW																		
F NONE/HAKUNA																		
G ALL																		
H OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____																		

21.	WHY DO YOU LISTEN TO THESE PROGRAMMES? HUWA UNASIKIZA VIPINDI HIVI KWA NINI?	21																
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>A. THEY ARE ENTERTAINING</td> <td>A NI VYA KUFURAHISHA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B THEY ARE EDUCATIVE</td> <td>B HUNIFUNZA KITU KIPYA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C THEY ARE INFORMATIVE</td> <td>C HUNIJULISHA MAMBO MUHIMU</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D GIVE ME INFORMATION I CAN APPLY TO MY FARM</td> <td>D HUNIPA UJUZI WA KUTUMIA SHAMBANI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E TO DISCUSS LATER WITH FRIENDS/FAMILY</td> <td>E KUJADILI BAADAYE NA MARAFIKI/FAMILIA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>F I LIKE THE PRESENTER</td> <td>F NAPENDA MTANGAZAJI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>G NOTHING ELSE TO DO</td> <td>G SINA KINGINE CHA KUFANYA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>H OTHER _____</td> <td>H NYINGINEZO _____</td> </tr> </table>	A. THEY ARE ENTERTAINING	A NI VYA KUFURAHISHA	B THEY ARE EDUCATIVE	B HUNIFUNZA KITU KIPYA	C THEY ARE INFORMATIVE	C HUNIJULISHA MAMBO MUHIMU	D GIVE ME INFORMATION I CAN APPLY TO MY FARM	D HUNIPA UJUZI WA KUTUMIA SHAMBANI	E TO DISCUSS LATER WITH FRIENDS/FAMILY	E KUJADILI BAADAYE NA MARAFIKI/FAMILIA	F I LIKE THE PRESENTER	F NAPENDA MTANGAZAJI	G NOTHING ELSE TO DO	G SINA KINGINE CHA KUFANYA	H OTHER _____	H NYINGINEZO _____	
A. THEY ARE ENTERTAINING	A NI VYA KUFURAHISHA																	
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E TO DISCUSS LATER WITH FRIENDS/FAMILY	E KUJADILI BAADAYE NA MARAFIKI/FAMILIA																	
F I LIKE THE PRESENTER	F NAPENDA MTANGAZAJI																	
G NOTHING ELSE TO DO	G SINA KINGINE CHA KUFANYA																	
H OTHER _____	H NYINGINEZO _____																	

					Multiple answers possible Majibu yanawezakuwa Zaidi ya moja
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22.	WHICH PROGRAMMES DO YOU DISLIKE ON MUGAMBO JWETU FM, IF ANY? JE, KUNA VIPINDI AMBAVYO HUPENDI KWENYE MUGAMBO JWETU FM?	22
	MORNING SHOW (Prayers, greetings, news, announcements, happenings from the village, morning debate)	
	BURUDANI KAZINI (music show, SMS comments)	
	REGGAE SHOW	
	RHUMBA AND SOUL	
	EVENING TALK SHOW	
	NONE/HAKUNA	
	ALL	
	OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____	
		Multiple answers possible Majibu yanawezakuwa Zaidi ya moja

23.	WHY DO YOU DISLIKE THESE PROGRAMMES? HUPENDI VIPINDI HIVI KWA NINI?	23
	A. THEY ARE NOT ENTERTAINING	A SIO VYA KUFURAHISHA
	B THEY ARE NOT EDUCATIVE	B HAVINIFUNZI KITU KIPYA
	C THEY ARE NOT INFORMATIVE	C HAVINIJULISHI MAMBO MUHIMU
	D NO INFORMATION THAT I CAN APPLY TO FARMING	D SIPATI UJUZI NINAOWEZA KUTUMIA
	E NOTHING TO DISCUSS LATER WITH FRIENDS/FAMILY	E HAKUNA CHA KUJADILI BAADAYE NA MARAFIKI/FAMILIA
	F I DON'T LIKE THE PRESENTER	F SIPENDI MTANGAZAJI
	G NONE	G HAKUNA
	H DON'T KNOW	H SIJUI
	I OTHER _____	I SABABU NYINGINEZO _____
		Multiple answers possible Majibu yanawezakuwa Zaidi ya moja

24.	WHAT KIND OF CONTENT WOULD YOU LIKE MORE OF ON THIS STATION? UNGEPENDA STESHENI HII IONGEZE VIPINDI VYA AINA GANI?	24
	A. LOCAL NEWS	L LOCAL DRAMA
	B INTERNATIONAL NEWS	M DATING SHOWS
	C TALK SHOWS ON POLITICS	N HUMOUR
	D TALK SHOWS ON SOCIAL ISSUES	O REGGAE
	E TALK SHOWS ON DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	P LOCAL HIPHOP
	F SPORTS	Q INTERNATIONAL HITS
	G RELIGIOUS MUSIC	R R & B
	H RELIGIOUS TALK SHOWS	S VERNACULAR MUSIC
	I SERMONS	T OTHER MUSIC
	J NEWSPAPER REVIEWS	U NONE
	K FEATURE PROGRAMMES	V DON'T KNOW
		W OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____
		Multiple answers possible Majibu yanawezakuwa Zaidi ya moja

Allow me to ask you some questions on your Participation in Community Radio

25.	DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN MUGAMBO JWETU FM PROGRAMMING IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS? WEWE HUCHANGIA VIPINDI VYA MUGAMBO JWETU FM KWA NJIA ZEZOTE ZIFUATAZO?	27.
	A CALLING DURING SHOWS	A KUPIGA SIMU KWA VIPINDI
	B SMS DURING SHOWS	B KUTUMA SMS KWA VIPINDI
	D GUEST DURING SHOWS	D MGENI KWENYE VIPINDI
	E OTHER _____	E NJIA NYINGINE _____
		Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika

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26.	IF NO IN THE QUESTION ABOVE: WHY DON'T YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE PROGRAMMES? (Then go to Q 28)	26
	KWA NINI HUCHANGII VIPINDI VYA MUGAMBO JWETU FM?	
	A NO TIME	A SINA WAKATI
	B NO INTEREST	B SINA HAJA
	C NO RADIO	C SINA REDIO
	D OTHER MEDIA ARE MORE INTERESTING	D TV/INTERNET/GAZETI NI AFADHALI
	E OTHER REASON (SPECIFY) _____	E SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____
		Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika

27.	DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE RUNNING OF MUGAMBO JWETU FM IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS?	27
	WEWE HUCHANGIA USUKANI WA MUGAMBO JWETU FM KWA NJIA ZIPI?	
	A VOTING FOR THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	A KUPIGIA KURA WANAOONGOZA STESHENI
	B SUGGESTING ISSUES TO COVER	B KUSEMA MAMBO NINAYOTAKA YAANGAZIWE
	C OTHER _____	C NJIA NYINGINE _____
		Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika

28.	IF NO IN THE QUESTION ABOVE: WHY DON'T YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE RUNNING OF THE STATION? (Then go to Part D)	28
	KWA NINI HUCHANGII KWENYE USUKANI WA MUGAMBO JWETU FM?	
	A NO TIME	A SINA WAKATI
	B NO INTEREST	B SINA HAJA
	C DID NOT KNOW I COULD PARTICIPATE	C SIKUJUA NINaweza KUCHANGIA
	D OTHER REASON (SPECIFY) _____	D SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____
	E WE SELECTED PEOPLE TO RUN THE STATION FOR US	E TUMECHAGUA WATU WALIO KWENYE USUKANI WA STESHENI KWA NIABA YETU
		Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika

29.	DO YOU FEEL THAT THIS IS YOUR STATION AS A COMMUNITY? EXPLAIN.	29
	UNAHISI KUWA HII NI STESHENI YAKO KAMA MKAJJI WA HAPA? ELEZA.	
	A YES/NDIO _____	B NO/HAPANA _____
		Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika

PART D: GENERAL MEDIA USE

Allow me to ask you some questions about your use of other media

Television

30.	DO YOU WATCH TELEVISION?	30
	WEWE HUTAZAMA RUNINGA?	
	A YES (Go to Q 34)	A NDIO (Enda swali nambari 34)
	B NO (Go to Q 33)	B HAPANA (Enda swali nambari 33)

31.	IF NO IN THE QUESTION ABOVE: WHY DON'T YOU WATCH TELEVISION? (Then go to NEWSPAPERS section)	31
	KWA NINI HUTAZAMI RUNINGA?	
	A NO TIME	A SINA WAKATI
	B NO INTEREST	B SINA HAJA
	C NO TELEVISION	C SINA RUNINGA
	D OTHER MEDIA ARE MORE INTERESTING	D RADIO/INTERNET/GAZETI NI AFADHALI

	E OTHER REASON (SPECIFY) _____	E SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____	Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika

32.	HOW OFTEN DO YOU WATCH TELEVISION? WEWE HUTAZAMA RUNINGA MARA NGAPI KWA MWEZI AU WIKI?	32												
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>A LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH</td> <td>A CHINI YA MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B ABOUT ONCE A MONTH</td> <td>B MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C EVERY TWO WEEKS</td> <td>C MARA MOJA KWA WIKI MBILI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D ABOUT ONCE A WEEK</td> <td>D MARA MOJA KWA WIKI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E EVERY 2 – 3 DAYS</td> <td>E BAADA YA SIKU MBILI AU TATU</td> </tr> <tr> <td>F EVERYDAY</td> <td>F KILA SIKU</td> </tr> </table>	A LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH	A CHINI YA MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI	B ABOUT ONCE A MONTH	B MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI	C EVERY TWO WEEKS	C MARA MOJA KWA WIKI MBILI	D ABOUT ONCE A WEEK	D MARA MOJA KWA WIKI	E EVERY 2 – 3 DAYS	E BAADA YA SIKU MBILI AU TATU	F EVERYDAY	F KILA SIKU	Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika
A LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH	A CHINI YA MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI													
B ABOUT ONCE A MONTH	B MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI													
C EVERY TWO WEEKS	C MARA MOJA KWA WIKI MBILI													
D ABOUT ONCE A WEEK	D MARA MOJA KWA WIKI													
E EVERY 2 – 3 DAYS	E BAADA YA SIKU MBILI AU TATU													
F EVERYDAY	F KILA SIKU													

33.	WHAT KIND OF TELEVISION PROGRAMMES DO YOU LIKE? UNAPENDA VIPINDI VIPI KWENYE RUNINGA?	35																								
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>A LOCAL NEWS</td> <td>M TALK SHOWS ON SOCIAL ISSUES</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B INTERNATIONAL NEWS</td> <td>N TALK SHOWS ON POLITICS</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C SPORTS</td> <td>O TALK SHOWS ON DEVELOPMENT ISSUES</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D DOCUMENTARIES</td> <td>P MOVIES (ANY KIND)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E KENYAN DRAMA</td> <td>Q RELIGIOUS MUSIC</td> </tr> <tr> <td>F OTHER AFRICAN DRAMA</td> <td>R RELIGIOUS TALK SHOWS</td> </tr> <tr> <td>G FOREIGN DRAMA (eg SERIES)</td> <td>S SERMONS</td> </tr> <tr> <td>H SOAP OPERAS</td> <td>T LOCAL COMEDY</td> </tr> <tr> <td>I DATING SHOWS</td> <td>U FOREIGN COMEDY</td> </tr> <tr> <td>J REALITY SHOWS</td> <td>V NONE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>K MUSIC</td> <td>W DON'T KNOW</td> </tr> <tr> <td>L CARTOONS</td> <td>X OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____</td> </tr> </table>	A LOCAL NEWS	M TALK SHOWS ON SOCIAL ISSUES	B INTERNATIONAL NEWS	N TALK SHOWS ON POLITICS	C SPORTS	O TALK SHOWS ON DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	D DOCUMENTARIES	P MOVIES (ANY KIND)	E KENYAN DRAMA	Q RELIGIOUS MUSIC	F OTHER AFRICAN DRAMA	R RELIGIOUS TALK SHOWS	G FOREIGN DRAMA (eg SERIES)	S SERMONS	H SOAP OPERAS	T LOCAL COMEDY	I DATING SHOWS	U FOREIGN COMEDY	J REALITY SHOWS	V NONE	K MUSIC	W DON'T KNOW	L CARTOONS	X OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____	Multiple answers possible Majibu yanawezakuwa Zaidi ya moja
A LOCAL NEWS	M TALK SHOWS ON SOCIAL ISSUES																									
B INTERNATIONAL NEWS	N TALK SHOWS ON POLITICS																									
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J REALITY SHOWS	V NONE																									
K MUSIC	W DON'T KNOW																									
L CARTOONS	X OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____																									

34.	WHAT TIME OF THE DAY DO YOU WATCH TELEVISION? WEWE HUTAZAMA RUNINGA SAA NGAPI/WAKATI UPI WA SIKU?	33										
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>A MORNING</td> <td>A ASUBUHI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B AFTERNOON</td> <td>B ALASIRI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C EVENING</td> <td>C JIONI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D NIGHT</td> <td>D USIKU</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E ALL DAY</td> <td>E SIKU NZIMA</td> </tr> </table>	A MORNING	A ASUBUHI	B AFTERNOON	B ALASIRI	C EVENING	C JIONI	D NIGHT	D USIKU	E ALL DAY	E SIKU NZIMA	Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika
A MORNING	A ASUBUHI											
B AFTERNOON	B ALASIRI											
C EVENING	C JIONI											
D NIGHT	D USIKU											
E ALL DAY	E SIKU NZIMA											

35.	WHY DO YOU CHOOSE THIS TIME TO WATCH? THIS IS..... KWA NINI HUWA UNATAZAMA RUNINGA WAKATI HUU? NDIPO....	34												
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>A WHEN I GET HOME</td> <td>A NINAFIKA NYUMBANI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B I GET TELEVISION FOR FREE</td> <td>B NINAPATA RUNINGA BILA KULIPA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C THE INTERESTING SHOWS AIR</td> <td>C KUNA VIPINDI VINAVYONIPENDEZA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D I HAVE TIME</td> <td>D NINA WAKATI</td> </tr> <tr> <td>E TO GET INFORMED ON HAPPENINGS OF THE DAY</td> <td>E KUJUJA YALIYOENDELEA SIKU YOTE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>F OTHER REASON (SPECIFY) _____</td> <td>F SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____</td> </tr> </table>	A WHEN I GET HOME	A NINAFIKA NYUMBANI	B I GET TELEVISION FOR FREE	B NINAPATA RUNINGA BILA KULIPA	C THE INTERESTING SHOWS AIR	C KUNA VIPINDI VINAVYONIPENDEZA	D I HAVE TIME	D NINA WAKATI	E TO GET INFORMED ON HAPPENINGS OF THE DAY	E KUJUJA YALIYOENDELEA SIKU YOTE	F OTHER REASON (SPECIFY) _____	F SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____	
A WHEN I GET HOME	A NINAFIKA NYUMBANI													
B I GET TELEVISION FOR FREE	B NINAPATA RUNINGA BILA KULIPA													
C THE INTERESTING SHOWS AIR	C KUNA VIPINDI VINAVYONIPENDEZA													
D I HAVE TIME	D NINA WAKATI													
E TO GET INFORMED ON HAPPENINGS OF THE DAY	E KUJUJA YALIYOENDELEA SIKU YOTE													
F OTHER REASON (SPECIFY) _____	F SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____													

Newspapers

36.	DO YOU READ NEWSPAPERS? WEWE HUSOMA MAGAZETI?	36				
	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>A YES (Go to Q 38)</td> <td>A NDIO (Enda swali nambari 38)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B NO (Go to Q 37)</td> <td>B HAPANA (Enda swali nambari 37)</td> </tr> </table>	A YES (Go to Q 38)	A NDIO (Enda swali nambari 38)	B NO (Go to Q 37)	B HAPANA (Enda swali nambari 37)	
A YES (Go to Q 38)	A NDIO (Enda swali nambari 38)					
B NO (Go to Q 37)	B HAPANA (Enda swali nambari 37)					

37.	IF NO IN THE QUESTION ABOVE: WHY DON'T YOU READ NEWSPAPERS? (Then go to Internet section) KWA NINI HUSOMI MAGAZETI?	37
-----	---	----

	A NO TIME	A SINA WAKATI	
	B NO INTEREST	B SINA HAJA	
	C TOO EXPENSIVE	C BEI KALI	
	D I GET NEWSPAPER REVIEWS ON RADIO/TV	D NAPATA UCHAMBUZI WA MAGAZETI KWA RUNINGA/REDIO	
	E DON'T KNOW HOW TO READ	E SIJUI VILE KUSOMA	
	F OTHER REASON (SPECIFY) _____	F SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____	Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika

38.	HOW OFTEN DO YOU READ NEWSPAPERS? WEWE HUSOMA MAGAZETI MARA NGAPI KWA MWEZI AU WIKI?	38	
	A LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH	A CHINI YA MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI	Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika
	B ABOUT ONCE A MONTH	B MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI	
	C EVERY TWO WEEKS	C MARA MOJA KWA WIKI MBILI	
	D ABOUT ONCE A WEEK	D MARA MOJA KWA WIKI	
	E EVERY 2 – 3 DAYS	E BAADA YA SIKU MBILI AU TATU	
	F EVERYDAY	F KILA SIKU	

39	WHERE DO YOU READ NEWSPAPERS? WEWE HUSOMA MAGAZETI UKIWA WAPI?	39	
	A AT HOME	A NYUMBANI	Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika
	B AT WORK	B KAZINI	
	C IN HOTELS/PUBS/SHOPS	C KWA HOTELI/BAA/DUKA	
	D AT FRIENDS' HOMES/OFFICES	D KWA MARAFIKI NYUMBANI AU OFISINI	
	E AT THE NEWSPAPER VENDOR	E KWA MUUZAJI WA GAZETI	
	F ANYWERE (ON MOBILE PHONE)	F POPOTE (KWA SIMU YA MKONO)	
	G IN PRIVATE/PUBLIC TRANSPORT	G KWA MATATU/GARI LANGU	
	H IN THE LIBRARY	H KWA MAKTABA	
	I AT GOVERNMENT OFFICES	I KWA OFISI ZA SERIKALI	
	J OTHER (SPECIFY) _____	J MAHALI PENGINE (ELEZA) _____	

40	WHAT IS YOUR FAVOURITE NEWSPAPER CONTENT? UNAPENDA KUSOMA MAMBO YAPI KWA GAZETI?	40	
	A LOCAL NEWS	I CARTOONS	Multiple answers possible Majibu yanawezakuwa Zaidi ya moja
	B INTERNATIONAL NEWS	J FEATURE STORIES	
	C SPORTS	K RELATIONSHIP ISSUES	
	D POLITICS	L OPINION PIECES	
	E SOCIAL ISSUES	M SERIAL ARTICLES (Eg. Surgeon's Diary)	
	F DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	N HUMOUR	
	G BUSINESS	O DON'T KNOW	
	H RELIGIOUS	P OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____	

Internet

41	DO YOU ACCESS THE INTERNET? WEWE HUTUMIA MTANDAO WA INTERNET?	41
	A YES (Go to Q 43)	A NDIO (Enda swali nambari 43)
	B NO (Go to Q 42)	B HAPANA (Enda swali nambari 42)

42	IF NO IN THE QUESTION ABOVE: WHY DON'T YOU ACCESS THE INTERNET? (Then conclude the interview) KWA NINI HUTUMII MTANDAO WA INTERNET?	42
	A NO TIME	A SINA WAKATI
	B NO INTEREST	B SINA HAJA
	C DIFFICULT TO USE	C NGUMU KUTUMIA

	D NO INTERNET DEVICE	D SINA SIMU YA INTERNET	Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika
	E DON'T KNOW HOW TO USE	E SIJUI VILE KUTUMIA	
	F OTHER REASON (SPECIFY) _____	F SABABU NYINGINE (ELEZA) _____	

43	WHERE DO YOU ACCESS THE INTERNET? WEWE HUTUMIA MTANDAO WA INTERNET UKIWA WAPI?	43	
	A AT HOME	A NYUMBANI	Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika
	B AT FRIENDS' HOMES	B KWA RAFIKI	
	C AT CYBERCAFES	C KWA CYBERCAFE	
	D AT WORK	D KAZINI	
	E IN FRIENDS OFFICES	E OFISINI MWA MARAFIKI	
	F ANYWERE (ON MOBILE PHONE)	F POPOTE (KWA SIMU YA MKONO)	
	G OTHER (SPECIFY) _____	G MAHALI PENGINE (ELEZA) _____	

44	HOW OFTEN DO YOU ACCESS THE INTERNET? WEWE HUTUMIA INTERNET MARA NGAPI KWA MWEZI AU WIKI?	44	
	A LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH	A CHINI YA MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI	Multiple answers possible Majibu Zaidi ya moja yanakubalika
	B ABOUT ONCE A MONTH	B MARA MOJA KWA MWEZI	
	C EVERY TWO WEEKS	C MARA MOJA KWA WIKI MBILI	
	D ABOUT ONCE A WEEK	D MARA MOJA KWA WIKI	
	E EVERY 2 – 3 DAYS	E BAADA YA SIKU MBILI AU TATU	
	F EVERYDAY	F KILA SIKU	

45	WHAT CONTENT DO YOU ACCESS ON THE INTERNET? UNATUMIA MTANDAO WA INTERNET KWA KAZI GANI?	45	
	A NEWS	J EMAIL	Multiple answers possible Majibu yanawezakuwa Zaidi ya moja
	B MUSIC (LISTENING/DOWNLOADING)	K SOCIAL ISSUES	
	C SPORTS	L ACADEMIC	
	D POLITICS	M RESEARCH	
	E SOCIAL MEDIA	N TELEVISION	
	F DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	O CELEBRITIES	
	G BUSINESS	P NONE	
	H RELIGIOUS	Q NO RESPONSE	
	I RADIO	R OTHER/NYINGINEZO _____	

	PLEASE USE THIS SPACE FOR ADDITIONAL COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS TAFADHALI TUMIA HII FASI KWA MAONI YEYOTE MENGINE

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDES

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS PILOT STUDY 2014

TO STATION MANAGERS

History and Ownership

1. How was the station started?
2. When? Who by?
3. Who owns the radio station?
4. What are the station's sources of funding?

Staffing

5. Are there any staff employed at the radio station? Who?
6. What is the hiring process?
7. Are there any volunteers working at the station? How are they selected?
8. What are their duties?
9. Are they paid?
10. On average, how long do they work at the station before getting other jobs?

TO STATION MANAGERS AND PRODUCERS

Views on objectives

11. What are the objectives of this radio station in your own words?
12. Do you think the station is fulfilling its objectives? (*on a scale of 1-5, where 5 is 'Very Much' and 1 is 'Not at all'*)

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	A little	Moderately	Well	Very much

13. Why? Or why not?

TO PRODUCERS

Programme Schedule

14. Please describe the programme schedule
15. How do you choose which programmes to produce and air?/Which factors do you consider?
16. Who makes the final decision on the programmes to air?
17. How often do you change your programme schedule?
18. What are the three greatest challenges you face in designing the programme schedule, if any?

Programme production

19. Who produces the radio programmes you air?
20. What are the three greatest challenges you face in producing programmes?
21. Which programmes do you think are most popular with your audience? Why?

Audience Research

22. What is the estimated size of your audience?
23. Do you research on your audience? How?
24. If not, why not?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PRODUCERS AND AUDIENCES 2014 AND 2015

PRODUCERS: Programme Production

1. Which programme do you produce?
2. What does your programme consist of?
3. Walk me through the process of producing your programme.
4. What do you hope to achieve with this programme?
5. Where do you get ideas for your programme from?
6. What do you think the audience response is to this programme?

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Content

1. How often do you listen to Koch FM/Mugambo Jwetu FM/Kangema FM?
2. What are your favourite programmes?
3. Why?
4. Which programmes don't you like, if any?
5. Which programmes would you like to see more of, if any?

Participation

6. Does the station offer you the kind of programmes you are interested in?
7. Do you let them know the kind of programmes you are interested in? If yes, how?
8. Do you participate in the programmes e.g. call in shows, sms shows etc?
9. Do you let the station know when you are not satisfied with their programmes?
10. If yes, how?

ORGANISATION-SPECIFIC INTERVIEW GUIDES 2014 AND 2015

AMWIK Community Radio Committee

1. How do you form a radio listening group?
2. What factors do you consider when forming a radio listening group?
3. Who produces the programmes aired to the listening groups?

4. How do you select which material to produce for airing at the listening group?
5. How is the material used by the group – is there discussion before or after the airing?
If yes, why? If no, why?
6. If yes, who facilitates the discussion?
7. Do you research on the impact of the programmes on the listening groups?
How?/Why not?
8. What challenges and opportunities do you see for this project?

Internews

1. In what ways are you working with community radio in Kenya?
2. Which community radios specifically have you worked with or are you working with?
3. What do you see as the value of community radios in Kenya?
4. What do you see as the greatest challenges facing community radios in Kenya?
5. What do you see as the greatest opportunities for community radios in Kenya?
6. Combination of other technologies with community radio?
7. Land and conflict sensitive journalism programme (L&CSJ) – whose agenda?
8. Sustainability for Dadaab station – how is this expected to work in the long-term;
permanent reliance on donors?

BBC Media Action

1. In what ways are you working with community radio in Kenya?
2. Which community radios specifically have you worked with or are you working with?
3. What do you see as the value of community radios in Kenya?
4. What do you see as the greatest challenges facing community radios in Kenya?
5. What do you see as the greatest opportunities for community radios in Kenya?

Norwegian Church Aid

1. In what ways are you working with community radio in Kenya?
2. Why Koch FM?
3. What do you see as the value of community radios in Kenya?
4. What do you see as the greatest challenges facing community radios in Kenya?
5. What do you see as the greatest opportunities for community radios in Kenya?

Community Radio Association of Kenya (CRAK)

1. What is the aim of the association and how did it come about?
2. How many community radio stations are part of the association?
3. Relationships between community radios?
4. Relationships between community radios and commercial radio?
5. Relationship with the government?
6. Impact of the KICA Bill?
7. What are the challenges facing community radio in Kenya currently?
8. What are the opportunities for community radio in Kenya currently?

Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET)

1. What is the aim of the association and how did it come about?
2. How many community radio stations are part of the association?
3. Relationships between community radios?
4. Relationships between community radios and commercial radio?
5. Relationship with the government?
6. Impact of the KICA Bill?
7. What are the challenges facing community radio in Kenya currently?
8. What are the opportunities for community radio in Kenya currently?

Communications Authority of Kenya (CA)

1. What is the current government policy on licensing community radio stations? Must it be a community-based organization (CBO)?
2. What are the defining features that make a radio community radio, as per the Communications Authority of Kenya (CA)?
3. How do the RANET stations fit in?
4. What are the acceptable ways of financing community radio? Are there any forbidden sources when it comes to grants and sponsorships?
5. What is meant by ‘relevant advertisements’ as indicated in the regulation?
6. What is the CA definition of ‘community’ and of ‘participation’ as expected of community radio?
7. Does the move to digital broadcasting and thus more spectrum available mean more community radios will be licensed?
8. Is there a government policy in place to support the community media industry?
9. What is the envisioned place of community radio in the Kenyan broadcast media structure?

Media Council of Kenya

1. What is the place of community radio in the Kenyan media scene?
2. What is your relationship with CCK?
3. What challenges would you say community radio faces in the current legislative environment?
4. What is the impact of KICA?
5. What opportunities would you say community radio has in the current legislative environment?
6. Is the community radio sector represented in the Media Council of Kenya (MCK)?
7. How does the MCK have measures in place to support community radio growth and development?

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