

**Talk Radio and The Public Sphere: *Jambo Kenya's* Role in
Democratization**

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis illuminates the talk radio phenomenon in Kenya and its increased usage as a tool for participation towards democratization. It illustrates the sometimes tenuous relationship between radio and democracy more broadly, and deepens our understanding of how talk radio shows in Kenya open up spaces for Kenyan citizens to air their views and opinions about matters that concern them as a people; through public opinion expressions on democratic participation and political discussion. Adopting Jürgen Habermas' (1974) concept of the public sphere as a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed and is guaranteed to all citizens; this research seeks to understand the democratic role of the media, by exploring how Radio Citizen, specifically through its talk show program *Jambo Kenya*, mediates public discussion, through components such as the talk radio genre and hosts, interviews, commentary and audience call-in.

The interrogation of whether *Jambo Kenya* provides content or procedures on important associated democratic principles such as: informed participants, freedom of expression, and right of access to public information, rule of law, checks and balances on power, human rights, and respect for minorities in the society seeks to find out how talk radio content contributes to the democratic life of society and how it acts as a tool for achieving democratic aims.

The study takes a thematic content analysis of the occurring comments and suggestions made by the listeners regarding Kenya's governance through *Jambo Kenya*; interrogating how the program constructs and reflects power struggles and the way these aspects are likely to enhance mediated deliberative democratic practices. Findings from the study reveal that talk show *Jambo Kenya* promotes citizen participation and public discourse where call-in listeners compare agendas. The interpretations of the findings foreground an understanding that the talk radio genre as taking a lead role in fostering a nexus between citizens and politics, and its audiences participate significantly in shaping public opinion.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Joyce Omwoha

----- **Day of ----- 2014**

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my family.

My parents: My mum Rev. Dr. Lydiah Omwoha and my late dad Arthur Omwoha. Your love, support, sacrifice, patience, and prayers are immeasurable.

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Note on translation

This study necessitated a translation of the radio show's content from Kiswahili into English, which was done by the researcher, who is fluent in both languages.

CHAPTER 1

Talk Radio and Democracy: Mediating Public Discourses through *Jambo Kenya*

1.1 Aim of Chapter

This chapter provides background information to the study of talk radio from the global to the Kenyan perspectives. It highlights the conceptual foundation and the rationale for studying talk radio shows in Kenya with *Jambo Kenya* forming the case study. The study engages with *Jambo Kenya* as a public sphere and seeks to determine using results found if indeed *Jambo Kenya* can be read as a public sphere for democratization.

1.2 Introduction

This study uses Jürgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere to demonstrate the importance of the application of the concept in the critical appreciation of the role of talk radio in Kenya's democratization. It engages with Habermas' theory in the Kenyan context in the aftermath of the 2007/8 post-election upheavals that occurred after a flawed and disputed presidential election. It employs this theory to interrogate the form of the program in terms of the strategies that are employed in its presentation that help enhance the opening and expansion of Kenya's democratic space and democratic culture. Here, the democratic public sphere is defined as the space between the state and the household where free and equal citizens come together to share information, to deliberate on common concerns, and to cooperate and collaborate on social problems (Pippa Norris and Sina Odugbemi, 2008). In this vein, Nancy Fraser (1997:128) concurs by stating that what we ultimately need is "a critical political sociology of a form of public life in which multiple but unequal publics participate". By "the public sphere" we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed (Habermas, 1964:49).

The study posits that the *Jambo Kenya* listener actively participates in constructing meaning through the call-in talk radio show. Considering this, it critically examines *Jambo Kenya* by taking a sternly critical review of the content disseminated by the program exploring how it reflects the emerging views of present-day democracy in Kenya. It

engages with democracy concerns by investigating the power of radio as an instrument of participatory democracy; which tends to advocate more involved forms of citizens participation (Abayomi, 2010:24). Radio also shows how media constructs and reflects power struggles through active participant communication as a process to achieve democracy. The study further focuses on the overall form and organization of the program and *Jambo Kenya's* format; the time allocated for talk to the audience, style of presentation, news programming, vox pop, music and advertising airtime.

The study of *Jambo Kenya* acknowledges that democracy has been perceived to be idealistic yet there are contradictions embedded to this. In this light, the researcher directs attention to Lorenzo's (2011:2) assertion that defining democracy nowadays has become problematic as several alternative democratic visions are being developed and contrasted in normative theory and political practice. Adegboye (2013:243) further notes that while there is no universally accepted definition of "democracy", equality and freedom have both been identified as important characteristics. He defines democracy as a form of government or political administration which is undoubtedly an enviable practice that ensures equity, fair – play and social justice in any society, state or region where it is practiced in its strict – sense.

The above stated notions of democracy aside, while interrogating *Jambo Kenya's* role in democratization, democracy is interrogated functionally, as argued by Guy Berger, (2002:21-22) as the decision-making power by majority principle, exercised by way of a process that is based on equal rights of participants. Democracy is perceived as a continuum, not just a practice that occurs during the elections. The study focuses on important associated principles such as: informed participants, freedom of expression, right of access to public information, rule of law, checks and balances on power, human rights, and respect for minorities in the society. The interrogation of the above aspects seeks to find out how talk radio content contributes to the democratic life of society and how it acts as a tool for achieving democratic aims.

1.3 Background and Research Context

In pursuit of successful consolidation of democratic institutions in Africa, Adegboye (2013:249) ascertains that there still exist social, political and economic challenges such as widespread poverty, unemployment, massive inequalities in income and wealth, rapid inflation, gender disparities and low or negative rates of economic growth. Kenya is not an exception of these challenges that are facing other African democracies. This idea leads this section to discuss the history of Kenya, focusing on its idea of democracy and understanding its broadcasting cultures and how media, specifically radio was used as an instrument, both by the colonial government as well as by the postcolonial government. In this view, it is vital to historicize Kenya's political space. Kenya gained its independence in 1963 from Britain under the Kenya African National Union (KANU) government. The then opposition party Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) maintained a token presence in parliament for a while, and then dissolved to merge with KANU. KANU had been in power initially under Jomo Kenyatta, until his death in 1978, when Daniel Arap Moi took power in a constitutional succession until 2002. Both towards the end of Kenyatta's reign and especially during Moi's, the executive progressively excluded competitors from the government. In the late 1980s people excluded from mainstream politics began to demand participation through alternative political parties. Kenya had, until 1982, been a *de facto* one party state, but in that year, the parliament enacted a law making the country a *de jure* one party state. KANU assumed greater influence in setting national policies and at one time considered itself superior to parliament.

These challenges notwithstanding, radio in Kenya continues to undergo complex and rapid transformation, dating back to 1927 when transmission by Radio in Kenya started with the advent of the East African Broadcasting Corporation (EABC). EABC relayed BBC news to the colonies under a contract with Imperial and International Communications which earlier had operated as a subsidiary of Cable and Wireless Ltd. The broadcasts targeted white settlers who monitored news from their homes and other parts of the world. In 1953, during the Mau Mau emergency, the colonial government created the African Broadcasting Service (ABS). Its programs were aired in Kiswahili, Dholuo, Gikuyu, Nandi, Luhya,

Kamba and Arabic¹ to propagate obedience to the colonial government during the height of the Mau Mau (freedom struggle) insurgency, (Wa'Njogu Kiarie, 2004:59). Imperative to note, as Carla Heath (1997:37) observes that by the time of Kenya's independence, assumptions that broadcasting was a powerful weapon and an essential instrument of modern state administration were part of Kenya's bureaucratic and political culture. Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), the state broadcasting station, was nationalized in 1964, and switched propaganda masters from colonizers to independence leaders (Kiarie 2004:62).

Worth noting is the fact that during the KANU regime, Kenya relied on a sole public broadcaster (VOK-Voice of Kenya Radio and TV) for all its news, information, and entertainment needs. Kenyans increasingly found themselves crowded out of spheres of public (self) expression by the government, Atieno-Odhiambo, (1987) and Kiarie (2004) both observe. Thus, VOK, the only public broadcaster between colonial times and 1990, and which later morphed into the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), was an instrument of officialdom whose interests in self-preservation meant a rigid policing of the airwaves. Until the 1990's, those who disagreed with the positions passed through these media were consequently branded saboteurs/enemies of the state leading to detention, assassination or forced exile (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1987, Ochieng, 1992). This is also evident in the problematic process of acquiring broadcast licenses in Kenya during the KANU regime. George Ogola, (2011:85) with a focus on the Royal Media Group (now Royal Media Services Ltd) owned by Samuel Kamau Macharia, attests that 'Macharia's entry into the media industry revealed a problematic face of media liberalization in Kenya. Broadcast license acquisition was based mainly on political connections and state patronage'. Ogola further reveals that the Royal Media's license was temporarily withdrawn when Macharia began associating with the then opposition leader Mwai Kibaki. Macharia only got his licenses back when he renounced his ties with Kibaki and formed a

¹ Article titled *World Radio Day* by unknown author. Published in Digicast Magazine. <http://digicastmagazine.com/issue/january-2012/article/world-radio-day#.UinzEMaxZhw>

“development group”² in Central Kenya with senior KANU functionaries in 1999 (Ogola 2011:86). Unfortunately, KBC’s aim of propagating national integration was hindered by the very same system intended to achieve it. Heath (1997:38) argues that majority of the public lacked confidence in KBC as a source of news and information referring to it as the KANU broadcasting corporation. KBC had frequently been criticized for failing to report on major events and for giving too much attention to the ruling party. A principal line of contention in the 1992 election campaign was the KBC’s failure to cover, except in negative ways, opposition parties and even to refuse to carry paid political ads from those parties until a month before election (Heath, 1997: 38).

Despite the above challenges and shortcomings, KBC remained the sole broadcaster until liberalization of the airwaves came within this newly emerging democratic landscape in the early 1990s, allowing for the licensing of Frequency Modulation (FM) radio stations to broadcast, within a limited radius, initially covering the capital city, Nairobi, and its immediate environs only. This also marked the period when civil unrest in the country forced the government to repeal the law prohibiting multi-partism.³ For most of the period between 1992 and 2006 when the media began to be a thriving industry, it has played a substantial role in mediating relationships between citizens and the state, in shaping the democratic dispensation in the country, and in radically transforming how some of the most marginalized members of society access information on issues that shape their lives (Maina, 2007). The latest research on radio listening carried out by AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya (2009) supports this by revealing that as is the case in many developing countries, radio is an indispensable tool for delivering development information in Kenya. Steadman Research group’s (2008) statistics reveal that audience reaches noting that about 16.7 million Kenyans listen to radio (12.4 in rural and 4.4 % in urban areas) (Oriarie, 2009:8). These statistics, informed by radio’s characteristic as a dominant communication medium because it is inexpensive, available to citizens at all

² These groups characterized by their strong affiliation and support for KANU. They were meant to unite regional elites to coalesce around KANU in exchange for socio-economic favors and opportunities.

³ Information on registered political parties in Kenya by: Softkenya, All about Kenya. <http://softkenya.com/politics/political-parties-in-kenya/> [Accessed 27 February 2009]

levels of society including the less literate and due to its pervasiveness, it is well placed to reach out and give voice to marginalized groups, (Bonny Apunyu, 2011:57).⁴

With these glowing statistics emerged the popularity of FM radio broadcasting in Kenya which can be also be referenced to the amendment of Section 2A⁵ of Kenya's Constitution in 1991. This amendment catalysed the expansion of the democratic space and heralded the re-introduction of a multiparty political system in Kenya. Before this development, KANU was the only political party after a law was enacted in 1982 making Kenya a one party state. Interestingly though, even in this new found democratic terrain, the privately owned commercial FM radio stations were only allowed to air entertainment programs: music, petulant talk shows, and call-ins. This was also observed by the BBC Monitoring Database 2008 which states that the content of these stations that came up after a new law further liberalized the media was music and entertainment while KBC radio maintained its sole position as the government mouthpiece of the ruling party KANU. Ogola (2011:86) concurs with this idea noting that these stations were mostly focused on entertainment programming and the state actually considered them as conveniently providing what he refers to as the "necessary illusion" of media diversity.

Fred Obera (2007) observes that in the wake of the democratic transitions that occurred in the 1990's which brought a wind of change of a multiparty system in Kenya, a new player emerged in the Kenyan media industry, radio began to flourish as the state grip on airwaves loosened, ending the era of broadcasting monopoly. Obera asserts that audience demand quickly encouraged the stations to focus much of their airtime on popular public discussion forums that led to the advent of talk radio shows in Kenya in 1999. Private FM

⁴ Mary Omosa & Dorothy McCormick's, (2004) research on the state of the media in Kenya established that about 78% of the country's rural population own radio sets, making it a medium that is highly used daily. There are over 11 community radio stations across the country; about 7.5 million radio sets (1.9 million in urban and 5.6 million in rural areas and about 16.7 radio listeners across the country with 12.4 million in rural and 4.4 million in towns, (Mbeke Oriare, 2008:6). The audience research established that 89 percent of Kenyan adults are radio listeners, using the medium as a regular source of news and information.

⁵ This is the Section in the Kenyan constitution that declared Kenya a *de jure* one party state. http://www.mlgi.org.za/resources/local-government-database/by-country/kenya/commission-reports/Devolution%20and%20constitutional%20development%20papers.pdf?&lang=en_us&output=json&session-id=680d9dd4d572454e7f0c531b1d3eb19a

radio stations, according to Collier (2009a:21), are the ‘big phenomenon in Africa at the moment’. Helge Ronning (1994) affirms that radio is a uniquely democratic medium that when used in a decentralized manner, may give local people and communities an opportunity to express their grievances and opinions in representative discussions. A feature of these stations has been the introduction of political talk shows and call-ins, which have emerged as a new and popular way to stimulate citizen participation in public affairs (Peter Mwesige 2009). Mwesige’s assertion is evident in the Kenyan radio landscape where the talk avenue is made available through radio. Audiences use this avenue to air their grievances or views regarding different subject matters. Most private non-state broadcasting activity in Kenya has been in radio. Capital FM, a private radio station was the first FM station to broadcast in Nairobi in 1996.⁶ Capital FM’s presence on air was treated with jubilation from the listeners because it drifted them from the “normal” broadcasts of KBC, mostly in Kiswahili, to a station that broadcasts news and music in English. Many more private radio stations were established soon after that. Before 2000, there existed nine radio stations in Kenya, with a national coverage. These were, KBC English (1928) and Kiswahili (1953), Capital FM (1996), BBC (1998), Sound Asia (1999), Nation/Easy FM (1999), Metro East (1999), Kiss FM, and Radio Citizen FM (1999). This number has grown significantly especially after the establishment of the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK)⁷ in February 1999 by the Kenya Communications Act, 1998. Since 2000, the introduction of thirty-four new stations brought the total number of radio stations in 2005 to forty-nine (Republic of Kenya, 2006b; CCK, 2005b).

An Inter Media survey carried out in the period between January and December 2005 established that the upsurge of FM radio stations was a result of liberalization of the airwaves, giving listeners a wide range of listening choices, particularly entertainment services (InterMedia, 2005). This is similar to the results of the research on radio listening

⁶ Radio Citizen Manager Waweru Mburu in an interview carried out on 22 December 2009 at the Radio Citizen studios.

⁷ A regulatory body that ensures that standards of quality of the communication facilities are maintained in both service and equipment provided. It guarantees the protection of consumer and investor interest, national safety, safety of human life, and to the needs of public telecommunications, and mass media (broadcasting). <http://www.cck.go.ke/> [Accessed 06 January 2009]

trends in Kenya carried out by Synovate Pan Africa⁸ between July and September 2009. Regionally-based vernacular language stations (broadcasting in languages other than English or Kiswahili) that were previously considered a threat to state security now abound and continue to operate. Despite KBC, a state owned media outlet airing vernacular programs in various regions in the country using the MW signals, the then president of Kenya Daniel Arap Moi rebuked the move by Kameme FM, the pioneer of vernacular radio, set up in 2000. Kameme FM fell afoul of the president after only six-months of broadcasting. Moi stated, "This vernacular radio station (Kameme FM) should be banned because we have seen that ethnic radio stations can be misused to incite anarchy and genocide as happened in neighbouring Rwanda" (Lucas Barasa, 2008). He claimed that the stations were creating tribal chiefs and disseminating divisive politics and messages, (Barasa, 2008) and clamped down local-language media seen to represent ethnic alliances and their interests (George Ogola 2011:82). However, Nderitu, (2008) highlights that in a strange turn of events, the Moi Administration went ahead to launch an official vernacular FM station, *Inooro*, that also broadcasted in the Kikuyu language. Coincidentally, taking up 22% of the entire 34 million populace that cuts across 43 disparate communities the Kikuyu tribe is numerically the country's largest. Today almost all 43 ethnic groups in Kenya have attachments to particular vernacular FM stations (Nderitu, 2008).

In addition to the stated elements, as argued by Peter Wanyande, (1995) the state continued to suppress attempts by the media to expose its shortcomings even after the advent of multi-party politics in the 1990's. The conflict between the media in Kenya and the state intensified with the media accusing the state of undermining its freedom and right to inform and educate the public on matters of public importance by articulating both the good and the bad. The media was not blameless in the state-media relationship and was variously accused of peddling falsehoods that have caused instability in the country. A vivid observation was after the 2007-8 post-election violence. FM talk radio stations' credibility was tainted during this period which left indelible imprints across the country that exposed the tortured road Kenya was still likely tread towards democratic

⁸ A global market research company which carried out the latest media survey on radio trends by topography in Kenya

consolidation (Murunga 2011:6). Talk radio's role in Kenya's post-election violence placed talk show hosts at the center of attention. As argued by Abdi & Deane (2008), 'the live phone-in programs hosted by opinionated and outspoken radio presenters who attract high audiences - and consequently higher advertising revenues - are likely to turn to hate-talk - as was the case of Kenya in the postelection violence in January 2008'. The country's Independent Review Commission (IRC), which is tasked with investigating Kenya's post-election violence, noted that particular radio talk shows, (especially vernacular radio) meant to provide the public access to diverse platforms to freely exchange information and participate in civil discourse were 'immature'. They observed too that some used vernacular language to incite reactions from audiences when results went against their own political expectations.

In view of the Kenyan political and media background, the FM stations mentioned earlier in this chapter exist both as spaces for inciting violence and division on the one hand, but also avenues for enabling democratic conversations on the other. This background leads this study in the attempt to read *Jambo Kenya* within scholarship on talk radio.

1.4 Talk Radio Show History in Kenya: *Jambo Kenya*

Polycarp Ochillo and Peter Wanyande (2007) discuss the role of the media in facilitating political transition in Kenya, especially since the early 1990s. Their main argument is that the Kenyan media has travelled a long and difficult road in its attempts to achieve relative autonomy from the state to allow it to facilitate popular participation in the public affairs of the country. They argue that in the transition from authoritarianism to democracy, the public requires a channel through which citizens can individually and collectively express their ideas about their governance. This is in line with the argument posed by different scholars including Francis Nyamnjoh (2005), Fred Mudhai (2007), Phillip Ochieng (1992), and Guy Collender (2007) that the media ought to play the lofty fourth estate role of being the watchdog and gatekeeper of broad societal interests. This is because the media has the potential of mediating between state and public in democratic governance of a country and also as defenders of public interest. This concern relates to how Crack (2008:15) sees the

public sphere as an important arena in which different people can participate in governance, with one of its main advantages being the possibility it creates for equitable involvement of many people.

The change in patterns of contemporary radio programs in Kenya is revealed in the advent of talk shows in Kenya, which opened up the space for Kenyan citizens to air their views and opinions about matters that concerned them as a nation. Before this transition, KBC as the sole public broadcaster had been in existence during the Moi rule that spanned 1978 to 2002. Its content of ideological inclination, tradition and of course the need to control access to information by a fidgety and suspicious public was dictated and funded by the government⁹ (Mwaka, 2011:219; Public Broadcasting in Africa Series: 2011). The content is arguably one that was meant to unite Kenyans, seeking to promote patriotism and promote the national motto- “*Harambee*” (Swahili) meaning ‘Let us all pull together’. KBC adopted various means to impress the government, including using the party’s anthem “KANU yajenga nchi” (KANU is building the nation) as its signal tune (Kiarie 2004:62). It also constantly adopted patriotic music in its programming. There was massive selection of news to suit the KANU regime, and there was massive propaganda to suit the government. It is important to note that KBC did not air any talk show. A void existed in the fact that KBC was a government mouthpiece and its broadcasts were of an uncritical view of the government, only meant to inform, educate, entertain and increasing the understanding of the government’s development strategies (Collender, 2007). This, Ogola (2011:84) argues, was the period in which a notable attempt by the private news media to capture the state’s nation-building discourse as transitional narratives began to filter into and define the political agenda of the country. Despite their commercial imperative, Radio Citizen competed against KBC by taking over the project of “nationalization” that was a signature of KBC during the Moi era. One of the main contributions Radio Citizen has made has been to fill the void left by KBC, by introducing

⁹ The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Act section 37 (1989, amended in 2009) states: the Government may make grants to the Corporation as are necessary for the purposes of the Corporation and for carrying this Act into effect. <http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/report/MAIN%20report%20final%20web%20res.pdf>

a talk radio show, *Jambo Kenya*, following similar aims and themes as KBC, based on nationalism and citizenship concerns.

Media liberalization led the media to be particularly instrumental in exposing the weaknesses of the government and giving the pro-democracy forces a channel through which they engaged the government and the conservative forces that supported the status quo (Wanyande, 2009, 14). As of June 2011 Kenya had approximately, ninety-six licensed FM radio stations on air, some broadcasting regionally while others nationally (Media Monitoring Report 2011:3). Ninety percent of these radio stations include talk shows in their program line up. Worthwhile to note is that there are no talk radio stations in Kenya, but that radio stations, with a mixed genre of programs, have scheduled talk shows in their program line up.

This suggestion is reflected in this study's choice to carry out an instrumental case study research on Radio Citizen, a privately owned commercial FM radio station that was the first FM station to have a talk program in Kenya, *Jambo Kenya*, established on the first of March, 1999. An instrumental case study refers to a study (of a person, specific group, occupation, department, organization) done to provide a general insight/understanding of a phenomenon, redraw generalizations using a particular case or build theory (Kenneth Harling, 2002 and Gina Grandy, 2010:474). This research's focus - Radio Citizen - became the first FM station in Kenya to broadcast outside Nairobi. The station is hosted by Royal Media Services Ltd, a radio and TV group founded in 1999 by businessman Samuel Kamau Macharia and is home to ten other radio stations¹⁰ and one (1) television station under the Citizen brand. It operates 8 broadcasts in vernacular language stations which are very popular with their mainly rural target audiences, while 2 broadcast in English and Kiswahili. According to the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK), Royal Media Services owns a total of 62 FM frequencies, of which it uses 42. That makes it Kenya's

¹⁰ Other local broadcasting FM radio stations to which Royal Media Services is home to include: Inooro FM, Ramogi FM, Mulembe FM, Musyi FM, Muuga FM, Chemgei FM, Egesa FM, Wimwaro FM, (broadcasts in vernacular language) Bahari FM and Hot 96 (Broadcast in English and Kiswahili). All these stations have a format that centers around the lives of the audiences focusing on their everyday surrounding.

most prolific broadcaster,¹¹ surpassing KBC, which broadcasts on just 30 frequencies (Infosaid Project, 2013). This research's choice of Radio Citizen is based on the fact that Radio Citizen has the widest reach of all the other Royal Media Services stations whose targets are regional- as per the language they broadcast in. Radio Citizen's programming ranges from entertainment to informative shows. (See Appendix V on shows aired on Radio Citizen and a brief synopsis of each). Radio Citizen's listenership, according to a current survey research conducted in July and August 2009 by AudienceScapes National survey of Kenya was classified as the top having 46% of the respondents who were radio listeners tuning into the station, (See Appendix I).

Radio Citizen is also an FM station that facilitates citizens' opinion by providing a forum for citizens to do so through *Jambo Kenya*. The call-in listeners often regard the hosts as credible, if not authoritative, sources of information and opinions. It is important to note therefore, that talk radio shows in Kenya have, from their inception, attracted many call-in listeners who always seek to contribute to matters aired by the presenters or their fellow listeners. Participation is open to any listeners who call-in or send a text message hence allowing for a democratic public sphere in the Habermasian sense. This excludes an understanding of audiences that have been co-opted by institutions through quantification and measurement as pointed out by Ien Ang (1991). In the study of the content disseminated by *Jambo Kenya*, the audiences that are addressed are those who choose to participate in the program through call-ins. These listeners participate either by calling into the show, sending text messages, or participating in the vox pops. By choosing to participate, these audiences cease to be individuals and constitute themselves as members of a collective public.

¹¹ Other talk radio shows launched since the liberation of the airwaves in Kenya included Kiss FM, launched in 2000 broadcasting Crossfire, a weekly political show just before Kenya's general elections in 2002. The program ran every Sunday, hosted by head of KISS FM radio Patrick Quarcoo. There were panellists and guests invited to the show from time to time. In 2005, Classic FM was launched and started broadcasting its talk show People's Parliament in 2006. Hosted by Jimmy Gathu, People's Parliament gave people an opportunity to express their views on political matters. The program ran between Sunday and Thursday each week and cut a niche in agenda setting. Other Programs such as 'Up Close and Candid', 'On the Spot', 'Showdown', 'Third Opinion' and 'Newslines' were avenues through which the media interrogated different personalities including high ranking government officials on national issues, (Margaret Chemengich, 2009: 27).

Radio Citizen airs two other current affairs programs that aid participation: *Good Evening Kenya* and *Yaliyotendeka*. *Good Evening Kenya* broadcasts in English. A topic that is of interest to the Kenyan public is selected to allow debate. *Yaliyotendeka* is a commentary show aired in the late evening. It is broadcasted in Kiswahili, hosted by Waweru Mburu, the head of radio programming. During this show, Waweru selects a contentious topic based on the day's events, and leads listeners to discussing it by inviting their opinions. *Jambo Kenya* comes on air at a prime time 7:00a.m to 8:15a.m as indicated in a research carried out between July and September 2009 by Synovate Pan Africa Company on trends in Kenyan radio stations. According to the research, 6:00am and 9:00am is the time when most people listen to radio and are in a position to participate in the radio debates. Such debates are framed around an "imagined" democratic space where contentious issues concerning economic, political and social matters. This space is "imagined" because it is an avenue that cannot be seen and the participants are not able to have a face-to-face interaction. Imagined spaces have been interrogated by Benedict Anderson, (2006:49, 1991:6) who, in his interrogation on nations and nationalism as a creation of an imagined community formed through the media notes that

...It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined (2006:49).

The program's community is therefore forged through voices and sounds of strangers who come together to deliberate issues of common interest. Through the show, the public and the government monitor political views of Kenyans. The *Jambo Kenya* show brings different issues to the forefront through thought-provoking dialogue. It is a multi-host interactive show in which two studio presenters interact with the callers while moderating the program. These presenters are also the producers of the show. The radio's slogan is in Kiswahili: *Chemichemi ya ukweli*, or "fountain of truth". During the show, the presenters use the *Jambo Kenya* slogan, with repetitions of it at intervals "*Mjadala wa Jambo Kenya-Mjadala wa Mwananchi. Kuzungumza ni kuelewana*". This means; "*Jambo Kenya's* debate, the citizen's debate, dialogue breeds consensus". This slogan as will be discussed further in chapter four plays the role of encouraging the listeners to air their views and

debate various issues that affect their day to day lives. *Jambo Kenya* comes on air five days every week (Monday - Friday). The show features topics selected based on the latest contentious issues in the country. Politics, sports, and business news, the weather, the traffic watch and a music play-list drawn from classic African hits and music by cross-over artistes are also featured to make a high energy, entertaining and informative breakfast show. The session between 7a.m. through to 7:15 a.m. is dubbed *Dira ya Radio Citizen*, a session whose content is the first main bulletin of the day followed by the commentary, traffic watch and weather. *Jambo Kenya's* debate begins at 7:15a.m through to 8:15a.m. (This is discussed later in chapter four where the structure and strategies employed in running the show will be discussed). The structure of the show includes brief advertisements from the sponsors, 30 to 60 seconds' stints of news, and music. Each caller is given a maximum time of 1 minute, while each advertisement runs for approximately 20 seconds while each music track is played for approximately two minutes.

The structure of *Jambo Kenya* as space of exchanging ideas has been influenced significantly by the evolution of mobile telephony, which has made it possible for an increasingly wide range of listeners to air their views on issues discussed in the show. Given the previously closed public space, the introduction of mobile phone has certainly has a positive effect on the development of talk radio shows. During the former one-party state period, audiences could send letters to the editor, as well as call in using landline phones. However, these systems were either slow or expensive, leading to a reduced percentage of participants in comparison to the present period. Douglas (2002:51) acknowledges that in Kenya, cellular phones have played an important role in both the control and expansion of the democratic space; enabling its users to call in to radio talk shows. Mobile phones' inbuilt radios allow people to listen to radio on mobile phones free of charge wherever they are; demonstrating an extension of the private sphere within the public space. After the liberalization of communication in Kenya, the mobile phone usage provided citizens with opportunities to get access to the opposition parties' political agenda and strategies. Mobile telephony also provided the citizens arguably for the first time with a chance to question the political class by using the phones to call in to talk radio shows.

Radio Citizen therefore, with the help of mobile technology, opened up this communicative space which this research refers to as the “closed” public sphere by giving the listeners a chance to air their issues, and debate various developments happening in the country (AudienceScapes national survey: 2009). Through the mobile phones, the listeners who are unable to call-in can send text messages through Short Message Service (SMS) method. Text messages are a way of facilitating communication processes by those audiences who are unable to call in. In as much as mobile phones have had a positive influence on the growth of the democratic space, they have also made the circulation of hateful and violent messages possible (Goldstein and Rotich 2008). Goldstein and Rotich’s 2008 study revealed that digital technology, through SMS uprising played a role in a moment where the predatory and the civic impulses of Kenya collided violently during the 2007/2008 post-election violence. During this troubled time, mobile phones were used to stoke and spread violence. SMS in particular were sent to spread rumors and fear, to call for revenge, and to organize weapons distribution and attacks. Election-related violence had happened before in Kenya, but previous violence had never spread so fast and so extensively.¹² In this thesis, I focus on the more positive function of mobile telephony, emphasizing its role in expanding the democratic space. I therefore analyze text messages as a way of ensuring participation for the listeners who are unable to call in. The show also engages with its audience, from the invitation of guest speakers to discuss ways of tackling fundamental political concerns, to the inclusion of vox pop. One can therefore not assume that the views of callers are identical to those of listeners or that the views of listeners reflect the views of the public, that is why the researcher sought to study vox pop as a form of audience participation because the views of members of the public are likely to be directly and transparently communicated to the viewer/listener (Rod Brookes *et al.* 2004).

The vox pops aired on *Jambo Kenya*, is a means of taking the studio to the public. Here, the citizens are routinely heard on radio and their opinion of the day’s issue count into the content production. Citizens are given a chance to air their views wherever they are, be it

¹²Brown, R. (2013). SMS for Peace: Preventing Electoral Violence in Kenya with Mobile Phones. *Building Peace. A forum for Peace and Security in the 21st Century*. <http://buildingpeaceforum.com/2013/07/sms-for-peace-preventing-electoral-violence-in-kenya-with-mobile-phones/>

on the streets, in offices, in parliament, in restaurants or in schools. The participants to the vox pop in this study formed part of the audience whose views are recorded and aired during the show. Vox pops are a form of reporting on public opinion, which contributes immensely to other views raised by the call-in listeners. The use of the opinions of ordinary members of the public adds a useful dimension to the coverage of a topic that might otherwise be limited to a straight bulletin report or a studio discussion among officials or experts. Robert McLeish (1994) notes that it is easier to select a specific grouping appropriate to a particular topic for example early risers, commuters, children or public service vehicle drivers. If the question is to do with an increase in petrol prices, one will find motorists with some fairly predictable comment.

The *Jambo Kenya* show is run by the producers who are also the show's presenters, Vincent Ateya, Lincoln Njogu and Francis Luchivya. Ateya has since left Radio Citizen. Francis Luchivya currently produces and presents the show most of the time. At other times, when deemed necessary, the producers and presenters of the show invite a studio guest, who is usually an expert in the field of discussion. The guests are well promoted beforehand. Most of the contentious issues that need attention include those that hinder the process of democratization, sharpening the issues under discussion and indicative of a critical attitude to political matters. For example, on 6 April 2009 a few call-in members of the audience blamed the constitution of Kenya for hindering national development. The callers were aggrieved that the constitution needed to be implemented so that sanctions against individuals and groups that hinder national cohesion and undermine integration could be enforced. They called for constitutional reforms. To handle this issue, the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Ms. Martha Karua was invited to the show to address some of the major concerns that were being raised. On this occasion, the debate carried out was between the call-in audience and the studio guest. On such occasions, presenters act as moderators. The presenters often ensure that they have done sufficient research that enables them to moderate the show, even in cases when there are no studio guests who are experts on particular areas. At other times, comedians are also present in the studio to lighten the mood and provide listeners with comic relief. The comedian,

whose role and value has been discussed in more detail in chapter 4, incorporates humour by countering arguments, offering opposing views to those of the presenter and/or the listeners, and generally acting as a catalyst when arguments become heated.

Despite the media's importance in the development of "new" citizenship in democratic African societies, the role of media has remained quite blurred, (Ullamaija Kivikuru, 2006). The Kenyan experience of radio as a tool for democratic participation is therefore important to this study because, the Radio Citizen's producers came up with *Jambo Kenya*, whose aim is to allow a democratic expression of view and to create the possibility of community and government action. *Jambo Kenya* is not a purely political talk show where call-in audiences express their opinions during elections but it regards democracy as a continuous process therefore political issues are discussed whenever they are contentious. Democracy, because of its concern with the inclusion of the people within political decision-making processes, is one of the key sites of the articulation of the concept of participation (Nico Carpentier, 2011:15). *Jambo Kenya* enhances participatory democracy as a process emphasizing the broad participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political systems. The show also features guests from the gamut of business, religion, entertainment, the civil service and politics.¹³

Across the nation, *Jambo Kenya*'s audiences have made the show part of their breakfast radio routine, evident from the numerous calls and text messages that are received by the hosts of the show. *Jambo Kenya* cannot be studied without paying attention to the contradictions inherent in its production and the decisions that eventually affect content. Francis Lee (2007) argues that talk radio is not a journalistic medium bounded by the norms of objectivity and neutrality. Instead, the hosts and other speakers often employ persuasive communication techniques on the shows, and the overall contents of many radio talk shows exhibit clear and strong biases. In Kenya, these biases are in most cases manifested through commercialization, thus through the sponsors of the show, the media

¹³ Radio Citizen Manager Waweru Mburu in an interview carried out in January 2010 at the Radio Citizen studios.

house's political and social ideologies. Contemporary Kenya has experienced moments when FM stations have been deemed as problematic spaces accused of serving the interests of their owners, politicians or the elite in the society. Evident during the 2007/8 post-election violence period when ODM and PNU found surrogate voices mainly in the local-language media, which demonstrated most acutely the emergent political schism that in many ways revolved around ethno political interests (Ogola 2011:88). Keith Sommerville (2011:82) asserts that during and after the 2007/8 post-election violence in Kenya, media monitors, human rights groups, politicians and journalists accused sections of the Kenyan media of broadcasting messages of hate and inciting ethnic hatred and violence. Sommerville notes that "radio stations broadcasting to the Kalenjin, Luo and Kikuyu communities in their own languages were accused of deliberately and knowingly fanning ethnic suspicion, advocating violence against "others" and disseminating messages of hatred and incitement" (Sommerville, 2011: 83). The media in this instance was not used as a democratic space. Former radio broadcaster Joshua Sang was named by Louis Moreno O'Campo, the International Criminal Court (ICC) prosecutor at the time, as one of the six Kenyans suspected of committing crimes against humanity. Sang, currently facing trial at the ICC is accused of using his daily talk show *Lenee Emet* on KASS FM to mobilize young men and urging them to attack perceived enemies of the Kalenjin people for political gain.¹⁴ As Sommerville indicates, "Joshua Sang spread propaganda instigating violence against the non- Kalenjin population and calling for their eviction," and also spread "messages [that] were broadcasted on Kass FM for the erection of roadblocks" (Sommerville, 2011:36).

Elections clearly, offer an opportunity for interrogating the extent to which the media can be seen to function as democratic spaces. IED (1997), Okoth Ogendo (1972) and Kivutha Kibwana *et al.*: (1996) variously acknowledge that Kenya's elections, like most elections that have been held in Africa, have been held in atmospheres that are far from being free

¹⁴ Article by standard digital reporter. *Joshua Sang defends International Criminal Court crimes against humanity charges.* http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000093328&story_title=sang-defends-icc-crimes-against-humanity-charges [Accessed September 11 2013]

and fair. The decision as to who won elections during the KANU years was not always determined by the voters but by the party leadership who ensured that only party elites were elected. This system of tampering with elections and their outcome(s) effectively entrenched the politics of patronage with elections characterized by anarchy, corruption, and violence (Throup and Hornsby, 1998). The transition into multi-partyism was a result of internal pressure from emergent civil society and political activists as well as externally from the western democracies, International Financial Institutions (IFIs) in what is known as the Third Wave of democratization, (Huntington 1991, Kirschke, 2000). Ken Omolo (2002:215) for instance, argued that

Superficially, the process of democratization in Kenya has made a significant effect on the socio-political topography. Since late 1991 a multi-party political system has been put in place and many political parties now exist in competition with the ruling party and theoretically offer alternative governments. Political life itself is relatively more relaxed, civil liberties are generally guaranteed, and associational life has witnessed an increased vibrancy marked with a buoyant civil society that is ever keen to point out the mistakes of the ruling elite (215).

The superficiality of the democratic process mentioned above provides an avenue to further interrogate the levels of political 'freedom' currently in existence in Kenya. Examples of such tensions abound. Delays in the ballot count in late December 2007 and the controversy over the announcement that Mwai Kibaki had been re-elected as President of Kenya sparked an outbreak of violence which mounted in intensity and brutality that continued for months (CIPEV, 2008). With president Mwai Kibaki being from the Kikuyu ethnic community and Raila Odinga, his closest rival being from the Luo ethnic community, the election seemed to have tapped into an atavistic vein of ethnic tension that always lay beneath the surface in Kenya which until 2007, had not ruptured. The consequence of this conflict was massive violence and deaths, destruction of property and means of livelihood, fear and insecurity in society, and massive internal population displacement. Between 1,200 and 1,500 people died and over 660,000 were displaced from their homes and localities (Somerville, 2012:208). Protests and violence, clearly sparked by the controversial presidential results, rapidly took on the appearance of an ethnic struggle between Luo and Kalenjin supporters of Raila Odinga and the Orange Democratic

Movement (ODM) and mainly Kikuyu supporters or perceived supporters of Kibaki's Party of National Unity (PNU). Godwin Murunga (2011:8) argues that this violence occurred in three forms: spontaneous, premeditated or planned and state-directed. Murunga asserts that all these forms were connected in one way or other to historical injustices relating to land, human rights abuse and the political class's obstinate refusal to institute long-overdue and wide-ranging political reforms (Murunga, 2011, 8).

The rapid escalation of the crisis provoked swift reactions from the international community. These included visits to the country by the then Chairperson of the African Union and President of Ghana John Kufuor, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, and the Forum of Former African Heads of State and Government led by former Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano. When all efforts to halt the violence failed, the African Union mandated a Panel of Eminent African Personalities, chaired by Kofi Annan with former Tanzanian President Benjamin Mkapa and former Mozambican Minister and First Lady Graça Machel as members, to find a peaceful resolution to the crisis. On 29 January 2008, one week after the Panel's arrival in Nairobi, the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) was formally launched in a meeting between the Panel and the two Principals – President Mwai Kibaki who heads the Party of National Unity (PNU) and Right Honourable Raila Odinga leader of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM).¹⁵ Amos Wako, the then Kenya's Attorney General stated that

The National Accord and Reconciliation Bill, 2008 [was] a bill for an act of parliament to give effect to the agreement on the principles of partnership of the coalition government to foster national accord and reconciliation, to provide for the formation of a coalition government and the establishment of the offices of prime minister, deputy prime ministers and ministers of the government of Kenya, their functions and various matters connected with the incidental to the foregoing. This would create a grand executive coalition between the ODM and PNU (2008).

¹⁵ Kofi Annan foundation focuses on sustainable development, peace and security, human rights and the rule of law <http://kofiannanfoundation.org/kenya> and Introduction to KNDR <http://www.dialoguekenya.org/> [Accessed 06 May 2011]

Following the mayhem and eventual agreement to form a coalition government, the role played by radio stations were brought to the limelight. Radio Citizen especially, was picked on as a possible space for displaying an ethnic bias. The *Newsweek* magazine (January 03, 2008) highlighting issues of tribalism in Kenya, singled out Radio Citizen and the perception that it would give coverage to PNU (one of the two most popular political parties) and not the rest (Juma, 2008). This perception was informed by the fact that President Kibaki, a member of the Kikuyu ethnic community; similar to that of Samuel Kamau Macharia the owner of Radio Citizen. However, this was not the case. It is unfortunate that it came at a time when leading and existing media houses in Kenya were assumed to be serving commercial and political interests at the expense of Kenyan citizens. The bias against the Kikuyu was due to what was seen as a political advantage given the community's history since Kenya's independence (Ongolo, 2008). Since winning office in 2002, Kibaki has been perceived as favoring the Kikuyu and ignoring the country's 41 other ethnic communities.¹⁶ Odinga, a Luo, would have destabilized the Kikuyu hegemony, and many Kenyans saw Kibaki's retention of office as a continuation of a tribal, despotic and nepotistic order (Ouma and Ambani, 2008).

In the view of the post-election violence conflict, *Jambo Kenya*, just like several other media outlets, intervened to calm the tensions fed by other media discourses. *Jambo Kenya* formed part of the media groups that urgently appealed for calm and collective prayers, running joint editorials in Kenya's main newspapers and avoiding sensationalism and comments likely to aggravate ethnic divisions. The line taken was *peace above all*. Senior media figures, the Ministry of Information and European Union (EU) observers pointed approvingly to the muted coverage of post-election violence, although not everyone agreed with this course of action.¹⁷ Radio Citizen in choosing to participate in the 'peace project'

¹⁶ The 42 tribes of Kenya are: Luo, Kalenjin, Elgeyo, Kipsigis, Marakwet, Nandi, Pokot, Sabaot, Terik, Tugen, Kamba, Kikuyu, Kisii, Kuria, Maasai, Sengwer, Meru, Mijikenda, Embu, Luhya, Chonyi, Digo, Duruma, Giriama, Jibana, Kamba, Kauma, Ribe, Rabai, Orma, Pokomo, Samburu, Somali, Swahili, Taita, Taveta, Turkana, Rendile, Okiek and Oromo. <http://www.kenyanview.com/kenyantribes/kenyaweb.htm> [Accessed 04 February 2009]

¹⁷ How far to go? Kenya's media caught in the turmoil of a failed election. <http://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/publications/kenya-how-far-to-go.pdf> [Accessed 01 October 2010]

managed to remain open while many other radio stations were shut down. With the temporary banning of other stations, Radio Citizen was able to locate itself centrally in ensuring that the healing process could begin. This research does not however seek to analyze the role of *Jambo Kenya* during the turbulent 2008 post-election violence period, but seeks to focus on exploring the aftermath of the 2007/8 upheavals, after everything had calmed down, in order to interrogate Habermas' relevance in reading democracy as a continuous process. *Jambo Kenya* played a very significant role in reconfiguration of the media by creating an avenue through which media could be accountable and be part of democratization in Kenya.

It is against this background that this study interrogates the role of talk radio shows in mediating debates in the public sphere. It focuses on the content, structure and strategies deployed by Radio Citizen, through *Jambo Kenya* in both the control and expansion of the democratic space for the Kenyan citizens to have their say in one way or another on the opportunities created as well as challenges facing them in political and socio-economic governance, human rights, nationhood, citizenship, corruption, and their ultimate involvement in governance of the country. In this study, the term "talk radio" will be used to refer to radio call-in talk shows about politics and public affairs in Kenya.

1.5 Rationale for Studying Talk Radio Shows in Kenya

Africa's emerging independent media have begun to assume centre stage in the democratic process and develop into alternative power centres to their respective governments. They exercise this power by encouraging and empowering the public to shed the culture of silence that characterised them for decades. Christopher Odhiambo (2007:151), notes that

FM radio stations in Kenya have played a fundamental and significant role in confronting the culture of silence and in the process enabling and nurturing the democratic space. This has enabled FM stations to intervene on issues and matters that are of great concern to the general public (151).

Odhiambo's assertion is evident in the advent of talk radio shows in Kenya as spheres for public debate. Deane James and Ismail Jamal Abdi (2008, 322) concur and assert that talk radio in Kenya has become an outlet for public debate and an expression of voices that had

been suppressed for decades, moving from the period when KBC was the sole public broadcaster that was government controlled. These voices are angry, disaffected, and determined to have change. Such outlets are arguably vital in situations where tensions have to be defused through public debate. *Jambo Kenya* has provided this much needed avenue to call-in listeners who have raised different issues that are contentious to democratization of the country. Evidently, through *Jambo Kenya*, audience participation is one of the leading and most diverse civil society networks, enabling talk radio to act as an avenue of strengthening civil society through knowledge sharing by the audiences who call into the show, and use it both as a forum and as a companion. Just as Jack Balkin (2004:4) notes “a democratic culture is a culture in which individuals have a fair opportunity to participate in the forms of meaning making that constitute them as individuals; it is about each individual’s ability to participate in the production and distribution of culture.” In similar fashion, Murej Mak’Ochieng (1996) argues that

The media in any African country should play two significant roles in order to actively facilitate the democratic process. First, the African media should be a political sphere or public forum accessible to all contending political players, groups and interests whose objective is the deliberation of common public issues or affairs and the framing and influencing of public policy. The African media should also seek to redress the imbalance of power in society by broadening access to the public domain in these societies where elites have privileged access to it. Second, it should be an active, involved player or participant in such deliberations.

Participation therefore remains unidirectional, articulated as a contribution to the public sphere but often mainly serving the needs and interests of the mainstream media system itself, instrumentalizing and incorporating the activities of participating non-professionals (Carpentier, 2011: 69). Talk radio broadcasting, as an avenue for participation is a two-way stream in which audiences are active receivers of the messages; therefore the significance of audiences in public debates and discussions about the standards of democratic quality of the Kenyan society and the state was also investigated while studying *Jambo Kenya*. The study focused on active audiences; the call-in audiences/listeners, those who send text messages and those who participate in vox pops. Call-in audiences are important in the study of how talk radio plays the role of the fourth estate which has immense political and social power to check the other three arms of the state, the legislature, the executive and

the judiciary. Once they call-in, the listeners cease to be individuals, and as noted by Geoff Eley, (1994) they confer in an unrestricted fashion with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions about matters of general interest to the public. Hellen Wolfenden (2012:387) also notes that in radio the audience and the broadcaster cannot be thought of as independent of each other, both are active in constituting this symbiotic relationship

Jambo Kenya as a talk radio show is a significant vehicle of public opinion in Kenya. It came into the public sphere as champions of democracy through the manner in which they mediated and negotiated democracy. This is evident in the content it disseminates that ties with the two significant roles that Mak'Ochieng suggests that talk radio should be; a political sphere or public forum accessible to all, and be an active, involved player or participant in deliberations of common public issues or affairs and the framing and influencing of public policy. *Jambo Kenya* is a participatory, deliberative, and empowered sphere that has great potential for revitalizing democracy, creating new forms of citizenship and contributing to tangible developmental outcomes in Kenya. As noted by Richard Carver (2000:188), it is axiomatic that effective democratic participation depends upon a free flow of information so that the populace is able to make knowledgeable choices and decisions. Peter Levine (2003), concurs with Carver and states that “democracy requires deliberation for three reasons: to enable citizens to discuss public issues and form opinions; to give democratic leaders much better insight into public issues than what elections do; and to enable people to justify their views so they can sort out the better from the worse”.

The media is able to facilitate and activate public opinion expressions and discussions, especially if they perform their roles properly (Blumler Jay & Michael Gurevitch, 1995). Over the years, talk radio has been a major type of mediated public forum in many countries. It provides “an electronic public space” with the potential to contribute to public deliberation in its own way (Herbst, 1995; Livingstone & Lunt, 1994). It is therefore imperative to study talk radio as a “democratic forum” (Pan & Kosicki, 1997). As a

democratic public sphere playing a facilitative role in crucial debates, *Jambo Kenya* has an edge over other talk radio programs because it is hosted by Radio Citizen, a media brand that holds the most transmission sites for an FM station in Kenya today. Unlike most of the radio stations in Kenya that broadcast regionally, it has a coverage that reaches 98% of the population nationwide, with KBC as its only competitor. It has a deep penetration countrywide providing a unique aspect for *Jambo Kenya* because the show focuses on political knowledge and awareness of the Kenyan citizens by concentrating on matters of democracy of the country. Radio Citizen according to the fourth quarter 2005 *Kenya Media Diaries* report, and the 2009 Synovate¹⁸ radio detailed trends in Kenya research, was rated the second leading radio station in listenership in Kenya. However, in 2009, a research by AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya revealed that Radio Citizen's listenership and popularity was rated the first leading radio station reaching audiences in both the urban and the rural areas, (See Appendix I and III) its audience also includes people of all ages, social backgrounds regardless of where they are situated.

Jambo Kenya formed the core of this research based on the fact that it is referred to as the flagship of the station, being the first talk program to air on Radio Citizen and a lot of focus was given to it to ensure relevance of its content to its target audience. *Jambo Kenya's* choice of topics includes those that address citizen activism, nepotism, corruption, alternative leadership, public service, citizens advocating for the rule of law and labour rights. *Jambo Kenya* stands out from the other ten broadcasting radio stations housed by the Royal Media Services Ltd most of which broadcast in local languages targeting audiences from specific regions. Its coverage and penetration is nationwide and it broadcasts in the national language, Kiswahili,¹⁹ giving it an edge over other talk shows aired on Radio Citizen because it can be understood by majority of Kenyans. The use of

¹⁸ Synovate Pan Africa is global market research company which carried out the latest media survey on radio trends by topography in Kenya between July and September 2009. The study was done for the Kenya Advertising Research Foundation (KARF) & Association of Practitioners in Advertising.

¹⁹ Kiswahili is Kenya's National language. It is an African language, spoken by nearly 100% of Kenya's population. It was made Kenya's national Language with the intention of uniting a country with multiple ethnicities.

Kiswahili has enabled it to reach out to the layman giving a voice to groups that would otherwise be unheard, either in the cities or in the rural area through its call in genre since Kiswahili acts as a unifying language to Kenyans.

Although *Jambo Kenya* broadcasts in Kiswahili, a language that most audiences earlier termed as “normal and boring” during the single party and single station (KBC) era, its debates were not only aired in Kiswahili but use of Sheng, the “street” Kiswahili is also welcome, unlike KBC who broadcast in fluent Kiswahili. Sheng, as code switching is a pervasive linguistic practice in Kenya (Bosire, 2006:186); a focus of Sheng in this study as a mixed language (Abdulaziz and Osinde 1997) is a Swahili-based patois or urban peer-language, originating in Nairobi, and influenced by not only English and Swahili, but also by the many languages spoken in Kenya. The word is coined from the two words - (S)wahili and (Eng)lish. Sheng arose in the low-class estates of Nairobi, where children who shared a single or two-room housing with parents and had their privacy infringed into, coined a code to conceal their secrets from parents (Abdulaziz and Osinde, 1997; Kembo-Sure 1992). Mazrui Alamin & Mphande Lupenga (1990) and Mazrui’s (1995) studies suggest that a Sheng-like code existed as far back as the early 1930s in the Nairobi underworld among the pickpockets. Current research reveals that English is also an important source of many loan words for Sheng (Githiora, 2002: 159). The syntax of Sheng is basically Swahili, but through “ingenious code-switching, it draws from the phonology, morphology and lexicon of Kenyan languages” including, but not restricted to Luo, Gikuyu, Maasai, Luhya, Giriama and Taita (Ogechi, 2005: 335). Words like digolo (sunglasses) zi-na-kindwa (are being sold) rwabi ngovo (five hundred) (Waithira, 2001:37) are common among the Kenyan youth (mostly those who live in the Eastland part of Nairobi) have adopted Sheng to be a language that makes them identify with each other. *Sheng* used as communication by the callers to *Jambo Kenya* is that which can be understood by most of the audiences. Chapter six of the findings of this thesis reveals Bosire’s (2006:185) contention that

Indications are that the young people in the rural areas now also commonly use it together with a sizeable portion of the adult population, who grew up with 'old school' Sheng - the Sheng in their days of youth (185).

Studying *Jambo Kenya* contributes to the study of talk radio because it is a talk show aired on a commercial radio station. Commercial media houses always have profit on the stations' management's agenda so there might be a possibility that they are likely to broadcast content that will, or may attract more listeners. This in view, Radio Citizen has maintained *Jambo Kenya* as a program whose aim is that of "nationalization" that was the signature of KBC as the sole public broadcaster. As a commercial entity, Radio Citizen is not entirely bound by state obligations but has moved a step further to broadcast events of national interest to anyone who can access them. However, as discussed later in the findings, Radio Citizen experiences 'advertisement clutter,' where many companies request for airtime to advertise at the same time. Advertising generates revenue to the station but this can be a very "uncomfortable" zone because in case of clutter *Jambo Kenya* may lose its audiences because as noted producer by Vincent Ateya²⁰ audiences do not tune into a radio station to listen to radio commercials. Hence, Habermas' notion of the public sphere as an arena conceptually distinct from the official economy, which Fraser asserts that "it is not an arena of market relations but rather one of discursive relations, a theatre for debating and deliberating rather than for buying and selling" (Fraser 1990:57) becomes imperative to this study. This view has not restricted *Jambo Kenya* from having advertisers. Due to the deep penetration of its airwaves, advertisers always seek out advertising airtime during the program.

Jambo Kenya's commitment to its social role has motivated the program to focus on nation building and take the responsibility of enlightening the people on democracy. *Jambo Kenya's* content was studied as the only talk radio show in Kenya that opened effective public debate on government action on various issues among them continued tolerance of corruption, slow reforms in the judiciary, nepotism, deference of land reforms and impunity. For the study to be effective, the use of recorded episodes of the program for a

²⁰ Interview carried out on 21 December 2009 at the Radio Citizen studios. Nairobi.

period of three (3) months, April to June 2009 was key to this research. This is due to the fact that February 2009 marked one year since the signing of the National Accord, where Kenya's Grand Coalition Government had failed to implement the National Accord Agreement and its reform package that was meant to "restore" peace. This grand coalition was not a long lasting solution as the country was in dire need of political restructuring. One of the most important tasks for the new government was the drafting of a new constitution for Kenya, one that would hinder ethnic violence and reduce the power of the president (Chege, 2008: 126).

The sample was selected after a one year period since Kenya's coalition government was formed in February 2008. This period could be termed as a period of lost opportunities, amidst frenetic corruption in high places in Kenya. The berth between ordinary Kenyans and the national leadership seemed only to widen with each new day. Kenyan citizens increasingly had very little to be happy about. The quality and level of leadership deteriorated very steadily, as wrangles existed within the coalition government. April 2009 saw the worst moment of the coalition government and uncertainty of the Kenyan citizens regarding the future of democracy in Kenya. Martha Karua, Kenya's Justice and Constitutional Affairs minister, resigned from the coalition government. In spite of the fact that she had a big symbolic impact on the grand coalition government, she resigned from it citing frustrations in discharging her duties. Karua became the first Kenyan minister to resign from the Grand Coalition Government. In a double blow to the then fragile Coalition Government, the Medical Services Assistant Minister Danson Mungatana resigned out of government joining Ms Karua, who had resigned two days earlier. He cited cartels within the government which, he claimed, were fighting reforms and change, as his reason for resignation. On the other hand, then Prime Minister Raila Odinga went on an anti- President Kibaki crusade. He accused the president of ignoring the power-sharing deal and side-lining his political party (ODM) in decision making on matters he felt were of national importance. The three individuals named here have been very important in the road towards democracy in Kenya. During this period of unexpected turn of events in the coalition government, playing its role as a public sphere and an avenue for information and

debate, *Jambo Kenya* became the first talk radio station to invite Ms Karua and Mr. Mungatana as studio guests to the show to highlight reasons of their resignation and deliberate with the audiences on the contentious issues facing the country due to the failing coalition government. Many more studio guests were invited after this, to discuss different matters such as nepotism, insecurity concerns, health, impunity, internally displaced persons affected by the post-election violence, and food insecurity that affected the nation. This has revealed in the findings section of this thesis.

Drawing on the rationale above, it is worthwhile to note that the role that the media both formal and informal play is a topic deserving of more attention hence indeed a need to study Radio Citizen's flagship talk show *Jambo Kenya* as a media tool which has taken a lead role in fostering a nexus between citizens and politics, and whose audiences participate significantly in public opinion (Davis R. & Owen D. 1998:5).

1.6 Research Questions

To investigate talk radio's responsibility in the public sphere, this research deliberated on four questions as follows:

1. How are the structures and strategies employed by *Jambo Kenya* in mediating public discussion on democracy?
2. How does *Jambo Kenya* influence debates surrounding corruption, power, good governance and their implication on democracy?
3. To what extent does *Jambo Kenya* create an avenue for the formation of citizenship and notions of participation?
4. To what extent do commercial interests (internalized economic, political and cultural values and ideologies) of the station affect the production and distribution of the content disseminated by *Jambo Kenya*?

1.7 Chapter Outline

Chapter 2: Literature Review & Theoretical Considerations: Talk Radio, Democratic Deliberations and the Critical Appreciation of its role in the Public Sphere

The chapter reviews literature on talk radio as a public sphere for democracy, focusing on how talk radio acts as an avenue where deliberations on matters crucial to democracy are discussed and potentially resolved. A section of this chapter will engage with Jürgen Habermas' (1962) theory of the public sphere as an attempt to demonstrate the importance of the application of the concept of the public sphere in the critical appreciation of the role of talk radio in Kenya's democratization. The public sphere, which has its roots in Habermas' ideas, is used as a theoretical lens that leads to a deeper understanding of the dynamics surrounding talk radio shows in Kenya, particularly how *Jambo Kenya* functions as a public sphere, its intricacies and nuanced meanings thereof.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter seeks to illustrate how different approaches and methods were employed to open up our understanding of media and public participation in mediated spaces and places. To contribute to research on call-in shows, the study conducted a content analysis of the structure, form and organization of *Jambo Kenya*, all which formed the units of analysis for conducting the entities of *Jambo Kenya*.

Chapter 4: The Production of *Jambo Kenya*- Structure and Strategies

This chapter interrogates *Jambo Kenya*'s production process by addressing the structural and strategic role employed by *Jambo Kenya* in mediating public discussion and its democratic potential for advocacy of good governance. It analyzes prior preparations made by the producers, presenters, and how they influence public attitudes and behavior towards the issues under debate. Using Habermas' public sphere theory, the chapter focuses on structure (overall form and organization of the program) and strategies employed by the program's producers and presenters in mediating the public sphere on matters of democracy.

Chapter 5: The Significance and Influence of *Jambo Kenya* on Debates Surrounding Corruption, Power and Good Governance

The concept of good governance will be interrogated with reference to participation by the public, transparency and accountability by the government to the public and how these aspects are likely to enhance fundamental democratic practices in aspects such as informed participants, freedom of expression, right of access to public information, rule of law, checks and balances on power, human rights, and respect for minorities in the society nationhood, citizenship, corruption and their ultimate involvement in governing of the country. In seeking out the role of *Jambo Kenya* as a public sphere, thematic content analysis is employed in this chapter through the identification of themes in the content disseminated by the show. It adopts Charles Smith's (1992) thematic content analysis as the scoring of messages for content, style or both for the purpose of assessing the characteristics or experiences of persons, groups, or historical periods.

Chapter 6: Formation of Citizenship through Talk Radio Participation

This chapter addresses talk radio shows as social platforms. It seeks to establish whether *Jambo Kenya* enhances citizens' participation in democratization through public discussions hinged on full and equal participation of the citizens. The chapter identifies approaches to culture and power that the audience, the studio guests and the presenters employ in the pursuit of social change. It focuses on citizenship and right of access to information and communication, by examining *Jambo Kenya's* effects on citizen participation and its role in creating citizenships and nationhood in a democratic society. The chapter also examines the extent to which radio participation is related to the citizens' practices of, and attitudes towards political debates, opinion expressions, and their importance in the functioning of a democratic society. To establish what language is permissible and who decides on the language to be used during the show, this chapter will explore language use in Kenya. The meanings that are derived from the language used by the presenter, the comedian and the call-in listeners, and the role that language plays in

enabling understanding of media messages addressing the source of power, and how it affects social solidarity will also be investigated.

Chapter 7: Conclusion: Curbing Centralism through a Mediated Public Sphere

This chapter offers a discussion on findings of the relationship between *Jambo Kenya* program content (news, music, and vox pop) and format (public debates and discussions) and the role they play in democratization. It will highlight how *Jambo Kenya* as a media product connects to issues of citizenships as discussed by Pinto Juliet and Hughes Sallie (2011;1) that state that participation, engagement, deliberation, recognition, inclusion and exclusion as dimensions of citizenship; the themes that dominated during the study; types of studio guests and their impact on the content disseminated by the program and its effect towards the theme under debate; and the importance of the political economy of media which aims at understanding the conditions under which the media operates and probably offers suggestions on how to change the media and the political economy of Kenya; focus given to mass media ownership's ability to serve the public interest in society.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review & Theoretical Considerations: Talk Radio, Democratic Deliberations and the Critical Appreciation of its role in the Public Sphere

2.1 Aim of Chapter

This chapter aims at critically engaging with issues concerned with the role of the media in the democratization of Kenya. It reviews literature on talk radio as a public sphere for democracy focusing on how talk radio acts as an avenue where deliberations on matters crucial to democracy are discussed and potentially resolved. A section of this chapter engages with Jürgen Habermas' (1962) theory of the public sphere as an attempt to demonstrate the importance of the application of the concept in the critical appreciation of the role of talk radio in Kenya's democratization.

2.2 Introduction

Growing democracies in Africa are marked by challenges such as political corruption, instability and human rights violations. Rothchild, (1995:60) states that

The [African] continent has for years now been synonymous with instability. Since the majority of African states gained independence in the 20th Century, they have been characterized by a myriad of problems including political corruption and human rights violations. Political regimes have failed to give adequate attention to elite abuse, ethnic fears of oppression by the majority, and legitimate group demands for political and social rights. In many cases, ethnic minorities have as a result been largely excluded from political processes due to a lack of adequate communication channels (60).

Drawing from Rothchild above, it is possible to argue that Kenya is not an exception of such divisions in its heterogeneous society whose citizens encounter divisive politics, a regressed economic maturation and social well-being despite the country having political parties which are a necessity in the process of institutionalizing and sustaining democracy. Broad issues have been raised regarding the role of the media in these democracies. In this regard, this thesis is premised on the argument that the media has played a facilitative role in intervening between the state and the citizens in these growing democracies by intervening in the relationship between the state and the public by “reflecting the political order in which [people] are situated” and “promoting dialogue among their [audiences]

through communication” (Christians et al., 2009: 158). Radio is still considered to be the most prominent source of information in Africa (Myers, 2008:5) reaching all parts of the population, with the largest audience, from the illiterate to academics.²¹ In 2009, the latest research carried out by AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya revealed that more than half of radio listeners’ surveyed considered radio to be a very important source of information for every topic included in the national survey (current events, health, agriculture, business/finance, education and government).The news and information provided by radio were also deemed trustworthy by more than 95 per cent of all respondents. Talk, as a genre of radio “can be considered to be a public sphere in the new globalization and destabilization of culture and information, not in the sense of a unique sphere, homogeneous and separated from state and private life, but exactly the opposite, in the fragmentation of multiple spaces of diverse and heterogeneous conception” (Winocur 2002:97). Talk radio show *Jambo Kenya* therefore, using its ability to function as a democratic platform is able to address this heterogeneous group by “offering solidarity and reinforcement for those alienated from [the power structure], and provides its audience with an endless stream of outrages to harden their discontent” (Balz and Brownstein, 1996:163).

2.3 The Media and Democracy

Democratization has variantly been critical to the growth of the media, and the media have simultaneously been critical to the growth of democracy in contemporary Africa (Hyden and Okigbo, 2002). This perspective can be traced back to the wave of democratization that occurred in the 1980s, when an active array of governmental, quasi-governmental, and nongovernmental organizations devoted to promoting democracy abroad sprang into being (Carothers, 2002:6). This wave, as pointed out by Douglas Kellner (1990) and Shadrack Nasong’o (2007) led to the aspiration for democratic rule which was an almost universal phenomenon as illustrated by the ubiquitous wave of democratization across the world at the close of the 20th Century. This age of neoliberalism is a factor whose broader context,

²¹ Information from a report on the Joburg Radio Days 2013 by Tanja Schreiner. *From Taxi Radio to Solar Radio: Challenges And Opportunities For Africa’s Most Important Medium* <http://www.kas.de/medien-afrika/en/publications/35157/>

especially its development agendas as highlighted by Patrick Bond and George Dor, (2003:1) was one of contraction of the economies of sub-Saharan Africa and a decline in the most critical health indicators. Health and health services, and the perceived cost and quality of services are among some of the issues associated with the direct impact of neoliberalism in Africa. Larry Diamond (2000) moves from this age and argues that from the early 1990s, Africa has opened up new prospects for democratic development on the continent by constituting an integral part of the peoples' culture, which allowed everyone a sense of belonging (Ibid, 238–39). Ndegwa (2001:1) concurs and notes that focus on issues such as changing social norms, generational change, and class and gender issues have been employed to gauge the content of democratization in Africa. Considering Kenya's democratic situation, recent years have seen an increasing number of initiatives to dismantle, or at least lower the barriers to democratization, which characterize the present situation of socio-political transitions; where the emergent political opposition and the civil society groups progressively used political and legal mechanism to bring accountability and widen democratic space in the government (see Otieno, 1999; Githu, 2001, Munene, 2001).

These challenges notwithstanding, Jean Grugel (2002) argues that where democratization is successful it is due to two factors. First, the emergence of strong, dense and vibrant civil societies that work consistently to democratize politics and to hold the state accountable. Second is the existence of a capable and flexible state. Kenya's emergent civil society groups progressively used political and legal mechanisms to bring accountability and widen democratic space in the government (Otieno, 1999; Githu, 2001, Munene, 2001). Kenya has experienced a strong civil society whose commitment to citizens' political, social and economic wellbeing through participation of citizens. These civil societies attempt to limit the freedom and capacity of the state to encroach on the interests, rights and freedoms of citizens (Wanyande, 2009:9). Maina Kiai (2008) attests to this by arguing that democracy is not just about holding elections but the mechanics and procedures of accountability in periods between elections. Kiai's notion of what democracy is not has been experienced in Kenya where the citizens have a right to vote but once the leaders are

elected to the office, accountability is not observed, leading to deadly consequences of impunity, unchecked corruption, and bad governance, since all these factors combine to feed and fuel inequality and injustice. The citizens must be guaranteed the right and freedom of association, expression and the eligibility, in principle, of any citizen to seek public office. Therefore, having an effect on public media organizations should “promote active citizenship, education, and social integration” through their messages (Croteau and Hoynes 2001:37).

The struggles for democracy opened up space for, and were facilitated by aspects such as the civil society (Nyamnjoh, 2005:30), the proliferation of the press, followed later by the broadcast media. The transformation of Africa’s media landscape, against a backdrop of democracy and free-market economic reforms, has created new expectations for the emerging media. It has spawned the need to find a set of vocational principles or responsibilities to which the media can address itself, function and develop new relationships (Blankson, 2007). This transformation has been manifested in Kenya through progressive groups such as different political parties and the civil society which advocate for political and legal reforms in government using the media as the fourth estate and offering a channel for debates towards achieving democracy. As part of the process of democratization in Africa, the advent of talk radio has enabled greater popular access to information systems, enhancing people’s rights to respond and criticize those who wield power. Diverse forms of feedback promote regular contacts between broadcasters and the public (Ilboudo 1998: 43). The emergence of new democratic and human rights, regimes affecting the media included the right to communicate (freedom of communication and information) and the right to culture (participation, protection and language) (Hamelink 2003).

Despite these stated qualities on the media’s contribution to the democracy debate, it has often been embroiled in public controversy for its failure to live up to many aspects of its role, according to the perception of many actors in the public sphere (Butsch, 2007; Fraser, 1992; Habermas, 1987, 1989, 1996). As argued by Michele Hilmes (2004: 477) “The

media have variously been accused of following the prejudices of their wealthy owners and failing to inform the public adequately either through neglect or sensationalist practices. Broadcasting regimes are then being constructed in many countries to secure compliance with public and political expectations”. Writing about revitalizing the public sphere, Eric Neveu (2004) concurs with Hilmes by noting that media are accused of transforming public debate into endlessly degenerating triviality. He argues that if they do mobilize factual data, their diagnoses often threaten to over interpret them. The search for ratings pushes them to value the spectacular, the entertaining, and the emotive more than to enlighten debate or analysis of issues. This concern relates to the view noted earlier in the discussion of how the media in Kenya, especially radio has been accused of perpetrating hate messages in a multi-ethnic society. Of interest here is that certain Kenyan politicians own FM stations, particularly vernacular ones, and their editorial content tends to reflect their political interests (Ismail & Deane 2008). Talk radio however, if used as a responsible channel, has a potential to act as a watchdog for the people, protecting the “public interest”, giving voice and visibility to vulnerable, subaltern and minority groupings, curbing state absolutism and the excesses of popular democracy such as democratic centralism and majoritarianism, which are reinforced by hegemonic political party structures (Croteau and Hoynes, 2001). On the other hand, talk radio as described by Barber (1998:115) is

Loudly public without being in the least civil though it is seductively entertaining. Unfortunately, its divisive rant is a perfect model of everything and civility is not: people talking without listening, confirming dogmas, not questioning them, convicting rather than convincing adversaries, passing along responsibility to others for everything that has gone wrong (115).

Barber’s view notwithstanding, the medium of radio facilitates an intriguing dynamic avenue where the audience members can feel a part of a community, participate in it, and yet do so anonymously and without obligation. Aside from entertainment, radio presents divisive dialogic spaces, where people talk over each other. Callers can divulge their most confidential secrets, vent their frustrations, and launch venomous personal attacks without the responsibility of owning up to them.²² *Jambo Kenya*, as democratic avenue sets up a

²² Diana Owen, from Christian Science Monitor website at www.csmonitor.com, 16th March 1998. [Accessed 1 November 2011]

“democratic forum,” diminishing political and social alienation and increasing self-efficacy and “participation” (Crittenden, 1971:200-210 and Bick, 1988:121-22). Stephen Barnard (2000) notes that the two prime characteristics of radio broadcasting are its capacity for spontaneity for immediate, unplanned reaction to events in the form of unscripted speech – and its potential for listener interaction. No genre of programming better illustrates the coalescence of these two factors than the phone-in, which constitutes a major part of talk radio. *Jambo Kenya* possesses these elements. It carries the responsibility of keeping the citizens well informed and educated on all the issues about which they have to make decisions, encourage active participation in the governance of the country by ventilating their grievances and problems, take the decisions of those who hold public power to the public and to project and give space to plurality of news and opinions.

Radio news which is a feature in talk radio formats in Kenya cannot be ignored. This thesis is premised on the understanding that radio news in Kenya both from foreign stations and local stations is a major source of information for people, even those in rural locations.²³ Maina, (2006) argues that Kenyan news media enjoy much higher public trust than institutions such as the parliament; as the way its news over the past years has been produced has changed dramatically from traditional journalistic ideas of “we write, you read” policy to a more interactive way of communication between journalists and their audiences and between audiences themselves, (Karlsson, 2011:280). Mwesige, (2009:230) reaffirms this by stating that “unlike the straight news reporting that characterized radio broadcasts in times past and the ephemeral nature of the newscast, talk radio ensures that issues do not die with the news cycle, but can be kept in the public realm and in the public consciousness for some time.” News broadcasted on Kenya’s radio programs aid in participation. The study of *Jambo Kenya* reveals that news items set the agenda and aid to shape the direction of debate within the program by providing information that lead to subjects which bring forth critical issues that will be under debate.

²³ UNESCO reports echoed these findings. The statistical survey shows that average radio usage throughout sub-Saharan Africa (145 transmitters per 1,000 people) is far greater than television (23 per 1,000 people) or newspapers (circulation of 10 per 1,000). Radio and television broadcasts can be received throughout most of Africa, and literacy is not a requirement as it is for newspaper consumption. This study also reveals that there is an on-going relevance of electronic media (particularly radio) in Africa.

2.4 Theoretical Considerations: Critical Appreciation of Talk Radio's Role in the

Public Sphere

Jürgen Habermas' 1962 theory of the public sphere attempts to demonstrate the importance of the application of the concept in the critical appreciation of the role of talk radio shows in the democratization of Kenya. In this social theory, Habermas (1999) argues that, among the literate bourgeois, the public sphere emerged in the salons and coffee houses of 18th Century Europe. This, he describes as "a realm of informed and reasoned debate, where government policies were scrutinized and arguments and opinions rationally discussed" (Cited in Crack, 2008:26). Although Habermas concedes that he presents a "stylized picture of the liberal elements of the bourgeois public sphere" (Habermas 1989a), and should have made it clearer that he was establishing an "ideal type" and not a normative ideal to be resuscitated and brought back to life (Habermas 1992a: xix), his critics (such as Dahlgren, 1991, Garnham, 1990, Fraser, 1993) argue that he idealizes the earlier bourgeois public sphere by presenting it as a forum of rational discussion and debate when in fact certain groups were excluded and participation was thus limited. This concern relates to *Jambo Kenya*, whose study reveals that class issues are underlying factors regarding the power to call. This, as Hungbo (2013:222) argues much access to talk radio the ordinary people have is often determined by power relations in the society. This access allows the audience a presence in the airwaves and so create at least an illusion of access to the mass media (O'Sullivan, 2005:719). In as much as *Jambo Kenya*, as a means of curtailing this situation has provided other avenues of participation, it has offered an option of using text messages and social media options such as Facebook, and the twitter handle during its programming. However, only those who are economically empowered are in positions that enable them to call in and participate in the debates.

Such criticism notwithstanding, Habermas' ideas remain very useful to other scholars. For instance, Kellner (2000:9-10) notes that

Despite the limitations of his analysis, Habermas is right to note that in the era of the democratic revolutions a public sphere emerged in which for the first time in history ordinary citizens could participate in political discussion and debate, organize, and struggle against unjust authority, while militating for social change, and that this

sphere was institutionalized, however imperfectly, in later developments of Western societies. Habermas' account of the structural transformation of the public sphere, despite its limitations, also points to the increasingly important functions of the media in politics and everyday life. It focuses on the ways that corporate interests have colonized this sphere, using the media and culture to promote their own interests (10).

Although Habermas' theory hinges on rationality, his focus on democratization was linked with emphasis on political participation as a core of a democratic society as an essential element in individual self-development. Bosch (2011:198) concurs and notes that while the Habermasian public sphere has been widely critiqued, most notably for its exclusion of women and the poor, it remains a useful theoretical frame through which to explore talk radio shows, as it centers around the premise of citizens being able to enter into public discussion on a somewhat equal basis. Bosch's idea of gender exclusion has indeed been revealed in the study of *Jambo Kenya* where its role has been concentrated on other issues but gender. Despite the fact that gender and citizenship concerns are likely to be disseminated through gender education, focusing on issues of women rights to curb the aspect of gender inequality, these concerns are established as lacking in the program's content. Women, just like other marginalized groups in Kenya have been making progress towards representation in all spheres of life. For *Jambo Kenya* to effectively play the public sphere role and include every member of the society, issues such as representation in parliament, national land policy, health matters and ownership of land by women should be regularly debated. This is made more acute considering that the 2010 Kenya's Constitution ensures that women and men will have the right to equal treatment and opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres without discrimination, (Article 27:3).

Jürgen Habermas' concept of the public sphere although problematic, is a realm within social life and public opinion can be formed and which is accessible to all. The engagement within the public sphere according to Habermas is blind to class positions and the connections between activists in the public sphere are formed through a mutual will to take part in matters that have a general interest. We cannot however ignore the inequalities that are likely to be manifested in talk radio shows. *Jambo Kenya* as such a space appears to be blind to class with respect to the identification and the invitation of studio guests who

highlight or clarify on contentious issues affecting the nation. This concern relates to the study's revelation that most guests are either former or current government representatives who may be classified as members of the elite in the society.²⁴ This therefore gives the elite the opportunity to reshape the agenda and control the debates; taken that these guests are well practiced, as politicians in the art of debate. This is especially so considering that studio guests aligned to the non-elite are rarely invited to the show. However this is the effect of this bias is minimal taken that even at such times the callers continue to participate.

The public sphere, according to Habermas' is a product of democracy.²⁵ Habermas' theory locates talk radio shows, within its framework as tools able to constitute a public sphere by creating avenues for public discourse, and therefore allowing us to think about *Jambo Kenya* audiences (and their patterns) in dynamic ways, not just as locked into roles over-determined by ownership structures. In this light, *Jambo Kenya* has provided an unstructured outlet for public discourse by "creating" a space for the communicative generation of public opinion, in ways that are supposed to assure some degree of moral-political validity. *Jambo Kenya*'s producers and presenters strive to ensure that they have the interests, views and attitudes of audiences, by highlighting the issues of local and national concern that lead to political participation.²⁶ This has ensured a success in carrying out the role of talk radio as a public sphere of democratization sufficiently. Kellner (1990) contends that the media, state, and business are the major institutional forces of contemporary capitalist societies, that the media "mediates" between state, economy, and social life, and that the mainstream broadcasting media have not been promoting democracy or serving the public interest and thus are forfeiting their crucial structural importance in constructing a democratic society.

²⁴ Some of the studio guests present during the period of this study in 2009 include: Martha Karua, former Minister for Justice, Danson Mungatana-former Medical Services Assistant Minister, Eric Kiraithe-Police spokesman, William Ruto- Minister of Agriculture, Raila Odinga- Kenyan Prime Minister, Eugene Wamalwa-Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs.

²⁵ The Cultural Studies Reader. <http://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.nl/2011/09/jurgen-habermass-public-sphere.html> [Accessed 20 December 2012].

²⁶ Interview carried out at Radio Citizen with radio manager Waweru Mburu on 15th January 2010

The Habermasian (1992, 1998) conceptualizations of the public sphere activity invoke ideas of “rational-critical debate” and “communicative action”, (1984, 1987, 1990), both of which lead to mutual understanding and consensus-building on the way forward in public deliberation in a democracy. This concept relates to Kenyan’s contemporary public sphere in which *Jambo Kenya*’s ability to draw its audiences into a regulated space highlights its focus in tackling a range of topics related to democracy concerns. These topics include civic education, politics, governance and the civil society development, resource distribution, inclusion and nationhood. Habermas’ theory has therefore been employed in this research because talk radio show *Jambo Kenya* strives to create a space for interaction by people to air their political views. The program acts as an avenue where people gather to control public authority and the regulation of public affairs through public opinion. Media and democracy are fundamental issues that have been considered throughout this study. Habermas’ theory is also employed to explore the role of talk radio in facilitating critical engagement in the public sphere debate centered on democracy issues and concerns in Kenya.

Understanding the idea of a public is important in this regard since a portion of the public sphere is constituted in every conversation in which private persons come together to form a public (Habermas 1997:105). John Hartley (2002:189) describes a public as people who gather in a single space within sight of each other and freely argue, legislate and adjudicate, both in their own interests and on behalf of others who were not free - slaves, women, foreigners and children. Hartley however notes that

....with the growth of polities to many times the size of these classical antecedents, the public was “abstracted” or virtualized - it was either an imagined community or could gather together only by representative means (189).

Michael Warner (2005) and Geoff Eley (1994) explore the different ways in which a public is constituted. Warner argues that a public as the social space is created by the reflexive circulation of discourse. He asserts that a public has to be constituted through regular, if not daily, intervals of publication while Eley describes it as a space in which access is guaranteed to all citizens through conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body. The public sphere according to Habermas, (1964:51) occupies the

space between state (government) actors and private actors, and between “public authority” of the government and the private authority of autonomous individuals while the private sphere, is the area of family, exchange, and even work that revolves around individuals, not institutions. Habermas’ (Habermas, 1991: 1-2) contends that

We call events and occasions “public” when they are open to all, in contrast to closed or exclusive affairs—as when we speak of public places or public houses. But as in the expression “public building” the term need not refer to general accessibility; the building does not even have to be open to public traffic (1-2).

Habermas also regards a public as “... a domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed. Access to the public sphere is open in principle to all citizens. They are then acting neither as business or professional people conducting their private affairs, nor as legal consociates subject to the legal regulations of a state bureaucracy and obligated to obedience. Citizens act as a public when they deal with matters of general interest without being subject to coercion; thus with the guarantee that they may assemble and unite freely, and express and publicize their opinions freely” (Habermas 1997:105). This is in line with the study of *Jambo Kenya* as an on-going public sphere through which a public is created for audience participation daily towards different debates. In Habermas’ sense, the public sphere is a conceptual resource that designates a theatre in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk. It is the space in which citizens deliberate about their common affairs, and hence an institutionalized arena of discursive interaction (Fraser, 1992). Peter Hohendahl and Marc Silberman (1979) explain that Habermas' concept of the public sphere is not to be equated with that of "the public," i.e. of the individuals who assemble. His concept is directed instead at the institution, which to be sure only assumes concrete form through the participation of people. It cannot, however, be characterized simply as a crowd (Habermas 1974, 49). *Jambo Kenya* has advocated for popular participation by its audience through community empowerment. This has been established through its careful selection of debates concerning whether a strong civil society is ready to struggle for basic freedoms, equality, and social justice.

This theory in the study of *Jambo Kenya* reads and illustrates how talk radio programs create democratic spaces/spheres and also how the listeners, through the style of presentation of the programs, become dependent on this mode, a space where they can deliberate on issues that are of concern to them. *Jambo Kenya*, through its style of presentation, has provided a more and more unique information-delivery service system for members of the audience to air their views and opinions. Its radio hosts do not tell people what to do but make people work towards a solution to problems facing them. This has been discussed in detail in chapter four of this thesis. The *Jambo Kenya* producers have made the listeners dependent on this mode by making the program a space where callers can deliberate on issues that are of concern to them. This is because they have the ability to understand their audience, therefore employing a style that would suit them. Despite changing the radio presenters (in the last 5 years this has happened only once) the style of presenting the program does not change because it enables Radio Citizen to maintain its identity.

In the public sphere theory, Habermas notes that the public sphere as a sphere which meditates between society and state, in which the public organizes itself as the bearer of public opinion, accords with the principle of the public sphere that is, principle of public information. Habermas' theory as is illuminated through *Jambo Kenya* is able to create a space for interaction by people to air their political views. It acts as a space where people gather to control public authority and the regulation of public affairs through public opinion. In Kenya, for instance, it was in the early 1990s that a growing number of people became engaged in open agitation for multiparty democracy, and more involvement in the management of public affairs. Over time, Kenya has seen a growth of groups and individuals acting as watchdogs, demanding more participation in many civic issues. They have become more expressive and bold, opening political and other issues to the public through dialogue. As a result, there is more debate on matters that affect people in their daily lives.²⁷

²⁷ Sangai Mohochi (2008) *Invading the Public Sphere: Media, Private Discourse and the Public Space in Kenya*. A paper presented at the 12th General Assembly of CODESRIA. Yaoundé, Cameroun.

2.5 Media Commercialization and Balancing Democratization

The critical political economy perspective was first propounded in the 1970s as a critique of the dominant liberal media theory. Liberalism saw the development of market-based mass media industries as conducive to democracy: the development of media markets, according to the liberal view, freed the media from dependence on the state and on political parties, allowing them to play an independent role as a “watchdog” of the government and forum for debate. The critical political economy perspective tends to portray the market and political democracy as essentially antagonistic. The development of media markets, from this perspective, concentrates control of the media in the hands of business (both media owners and advertisers), limiting the range of points of view represented (Curran and Park, 2000:90). It is based on the assumption that media content is influenced by a combination of the media owners (individuals or corporations), advertisers, competitors/other media, government regulations and viewers or readers. In the case of media ownership, Andrejevic (2007) notes that private individuals decide what information should be provided to the public based on what earns them the most money.” This section of this chapter utilizes the theory of political economy in mass media which argues that the structure of the industry influences content (Mark Andrejevic, 2007).

Focusing on the media and the public sphere, it may be argued that in the interest of political economy theory the idea of maintaining a public sphere in privatization must be brought to bear. Lee Wei-chin (2011:61) argues that regardless of how many claims of objectivity and fairness a program publicly enunciates its programming relies on market share, profitability and other means to survival. *Jambo Kenya* is a flourishing talk radio show aired in a seemingly successful commercial radio station. Its success is based on the listener ratings, the nationwide coverage it commands and the quality of its presenters as compared to different media houses, Therefore, the political economy of mass media theory is crucial both as a contradiction and a support of *Jambo Kenya*’s content being influenced by commercial imperatives. In this view, the political economy in mass media theory will reveal that ownership of the media affects the structure, internal control, policies, and the organization roles of Radio Citizen.

Political economy is “the study of how power is produced, distributed, exchanged, and exercised (the political) and how values of all kinds are produced, distributed and consumed” (Graham, 2007:2). Vincent Mosco (2009:2) defines political economy as a study of the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources, including communication resources. From this definition, Mosco (ibid) further envisages that power relations have a certain practical value because they call attention to how the communication business operates and leads us to examine how communication products move through a chain of producers, to distributors, and finally to consumers. This has been manifested in *Jambo Kenya*’s ability to act at gate keepers of its content as well as address its diverse audiences through encouraging participation, as will be discussed in chapter 4.

Ownership and control of the media determines the political and economic dynamics and their significance in terms of ideology, democracy and the business of capital itself.²⁸ Norman Fairclough (1995:184) argues that genres of mass media do not always mesh with the genres of politics. Advertising is used as a way to inform consumers of goods and services available in the market, or can arguably be a way to deliver audiences to advertisers. Diana Wicks (2013) notes that, “in the 21st century, media such as television print and radio attract the public by imparting knowledge and awareness of products and services companies. Although costly, such avenues are the preferred modes of advertising. The implication of media ownership on serving public interest and how liberalization of the airwaves in Kenya facilitates this by having the power of the media in shaping political agendas is also interrogated. Wicks contends that companies rely on media to market their products and increase sales, as the media plays a significant role in advertising”. As Ben McNair (1998; 101) reminds us “the person who pays the piper calls the tune. Whoever has economic power owns the media and therefore has cultural influence on society, as they own the voice that speaks to the audience because they control the media.”

²⁸ Freeman, (2002:4) Changing Perceptions of the Relationship between Citizens and Their Elected Representatives.

Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman (1988) contend that among other functions the media serves to propagandize on behalf of the powerful societal interests that control and finance them. The representatives of these interests have important agendas and principles that they want to advance, and they are well positioned to shape and constrain media policy. Just as the inequalities are manifested in different institutions, so is participatory power - whoever has the power to call into the studio becomes an issue of concern. A survey carried out by iHub Research in collaboration with Research Solutions Africa and infoDev disregard this by revealing that Kenyans living on less than US\$2.50 a day, or at the bottom of the pyramid (BoP), often forgo an expenditure to afford mobile phone credit. A study dubbed “Mobile Usage at the Base of Pyramid in Kenya” aimed at finding out how people at the BoP use their mobile phones on a daily basis was carried out. The study revealed that 60% of those living at the BoP have access to mobile phones. These statistics however do not prove that since those living at the BoP have access to mobile phones actually use them to call into shows therefore the power to call still remains a factor to which lack of resources have hindered participation. *Jambo Kenya* acknowledges these inequalities and therefore, to curb them in running of the show, text messages, are received by the presenters who read them on air. This strategy has enabled the listeners who lack the resources to call to participate in the debates through text messages, as will be noted later in this research.

Despite mobile telephony’s proliferation expanding the democratic space, its use attracts a commercial aspect. There are special numbers used by the radio station which attract extra charges through text messages that are channelled to the service provider, thus undermining the role of talk in the public sphere. This role is undermined because very few people can afford to send text messages through these numbers, which come in the form of short codes. Short codes are used to provide value added services such as information alerts or gaming service. Because they are not network specific, end-users, (subscribers) of the code can access the information from different networks. 6026 is the code they use for Radio Citizen’s competitions and trivia, while 6106 is used by *Jambo Kenya* for listeners to send text messages through it. The service being accessed by the subscriber is

categorized as a premium rate service (five times the charge of normal text messages) therefore the charges are higher than the normal text message rates. The rate charged will then be subject to revenue share.²⁹

2.6 Chapter Conclusion

Reviewing literature on and examining the effects of media liberalization and commercialization of radio in Kenya in this chapter has provided an understanding on issues of funding and the control structure of Radio Citizen. It is therefore worthwhile to note that development of new technologies constitute an important strategy for FM radio stations as actors meant to contribute to democratization in Kenya. Talk radio carries the responsibility of keeping the citizens well informed and educated on all the issues to which they have to make decisions, encourage active participation in the governance of the country by ventilating their grievances and problems, take the decisions of those who hold public power to the public and to project and give space to plurality of news and opinions. Tanya Bosch (2011:75) describes this news value as “particularly important in African democracies, which often struggle to escape the legacy of repressive regimes in which censorship, state victimization or imprisonment is most often the direct result of individuals publicly critiquing the state.” It allows information to flow back and forth among millions of sources at particularly the same time. The implication is that millions of citizen can be exposed to a medium in which they have an active role to play and can influence political as well as other outcomes.

Habermas theory is preferred since the public sphere, which has its roots in Habermas’ ideas, provides a theoretical lens that leads to a deeper understanding of the dynamics surrounding talk radio shows in Kenya, particularly *Jambo Kenya* and the intricacies and nuanced meanings.

²⁹ Communications Commission of Kenya. Consultation Paper - REF: CCK/LCS/1700
http://www.cck.go.ke/links/consultations/current_consultations/2nd_Consultation_paper_on_Short_Codes.pdf
[Accessed 18 February 2013]

CHAPTER 3

Research Methodology

3.1 Aim of Chapter

This chapter analyses the methodology and data gathering techniques that were used to access ways in which talk radio functions as a public sphere. The study used three main methods. First, it took a mixed method approach. This means that the study combined a series of methods to access research data, analyzing, and “mixing” both quantitative and qualitative research and methods in a single study to understand the research problem (Creswell, 2012). Out of this method, the study used a predominantly qualitative approach to access documentation, listener call-ins, text messages, vox pops, archival records, expert in-depth-interviews, and direct/empirical observations (listening to *Jambo Kenya*). An open-ended interview schedule with the categories through which each interview carried out with the studio manager, the presenters and the producers of the show was analysed (see Appendix VII). Qualitative case study, as a methodology was employed in this research as it provides tools for researchers to study complex phenomena within their contexts (Baxter, 2008, 544). However, because some of the data was archival and needed categorizing, the study used quantitative content analysis. According to Carl Roberts (1997:283) quantitative content analysis is good for drawing inferences about contextual and text-based variables. Radio Citizen’s activities were also scrutinized while carrying out an instrumental case study of the station. An instrumental case study, as explained earlier in this research, is “that of a case (such as person, specific group, occupation, department, organization) done to provide a general insight/understanding of a phenomenon, redraw generalizations using a particular case or build theory” (Grandy, 2010:474).

3.2 Material and Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Content Analysis

John Cresswell (1994) defines qualitative research as an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. He notes that the researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting. Qualitative research involves broadly stated questions about human experiences and

realities, studied through sustained contact with people in their natural environments, generating rich, descriptive data that helps us to understand their experiences and attitudes (Reese, 1996:375 & Dingwall *et al*, 1998). Reese (1997) asserts that rather than presenting the results in the form of statistics, qualitative research produces words in the form of comments and statements. This has also been noted by Bates C. (1995) and Morse (1996) who state that “qualitative research has a great validity since it is a holistic approach to research that does not reduce participants to functioning parts”. Ian Dey, (1993) similarly notes that qualitative data analysis aims to identify shared techniques across the diverse range of qualitative methods.

In the study of the content disseminated by *Jambo Kenya*, Shoemaker and Reese’s (1996) categorization of a humanist approach which studies media content as a reflection of society and culture and a behaviourist approach that analyses media content with a view to its likely effects, is useful in this study because it brings out an understanding of how media content analysis should be conducted. Content analysis has been categorised by Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese (1996:32) within humanistic and behaviourist traditions, which indicate that content analysis, can be undertaken using both approaches. They state that “behavioural content analysis is not always or necessarily conducted using quantitative or numerical techniques, but the two tend to go together. Similarly, humanistic content study naturally gravitates towards qualitative analysis” (1996:32) They further note that “reducing large amounts of text to quantitative data does not provide a complete picture of meaning and contextual codes, since texts may contain many other forms of emphasis besides sheer repetition” (32). This is applied to the study of the content disseminated by *Jambo Kenya* and to elaborate on the complexity of strategies of presenters during the presentation of the show.

Jim Macnamara (2006), affirms that a combination of qualitative and quantitative content analysis seem to be the best approach to studying media content. This is because quantitative content analysis can conform to the scientific method and produce reliable findings. Although qualitative content analysis is difficult and may be impossible to do

with scientific reliability, its analysis of texts is necessary in understanding the deeper meanings and likely interpretations by audiences, which is the ultimate goal of analyzing media content. Media researchers and academics such as Boyd-Barrett Newbold *et al.* (2002), David Gauntlett (2002) and James Curran (2002) refer to both quantitative and qualitative content analysis and view the fields as complementary and part of a continuum of analysing texts to try to determine their likely meanings and impact to audiences.

3.3 Case Study

A hallmark of case study research is the use of multiple data sources, a strategy that also enhances data credibility (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2003). Both Patton and Yin (Ibid) state that potential data sources may include documentation, archival records, interviews, physical artefacts, direct observation, and participant observation. Both variously note that in case studies, data from these multiple sources are converged in the analysis process rather than handled individually; each data source acting as a piece of the “puzzle”, with each piece contributing to the researcher’s understanding of the whole phenomenon. This convergence adds strength to the findings as the various strands of data are braided together to promote a greater understanding of the case. Radio Citizen’s program *Jambo Kenya* was chosen because the case study method can enable one to answer “how” and “why” questions, which Yin (2003) should be considered in the context where “when the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and the context, you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study, so you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study” (2003:7).

The type of case study that this research adopts is the instrumental case study. Robert Stake (1995) explains this type of case study as one used to accomplish something other than understanding a particular situation. In this instance, the case provides insight into an issue or helps to refine a theory. The case is of secondary interest; it plays a supportive role, facilitating our understanding of something else. Stake (1995) goes ahead to state that in an instrumental case study approach, the case is often looked at in depth, its contexts scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, but all because it helps the researcher pursue the external interest. This instrumental case study was carried out to provide a general

understanding of the talk radio phenomena in Kenya; with *Jambo Kenya* used as an avenue towards this understanding. It gave the researcher an insight into her research question in relation to the study of *Jambo Kenya*, putting into consideration Stake's (1995) affirmation that the case may or may not be seen as typical of other cases.

3.4 Audience Analysis

Audiences form an integral part of any talk radio program, therefore, the study sought to address media's role in society through *Jambo Kenya*. It carried out an analysis of audience/listeners' engagement with the media. These audiences are those who call into the program, send text messages and/or participate in the vox pops carried out by the Radio Citizen journalists. The goals for studying audiences as outlined by Denis McQuail (1997) include studying audiences as product testing, improving communication effectiveness, and evaluating media performance. As product testing, audiences were studied to find out the extent to which they formed an integral part in talk radio programming and how they form citizenships through talk radio participation. This included the factors considered by the presenters and the producers during the production of the show, such as the target audience and the topical issue. This also included the factors considered by the presenters and the producers during the production of the show, such as the target audience and the topical issue.

Examining the vox pops aired on *Jambo Kenya* was imperative to this study because the views of the call-in audiences did not necessarily give a fair indication of the broad array of the publics that tune into Radio Citizen, letting the views of the listeners who participate in the vox pops to represent the listeners who actually did not call in during the show. Daniel Dayan (2005:54) acknowledges that publics feature visibility and belong in a theatrical model of the public sphere while audiences require professional mediation in order to become visible, even to them. Warner (2005) too notes that publics are increasingly organized around visual or audio texts. Thus, the call in audiences, the participants of the vox pops carried out by the Radio Citizen crew and the audience who send text messages before and during the show formed part of the audiences' who the researcher, in this section refers to as "publics" and whose opinion were studied in this

research. In this case audiences who participate are aware of their membership of a larger group referred to earlier as an “imagined” community.

To study audiences as improving communication effectiveness, the study considered the type of media messages disseminated, including the overall form and organization of the program. Here, it focused on *Jambo Kenya*’s format:

1. Call-ins were used to focus on the time allocated for talk by audience.
2. The style of presentation; in this study, style/performance during presentation of the show was analyzed as the unique style and behaviour of presentation that the presenters employed during the show intended to make audiences notice them and get attracted to the show.
3. News programming led this study towards gaining an understanding of *Jambo Kenya*’s news coverage, putting into consideration the fact that every piece of news content in media represents a decision or a choice made by an editor or a producer. A content analysis of news stories was therefore administered to review the news stories with topics and content related to the program’s perceived goals and objectives.
4. Music is part of *Jambo Kenya*. It plays a significant role to the show because the music played is selected based on the talk themes of the day. An analysis of the music played in the show was carried out with the intention of finding out the role of music in the public sphere. This was arguably based on a number of people’s beliefs that music is primal and fundamental aspect of human culture. The kind of music played, why it chosen as the preferred music and the time of the show when it is chosen to play was analysed in this study.
5. Vox Pops were employed on *Jambo Kenya* as a public opinion survey or an illustration of a story. Radio Citizen usually conducts the simplest kind of vox pop, the street poll, conducted by a single reporter asking a couple of questions to a few people. The journalist uses a tape recorder so that the actuality can be heard. An analysis of this was important to find out whether the “man on the street’s” views were an indication of the news stories or the show’s debates.

6. Advertising was studied as a process. Here, the study investigated the airtime given to each advertisement, how many advertisements were aired during each show and who the major advertisers were. This was analysed with a focus on whether advertising and advertisers had an impact on the show's content that is aired.
7. Audiences as an evaluation of media performance were investigated by interrogating the strategies that were deployed during the presentation of the show. This was done by checking whether they enhanced the culture of deliberative and participatory democracy in Kenya. Focus on the audiences was deemed as important basing it on the argument that citizens ought to be well informed about public affairs if a culture of democracy is to be cultivated.

3.5 The Research Data and Findings

Different methods of data collection were employed in this study. These were purposeful sampling, qualitative interviews, document analysis and secondary data.

3.5.1 Sampling Techniques

The study employed purposeful sampling, a process that selects a sample that has the characteristics relevant to the research questions. Quota sampling, as a type of purposive sampling scheme was used to select a sample for this study as a data collection method designed to select sample units in a block of a predetermined size, useful for situations where the data is time or sequence dependent. The choice of a small sample size, the 60 clips of *Jambo Kenya* content was informed by the redundancy experienced by the researcher while carrying out a pilot study of the program from July 2008 to February 2009. There were instances of saturation and no new concepts and themes emerged from the program under study hence choice of a small sample that addresses the research question. Samples for qualitative studies are generally much smaller than those used in quantitative studies due to a point of diminishing return to a qualitative sample- as the study goes on more data does not necessarily lead to more information (Ritchie, et al. 2003).

Frequencies are rarely important in qualitative research, as one occurrence of the data is potentially as useful as many in understanding the process behind a topic, (Mason, 2010). Purposive sample sizes are often determined on the basis of theoretical saturation (the point in data collection when new data no longer bring additional insights to the research questions) as Natasha Mack and Cynthia Woodsong (2005:5) argue. Here, individuals, groups, and settings are considered for selection if they are “information rich” (Patton, 1990: 169).

To study *Jambo Kenya*'s content and emerging themes effectively, the study used recorded episodes of the program for a period of three (3) months. These came to a total of sixty (60) clips that constituted 60 hours listened to by the researcher. The study necessitated gathering of recorded episodes of *Jambo Kenya* from the archives of Radio Citizen. The archives assess, preserve and make available to the widest possible public, historic radio programs of the highest social, cultural and educational value in its collection. The archive has a well-planned and holistic archiving strategy rich in digital audio content. The audio content consists of audiotapes and hour-long MP3s of each *Jambo Kenya* show dating back to 1999 when Radio Citizen and *Jambo Kenya* were launched. Recorded episodes of the vox pops that were carried out and aired on the show during this period were also accessed from the archives of Radio Citizen.

3.5.2 Qualitative Interviews

Qualitative interviews with content producers were also used to gather data for analysis. Tom Lindlof and Bryan Taylor (2002) define qualitative interviews as events in which one person (the interviewer) encourages others to freely articulate their interests and experiences. They point out that, so important has the interview techniques become that they are employed in nearly all qualitative research. At Radio Citizen, expert interviews were carried out with the producers and presenters of the show because they form the team whose role involves deciding what content to present, doing research, and writing scripts for on-air presentation. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) describe interviews as a means to provide accounts of people's experiences, offer explanations of behaviour, enable the

researcher to understand native conceptualizations of communication, and elicit the language forms used by social actors in natural settings. The expert interviews at Radio Citizen were carried out in order to understand how the producers and the presenters of the show carry out their daily work as well as their experience in the kind of job that they do this including their past experiences, either at Radio Citizen or elsewhere. The interviews also sought to establish how the experts shape the direction to which the debate should go.

At Radio Citizen, the interviews carried out consisted of broader, open ended questions to enable the interviewee answer using his/her own words and give the interviewer a degree of freedom to introduce new questions to follow up the interviewee's remarks. Open ended in nature interviews questions have the ability to evoke unanticipated responses by the researcher, most of which are rich and explanatory, (Banyini, et al, 2013: 100). The interview schedule consisted of three parts, questions on the production, content and audience. The researcher ensured that these questions were in tandem with the research questions and the objective s of carrying out this study. The interviews were carried out first between 23 December 2009 and 15 January 2010 and between 24 July 2010, and 12 August 2010. The choice of this time frame was based on the convenience of the researcher who intended to go through Radio Citizen's archives and sit in for some of the live shows during this period. The questions asked aimed to get answers on the prior preparations made, how the presenters influence public attitudes and behaviours towards the issues under debate, how they stimulate conversation, how they package and manage the views and attitudes that the callers bring to the program, whether they suffer interference from external forces, the sequence of choosing callers, and the ideological investment that is made in the editorial policy of the production of the show.

3.5.3 Content Analysis

William Neuman, (1997) and Kimberly Neuendorf, (2002) offered criticism about qualitative content analysis research, arguing that content analysis has some predictive capabilities and note that it is not respected by other researchers because the interpretive approach favors it. Klaus Krippendorf (1980) however distinguishes between two key

concepts of framework and logic in relation to content analysis. He states that the framework of content analysis involves a clear statement of the main research question, the kind of data, the context relative to the data, and the meaning of inferences from data to certain aspects of their context or the target of the inferences. That is to say that to accomplish these inferences, the researcher needs to have an operational theory of the data-context relationships. Logic deals with the procedures involved in the selection and production of data, the processing of data, methods of inference and its analysis. According to Berelson (1952) content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.

This research undertook content analysis, a method that represents a summary of the facts observed, because it allows a classification of the results by grouping them and relating them to the research objectives (Sierra, 1998:45). Content analysis is used to study a broad range of “texts” from transcripts of interviews and discussions in clinical and social research to the narrative and form of films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines (Macnamara, 2005). Bernard Berelson (1952:18) describes content analysis as a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”.

This section of the study focused primarily on callers and hosts as the active participants in the process of the debate carried out. The role of the presenter in stimulating conversation, whether he/she is well versed in the law of libel and defamation and his ability to handle a caller who becomes obscene, overly political, commercial or illegal in accordance with the program policy was also studied. Text messages were studied by evaluating the language used, the tone of the messages, the hidden meanings that the messages seem to be relaying, and the audiences’ perspective rates. This was done by measuring the response on topical issues over time through theme generation in the analysis. Essentially, content analysis was important in this study because it examined manifest or more readily apparent meanings. It focused on examining the program’s capacity and ability to engage debate on issues of democratization.

Exploring *Jambo Kenya* debates, the recorded episodes, vox pops and text messages were divided into multiple segments that focused on the recurring themes. The themes identified included political issues, education, and distribution of resources, economic, social and cultural issues. The segments listed formed the estimated sample for the show, sixty (60) segments consisting of five shows per week for three months. Counting within the sample and coding the data involved attributing segments to these thematic categories, where the researcher, through the record, observed that this percentage varies differently across the different call-in shows, and according to the different themes which further helped in the researcher's genre of analysis. These themes shall come up in the course of this thesis, across chapters.

Secondary literature used in the study included broadcasts, books, the internet, journals, research reports and conference papers, were acquired from the University of the Witwatersrand library. This secondary literature offered further insights into the research by providing a background for understanding current knowledge on the topic under study. Secondary literature also aided to illuminate the significance of the study by leading the way forward for further research.

3.5.4 Methods of Data Interpretation

A theme captures something about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82). Thematic content analysis was therefore used to code and interpret data. This is the identification of themes or major ideas in a text, (see Appendix VI). Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes data set in detail. However, it also often goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). Charles Smith (1992) defines thematic content analysis as the scoring of messages for content, style or both for the purpose of assessing the characteristics or experiences of persons,

groups, or historical periods. Immy Holloway and Les Todres (2003:347) identify “thematizing meanings” as one of a few shared generic skills across qualitative analysis.

To study *Jambo Kenya*, an analysis of media production, distribution and consumption (output) of media messages was examined. Recorded data (recorded episodes) were used for this interpretation method. To achieve this, an adoption of Berelson’s (1952) four main purposes of content analysis was applied in this study. These are: to describe substance characteristics of message content; to make inferences to producers of content; to make inferences to audiences of content and to predict the effects of content on audiences. Content analysis in data interpretation focused on the pre-produced news features that “set the table” for discussion of a topic to be discussed on *Jambo Kenya*. These included what the production values of *Jambo Kenya* are; whether the owners of the station have demands that affect the program and if such demands are consistent with the public interest; the views and attitudes of audiences, especially what callers bring to the program; and how such views are packaged and managed by the producers of the show.

Audience research did not focus on the receptive conditions of the call-in listeners, which include the number of callers, configurations of the callers’ gender, geographical location, political perceptions, attitudes, opinions and behaviours of the talk radio audience. The call-in listeners, those sending text messages and the listeners who participated in vox pop formed the audience sample that was used to gauge the receptive conditions of the listeners and their ability to engage in issues of democratization. These audiences enabled the researcher to find out the discourses that justify policy positions in contentious debates about radio and its role in society.

The production of meaning was grounded in conversations and codes used by the call-in listeners, those who participated in vox pop sessions, and in sending text messages. This method is concerned, not with manifest content, but with structural relationships of representation in texts since “it’s not ‘content’ that determines meaning but ‘relations’ in some kind of system” (Arthur Berger, 1993:7).

To investigate the institutional biases embedded in media, the study focused on whether economic and political relations exist between editorial and commercial imperatives which influence the quality of production and content dissemination by *Jambo Kenya*. Adopting Herman and Chomsky's (1988) use of Political Economy in Mass Media Theory, the effects of commercial considerations in framing the content in a liberalized context is crucial in this study as a means of illuminate media operations and the perceived influence of commercialization on the programming and performance of the content disseminated by media broadcasts. In this theory, Herman and Chomsky focus on the regularity with which the media operates on the basis of a set of ideological premises and depend heavily and uncritically on elite information sources, by focusing on the structural factors as the only possible root of the systematic patterns of behavior and performance. The theory is employed to find out whether commercial interests are apparent in the content of the program and styles of presentation, interrogated through finding out how the internalized economic, political and cultural values and ideologies of the station affect the production and distribution of the content it disseminates. The effects of media ownership on serving public interest and how liberalization of the airwaves in Kenya facilitates this by having the power of the media in shaping political agendas was scrutinized.

Analysis also accessed the value of the producers and the presenters to the show's popularity. The producers and presenters of *Jambo Kenya* and other programs aired on Radio Citizen such as- *Chapa Kazi*, *Roga Roga*, *Drive On* and *Yaliyotendeka* have been rated the best in the country (Interview with Waweru Mburu, Head of Radio, 2010). The slogan of the show (*Chemichemi ya ukweli*, or "fountain of truth") was also interrogated, because it is in Kiswahili, and it is repeated at intervals during different shows aired on Radio Citizen. The study sought to analyze the co-relation between slogans and identities in Kenya. The political economy of the media illustrated why the media relates to the power structure of society, what influences the media and where the control over the media lies (James Curran and Myung-Jin Park, 2000)

The next chapter will unpack the conventions that make up the talk radio genre, *Jambo Kenya* specifically by establishing whether the airwaves form a public sphere for audiences

to participate in rational critical debate mediating public discourses on democracy. It will also explore media production as a social process, often based on professional codes of newsworthiness, good coverage, creativity (Gregg Barak, 1995: 344).

CHAPTER 4

The Production of *Jambo Kenya*- Structure and Strategies

4.1 Aim of Chapter

This chapter aims to locate the formal qualities of talk radio and wants to argue that through both its structure and the strategies it uses; it aspires towards operating as a public sphere. The chapter demonstrates how the genre and its production can influence how content is presented to the public.

4.2 Introduction

Media production, as a social process is often based on professional codes of newsworthiness, good coverage, creativity and balance (Barak, 1995: 344). Talk radio show production, through the process of realization of communicative rationality is embodied in everyday activities, and thus the deliberative public sphere norm is endless and conjoined to societal being (Dahlberg 2013, Habermas 1996b, 1518; Cooke, 2004). This Habermasian grounding encourages a focus on refining and approximating rational-critical deliberation. *Jambo Kenya*, with respect to exclusion and regulation focuses on inclusion, contestation of illegitimate exclusion, and the process of coming to agreement (Dahlberg, 2013: 14). Through its form, *Jambo Kenya* carries out debates that are necessary for reflective opinions on public matters concerning basic human freedoms, equality, social justice and popular participation in the public sphere. It also carries out news stories which to a large extent fulfil the roles of the agenda setter and watchdog that maximize the opportunities for critical reflection and rational deliberation in the public sphere.

The voice in the studio, vox pop, and the caller's voice are seen as instigating change with regards to the content being discussed. This change was important to *Jambo Kenya* and its audiences, especially during the period in which the study was done, a period when Kenya was reeling from shock of the violence³⁰ that occurred after a disputed 'democratic' election. Habermas' theory of the public sphere is particularly applicable because of its

³⁰ As noted earlier in this thesis, the evolution of Kenya's idea of democracy in post independent Kenya led to a disputed election that was later characterised by violence.

roots in democratic theory and the ability to actualise a communication based perspective for evaluating participation of social actors and institutions in democratic processes (Dahlberg, 2013). Based on the above trajectory, this study will analyze how presenters stimulate conversation, and the ideological investment that is made in the editorial policy of the production of the show. Selected excerpts from the show will be analysed with the purpose of engaging with the range of democratic considerations made during the show to facilitate the process of mediating public debate.

4.3 *Jambo Kenya's* Structure and Public Deliberation

There exist several avenues that characterize the Kenyan public sphere, all of which seek to address different societal matters through individual and collective discourses. These constitute the formal and the non-formal spheres, the formal being the spaces offered by the media, schools, blogs, magazines, social and religious gatherings. The non-formal avenues through which individuals discuss with others matters of interest include *matatus*,³¹ buses, and trains, cafeterias, pubs, formal and non-formal classes, markets, workplaces, in hospitals, on sports pitches, in court, on farms, in people's homes, around newspaper vendors, through comical performances, music, text messages and the internet. The above-mentioned public spheres are similar to what John Keane (1995:16) identifies as existing in our societies in the form of micro, meso and macro public spheres. While his observations are extremely important, they are limited in terms of how he merely draws distinctions among these various spheres, and does not go beyond this to theorize and explore the power relations and conflicts within them and among them as well as how these are translated into political action.³² Nicholas Garnham (1995:23) argues that by defining public spheres Keane abandons the problem the term was designed to address; which according to him is the question of how "the promise of democracy [can] be realized?" *Jambo Kenya* answers this question by incorporating the participatory

³¹ *Matatu* is an informal word used to refer to public service vehicles. Buses are not included in this category, only mini buses and vans. *Matatus* are the most common means of transport for short distance travelers; from residential areas to the cities, or from one city to the other.

³² Accessed from *Public Service Broadcasting*. Author unknown.

http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:2yt4IyHnIuwJ:is.muni.cz/th/32153/fss_d/chapter_1.doc+&cd=1&hl=nl&ct=clnk&gl=nl [Accessed 23 August 2013]

framework in its production. Unlike the informal nature of the public spheres in Kenya named above, which are unmediated and unregulated as different individuals enter the public sphere with different ideas, *Jambo Kenya* offers a more formalized process

Jambo Kenya as a formal current affairs program aimed at facilitating public deliberation through talk radio. It has located itself within a formal space to encourage participatory democracy and, just like any other radio program, has a great advantage by its ability to use radio to create “blindness” to the listener (Crisell, 1994:7). This research understands blindness from Crisell’s (1994:7) point of view that states as follows

...blindness is the source of some real advantages which radio possesses over other media. The most famous of these is, of course, its appeal to the imagination because it offers sound-only instead of sound and vision. The listeners are compelled to supply the visual data for themselves. The details are described, or they may suggest themselves through sound, but they are not “pictures” for him, he must picture them for himself and he may, indeed, use them as a basis for picturing further details which are not described. Moreover as we all know, the scope of the imagination is virtually limitless: we may picture not only lifelike objects but the fantastical, impossible scenes of an experimental play.

Carin Aberg (2001) similarly asserts that radio content is effective despite only being achieved by means of sound without images. The advantage of the “blindness” created by radio is that each listener creates their own image of the situation “enabling” multiple interpretations hence facilitating debate. From the *Jambo Kenya*’s transcripts, the presenter Vincent Ateya begins the show (1 June 2009) by giving a vivid explanation of the vigilante group situation in the country hence setting the tone for debate. In the example below, for instance, the presenter begins by spelling out the issue at hand: safety and the idea of vigilante groups. The presenter deliberately asks listeners to consider the meaning of vigilante groups and whether or not they think it is justified for these groups to be formed. He provides a list of names purposefully inviting more names from the listeners, while at the same time giving listeners time to digest and respond to the issues raised:

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Tunataka kuangaiza swala la usalama kuhusu watu waliouwawa kwasababu ya kutafuta usalama wao. Vijana wa mungiki nao pia wanafanya hivyo hivyo. Hili ndilo swala tunataka kuangazia. Kuna mengi yanaundwa katika mtaa, mengi yakiwa sio halali, lakini bwana Herbert Khaemba mkuu wa polisi ametuhakikishia kuwa usalama utaathirika. Hii inafuatia vita vya kule Imarisio wanachama*

kumi na wanne wa mungiki kwa kulipiza kisasi. Habari ambazo tunazipata katika sehemu hizo ni kuwa vijana huwa waamrisha kujiunga na makundi haya ili kupigana na makundi kama vile mungiki. Vijana wa kirinyaga na meru, makundi kama Chigomo au Kwechere hii huwa kwa sababu serikali huwa inakawia katika kutekeleza majukumu yake, hivyo makundi kama haya yajitokeza na kutetea jamii zao kutokana na hatari zozote. Kutoka umoja wa mataifa ni serikali yafaa kujihadharisha na makundi kama haya jinsi yanavyo ibuka. Je, tunafaa kuyaunga mkono kutetea jamii au la?

[We would like to get some insight into the security issue. People have been killed while seeking out security for themselves through vigilante groups such as Mungiki. The question we want to highlight is, why are there several vigilante groups created? Most of these groups are not legitimate, but the insider information that we obtained from these places is that young people are forced to join these groups to fight the enemy and protect their communities. In Kirinyaga and Meru, groups like Kwechere Chigomo operate. Should we support these groups?] (1 June 2009).

The above is a vivid description of the issue of insecurity in Kenya, predominantly based on the 2007-2008 post-election violence is a form of blindness created by radio. This blindness has broken down visual apparatus as the presenter begins by identifying the issue of vigilante groups formed by the youth who have come together, ostensibly to protect their communities. Description of the situation given by the presenter enables listeners to contextualize and participate in the debate. The episode's theme was insecurity, exuberated by vigilante groups³³ which were blamed for most of the estimated 1,000 deaths in the 2007-2008 violence. These groups also mobilized on all sides of the country's ethno-political divisions (International Crisis Group, 2008:14). Mungiki, a well-known secretive, outlawed and quasi-religious group dating back to the 1980s is exclusively Kikuyu male membership is drawn mainly from Central Province (Anderson, 2002; Kagwanja, 2003). Kagwanja (2005) argues that

³³ Vigilante groups in Kenya include: Kalenjin warriors, a well-organized community defence team whose training forms an integral part of the graduated progress from childhood to adulthood. The Sabaot Land Defence Force (SLDF) blamed for most of the violence that has rocked the area around Mt Elgon. Chinkororo is the Kisii equivalent of Kalenjin warriors, and represents the armed wing of the Abagusii community. Mulgunipa Forest Group; a little-known group said to be based in the coast. Taliban is the best-known urban armed group after Mungiki, is active in Mathare, Huruma, Baba Dogo, Kariobangi North and Kariobangi South in Nairobi. Baghdad Boys, active in Kibera, Kenya's largest urban informal settlement, whose members are drawn mostly from the Luo community. Kosovo is a group in Kibera with members from the Luo & Luhya communities. Jeshi la Mzee aka Kamjesh is a gang specializing in extortion and protection rackets, targeting operators of public minibuses. Membership is mixed, comprising Kikuyu, Luo, Maasai, Kisii and the Luhya. Other groups that have been referenced in recent years but details are scant include Kebago (Kisii) and Sungu Sungu. Accessed from 'Kenya: Armed and Dangerous'. IRIN report. <http://www.irinnews.org/report/30729/kenya-police-target-illegal-gangs-after-kariobangi> [Accessed 23 January 2009] 'Kenya: Beholden to Proscribed Societies'. *East African Standard*. <http://allafrica.com/stories/200705250974.html> [Accessed 30 May 2008]

Criminal elements in Mungiki grasped the chance to deepen their patron– client relations with the KANU elite and, indeed, exploited the crisis of public security to entrench their interests in the informal sector and in Kenya’s burgeoning criminal underworld. Mungiki’s plunge into Kenya’s electoral politics signified the upsurge of generational politics as an idiom of accountability of state power” (52).

Vincent Ateya,³⁴ *Jambo Kenya*’s presenter, describes the show’s ability for carry out deliberation as a conveyer belt. This works in the sense that news stories are repeated and argument is built over and over again as per the previous issues raised. He states that some of the topics that are discussed during *Jambo Kenya* had either been discussed in a previous program run by Radio Citizen or they are carried over to the show that comes after *Jambo Kenya*. This process is an aspect of repetition. Repetition enables a company to establish their credibility, because when potential customers hear the brand over and over again they start to believe in it hence establishing credibility. Repetition is very important in radio because it takes several airings for audiences to become familiar with the content. While studying the structure of *Jambo Kenya*, I traced instances of repetition across its news bulletins, signature tune, sound bites, its motto, and slogan. John Gewalt (2008:7) while discussing repetition notes that

Media exposure may have threshold effects, in which a certain amount of repetition is necessary for a message to get through, but beyond that amount further repetition has little or no impact. Compared with effects that work incrementally, threshold effects are harder to isolate (7).

This is typical of the *Jambo Kenya* producers when they assume that repeating these messages intensifies involvement of the show participants. I however read the repetition in the program as not only a way of creating memory of the messages to the audiences but also as a way in which the messages can create redundancy. Redundancy, being a negative aspect of repetition, is a state of an item not being needed or useful anymore; this repetition becomes unnecessary and is likely to cause the audiences to switch to another radio channel that will entertain them more or that which is airing different content.

³⁴ An interview with Vincent Ateya, *Jambo Kenya*’s producer and presenter at Radio Citizen Studio, Nairobi. interviewed 21 December 2009 at 12h00

Jambo Kenya's structure attracts a desirable audience and maintains that audience. This is because the show has more than one genre (news, call-in, interviews, sms and vox pop). Its call in format however, to some extent, limits the likelihood of real dialogue, since callers are hurried through to make room for the next one waiting (Ross, 2004:798). The study established this as callers are given a maximum of 60 seconds each and hurried through their discussion points. This echoes concern over exclusionist tendencies in the Habermasian public sphere as argued by Dahlberg, 2013 (1). Dahlberg argues that the exclusionary nature of Habermas' theory as a result of its deliberative public sphere criteria supports domination and exclusion (Coole, 1996; Devenney, 2009; Lyotard, 1984, pp. 65–66; Mouffe, 1999, 2000; Rabinovitch, 2001; Villa, 1992). This deliberative criteria, manifested in the limited time allocated by each call-in listener in *Jambo Kenya*, has fostered exclusion from democratic spaces. Exclusion in this instance is the manner in which the callers are given limited time to air their views. A maximum of one minute is given to each caller who is hurriedly taken through their points so that other callers can get time to air their views. In as much as the *Jambo Kenya* team employs this method so that they can receive different opinions, the strategy restricts participants' opinions by using talk radio's power of gatekeeping which restricts this democratic space. Regulation is deemed important in mediating content in the public sphere. However, this study established that omission hinders the democratic process since a substantial amount of content is excluded in these kinds of debate. This manifest of regulation is of concern to the talk program as 60 seconds may not be sufficient for discussion on a crucial concern between audience and the presenter or the studio guest.

Nevertheless, the radio presenters, through publicity outings, including conducting road shows, participating in football matches, attending drama festivals and church concerts create a bond between them and the listeners so that during the show. The presenters speak to the audience as though they are having a one-on-one conversation since they have physically met even though not at a personal level. By these, the audiences get to "demystify" the voice of the individual who was on radio.

4.4 Creativity through *Jambo Kenya's* Signature Tune and Slogan

Jambo Kenya uses a signature tune at the beginning and at the end of each episode. Signature tunes and interval signals are generally composed of relatively short but catchy sequences of notes, which are very easily recognizable³⁵ These melodies have two functions complementing one another; they are both signature tunes for a specific broadcaster as well as fillers. Thus, they serve as a musical means of identification of a station, besides the spoken announcements.³⁶ The show's signature tune which doubles up as its slogan is "*Radio Citizen Chemichemi ya Ukweli*" Kiswahili for "fountain of truth". Waweru Mburu, the Head of Radio at Royal Media Services, asserts³⁷ that the deeper meaning of the radio's signature tune is to inform the listeners of the ideology of the station and the program airing content that is objective. This signature tune becomes recognizable to its audiences and it offers a communicate meaning of the program's content through its lyrics, tone and style. As Rachel Khan³⁸ argues audiences seek out stations that will air truthful content. Khan adopts the Aristotelian concept of truth telling and states that it is one of the primary principles for media practitioners. It is integral to all communication because as rational beings, humans depend on communication to make informed decisions. Truth telling as a journalistic principle, articulated through Radio Citizen's slogan here however betrays existing tension between the principles of journalism (that advocate for truth telling by the media) and commercial or political interests of employers (driven by the need to attract listeners and advertisers hence incorporation of sensationalism in its content). Repetition of this signature tune would otherwise be analysed as deceitful because the audience are likely to have confidence in everything that is aired, be it through the station's presenters or through the call-in

³⁵ From Austrian Shortwave Panorama to Angolan clandestine station VORGAN. <http://irkutsk.com/radio/jingles.htm> [Accessed 06 June 2010]

³⁶ From Deutsche Welle's CD "Signature tunes" booklet: Signature tunes and interval signals from all over the world. <http://www.irkutsk.com/radio/jingles.htm> [Accessed 14 February 2011]

³⁷ An interview with Mburu, Waweru. Radio Citizen Manager at Radio Citizen Studio, Nairobi. interviewed 21 December 2009 at 10h00

³⁸ Khan, Rachel. In the report on *Media Ethics, Protecting Public Interest*. <http://www.asianmediacongress.org/Khan-plenary.pdf> [Accessed 04 March 2009]

listeners, some of whom might not have facts but call-in just to get their voices heard on radio.

The radio slogan contains aspects of repetition. Slogans are short phrases embodying the key ideas or messages of the campaign in an easily memorable way. They are the “attention grabbers” that lead the audience into the larger message (UNIFEM 2003, 7) rhymed slogans are catchy. Slogan features define goods or services for advertising and media which are used for product promotion (Naukowa R. et al (Eds). 2013:52). *Jambo Kenya*’s slogan, “*mjadala wa jambo Kenya - mjadala wa mwananchi. kuzungumza ni kuelewana*” (elaborated on page 12) is used to introduce each segment of the program. It plays the role of encouraging the listeners to air their views and debate various issues in their day-to-day lives. It also triggers the memory of the listener. It seeks to define the brand; that is what the station is about. However, I argue that these slogans sound too convincing and sometimes sound like advertisements. Due to constant repetition, the slogan and the signature tune are likely to make *Jambo Kenya* appear like a commodity that is being marketed, than a program that encourages or improves debate in the public sphere.

4.5 News as an Agenda Setter in the Public Sphere

The news stories aired during *Jambo Kenya* always act as catalysts for debates in Kenya’s political life. The role of news is to act a watchdog, agenda setter, and gate-keeper in a democratic public sphere (Mcloughlin and Scott, 2010: 9). Hartley (1982:80) notes that “...news values are neither natural nor neutral. They form a code which sees the world in a particular way.... they are in fact an ideological cord...” *Jambo Kenya*’s research revealed that news items help to shape the direction of debate within the program. Lincoln Njogu, head of news at Radio Citizen, states³⁹ “not only does the *Jambo Kenya* news team strive to come up with fresh news stories but they also continue their news stories based on a previous debate to the listeners’ satisfaction”.

³⁹ An interview with Lincoln Njogu, *Jambo Kenya*’s producer, head of news and presenter at Radio Citizen Studio, Nairobi. interviewed 21 December 2009 at 12h00

As watchdogs, the news media ought to serve democracy by providing a check and balance on powerful sectors of society, including leaders within public and private domains. Talk shows have enlarged the public forum by allowing ordinary citizens to engage in the debate on national issues. They document the personal and local exchanges that constitute the immediate and concrete context of experience. *Jambo Kenya* news production goes through rigorous steps whereby the process of gate keeping is done to suit the station's news values, and the program's objectives. The producers and presenters hold consultations before they air the news and decide on the most important news of the day. This process of gatekeeping, as stated by Shoemaker and Reese (1991) and Peter Golding and Graham Murdock (1997:495), is used by media organizations to ascertain what information will be disseminated to their audience. These organizations suggest what to emphasize, what to omit and where to give priority in the preparation of the items for presentation to the audience. *Jambo Kenya* and Radio Citizen in general, have a "democratization" criterion, which consists of matters in the spheres of politics, socio-economy and cultural topics that address issues of democratization of Kenya. *Jambo Kenya's* producers therefore decide what content should be in the news and what will not be aired. This is the process of gate keeping, illustrated by Kurt Lewin (1951:186) as the "The entrance to each channel or section of a channel is called a *gate*. Shoemaker, (1991:2) defines a gate as an "in" or "out" decision point to which movement from one channel section to another is determined by human gatekeepers or by a set of important "rules" which takes place during news show's production.

The pattern of news coverage that *Jambo Kenya* employs is brief stints of news broadcasts. This three minute news comes on air in intervals of fifteen minutes. The short news updates start at the top of the hour before the program begins and is aired at the beginning of each episode and at the end of the episode. This is done to keep the listeners up to date with the happenings around the country, during which news updates are announced as news events unfold. According to Lincoln Njogu⁴⁰, this is a format that is well suited to

⁴⁰ Interview carried out on 15 January 2010 at the Radio Citizen Studios. Nairobi.

offer news just enough time to give the main points of a breaking news story. However these brief stints of news have a disadvantage because the news stories do not inform the listener in detail about the current happenings surrounding them. This is because they only give briefs of many events in five minutes, which is not sufficient for news coverage. Here, in-depth information regarding issues is omitted consequentially the information given is not enough to facilitate debate. They also look at the newspaper items headlines “*Tunanukua gazeti la leo.*” [We review today’s newspapers]. News items are gathered through the news stories from different newspapers. *Jambo Kenya* presenters quote and review stories from three major newspapers *The Nation*, *East African Standard* and *The People Daily*. The excerpt below illustrate how the *Jambo Kenya* presenters use news from mainstream media, through quick scans to reveal the basic facts and information that will be of interest to its audiences.

Presenter 2 (Lincoln Njogu): *Jambo Kenya, tunanukua gazeti la leo la Nation wakati katiba imeandika memo ya tarehe ishirini kuwa watu waachishwe kazi. Wewe unafanya kazi na mkeo mtakubali nani ataacha na nani atabaki? Kwasababu leo ni idara hii kesho ni idara ile nyingine Jambo Kenya...*

[*Jambo Kenya* we review today’s newspaper at a time when the constitution wrote a memo on 20th of this month that in case couples work in the same office one of them should be laid off. Is it possible for you and your wife to you come to an agreement on who should resign from work in case you work in the same company? We ask this because different companies will be affected at different times, *Jambo Kenya...*]. (13 April 2009)

The news media are a primary source of the pictures in people’s minds about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizens is “out of reach, out of sight, out of mind.”⁴¹ *Jambo Kenya* strives to achieve its watchdog role by serving as Kenya’s fourth estate and as a democracy watchdog. The public discourses carried out by it, which in most cases arise from the news stories of the day, not only seek to engage those individuals who agree to matters of concern during the public conversation, but also those who have different opinions towards the matters at hand. By doing so, *Jambo Kenya* strives to strengthen the link between the people and parliament, hence, the citizen’s active involvement in the governing of the country. Waweru Mburu, revealed that the news covered during the program are selected based on the latest contentious issues in the country. This open subjectivity in selecting news and subsequent discussion topics has affect the democracy agenda of *Jambo Kenya*. I argue that this selection of news based on

⁴¹ Walter Lippmann, Public opinion. New York: Macmillan, 1922, p.29.

the contentious issue implies that the agenda is set by elitists who are practiced in what is worthy of discussion in the public sphere. It raises the question about the public sphere's inability to account for pervasive influence of power (Skjerdal, 2010).

4.6 Music in the Public Sphere

Music of all genres in television, radio, film and the internet has become an indispensable commodity. John Durant (2007) affirms that music aids in individuals finding their unique social niche, bringing people together with others who share similar interests. Durant emphasizes that music documents the history of social and cultural changes in society, and is always in a state of perpetual evolution, combining new ideas with older ones to create a sound that's unique to each generation. *Jambo Kenya's* music play-list is drawn from classic African hits and music by cross-over artistes to make a high energy, entertaining and informative breakfast show. The producers allege that by combining these different genres, the music appeals to a huge audience, some calling in to broaden the topics of discussion or to correct a caller's opinions that are not right, as per the message from the music. Since radio is only sound, it is imperative for the radio team to make up for the images lacking hence music is played to fill in the gaps and at other times to offer an elaborate description. Most of the songs played lead to a particular theme of the day. The music signals the program's themes and encourages the audience to participate in the subject under debate. The study reveals this in a song played during a discussion on health concerns in the country. The song "*Gonjwa la Ukimwi*" (In English it means the AIDS epidemic) by Kajoli is played during the break on the episode concerning health issues and service delivery in the health sector. This song echoes the risks of either being infected or affected by HIV/AIDS.

Jambo Kenya's playlist consist of music from the mid-20th Century played by Kenyan musicians and local bands to music that appeal to the youth in Kenya. Informed by the thought that people tune into radio for information and entertainment, *Jambo Kenya* plays trending music to keep its listeners tuned to the station and therefore benefit and participate in content production. Since music ought to play its role in the public sphere, the *Jambo Kenya* playlist is made popular for its audiences who range between 15 and 60 years old,

based on statistics from the 2009 audience research by AudienceScapes National survey of Kenya which echoed these results (see Appendix II). In facilitating the process of democracy, *Jambo Kenya's* music targets the cross generational audience. However, this should not be the case as the music is unappealing to the youth who should be specifically targeted. This is based on the fact that the youth are best placed to address democracy issues as they provide the bulk of support politicians in Kenya rely on. The *Jambo Kenya* production team emphasize that most of the audiences appreciate these songs and feel that the lyrics are quite encouraging. The research established an instance (20 April 2009) when such as the excerpt music by John Ngerenza whose music, relating to life's challenges was aired. After the music the presenter, Vincent Ateya states

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Sote tunajua kwamba maisha ni mapambano, usikate tamaa ndugu au dada. Mwengine akaimba kuwa utajiri wengine hupata utotoni na wengine katika utu uzima. Asante sana kwa kibao chako John Ngerenza. Hii ni Radio Citizen. Saa moja na dakika ishirini na tano.*

[We all know that there are different life's challenges that we fac. I urge you not to give up brother and sister. Some musicians have sang that some people were born on a silver spoon while others obtain riches later in life. Thank you John Ngerenza for that song. This is Radio Citizen. It is twenty-five minutes after seven O'clock]. (14 May 2009).

Evidently in this research, after these encouraging lyrics were aired, the number of calls increased. Listeners called in with reference to the lyrics played as they discussed the inequality experienced in service delivery, especially health concerns. This revelation indicates the form of music in mediating content on democracy in the public sphere. To address the imbalance in music selection, *Jambo Kenya* hosted a number of trendy musicians in 2007/2008 PEV to boost youthful following and refocus the audience to the crisis. The radio station's management hosted musicians to play music that encourage peace in the country. *Jambo Kenya* was the avenue to which Musicians such as Eric Wainanina whose patriotic song *Daima* was used extensively to bring back 'sanity' to a beautiful land that was rapidly consuming itself after the 2007 elections. Twenty Kenyan artists came together during this period and sang three songs, *Umoja*, *Wakenya Pamoja for Peace* and *Fungua Macho*. These songs reflected on some of the issues that led to the trauma surrounding the country's post-election violence and suggested ways in which solving the crisis would lead to the very much needed peace.

4.7 Is *Jambo Kenya*'s Presenters' Performance Influencing Public Attitudes and Behaviour?

There are different performances that are used by *Jambo Kenya*'s presenters, which influence public attitudes and behaviours towards the issues under debate. Through their style of presentation, the presenters seek to keep their messages simple and focused. Lincoln Njogu and Vincent Ateya⁴² state that they have always been spontaneous with their production, presentation and execution of their program. They describe this spontaneity in cases where they come up with an agenda for the day but are challenged by most callers and so they have to change their agenda due to the public's choice of agenda for the day. This has also been highlighted by Paddy Scannell (2000: 10) who comments that "how to speak to its unknown, invisible absent listeners and viewers was and remains the fundamental communicative dilemma for broadcasters". Although I did not capture this during my research, spontaneity has been a challenge for the presenters because in such a situation they strive to provide a platform to articulate these issues that the audience have requested yet the presenter lacks sufficient time to research, which may lead to lack of objectivity.

Ian Hutchby (1996, 75) argues that talk radio hosts should not tell people what to do but make people work towards solutions to problems facing them. From one of the expert interviews that I carried out with the hosts of *Jambo Kenya*, Vincent Ateya notes that the hosts have managed to create a connection with the audiences and understand them through meeting the audience personally outside the studio because they feel committed to play a positive social role in the society. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the producers and the presenters do this through publicity outings; carrying out road shows, participating in football matches, attending drama festivals, and church concerts; through which a bond is created between them so that during the show, the presenters speak to the audience like they are having a one-on-one conversation. The interactions they carry out during road shows, reveals Vincent Ateya, make both call in and listening audiences enjoy a good

⁴² Interview carried out on 15 January 2010 at the Radio Citizen studios. Nairobi.

argument over controversial issues. Some of the call-in audiences admit that whether the argument was intelligent or a simple conversation, they feel refreshed and satisfied. The hosts address audiences directly and get their messages across. This is revealed in the manner of greetings and identity of the callers,

Caller 1: *Jambo Kenya Ateya*

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Aaaah, Mtoto wa Misri, karibu wasemaje leo? Karibu. Nipe maoni yako kuhusu swala la leo*

[Mtoto wa Misri (name of caller) welcome back. What is your opinion about today's issue today?]

Caller 1 (Mtoto wa Misri): (continues with the conversation) *Nilikua nimesafiri kidogo. Kusema ukweli Bw. Ateya kazi ifanyike bila wasiwasi labda tu kama mke na mume wamekosana nyumbani ndipo wakakorofishana ofisini.*

[I had travelled briefly... Frankly Mr. Ateya work has to be done at the office regardless of whether the two have marital problems.] (13 April 2009)

In the above transcription, we notice the relationship between the caller and the program host. This is evident from the greetings and the presenter identifying the caller. This illustrates fan and host identities showing long-term relations. By establishing a relationship with its audience the voice behind *Jambo Kenya* can be observed as instigating change because of its authoritative nature. *Jambo Kenya* attempts to use the voice in the public sphere to facilitate the process of democratization. It implements this by the information they give to the audiences, entertainment and involvement into the show, through the voice of the presenters, news readers, the callers and the guest speakers who come in as experts in different fields. These groups' voices are very crucial in the broadening of the public sphere. There are also situational identities created between the callers and the presenters, as shown in this conversation below regarding a diplomatic quarrel between Kenya and neighbouring country Uganda over a disputed piece of land at the border

Caller 1: *Jambo Kenya*

Presenter, Vincent Ateya: *Nani Mwenzangu*
[Who is on the line?]

Caller 1: *Mimi ni Kiano kutoka Isbania*
[My name is Kiano from Isbania]

Presenter, Vincent Ateya: *Huku Nairobi tuna msimamo wetu, maoni yenu kule Isbania ni yapi?*

[We have declared out stand in Nairobi, What are your thoughts in Isbania towards this issue?]

Caller 1 (Kiano): Hatutaki Rais anyamaze kuhusu swala hili. Tayari Museveni ashapeleka majeshi yake. Pia yeye apeleke.

[We are weary of the president's silence. He ought to address this issue by sending the army to this island because Uganda's president Museveni has already sent his troops] (22 June 2009).

The above excerpt from 22, June 2009 episode demonstrates a situational identity whereby, the presenter and the caller discuss their situations according to their geographical location. This is a means of encouraging debate as the content highlights the issues under discussion. The two strategies illustrated in the two excerpts above enable the talk radio show hosts to stimulate the conversation better because of the relationships they have established. The "wake up call" popularly known in Kiswahili as *kuamsha umpendaye* is yet another performance style used by the presenters in this early morning show. This is aired before the day's debate begins just after the news. Here, the presenters create some time for the listeners to call into the show and "wake up" their loved ones by sending encouraging and/romantic love messages to them on air. *Jambo Kenya* uses this strategy to capture most of the listeners in the morning who rise up early and anticipate their loved ones to "wake them up" on radio. While I am not aware of any research done to prove that this is a way of attracting audiences, my view is that performance is not an effective as a way to attract listeners as affirmed by the *Jambo Kenya* presenter but a means of maintaining loyalty among the existing listeners.

The presenters also seek to identify minor inaccuracies in the debates by being rational. This is an ideological investment that is made in the editorial policy of the production of the show. It has been used to having the listeners become dependent on this mode of communication, by making the program a space where callers can understand contentious issues and deliberate on those that are of concern to them. This can be traced back to Robert Dahl (1998), who asserts that public deliberation is essential to democracy, in order to ensure that the public's policy preferences are informed, enlightened, and authentic. Benjamin Page (1996) however notes that although public deliberation is essential to democracy, depending on the type of information, the public could be fooled as well as enlightened. From this the researcher sought to interrogate how thoughtful the opinions

presented by *Jambo Kenya* are to the public. It was established that occasionally, the listeners seem misinformed about different issues that affect them so the presenters ensure that they have researched on the issues they are yet to address so that they educate the audiences about what they do not seem to know. An example of this occurred in June 2009, where there was a dispute between Kenya and Uganda over the Migingo Island.⁴³ This problem occurred because maps had not been marked and registered by the UN. Majority of the listeners did not seem to understand what the importance of the island was and why it was in the news priorities. However, citizens were educated on their right to be protected by the government against internal and external threats to its territorial integrity and sovereignty. The head of news, Lincoln Njogu, took the initiative to research and explain to the audiences that this dispute threatens regional stability and peace. This led to opening of a debate on the Migingo Island issue with audiences urging the government to address it. While carrying out this responsibility, the presenters ensure that they do not lose control of the show by asking questions based on the information that their audience members present and clarifying on the issues that they seem not to understand. If one individual gives a valid point or asks a detailed question, they always ask the caller to support their claims. Other callers misinterpret the comments given during the show. The excerpt below illustrates an instance of this misinterpretation likely to lead to misreading of the content.

Caller 1: Habari yako Ateya
[How are you Ateya]

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): Yangu njema wasemaje

[My day is fine, what is your opinion?]

Caller 1: Kama ulivyosema bwana Ateya Migingo ni yetu. Waswahili wanasema amani haiji ila kwa ncha ya upanga kumbuka waamerika wameamua kuangamiza hao maharamia wa Somali, je Kenya....

[In relation to what you said Mr. Ateya, Migingo Island belongs to Kenya. There is a Swahili saying that states “peace only comes by the sword”. The Americans have decided to attack the Somali pirates. Why can’t Kenya take do the same by taking what belongs to her?] (14 April 2009)

⁴³ Migingo is a small island in Lake Victoria. In 2008–09 the island itself was claimed by both Kenya and Uganda

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): Ningependa kumkosoa kaka aliyepiga simu sasa. Ningependa wakenya wajue kwamba maoni inayotolewa katika mpango wa *Jambo Kenya* ni maoni ya wakenya, si maoni yangu, *Jambo Kenya...*

[I would like to correct a brother who has just aired his view regarding this issue. I would like to affirm that any comment brought out in this program is from the views of the callers and not the Jambo Kenya presenters or the radio station. (The presenter picks another call and continues with the conversation). Jambo Kenya...] (14 April 2009)

The above excerpt reveals clearly the mediation role that the program seeks to play. Not only do the presenters shun comments that insinuate violence or abusive but also strive to bring back on course callers who deviate from the subject of the day. This is evident in the excerpt above where the presenter intervenes after a caller was misled to think that issues raised in the talk show is the presenter's opinion regarding the issue under debate. He informs the audience that the opinion he is stating is from other Kenyans but not him. These ideological positioning was observed during this study analyzed and it was established that the radio station's values, beliefs and ideas are those that foster unity in Kenya.

4.8 The Use of Vox Pop in a Democratic Public Sphere

Jambo Kenya's audiences participate through its call-ins, text messages and vox pop. Vox pop is employed during the show and when the show comes to a close to broaden the public sphere and to offer a chance for the Radio Citizen journalists to create a rapport with the audiences. Vox pop is a form of audience participation because the views of members of the public seem to be directly and transparently communicated to the viewer/listener (Brookes *et al.* 2004:66). During vox pop aired on *Jambo Kenya*, "the studio is taken to the public." Here, the citizens are routinely heard on radio. The public is given a chance to air their views wherever they are, be it on the streets, in offices, at the parliament, in restaurants or in schools. These views are recorded and aired during the show. *Jambo Kenya* moves beyond Habermas' bourgeoisie public sphere ensconced as it is in rationality, reason and consensus, actually suppresses the margins. It is grounded on unrestricted inclusion of the public hence "man on the street" views is important.

Vox Pop is used to encourage the people who are unable to call into the show to air their views and not to feel that power lies in those who can afford airtime to call or SMS. The vox pop is a form of reporting on public opinion, which contributes immensely to other views raised by the call-in listeners. This is evident in some of the vox pop views illustrated in appendix VIII where an average of six voices were played at the end of the show for “man on the street” views concerning the issues on debate. The use of the opinions of ordinary members of the public adds a useful dimension to the coverage of a topic which might otherwise be limited to a straight bulletin report or a studio discussion among officials or experts. Here also, power to participate in the show is not only limited to those who can afford to call into the show but also those who are unable to call but feel obliged to participate. This strategy is however limiting because the radio station only carries out vox pop in Nairobi yet the show attracts audiences from all other areas in the country. This is evidence with some callers stating their various location which represent all the provinces of the country, a couple of these include: Wanyala from Sangalo Bungoma, Monica from Kipkaren, David from Transmara, Paul from Kisumu, Pastor Jackson from Darakali, David from Transmara, Benard from Mkomari, Gusii man from Koibatek, Street lady from Taita.

4.9 The Concept of the Studio Guest: Is the Voice in Kenya’s Public Sphere a Sentinel for Democratization?

Michael Schudson (1995:92) acknowledges that the question of who takes part in public debate is as important as that of the quality of the discourse. In this research, the voice in the public sphere is the voice of the people participating in talk shows. The voices differ according to the topic under discussion. They could be the voices of politicians, educators, law enforcement groups, the civil society and of the call-in audiences who form a larger group in the show. The voice in the studio and the caller’s voice are seen as instigating change as regards to the content being discussed. This is however highly likely to lead to unpopularity of the voice in the studio in case audiences do not appreciate that talk, the callers constant voice, or the studio guest. *Jambo Kenya* has always been striving to make its “voice” popular by being keen on the choice of not only its content but also its choice of

words. This was revealed when I was carrying out qualitative interviews with the then presenters of the show Vincent Ateya and Lincoln Njogu I asked the two presenters/producers how they make the voice in the public sphere important. They note as below:

Vincent Ateya: *Jambo Kenya* strives to make the show the mwananchi⁴⁴ voice. *Jambo Kenya* therefore provides answers to their questions by bringing guests. We act as spokespeople or watchdogs whose roles remain relevant to the audience. (Interview carried out on 21 December 2009)

Lincoln Njogu: *Jambo Kenya* gives the mwananchi a chance to be heard. It is a form of entertainment, gives information and the participants are also rescue agents who send text messages when there is an accident or robbery, and get information through news. (Interview carried out on 21 December 2009)

Talk show interviews are considered to be a more relaxed, less formal, and alternative to news interviews for the politicians (Stephen Clayman and Clay Heritage 2002:341). They are incorporated in talk shows because they do not risk facing adversarial questions about their political achievements, and they have good opportunities to present themselves to a wider audience than they do through news and current affairs programming (Mathew Baum 2005). This is however not the case as established in this research. Lincoln Njogu notes that having a studio guest can prove to be very challenging because at times the callers ask questions that are outside the discussion topic or the guest gets agitated by the questions that they have been asked. He asserts that it is always the radio presenters' responsibility not to lose focus on the topic of the day and to bring back the program on course because people need to feel that they are heard and understood or that their opinions can be voiced.

One important aspect is that interviews are also dynamic events. These are the reasons why studio guests are very important in the show. They give insight to contentious issues in the country. These studio guests are brought in to discuss the content disseminated by *Jambo Kenya*; following their project that seeks to educate and encourage participatory democracy is likely to be a sentinel for democracy as per the content that it airs. For example, for several years, members of an outlawed sect Mungiki had been troubling the country. As Anderson (2002) notes, Mungiki is a dreaded vigilante group in Nairobi. Its

⁴⁴ Mwananchi is a name used to represent the ordinary person in the country.

descent is political tribalism (Gikuyu interest) and its activities have accentuated insecurity, violated human rights and disrupted public order. During this period, stories abound about the occult ritual practices of Mungiki (a flourishing of collective actors) and of gruesome killings of persons who oppose the movement, but often these accusations remain unverified and refuted by the movement. Their activities, especially the murders that they had allegedly committed multiplied during the period when this study was carried out making the vigilante issue a contentious one in the *Jambo Kenya* debate. *Jambo Kenya* presenters put emphasis on the matters of security and brought them to the fore. Eric Kiraithe, the then police spokesperson was invited to the show on 24th April 2009 to address this issue. The contentious issues discussed included claims that the Mungiki sect is politically funded and that is why no measures were taken by the police to curtail their (illegal) activities, and all the while, sect leaders who had been arrested had not been tried. Mungiki's is a tragic story of the powerlessness of Africa's young people in the face of economic globalization, which has transformed them into pawns in the elite struggle for state power (Kagwanja, 2005:53). Therefore as Dahlberg (2013) argues, echoing poststructuralist based criticism of Habermas public sphere theory, the apparent failure to be radically democratic enough is a result of inability to fully account for exclusion, both exclusion in deliberative processes and also in its conception. Dahlberg, (2013: 1) alludes the rational norm is seemingly oblivious to perverse influence of power and exclusive nature of communicative interactions (Flyvbjerg, 2000; Shabani, 2003).

Food insecurity in Kenya is a topic that always came on air via *Jambo Kenya*. Farmers experiences high prices on fertilizer and seeds. The Kenyan citizens lack the basic food they need due to food insecurity. Endless calls were made to *Jambo Kenya* criticizing the then Ministry for Agriculture for not addressing this issue. On 15th April 2009, *Jambo Kenya* invited Kenya's current deputy president, William Ruto to address this issue. During this episode, this was not achieved because the audiences was not given a chance to challenge the studio guest and so the episode was characterized by a dialogue between the presenter and the studio guest than a turn-by-turn interplay between host, guest and the reactions from audiences a space for debate on contentious issues. This move suggests extreme self-censorship and is in conflict with the argument that *Jambo Kenya* is a beacon

of democratization. With respect to analysis of the public sphere, it is important that the public opinion is rational and critically formed so as to enable democratic scrutiny and guidance of official decision-making processes (Dahlberg 2013:4). The threshold in this case is stated by Habermas (2005, 2006) as inclusivity, reasonability, reciprocity, reflexivity, sincerity, open informational flows and lack of coercion often expressed inconspicuously through routine conversational actions of all involved in the debates. This censorship is *Jambo Kenya's* shortcoming as moderators of interviews which are a collaborative project a turn-by-turn interplay which involves the host, the guest and, in this particular case, reactions from the studio audience (Clayman and Heritage, 2002) argue that an interview is a collaborative project. The participatory framework lacking leads the public sphere becomes preoccupied with influencing others by manipulation and propaganda rather than with arriving at a balanced judgment through informed deliberation, the public sphere becomes distorted (Hauser 1999:80).

4.10 Irony in the Public Sphere: The Concept of the Trickster Tradition in Talk

Radio Programs

“Humor is a rubber sword – it allows you to make a point without drawing blood.”

Mary Hirsch, Humorist

Comic performances in the form of cinemas, stand-up comedies, comedy talk shows, plays and sitcoms have in many years been serving as entertainment to their consumers. Cynthia Merriwether-de Vries acknowledges that “comedy is a tradition with deep historical roots. Evidence of jokes based on race and other groupings can be traced back at least as far as ancient Europe, with court minstrels mocking the stench of the Visigoths.”⁴⁵ In the Kenyan media, humor can be characterised by TV shows including the XYZ show which uses puppets and humor to ridicule Kenyan politicians. Stand-up comedy shows (Churchill Show, Crazy Kona, Crazy comedy) which feature live audiences, pictures with funny

⁴⁵ Ryan Richards and Cohen Roger. (2006). *When the Truth Hurts, Tell a Joke: Why America Needs its Comedians*. An interview with Dr. Cynthia Merriwether-de Vries, Associate Professor of Sociology at Juniata College, interviewed July 28, 2006. <http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/174-when-the-truth-hurts-tell-a-joke-why-america-needs-its-comedians> [Accessed 21 August 2011]

captions in magazines and books, humor columns and cartoons in newspapers featuring Gado, Maddo, and Kham as some of the greatest cartoonists in Kenya, comic magazines, poems, and news spoofs. All these confront and discuss the issues that have continued to affect Kenyans. Humour and satire, specifically through the role of the comedian, popularly known as “the idiot” in Kenya’s social scenes, as playing the role of a trickster within the trickster tradition is very important in this study.

Comedians have occupied the centre –stage in Kenya’s FM stations. They are brought in, as observes Odhiambo (2007:156), to mediate between the official presenter and the general listening public. Odhiambo notes that as a buffoon, the joker is capable of playing betwixt the serious and the trivial. Kiss FM had Walter Mong’are a.k.a. Baby J. Nyambs and later Larry Asego and Jalang’o, while Easy FM had Maurice Ochieng’ a.k.a Mudomo Baggy as popular comedians in their talk show programs. Incorporation of a comedian/joker in the studio to give the audiences a good laugh is one of the performances employed by *Jambo Kenya*. Similar to the above named FM radio stations, *Jambo Kenya* has incorporated Mwala and Joyce as the comedians present during the show to use jokes in interaction as actions tend to generate feelings of friendship and belonging with the audiences (Zajdman, 1995: 327-31). In Kenya, these comedians have on various occasions drawn criticism for being offensive and for perpetuating negative stereotypes. Kenya is a country with long standing inter-ethnic animosities although the comedian’s role is satirical, always to counter the thoughts and opinions of the presenters to make listeners laugh at their dark past by incorporating humour to his argument as a way of defusing political tensions in a context of heightened social and political antagonisms. Politics being one of the subjects most often joked about, most often made the subject of humor to deal with matters that are troubling you.⁴⁶ It is precisely laughter that destroys the epic, and in general destroys any hierarchical (distancing and valorized) distance. As a distanced image a subject cannot be comical; to be made comical, it must be brought close. Everything that makes us laugh is close at hand, all comical creativity works in a zone of maximal proximity (Bakhtin 1981:23). Making fun of politicians and the political scenario

⁴⁶ Humor and Politics <http://culturestudies.pbworks.com/f/Humor+and+Politics++Paton+Book.doc>
[Accessed 21 August 2013]

in different countries in Africa is common and somewhat a vital part of life, as mentioned earlier to enable citizens of different countries cope with the different situations at hand. The dominant themes on *Jambo Kenya* talk show as a media genre are not only political but also social and economic humor surfaces, and criticism is encoded in a humorous manner.

The comedians present during *Jambo Kenya* show are Mwala, and Joyce (the tea girl) who comes in occasionally. Mwala is a household name in Kenya and has been in television comedy for many years. His career began during the time when Kenya had a sole public broadcaster, KBC. He featured in the home comedy program *Vitimbi* and later he played *Inspector Mwala* in a detective comedy on Citizen TV. Joyce comes in occasionally as a tea girl, engaging in verbal fights with Mwala, the daily comedian. Joyce has been stereotyped as the tea girl whose subsequent transformation to an archetype, the all-seeing, all-knowing lowly worker who is aware of everyone's secrets at the workplace, especially the dirty secrets of the wealthy and top management. She emphasizes "gender relations" and women's subordination by giving opinions as a woman affected by male chauvinism and patriarchy. In Kenya, social inequality is revealed in ethnicity, inequality in the distribution of national resources and gender parity which Fraser also points out as gender inequality transformed by a shift from dyadic relations of mastery and subjection to more impersonal structural mechanisms that are lived through more fluid cultural forms (Fraser, 1993, 180). Joyce has been employed in *Jambo Kenya* to mirror the plight of marginalized communities, in this case women. However, *Jambo Kenya* as a mediator of democracy has not resolved the gender parity concern because Joyce's role ends at humor from the tea girl who is occasionally heard on the show. *Jambo Kenya*, if it is to play its mediative role ought to consider the national values and principles of governance of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 which include equity, inclusiveness, equality, non-discrimination, and protection of the marginalized⁴⁷. This gender awareness can be enhanced by highlighting existing gender differences (needs, constraints and opportunities).

⁴⁷ National Constitutional provisions – Kenya. The Constitution of Kenya Adopted August 2010 <http://www.right-to-education.org/country-node/359/country-constitutional> <http://www.right-to-education.org/country-node/359/country-constitutional>

Mwala's choice is informed by his ability to capture the audience through his strong Kikamba accent. This accent invites humour due to the stereotypes about Kenyan cultures. Mwala arguably highlights the silences of tribalism in Kenya through the ethnic angle and the pronunciations that tells an individual which community is at the centre of the discourse. In *Jambo Kenya* however, Mwala comes in to represent the standards of an average radio listener, and an agent provocateur. The joker knows how to reinforce power and how to subvert it. According to Lincoln Njogu, in the program, Mwala is an agent that makes the listeners laugh at themselves through the issues that they have been deliberating about. Mwala does this through articulating issues that are likely to be true, which a normal human being would not tell. In a related context, the mode of communicating serious issues using jokes is also portrayed by John Ruganda in his book *Telling the Truth Laughingly: The Politics of Francis Imbuga's Drama*. Ruganda demonstrates how Imbuga in his drama uses the trope of the trickster from the oral tradition to "tell the truth laughingly" (in a light touch) through indirect criticism. Imbuga's texts allow the targets of his criticism to save face and provide them room to reform themselves by avoiding direct confrontation. Here, Imbuga participates in the trickster tradition, telling truth to power but in a manner that depends on the "survivalist principle...that good art must protect itself from vilification and its creator from incarceration" (Pushpa Parekh & Siga Jagne 1998:230). Unlike other FM stations in Kenya where the presenter is the protagonist and the comedian always the antagonist; Mwala is not among the presenters but comes in to offer comic relief. The melodramatic way in which he comes to the show is meant to capture the attention of the listener. He comes in falling into the studio, arguing with Joyce the tea girl, or running around while claiming that there are people who are after him.

The researcher reads comedians as, arguably "idiots" who, when listened to critically mirror Kenya's national idiosyncrasies but also offer some truth to the issues under debate. Mwala depicted this when socio-economic immobility issues that affect the standards of living among people in the society are discussed in the show. On June 17 2009, *Jambo Kenya's* contentious issue was on service delivery with a focus on the spread of HIV/AIDS

as a health concern in Kenya. The issue raised was that the National AIDS and STI Control Programme (NAS COP) initiated a campaign to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS through encouraging people to know their HIV/AIDS status. NAS COP suggested an approach where medical experts visit households in a specified geographical area and carry out HIV/AIDS counselling and testing. This is also referred to as door-to-door HTC (HIV Testing and Counselling). The call-in audiences challenged this move by NAS COP. Mwala, in his argument asserted that “Yes, we should know how the status of our neighbours so that we can be sure of how they are doing. Results from everyone’s HIV/AIDS tests should be in the public domain so that we can be sure of how they are doing”. This brings a good laugh to the audiences because one is left to wonder, why someone would want to know what happens in their neighbors house but in real sense this is what people always seek to know. In this context, it was established that the trickster in the talk show is likely to be misleading considering his fan base and the likelihood that audiences would believe in the thoughts of celebrities like the comedian. He brings about comic relief other than providing facts that lead to thoughtful public opinion that influences democratic participation.

4.11 *Jambo Kenya* callers

There have been many arguments generated concerning the radio show callers. While no study has been carried out in Kenya to reveal the number of calls that talk radio shows receive, this study established that *Jambo Kenya* receives between 10 and 12 callers per day during its one hour daily show. An assumption can therefore be made of the same with other talk radio shows in Kenya considering that they are structured in almost a similar format to *Jambo Kenya*. There exist frequent/regular callers to these stations. The researcher’s personal experience was that she tried calling into this particular radio station on a daily basis in vain because the lines are congested yet there are familiar voices that are always on air. The researcher therefore realized a number of frequent callers who seem never to be caught in the congested lines. Mpiga picha wa Turbo, Jumba Sakwa wa Lugari, and Jared Omondi. The researcher, convinced that the frequent callers are a way of commercializing the station and having the show keep running because of callers some getting through to the show telephone lines and not others, sought to establish the truth

behind the commercialization claims I made concerning these callers. Lincoln Njogu noted that the station does not have any link with the frequent callers and the only contact they have with them is when they called into the show. He asserts that there is no policy that limits the number of calls per call in audience. He however credits the regular callers as individuals who are more likely to set the show's agenda than the one time caller. Njogu, on a light note advised the researcher to find out the tips of calling into the station for her voice to be heard. He said that he was convinced that the frequent callers have mastered the art of getting through to talk shows. That debatable, the researcher sought out any research that has been carried out concerning the frequent callers.

The study revealed that there no particular sequence to which the callers are allowed to go on air. It all depends on who calls in first, a "first come first served" basis. The delay is necessary to ensure that the previous caller has finished putting across his/her point before letting the current caller go on air. The delay is necessary because the show is not recorded and only depends on live and timely talk. This may prove problematic because some callers, due to lack of airtime to sustain a call are likely to go off during the day therefore the show loses the comments of the callers. In some instances however, the presenters call back the callers who got disconnected while waiting for a chance for their voices to be heard. The presenters of the show face some challenges while handling different callers. The program's transcripts revealed that some callers become abusive or offensive in their conversation. Although the primary purpose of *Jambo Kenya* is to play a democratic role of letting people have their say and express their views on matters that concern them as citizens they are forced to suppress debate or to cut off air those who become abusive or offensive whose comments are likely to influence the opinion of other callers or the listeners concerning the issue under debate or the manner in which the audiences view the radio station as a whole. The role of the presenter or host is not to take sides but to stimulate conversation so that the matter is made interesting for the listener. He must be well versed in the law of libel and defamation and be ready to terminate a caller who becomes obscene, overly political, commercial or illegal in accordance with the programme policy (McLeish, 1994).

4.12 The Contribution of Mobile Telephony to Talk Radio through Text Messages

New media, through mobile telephony has enabled *Jambo Kenya* engage with people at a different level. In the early 1990s people used to send letters to the talk radio show presenters. These were expensive because one had to buy a paper, a pen, envelopes and stamps to post the letter. It also took a long time to be delivered by snail mail to the station. This impacted on the fans that had to wait for several weeks before they could hear their message on radio, and also it affected the “newness” of the news/opinion of discussion. In most cases however, the letters that were sent were meant to send greetings, (popularly known as salaams in Kenya), to loved ones. The means of sending salaams evolved and different radio started selling salaam cards to their listeners. This was easy because most media houses had established bureaus in different towns in Kenya so it was easy for one to drop their salaam card at the bureau, which would later be taken to the main office.

The popularity of mobile phones in Kenya can be dated back to the 2002 general elections where the opposition parties joined forces to “overthrow” president Moi who had been in power for 24 years. A research done by Okero Otieno through the Institute for Education in Democracy in 2002 revealed that the political opposition parties chose to experiment with mobile phone as campaign strategy. Mobile phones were chosen for several reasons. First, it was assumed that KANU would still dominate and deny political opposition fair coverage in the PBS. Second, this new technology was perceived to be efficient and cost effective way of mobilization of voters by the financially challenged emergent opposition parties. Third, the state denied opposition parties permission to hold public rallies in many parts of the country⁴⁸. Fourth, mobile telephones and more specifically the Short Message Services (SMS) was spreading very fast like virus. The nature of text messages was capitalised on by the political opposition for political marketing. Fifth, mobile telephony was a fast growing economic reality in Kenya. The political parties participated in the purchasing of mobile phones for their supporters especially the first time voters.

⁴⁸ Political opposition was by law required to apply for a permit to hold political rallies. This rule did not apply to KANU. The opposition parties were especially denied permit to hold rallies in areas where they had popular support. (See Throup and Hornsby 1998, Otieno 1999 for more analysis).

A newspaper article worth quoting is from *The Daily Nation* of Tuesday February 22, 2011. In the article, Kelley notes that in its annual report on attacks on the press, the New York-based committee to protect journalists (CPJ) states that despite technology allowing everyone to spread information easily and quickly, it has opened the door to unprofessional and unethical practices. They assert that the mere dissemination of information and opinion is not itself journalism. They also note that African journalism use texting to overcome significant obstacles- including poor or non-existent land lines, roads, and computer access that would prevent them from interviewing people, collecting information, filing stories, or just passing along notes to colleagues.

Rotich and Goldstein (2008:2) state in the report that “mobile phones and the internet were a catalyst to both predatory behaviour such as ethnic-based mob violence and to behaviour such as citizen journalism and human rights campaigns.” This was the case in Kenya during and after the 2007 general elections. An investigation by BBC policy briefing (BBC 2008:2) reveals that blogs and text messages were used to inflame tensions and incite ethnic hatred. This is quite contrary to the role that the mobile phones played in the transition of Kenya’s democracy in 2002. It is important to note that, although the internet had played a big role to different democracies in the world, especially through social media like twitter and Facebook, these tools were not being used by *Jambo Kenya* when this study was conducted.

During this period, a ban on live news reporting instigated by the government was designed to defuse public anger, but arguably did the opposite as rumour spread over SMS text messages and other networks took over from live journalistic reporting. According to the CCK quarterly sector statistics report (July-September 2010/2011), mobile phone subscribers in Kenya increased to 22 million between July and September 2010 up from 20.1 million in June 2010. This review reported a total of 740 million text messages sent. This is 4% lower than the same period of the previous year. The decline in the number of text messages sent against increased voice traffic alludes to the fact that the decline in

mobile tariffs has influenced subscribers' preference of voice calls over SMS ⁴⁹. With the above pros of SMS service, *Jambo Kenya* listeners have used text messages as a way of communication by those audiences who are unable to call in.

Through *Jambo Kenya*'s content, there is evidence of how the use of text messages in the public sphere have enabled engagement between the state and the citizens through the mediation of talk radio shows- *Jambo Kenya* in context. Impunity, police brutality and crime/insecurity and human rights are issues that have also come to play as focusing on the systematic violations of democratic rights, (see appendix VIII). These issues are a depiction of how the *Jambo Kenya* audience have employed the use of text messages in the public sphere context. Approximately 10 text messages are received in a day. The audiences convey their messages by employing brief messages to illustrate the effect of political debates in a social context used to highlight the issues that are crucial to democracy and good governance.

4.13 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, we find evidence that political talk debates messages disseminated by *Jambo Kenya* influence the audience. *Jambo Kenya*, facilitates debate by encouraging and engaging citizens to rationally exchange views on emerging issues of the day; focusing on democracy as not an event that only occurs during the election period, but as a continuous process. On some occasions, the call-in audience is merely selecting sources consistent with their pre-existing political biases. This has been revealed through the structure and strategies employed before, and during the show; through deliberation of issues at different levels. Through voices of authority via the studio guest, audiences receive the satisfaction that they are heard and their matters are put into consideration.

⁴⁹ Quarterly Sector Statistics Report. 1st Quarter. July-Sept 2010/2011. Downloaded online at http://www.cck.go.ke/Resc/Statistics/Sector_Statistics_Report_Q1_1011.Pdf [Accessed 23 December 2011]

To instigate change in Kenya, the voice of the studio guest is a strategy that *Jambo Kenya* has used to make the listeners appreciate the change of voices in the studio, feel welcome, at ease and somewhat convinced. To facilitate the process of democratization, *Jambo Kenya* has offered an opportunity for citizens to challenge official power through the voice of the studio guest. Unlike newspapers or news stories that report on the voice, here the voice is clear and can be challenged through call-in. In this instance, the voice in the public sphere is the voice of the people participating in talk shows. The voices differ according to the topic under discussion. These voices could be the voices of politicians, educators, law enforcement groups, the civil society and of the call-in audiences. The studio guest's role is often to clarify the issues that the citizens feel are contentious and need a lot of attention. The presenters act as moderators during such episodes and interview the guests. Although it was revealed that dialogue was lacking on some instances as regards to having a studio guest, this did not entirely ruin the quality of the show as audiences sent text messages.

Jambo Kenya and radio's democratic power is also determined by the choice of the caller who goes on air and the studio guest present during the show. This is a strategy was employed by the presenters who use the voice in the public sphere to act as a sentinel for Kenya's democratization. The voice of the common Kenyan is used as a means of determination to instigate change. They focus on the voice that captures the attention of other listeners. It could be the authoritative voice or that which brings comic relief when tensions are high. Through its content, *Jambo Kenya* does this by carrying out program monitoring and public control on issues that continue to play a central role in shaping Kenya's democracy. These issues, through its transcripts, include the National Accord, which despite the fact that it was signed, the call-in audiences feel that they are still living in a very polarized atmosphere where the political class still seeks to mobilize along ethnic lines.

In the next chapter, discussions are built on examining the role of *Jambo Kenya* in the political communication process in a social context. It establishes inclusive participation in communication processes, and ultimately for informed choice and human development in society (Norris 2010:15).

CHAPTER 5

The Significance and Influence of *Jambo Kenya* on Debates Surrounding Corruption, Power and Good Governance

5.1 Aim of Chapter

This chapter thematically explores and establishes the content of the *Jambo Kenya* program along authority, decision making and accountability by the government to the people. These elements are form part of indicators of good governance, and an analysis how they are integrated into the larger framework of the democratic ideals in *Jambo Kenya* is important in the study.

5.2 Introduction

Dahlberg (2013) identifies mediated networks of daily rational debates across political divides and the imagined or actual norm that is implicit in all debates as two strands of Habermasian public sphere definitions. The ‘normative’ aspect of Habermas’ public sphere theory is particularly relevant to this chapter because of its wide use in the analysis of communicative practice in democratic processes (Dahlberg 2013:4). Talk radio shows, as mediated spheres identified by Dahlberg, act as public spheres for carrying out various debates. Kruger (2006; 13) notes that phone in programs are among the several radio news formats available. He acknowledges well-produced shows that focus on a particular subject, invite appropriate guests and make sure that the presenter is thoroughly briefed on the issue (Rubin & Rubin, 1993). Levin (1987:145) concurs and states that “talk radio has enabled the public to join the national political conversation by breaking up the elite monopoly of the public sphere. In a political, albeit speculative vein Levin argues that talk radio was an expression of widespread alienation and discontent, a way of externalizing frustrations with politics and politicians (ibid, pp. xii).

Mushtaq Khan⁵⁰ states that good governance, as a democratic process, should also focus on the process of public policy formulation and implementation. It requires an efficient executive, a functioning legislature, an independent judiciary and the effective separation and balance of powers, all constituent elements of a democratic regime. Consequently, good governance is not sustainable without effective democratic institutions (Santiso 2001). This chapter argues that good governance, as listed by the World Bank encompasses voice of accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, and regulatory quality, rule of law and control of corruption⁵¹. These indicators of good governance have prominently echoed in the program as will be revealed in the selected excerpts. As Carlos Santiso (2001:6) states ‘while democracy tends to refer to the legitimacy of government, good governance refers to the effectiveness of government’. This study adopted the World Bank description of good governance as “the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences” (Hasnat, A. H. 2001:4). The role of *Jambo Kenya* as a mediated public sphere is therefore investigated as an avenue whose content focuses on issues surrounding effectiveness of the government.

5.3 Does *Jambo Kenya*’s Content Mediate Issues of Corruption and Power?

In Kenya’s public sphere, *Jambo Kenya* is arguably a program that acts as a relevant forum that carries out rational debates on fundamental democratic practices. These practices, as articulated in the program’s themes include freedom of expression, informed and the not-so-informed participants, right of access to public information, rule of law, checks and

⁵⁰ Mushtaq Khan, Professor of economics at the University of London’s School of Oriental and African Studies. Speech on good governance at the News and Resources on the Joint Africa-EU Strategy. <http://europafrica.net/2010/06/07/is-the-good-governance-agenda-being-overrated/> [Accessed 07 January 2011]

⁵¹ Worldwide governance indicators by the World Bank. These are reports aggregate and individual governance indicators for 215 economies over the period 1996–2012, for six dimensions of governance <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home>

balances on power, human rights, and respect for minorities in the society, nationhood, citizenship, corruption and their ultimate involvement in governing of the country. To effectively investigate the content mediated by *Jambo Kenya*, the study did not only focus on the content surrounding the legitimacy of government but also the effectiveness of government by focusing on issues of abuse of power and corruption as impediments to democracy. This was carried out due to doubts on the legitimacy of the Kenyan government as a major reason that brought about the post-election violence (PEV) in 2007-8. The period of study revealed the agenda 4 implementation framework and the new constitution of Kenya, food security and nepotism as three major themes that shaped deliberations in *Jambo Kenya*. These grievances that formed themes in the show were revealed in *Jambo Kenya*'s transcripts and will be interrogated in detail in this section as below.

5.3.1 Agenda 4 Implementation Framework and the New Constitution of Kenya

Agenda 4 is a series of reforms that were agreed on between two political opposition camps after the 2008 post-election violence in Kenya. These camps were the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) led by Raila Odinga and Party of National Unity (PNU) led by Mwai Kibaki. The need for these reforms occurred during the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation meetings chaired by Koffi Annan, the then chairperson of the panel of eminent African personalities, as a way of guaranteeing a peaceful and equitable Kenya. The issues brought forward were constitutional, institutional and legal reforms, land reforms, poverty, inequity and regional imbalances, unemployment, particularly among the youth, consolidation of national cohesion and unity, transparency, accountability, and impunity.⁵²

In response to Kenyans' yearning for a new constitutional dispensation that would embody greater democracy, respect for human rights and accountability on the part of the government, the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) embarked on a

⁵² Report From The Kenya National Dialogue And Reconciliation Mediated By H.E Kofi Annan, Chair Of The Panel Of Eminent African Personalities. http://www.dialoguekenya.org/docs/S_of_P_with_Matrix.pdf [Accessed 16 March 2009]

process of constitutional review in 2003, before which there had been several amendments of the old constitution and attempts to implement a new constitution for Kenya. Kenya's constitution is the supreme law of Kenya. It establishes the structure of the Kenyan government, and also defines the relationship between the government and the citizens of Kenya.⁵³ As noted by the Institute for social accountability for people centred development (2011) regarding the old constitution that was replaced in 2010, Alicia Bannon (2007:1830) notes

...for many Kenyans, Kenya's constitution is a symbol of both British colonialism and domestic political oppression. Negotiated in London, the constitution dates back to Kenya's independence from Great Britain in 1963. It is also a product of domestic political influence; Kenya's ruling party (KANU) amended the constitution over thirty times, for purposes that included centralizing power, strengthening executive authority, and for a significant portion of Kenya's history, banning opposition parties. Agitation for constitutional reform in Kenya began in 1990-1991 and was accompanied by calls for multiparty elections, presidential term limits, and expanded political freedom under the highly repressive Moi (KANU) regime. The primary impetus for reform came from Kenya's civil society, including religious and human rights groups, which mobilized opposition political parties and their supporters and which helped create a popular movement, (1830).

The 2003 process of constitutional reforms led to three draft constitutions: The Constitutional Conference (Ghai Draft), the Constitutional Conference Draft (Bomas Draft) and the proposed New Constitution 2005 (Wako Draft). The Wako draft was subjected to a referendum in 2005, but was rejected by majority of Kenyans who believed it had not captured their views and expectations, as had been expressed during the consultative drafting process (es).⁵⁴ The foregoing underlies existing concerns that shaped the mood of country in the period leading to the 2007 election such as good governance, issues of citizenship as a result of exclusion of dissenting opinions, abuse of power and lack of accountability. Kenya's current constitution was promulgated on August 27, 2010. The excerpt below reveals *Jambo Kenya's* ideological orientation regarding promulgation

⁵³ The Kenya Constitution. <http://www.kenya-information-guide.com/kenya-constitution.html> [Accessed 04 April 2012]

⁵⁴ GGP Usawa ni Haki. *The Constitution Process*. <http://www.gendergovernancekenya.org/katiba/156-katiba.html> [Accessed 23 July 2010]

of a new constitution⁵⁵ and agenda 4 which encompasses a wide range of reforms that promise to ensure a free and just democracy in Kenya. The presenter, Vincent Ateya opens the debate by noting that having a constitution does not necessarily mean that there is democracy in a country. Ateya states that implementation of Agenda 4, and the new constitution which will bring changes in issues surrounding land ownership, ethnicity leading to nepotism, and political impunity, which are all highly entrenched in the country both at grass root and national levels. This demonstrates that Ateya understood the mood of the country and sought to remind the audience of the need for debate and the benefits of reforms. By questioning if the leaders will reach a consensual understanding Ateya tries to influence public debate and the need for inclusivity. These issues, facilitated in the debate on 18 June 2009 are revealed in the excerpts below and other excerpts on appendix VIII

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Ni mabadiliko ambayo yatakuwa na manufaa makubwa kwetu ikiwa yatatekelezwa lakini swali tunauliza wataafikiana? Saa moja na dakika ishirini na tano 0722 200/0733 530045/0730 273010 ama kati ya yale Lincoln ametaja ni lipi laweza kufanikiwa police reforms, land reforms, constitutional courts, squatter system, truth justice and reconciliation lipi lawezekana kati ya haya. Jambo Kenya...*

[These are changes that would have great benefit to us if implemented, but the question we ask is, will the lawmakers come to a consensus? It is 7:20 a.m. 0722 200 730 0733 5300 45 273010. Lincoln has mentioned that they might succeed in police reforms, land reforms constitutional court, squatter systems, Truth and Reconciliation Justice. Which of these will succeed? *Jambo Kenya ...*] (18 June 2009)

Caller 1: *Jambo Kenya*
[Jambo Kenya]

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Haya tutayapata kweli*
[Will we really achieve this?] (18 June 2009)

Caller 1: *He, sijui tutafanyaje tungeanza na TJRC kabla mengine. Katiba hatujui itakuwa presidential hybrid au parliamentary system. sasa hii ni shida kidogo, vyama pia ni tatizo kila mtu anavurutia upande wake, hatutujui, na shida kama kamati itaundwa. Tuwe na two systems parliamentary au hybrid kuliko kuangusha hizi zote, kuliko kucheza hizi karata asante Bw Ateya.*

[Am not sure of what we will do but we should have started with the TJRC. We don't know whether the constitution will be presidential system, hybrid or parliamentary system. Everyone seems to want to benefit so we are not sure whether the committees will be formed. It seems like playing a game of cards]. (18 June 2009)

⁵⁵ Kenya's new Constitution is meant to establish measures to curb corruption, increase the independence of the three arms of government, constrain the power of the executive branch, decentralize the government, create a supreme court for the first time, introduce a bill of rights that addresses basic human needs and aims to protect human rights, protect marginalized groups, allow Kenyans to enjoy dual citizenship, guarantee equal and fair use of national resources, and strengthen women's rights.

In the excerpt above, by casting doubt on the success of the process Ateya seems to create a sense of pessimism around the debate. This could be argued as influencing the debate in a negative way. This reminds the audience that there no guarantee of reforms as the politicians could end up with no deal. This should be interpreted with respect to the past in which the talks on reforms to the constitution fell apart as discussed earlier on. By stating “Everyone seems to want to benefit so we are not sure whether the committees will be formed.” Caller 1 (above) confirms that there is no transparency and accountability in the country and as such there was a danger of ending up with a self-serving consensus by the leader. This further emphasises that representatives tended to abuse power and did not have the welfare of citizens at heart.

The concept of good governance has been addressed by *Jambo Kenya* as a situation whereby ordinary people monitor the manner in which they are governed. In the above excerpt, this concept addresses a situation whereby ordinary people monitor the manner in which they are governed, as *Jambo Kenya* perceives it as a precondition of economic growth. As revealed in the above episode, while *Jambo Kenya* strives to influence the way its listeners perceive different issues by carrying out public deliberation and looking at injustices that are still hindering Kenya’s development and are yet to be implemented in agenda. The of callers position is clear concerning the possibility of achieving police reforms, land reforms, constitutional courts, squatter system, truth, justice and reconciliation from the post-election violence. It is noted that governance is a multifaceted concept that captures the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development (Santiso, 2001). Article 10 of the Kenyan constitution focuses on national values and principles of governance. Here, it states that

The national values and principles of governance in this article bind all State organs, state officers, public officers and all persons whenever any of them applies or interprets this constitution; enacts, applies or interprets any law; or makes or implements public policy decisions. The national values and principles of governance include: patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people; human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and

protection of the marginalized; good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; and sustainable development⁵⁶ (par. 11).

Worthwhile to note from Santiso's affirmation is the fact that perhaps in recognition of past history the new constitution found it necessary to single out citizenship formation and the need for good governance practice. Issues regarding constitutional reforms featured in *Jambo Kenya* on several occasions, with debates revolving around decision making in the coalition government and failure to implement Agenda 4. This demonstrates the fact that *Jambo Kenya* as a program strived to foster a sense of belonging and citizenship amongst listeners. This is important taken that at a point when there were arguments that despite its promulgation, the new constitution was yet to be implemented, *Jambo Kenya* aired comments by leading public figures that encouraged citizens participation in the constitution debates. For example, Constitutional law expert in Kenya Prof. Yash Pal Ghai and the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission chair Isaak Hassan were heard challenging the civil society not to relent in its quest to ensure that the new constitution is fully implemented. Also, Committee of Experts (CoE) on constitutional review chairman Nzamba Kitonga was heard by audience urging the civil society to institute charges against those flouting the new constitution by engaging in corruption and abusing their offices?⁵⁷ In the excerpts below, the researcher selects particular days from *Jambo Kenya's* transcripts when there were contentious issues in the country. In one excerpt there was on a standoff between then President Kibaki and then Prime Minister Raila Odinga resolving the issues that had stalled the Grand Coalition Government headed by the two co-principals. Another was the resignation of Martha Karua, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs citing frustration in discharging her duties. Ms. Karua gave an instance where President Mwai Kibaki appointed judges without her knowledge a few days

⁵⁶ *The Constitution of Kenya*. Adopted on: 27 Aug 2010. ICL Document Status: 17 Oct 2010. The editor notes that "the current ICL edition is based on the official version provided to the public by the Official Law Reports of the Republic of Kenya. Formulations with "shall" have been changed to ICL translation style. <http://www.servat.unibe.ch/icl/ke00000.html> [Accessed 03 September 2010]

⁵⁷ Activists Protest at Nepotism. 20 October 2010. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201010210043.html> [Accessed 22 October 2010]

before her resignation. Some of the conversations resonate with some excerpts from different episodes of the program as below:

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Hujambo Mwenzangu. Wakubali kuwa tatizo ni wanaomzingira au Rais?*

[Hello dear caller, do you agree that it is not only the president who has a problem but rather his advisors?] (19 June 2009)

Caller 1 (Meja): *Ni yeye ndiye anafaa kuweka watu hawa chini kwa sababu hii ni serikali ya muungano awazungumzie. Wala wanodhamana na kutia tumbo zao.*

[The president needs to focus more on the current government of national unity than his advisors. He should demonstrate to his advisors that he is in charge but note that he is ruling in a coalition government. He should not focus on those who ‘think with their bellies’. (Those who seek to benefit from tokens)]

Caller 2: *Jambo Kenya Ateya . Huyu ni Omondi Ohigla*

[Jambo Kenya Ateya (Presenter’s name). This is Omondi Ohigla (caller’s name)].

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Ohigla niambia*
[Ohigla, go ahead and comment] (5 April 2009)

Caller 2 (Omondi Ohigla): (Continues with the conversation) *Bwana Ateya Rais anatomia katiba kufanya haya yote. Hii ndiyo inaleta shida. Martha Karua ameamua kujiuzulu kwa sababu ya katiba mbaya. Hii katiba inawahusu wenye pesa pekee. Tunataka marekebisho ya katiba. Hii katiba ndiyo itaamua mabadiliko na kadhalika.*

[Mr. Ateya, the president is using the constitution to his benefit. This poses a problem revealed by the decision by Martha Karua to resign because of a bad constitution. The constitution only benefits the rich. We want to review the constitution which will determine change.] (5 April 2009)

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Kwa hiyo katiba ndiyo mbaya?*

[So, your view is that the current constitution is the problem here?] (2 July 2009)

Caller 3: *Katiba ibadilishwe. Rais hataki marekebisho*

[The constitution should be reviewed. The president does not want reforms.] (2 July 2009)

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Akasema katiba imepatia Rais mamlaka asiyostahili. Swali ninalouliza, mengi yametokea katika sekta mbalimbali humu nchini, the president is to blame eti amenyamaza sana. Hii ni Jambo Kenya Radio Citizen chemichemi ya ukweli*

[He says that the constitution has given the president authority he does not deserve. The question I am asking is, so much has taken place in various sectors in this country... that the president should be blamed for not addressing these concerns. This is Radio Citizen, the fountain of truth.] (2 July 2009)

The effects of talk radio participation on citizens’ attitudes towards politicians, political issues, and political institutions are important aspects have been demonstrated in the above

excerpts. As stated earlier, the former constitution made it difficult for the noted issues to be established because it gave the president powers to govern the country in a manner that most people felt was not democratic. In the above excerpt, the presenter (Ateya) frames his conversation in a manner that suggests the problem emanates either from the president's men or himself. In a way he absolves the then prime minister from any responsibility. This may influence the perspective of the debate by skewing it against the president. The first caller (Meja) is categorical that the president has missed the point of a government of national unity which should focus on consensual understanding on issues. This underlines the fact that the president excluded a significant section from participation in governance. Also it suggests that the result is lack of stability in form of dissent and stand offs with the coalition members. From the excerpts above, Caller 2 moves from blaming the president's inner circle and advisors to blaming the old constitution. He implies that the old constitution had given the president extra ordinary powers so much as to allow him to make decisions without consultations. As Caller 2 points out that the constitution was unfair as it could not prevent the president from abusing power. Lack of accountability by the government is implied. The presenter goes ahead to ask the listeners whether the constitution is to blame for the insubordination that seems to be taking place in the coalition government. By doing so, the presenter is expanding the public sphere by engaging more with the audiences regarding this topical issue. He however seems to influence the direction of the debate by faintly insinuating that the constitution was not a good one; that is because formulation of the question in a neutral manner such as 'what is your opinion on the constitution?' may have elicited a less negative response on the constitution. It is also noted in the last paragraph of the above excerpt that, Ateya (the presenter) wrongfully interprets the comments of the caller 3. Whereas the caller says the president does not want constitutional review, Ateya states that the president does not deserve the constitutional powers at his disposal. This may have ended up swaying the audience to be of the opinion that the constitution review was needed to trim presidential powers. Thus it could also be interpreted that the presenters to some extent actively influenced the audiences and callers through the structure of the talks.

The most contentious issue in the constitutional reforms is land policy. Albert Kasembeli (2013)⁵⁸ notes that

Historical injustices and land issues have been of concern to Kenyans since independence and have been the principal issues on what every presidential campaign has been run since the re-introduction of multi-party democracy in 1992. The controversial land question is far from getting an adequate answer, following President Kibaki's delay in gazetting the new National Land Commission. Despite advice from Attorney General Githu Muigai that delaying or failure to gazette the commission was illegal; the Office of the President Permanent Secretary Francis Kimemia ignored the possibility of facing contempt of court charges. Powerful and influential people in Government are allegedly frustrating the commission whose mandate is to investigate past and present land injustices and institute corrective measures. The National Land Commission Act 2012, section 15, states that the commission must correct historical land injustices (par 14).

The above reveals the high stakes at play in Kenya's implementation of the new constitution. Clearly, this is a case of abuse of power and lack of accountability by sections of leaders and civil servants who should have been guided by the constitution but chose not to be. Also, it demonstrates the fact that the judicial system was impotent in enforcing non-compliance to the constitutional provisions by powerful barons. It is interesting that to note that Lincoln Njogu regards land policy issues as sensitive.⁵⁹ It is noted that land has remained a focal point for ethnic-nation identities and livelihoods. The non-implementation of provisions of the constitution on land policy is thus considered a deliberate exclusion of communities from the center of governance processes that skews and limits opportunities from the general populace and disregards the aspirations of the people as captured in the constitution of Kenya 2010. The elevation of individuals above national aspirations breeds short term focus and conflict.⁶⁰ The invitation of a studio guest to have the discussion with the audiences concerning land policy was notably imperative. *Jambo Kenya* hosted Former Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs Eugene Wamalwa on 15 April 2009 to the show to address the land policy and reforms issues.

⁵⁸ Kasembeli, A. (2013) 'Kenya: Land Debate Must Not be Gagged'. *The African Executive*. <http://www.africanexecutive.com/modules/magazine/articles.php?article=7067&magazine=426>

⁵⁹ Interview carried out on 21 December 2009 at the Radio Citizen studios. Nairobi.

⁶⁰ The African executive, Kenya: Peace and Prayer Rallies Place Country on Panic Mode. <http://www.africanexecutive.com/modules/magazine/articles.php?article=7076&magazin=427>

Presenter 2 (Lincoln Njogu): *Kupitia kwenye SMS kuna jamaa moja anajiita Abedi kutoka kule Nyeri anasema ikishindikana ya maswala ya sera ya land policy basi tufwate njia ya katiba mpya labda inaweza kuwa suluhisho katika swala hili la maskwota.*

[Through a text message Abedi from Nyeri suggests that if addressing issues of land policy proves difficult maybe a new constitution could be a solution to this issue of squatters.]

Guest, Eugene Wamalwa: *Ni kweli kabisa kwasababu kati ya maswala nyeti katika katiba yetu ni swala la ardhi ambalo lazima liangaliwe. Na ukiangalia yale yaliyokuwa bomas wakenya walitoa maoni yao na ni baadhi ya yale waliyotoa ndio itaunda sera ile ya ardhi na naamini ya kwamba sera ambayo iko mbele ya baraza la mawaziri tayari imechukuwa yale maoni ya wananchi na tunasema ije bungeni wakati wa marekebisho ya katiba tuiangalie.*

[It's true because among the sensitive issues in Kenya's constitution is land reforms, which must be considered following what was discussed at the Bomas of Kenya (during the constitution of Kenya Review Commission sittings). It will formulate a land policy, which I believe has been presented before the cabinet already takes care of the wishes of citizens. We shall then forward it to parliament during the constitutional review process for consideration.] (15 April 2009).

Commercial break and song by Musician Kidum

The excerpts above (more on the issue in appendix VIII) reveal that *Jambo Kenya* used text messages and the studio guest as sentinels for democracy where they provided not only a space for debate but also information and education on land policy issues in Kenya. The invitation of a studio guest who is a member of parliament elected by his constituents to represent them in governance illustrates the meditative role that *Jambo Kenya* plays in ensuring that its audiences challenge authority towards good governance⁶¹. It could also be interpreted that *Jambo Kenya* did not discuss this issues through call in format due to its emotive nature. This may have averted expression of explosive opinions across the divide and seemed a good call as a way of fostering citizenship formation. Conversely, it could also be said that *Jambo Kenya* being a radio station owned by to the elite did not want to be seen as fermenting trouble. It is however questionable that the issue of land was not exhaustively discussed despite its being termed as the key source of historical injustices in the colonial and post-colonial Kenya (see Kagwanja and Southhall, 2009).

⁶¹ Good governance is participatory, transparent and accountable, effective and equitable, and it promotes the rule of law. It ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources.

The concept of good governance has also been overrated as Rasna Warah, (2010)⁶² observes. Warah (2010) comments that it “in the past few years, ‘good governance’ has become a priority policy agenda among donors, multilateral organizations and the civil society”. The comments goes on to note that a great deal of money is being poured into promoting issues such as democratic accountability, the rule of law , transparency, and stable property rights, particularly in developing countries. This money has been mismanaged and in many instances benefits those who have been entitled to manage it (Warah 2010). It can be noted, from the callers’ suggestions and grievances, that in Kenya, poor governance has been depicted in the excerpts below from the call-in listeners. This observation noted that at the time of this study in Kenya, themes surrounding transparency were of great concern, especially with the use of public funds and payment of taxes by the Kenyan members of parliament; nepotism-officers appoint probably unqualified family members to work in the same organization as they do and the effectiveness and the efficiency of the Kenyan government to meet its citizens’ needs. One major issue of governance is the Constitutional Development Fund (CDF), this is money allocated to all constituencies in Kenya. Jambo Kenya discussed issues related to CDF. The grievances surrounding these funds being misused by the government officials have hindered the development process. In the excerpts below the presenter challenges the studio guest, Eugene Wamalwa then Member of Parliament (MP) in Saboti constituency. By doing so, the presenter not only presents the issues aired by the audiences but also seeks clarity from the studio guest assumptions that have been made regarding this contentious issue.

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Kuna pesa ambazo zimekuwepo hazijatumika vyema ambapo hakuna haja ya kuongezea pesa katika hazina ya CDF, mjadala wa Jumatano wabunge wanasema CDF lazima iongezwe na hazina hii iongezwe pesa*

[There are funds that were allocated to every constituency but they have been misused. With this inview, there is no need to allocate more money from the CDF treasury to these constituencies. However, on Wednesday the MPs debate on Wednesday agreed that CDF money must be added to this fund.] (19 June 2009).

Guest, Eugene Wamalwa: *Pesa hii lazima iongezwe na 100% lazima serekali iwajibike iongeze pesa hata na ikiwezekana na najua inawezekana tupewe another2% ya kujenga mashule.*

⁶² Warah R. (2010). *Towards a joint EU-Africa Strategy*. Published in The daily Nation Kenya. 07/06/2010.

[This money should be increased by 100% the government can enhance this and if possible give another 2% for building schools.] (19 June 2009).

Guest, Eugene Wamalwa: (continues...) *Na wabunge wamesema NO 5%, NO budget for 2009-2010. Before the government doubles this amount the government should first of all put in place structures that will ensure that these funds are not siphoned by corrupt officials.*

[MPs have declared that if there is no 5% increase they will not allow the 2009-2010 national budget to be presented in parliament. Before the government doubles this amount, it should first of all put in place structures that will ensure that corrupt officials do not siphon these funds.] (19 June 2009).

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Haya, kijana chipukizi, Eugene Wamalwa anasema hata kama tunasema iongezwe au isiongezwa, lazima kwanza kuna mawili, matatu yanayopaswa kurekebishwa*

[Eugene Wamalwa says that even if we say the money in the fund should be increased; there are a few things that ought to be adjusted first.] (19 June 2009).

The above interview between the presenter (Vincent Ateya) and the studio guest Eugene Wamalwa is a depiction of inequality in the Kenyan society. Vincent Ateya begins his interview by alleging misuse of funds and stating concerns over constituency development issues that have been a concern to the entire country. In as much as the MP seeks to challenge the thought that the call-in audiences-through the studio guest have towards CDF, the citizens' democratic rights in relation to good governance have been challenged. The excerpt illustrates that the parliament has power to implement policy but it seems not to focus on issues that affect the public. Members of parliament seem to be keen on money despite members of the public's concern on misuse of these funds. Also, the presenter (Ateya) once again expresses active opinion on discussion points thus possibly swaying the debate on the issue at hand. Specifically, Ateya's allegation of misuse of funds whilst others remain unutilized indicates *Jambo Kenya* presenters at times actively influence opinions in debates. As stated earlier in the chapter one democratic element was good governance. This may be lacking lack in the government as alluded to in the excerpts above where corruption and impunity through abuse of the CDF are discussed.

5.3.2 Food Security

The study of *Jambo Kenya* reveals that socio-economic matters take centre stage in its content because the producers and audiences have noted that poor governance has largely contributed to poverty and low socio-economic power, where a large number of Kenyans

live below the poverty line, which can be termed a form of colonization of the people by the privileged. Odhiambo (2010: 64) notes that the media often does not offer empirical evidence to support claims that Kenya is one of the most socio-economically unequal countries in the world, often ignoring, for instance, intra-group inequalities even in groups that are perceived to be 'favoured' by the state. Waweru Mburu⁶³ asserts that "*Jambo Kenya* seeks to revive this "failed role by the media." He noted that Radio Citizen, in its programming offers statistics that echo the socio-economic status of the country". This has been illustrated by Odhiambo, bringing to the fore topics such as deliberate unfairness and inequality in the distribution of national resources, reforms/amendment of the new constitution of Kenya, and later the delay in the implementation of it, impunity, unchecked corruption, food insecurity caused majorly by increase in fertilizer prices, nepotism at the workplace, crime and insecurity, and bad governance in Kenya. This is similar to Grossberg's (2006:193) argument that the media uses ideology to get people to think and see the world in a particular way. He further defines ideology as, "a particular way of thinking and seeing the world that makes the existing organization and social relations appear natural and inevitable" (ibid pp 193).

Lack of food security could be a major contributor to Kenya's underdevelopment due to poor governance. Food security refers to a situation where all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active healthy life.⁶⁴ Effects of food insecurity in Kenya is commonly captured in what is referred as 'the politics of the belly' due to people's economic and political constraints to their livelihoods due to personal power. Jean-Francois Bayart (1993:235) cites a common African proverb that "Goats eat where they are tethered" in *The State in Africa: the Politics of the Belly*. He highlights that "contrary to the popular image of the innocent masses, corruption and predatoriness are found exclusively amongst the powerful. Rather they are modes of social and political behaviour shared by a plurality of actors on more or less a great scale. He also states that being the accumulation

⁶³ Interview carried out on 15 January 2010 at the Radio Citizen studios. Nairobi.

⁶⁴ IFPRI (International Food Policy Research institute). 2002. Researching Sustainable Food Security for all by 2020. Getting the priorities and responsibilities right. Washington, DC: IFPRI

of power, “the ‘politics of the belly’ is truly a matter of life and death. Life- if one succeeds in taking one’s part of the ‘national cake’ without being taken oneself. Death- if one is forced to make do with a hypothetical salary that will only feed the family for the first three days of the month; if one doesn’t take one’s chances; if one is ambushed and beaten by opponents no matter that they are dressed up in tawdry finery of legitimacy and coercion”. The same was evident in Kenya when the country experienced a severe maize shortage due to low yields and destruction of close to 3.5 million bags of maize during the post-election violence in 2008. This situation is popularly referred to as “maize scam.” The crisis began in late 2008 and was worsened by the high prices of farm inputs including fertilisers and fuel (diesel, petrol). Kenya’s strategic grain reserve was 1.6 million bags below the required 4 million bags, which placed the country in a precarious position in the event of famine or even any slight shortage. Under these measures, hundreds of metric tonnes of maize were imported into the country and allocated to millers.

Contrary to intended policy expectations, allocations were made to companies and individuals who, in some instances, were not millers and had no milling premises or capacity. These individuals and companies subsequently sold the maize off to genuine millers and in the process made exorbitant profits.⁶⁵ The “*politics of the stomach*” came into play in *Jambo Kenya*, as some of the manifestations of inequality in Kenya, in this case literally thorough food for the belly. The content revolved around the grievance that regards to the allegations that that there was limited food for the masses because those in power had exported Kenya’s staple food (maize) to other countries. Farmers felt aggrieved because they had to buy fertilizer and seeds at higher prices and the Kenyan citizens felt that since the fertilizers were expensive, the price of all farm produce would also be expensive. *Jambo Kenya* opened up the avenue for listeners to tease out their social-economic needs. This debate went on for around 30 minutes then the studio guest arrived.

⁶⁵ Bernard Namunane, 2009. Maize Scandal: Briefcase Agents Profit, *Daily Nation*. 5th February 2009. Available at: <http://www.nation.co.ke/News/-/1056/525430/-/u1vwhs/-/index.html> [Accessed on 20th August 2011]

Contrary to intended policy expectations, allocations were made to companies and individuals who, in some instances, were not millers and had no milling premises or capacity. These individuals and companies subsequently sold the maize off to genuine millers and in the process made exorbitant profits.⁶⁶ The “*politics of the stomach*” came into play in *Jambo Kenya*, as some of the manifestations of inequality in Kenya, in this case literally thorough food for the belly. The content revolved around the grievance that regards to the allegations that that there was limited food for the masses because those in power had exported Kenya’s staple food (maize) to other countries. Farmers felt aggrieved because they had to buy fertilizer and seeds at higher prices and the Kenyan citizens felt that since the fertilizers were expensive, the price of all farm produce would also be expensive. *Jambo Kenya* opened up the avenue for listeners to tease out their social-economic needs. This debate went on for around 30 minutes then the studio guest arrived.

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Hivi majuzi mwenyewe ulinipigia simu ukanieleza kuhusu mbolea. Kama una maoni utatuma kwa 6106 tukisalia na dakika chache kufikia saa mbili, kuhusu swala hili la bei ya mbolea. Waziri tayari amefika. Ni msimu wa upanzi na mvua ndiyo hiyo Mungu ametujalia sehemu nyingi za nchi zinanyesha. Niseme mheshimiwa karibu...*

[Recently you called me concerned about fertilizers. If you have comments please send them to 6106. A couple of minutes before 8am..... Speaking about the rising costs of fertilizer we have the Minister of Agriculture. Sir... (Addressing the minister) the planting season is here, welcome to the show.] (15 April 2009).

Guest, William Ruto: *Ahsante Ateya na hamjamba wasikilizaji wa kituo cha Citizen*

[Thanks Ateya and hello to all Radio Citizen Listeners]

(William Ruto continues...) *Wajua sasa ni wakati wa watu kuandaa mashamba nami nimewaagiza machifu wote na afisa kwamba mashamba katika maeneo yao yamelimwa isipite tukasema njaa. Lakini swala hili la mbolea lipo katika maeneo fulani fulani. Tumepata ripoti kutoka maeneo ya Meru, West Pokot na maeneo ya Magharibi. Sijui mngenda kujua mpangilio kufikia sera watu kupata mbolea kwa bei nafuu umefikia wapi.....*

[It is time to prepare the fields for planting and I have instructed all the chiefs and officers to ensure that the farms in their areas have been tilled so that there is no delay. Delay may lead them to complain of hunger that occurred due to lack of planting their seeds on time. The issue of high prices of fertilizer exists in certain areas. We have received reports from areas of Meru, West Pokot and Western Kenya. I suppose you would like to know where the order on the policy on where people can get fertilizer at affordable prices has reached.] (15 April 2009).

⁶⁶ Bernard Namunane, 2009. Maize Scandal: Briefcase Agents Profit, *Daily Nation*. 5th February 2009. Available at: <http://www.nation.co.ke/News/-/1056/525430/-/u1vwhs/-/index.html> [Accessed on 20th August 2011]

It can be noted that in the episode above, the presenter opens the interview by highlighting the fact that socio-economic rights are lacking in Kenya. He illustrates notions of inequality in different regions where poverty and food security are high. Vincent Ateya highlights that the Kenyan government efforts to meet its commitments to realize basic human rights may be insufficient or failing. The studio guest gives promises on how his ministry will reduce the cost of fertilizer. However, food security issues are far from being fully realized in Kenya's cities due to poor governance highlighted by the presenters in the excerpts above. It is also noted that the show hosts allows more time for the guest minister and do not allow callers to directly air their opinions or questions. To some extent, this excludes the audience from participation in the debates as they can only be heard by a proxy, (in this case the show's host). Also, in this instance the show hosts do not aggressively engage with the issues as was the case of discussions on CDF funds and that of presidential powers. (More excerpts of this episode in Appendix VIII).

5.3.3 Nepotism

Corruption is a major factor affecting governance of Kenya; ranked as 146 out of 180 at Transparency International Corruption Perception Index 2009 (transparency.org). On a fact-finding mission by the *kituo cha katiba*⁶⁷ on the progress of the constitutional review in Kenya, the mission was informed that corruption is rampant in all institutions– the police, hospitals and schools. It was noted that corruption is “eating” into the public moral fabric (Aluko, 2002: 400; Gbenga Lawal 5:2007) and should be addressed in depth as part of the constitutional debate. This is because, as the mission noted, corruption grows every day. No service is offered in any public office without “*Kitu Kidogo*” (something small) by way of bribe or inducement. Notwithstanding the fact that the people are paying taxes, they

⁶⁷ The Eastern Africa Centre for Constitutional Development (KCK), a regional non-governmental organization established in 1997 to promote constitutionalism, good governance and democratic development. KCK currently carries out its activities in Kenya, Tanzania mainland, AZanzibar, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.
<http://www.kituoachakatiba.org/> [Accessed 07 November 2012]

must nevertheless also ‘oil’ the officers involved. Kenya by Kenyans⁶⁸ observes that corruption causes include bad governance, political patronage or lack of political will, erosion of societal values and norms, non-enforcement of the law, tribalism, favouritism, nepotism and cronyism, weak or absence of management systems, procedures and practices, misuse of discretionary power vested in individuals or offices, weak civil society and apathy, lack of professional integrity, lack of transparency and accountability, and inefficient public sector. Anti-corruption has become an ‘industry’ of non-governmental and governmental organizations well-funded by donors and the tax payer (Mudhai, 2007).

There has been growing nepotism in Kenya, especially when this study was carried out during Kibaki’s and Raila’s coalition administration. There is a gap between the worlds of elites and that of the ordinary citizen. People in positions of leadership have mostly depicted this through cronyism and tribalism. The Daily Nation, Monday November 28, 2011 reported that on November 24, 2011, Cabinet Ministers were on the spot in parliament on allegations of nepotism. The backbenchers in the 10th parliament accused cabinet ministers of recruiting their tribesmen and henchmen to top jobs in their ministries. Yatta MP Charles Kilonzo promised to table a list of the Cabinet Ministers involved, after he was directed to do so by Deputy Speaker Farah Maalim. Kilonzo had asked a supplementary question when he made the allegations a number of cabinet ministers had formed a habit of replacing chief executives in their ministries with their tribesmen or henchmen. Nepotism concerns have been articulated in *Jambo Kenya* where claims were made that the Central Bank of Kenya, Kenya Revenue Authority, Capital Markets Authority, Retirement Benefits Authority, Insurance Regulatory Authority, and Public Procurement Oversight Authority are majorly the parastatal bodies that practiced nepotism where members of the same family are unfairly employed to work in the same organization. They allegedly get these positions by being blood relatives of the appointing authorities. *Jambo Kenya*, from the current news concerning nepotism in the parastatal bodies highlights this contentious issue as illustrated below. Ateya begins the debate by elaborating on the news event:

⁶⁸ Kenya blog addressing Corruption in Kenya - Causes, Effects & Benefits of Fighting Corruption <http://softkenya.com/law-kenya/corruption-kenya-causes-effects.htm> [Accessed 28 July 2012]

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Joseph Kinyua, PS (Permanent Secretary) Finance amesema kuwa iwapo mume na mke wanafanya kazi pamoja lazima mmoja aachishwe kazi. Je, onyo hili lazima litekelezwe katika sehemu zingine. PS amesema tutaanza na nyinyi. 0722023270, 0733330015, 2730101 unaanza na Code ya Nairobi . Tusemezane.*

[Joseph Kinyua, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance has said that if a couple is employed in the same company, one of them has to either resign if not be laid off. Do you feel that this warning needs to be implemented in other areas too? We begin with you. 0722023270, 0733330015, 27301015. Start with the Nairobi code. Let us converse.] (15 June 2009).

Program Breaks
(Song- heri uchawi kuliko fitina)

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Wenyewe wanasema doesn't it matter; he/she has qualified nitakuwa namtafuta. Atwoli atueleze zaidi.*

[You feel that it doesn't matter whether they work in the same office or not as long as they have the necessary qualifications. I will look for Atwoli [Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU) Secretary General] so that he can elaborate on this issue further.] (15 June 2009).

To facilitate the above debate, the presenter notes that the issue requires more specialized information. He therefore promises his audiences that he will seek out for Francis Atwoli, Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU) Secretary General, to address the matter. He however opens the debate by picking certain calls and reading out text messages from the audiences. From the *Jambo Kenya* transcripts (some excerpts below), the call-in audiences noted that these family members allegedly secured jobs due to the “connection” that they had with the management of those particular companies. Audiences claimed that nepotism has led to job insecurity to qualified people in different professions. *Jambo Kenya* interrogated this issue on 15th June 2009 by seeking to find out whether nepotism affects national development. The presenters sought out opinions from the audiences. It can be established through the callers' comments below.

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Kuajiri watu katika sehemu za kazi kama wamehitimu kuifanya kazi hiyo ni muhimu kwa utawala bora. Hata hivyo, hali hiyo haipaswi kuonekana kama pande kipekee. Vinginevyo zaidi waliohitimu wanachama wa umma atadumu milele imefungwa nje.”*

[Hiring people at the workplace on merit is the key to good governance. However, the process should not seem to be seen as mutually exclusive. Otherwise more qualified members of the public will remain locked out.] (15 April 2009)

Caller 1 (Abraham): *Jambo Kenya Bwana Ateya. Abraham wa Tiriki Hamisi. Hili wazo linaleta uhasama, watu huleta ukabila pale ikawa ni ya ukoo tupu. Huyu anaingiza tu na wengine wanaachwa.*

[*Jambo Kenya* Bwana Ateya. This is Abraham from Tiriki Hamisi. This notion breeds hostility at the workplace because people practice tribalism leading to members of the same clan working in the same organization while other qualified people are left out.] (15 April 2009)

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): SMS zinasema wengine wataleta hasira za nyumbani kule kazini.

[The text messages suggest that some people come to work with bouts of anger from home.]

Text Message 1: Ateya this is wrong because work will not be done effectively. (15 April 2009)

Text Message 2: KRA ni mbaya sana familia ziko pale na zinasumbuliwa.

[KRA has been blacklisted as a place where several members of the same family have been employed.] (15 April 2009)

In the discussion above, the audience participate by expressing awareness of the ills brought about by nepotism and their perspective that it should not be entertained. It illustrates the fact that those in position of authority are not accountable and abuse power to serve their own interest. *Jambo Kenya* succeeds here by letting the audience deliberate this issue at length. *Jambo Kenya's* democratic power has been illustrated above where the presenter leads its audiences towards deliberation. From his opening statement it is clear that the presenter has already made his stand on governance issues. He states "Hiring people at the workplace on merit is the key to good governance. However, the process should not seem to be seen as mutually exclusive". His opinion is conceived as the *Jambo Kenya* opinion therefore when audiences call in they seem to support his opinion. By noting that despite their qualification that should enable them to get jobs, they still live in a very polarized atmosphere where Kenya's political class is mobilized along ethnic lines. As noted by Advocate Okiya Omtata, a prominent member of Kenyans for Democracy and Justice, a political pressure group, in an interview told VOA (October 17, 2010) states that the problem of nepotism can only be resolved through a concerted effort of transparency within the government. He noted too that the private sector "overall, we've got major problems of representation, in terms of representation of various regions within the country in government because, if you look at the president, he has taken his tribesmen, and if one checks the finance and internal security, two dockets can sit and have inter-departmental meetings in their mother tongue because senior management are populated by people from his region and his area." Omtata added that nepotism goes a long way to undermine Kenya's unity.

5.4 The Role of the Civil Society in the Public Sphere

Public sphere deliberations must be enabled by a number of factors. Dahlberg (2013) outlines these as criteria based regulation for mass media system, non-partisan civil groupings dedicated to the support of communicative reasoning and advocacy duties, presence of socio-politically permissive culture led by the need for a common societal good, satisfactory social and human needs and permissive populace that is receptive to and is well educated in critique as enablers of mediated networks of daily rational debates. The civil society in Kenya is a group that organizes different initiatives to unite the citizens. It carries out the role of a public sphere by aiming at struggling for basic human freedoms. Collectively, these spheres carry out different public discourses that aim at achieving different societal goals. By the civil society in Kenya, I refer to groups that include: religious groups such the church/National Council of Churches of Kenya, women groups like Maendeleo ya Wanawake (MYW), Young Women in Leadership Institute (YWLI), lawyers-the Law Society of Kenya, Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims (SUPKEM), the International Commission of Jurists, the youth, the unemployed, and the public service operators; all who have been vigilant in their dealings with issues of national interest. These are the active civil groupings in Kenya during the period of this research.

Corruption weakens civil society. This has been affirmed by Frank Matanga (2000, 11) who notes that in the view of the fact that the Moi regime had become authoritarian and personalized, and there being no formal political organizations to provide checks and balances, NGO's⁶⁹ and civil society became the only alternative voice. Demonstrations, graffiti, protest marches, strikes, riots and peace camps are all forms of protests which are employed as a means of seeking for creation of political change.

As members of the civil society, women in Kenya sought to address the 'non function ability' of the coalition government. Vimbai Gwata, (2012) notes that sex strikes have experienced a growing popularity as a preferred method of protest by the women in Africa,

⁶⁹ These included organizations such as the Law Society of Kenya (a professional lawyer's body), the students Organization of Nairobi University (SONU), the University (of Nairobi) staff union, and religious groups, especially Christian churches being very vocal. Equally harassed by the state, most of the NGO's ended up taking low profile in the confrontation with the state.

used as a political weapon. She notes three of this kind in the past decade in Africa. In August 2012, a women's collective in Togo called for a week-long sex strike in an attempt to convince Togo's men-folk to push for the resignation of the country's long-standing president, Faure Gnassingbe. Back in 2003 the women of Liberia's sex strike achieved peace after a 14-year civil war. In May 2009, Kenya witnessed women's organizations under the group G10 calling on Kenyan women to forsake the pleasures of the flesh in order to push the government to accelerate reforms and force an end to the country's ongoing political bickering. The Women's Development Organization called for a general sex strike after a conflict between the Kenyan president and prime minister threatened to plunge the country into chaos. Sex strike was employed as an idiosyncratic form of political protest with an expectation of distinctive merit. In this instance to enforce a political solution because it would put pressure on men to persuade politicians and their supporters to speed up efforts to break the deadlock. The women's organization called on the first lady and wife of the prime minister to participate in this physical abstinence. The program's agenda of the day was set to offer a platform on this issue.

The callers were however unable to articulate issues pertaining to sex. The presenters therefore employed a variety of dialogic resonance strategies to create disagreement. Here, the presenters evoked images, memories and emotion to the audience. This is a strategy that is employed to put emphasis on the very intricate aspects of the issue and construct an argument, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Once this was done, communication was opened up and the audience gave their opinion on the move by the women's group. The presenters however got carried away by the topic because of the humorous statements given by the callers, leading them to drown into laughter due to the content. One audience called in and stated clearly that:

Caller 1: *Bibi yangu hana la kusema mimi nikitaka ngono. Yeye ni mke wangu na nimelipia, kwa hivyo ni mimi ndio kusema.*

[My wife has no say about when we should have sex. She is my wife and I have paid for it so I make the rules.] (5 May 2009)

Presenter 2 (Lincoln Njogu): *Umelipia nini?*

[What have you paid for?] (5 May 2009)

Caller 1: (Continues with the above conversation). Nililipa mahari ndio huyu mama aje kwangu anipatie mali yangu wakati wowote ninaotaka.

[I paid dowry for the woman before I married her, and I am therefore entitled to have sex as I desire.] (5 May 2009)

Additional issues are highlighted regarding individual human rights in Kenya. For example, one male caller effectively states that the wife in a marriage has no rights to grant or deny consent for sex inside marriage as long as dowry is settled. This implies that some women in Kenya are not equal partners in marriage. This also depicts failure of the presenters to effectively mediate on issues of gender rights in a marriage. The presenters however did not educate the people regarding the sex strike issue because they were not highly informed on the importance of the issue under debate. Comic relief, as noted in chapter four is a way in which a nation can laugh at its idiosyncrasies while focusing on an issue. In this instance however, *Jambo Kenya* ought to have played the role of the public sphere by elaborating the sex strike move or inviting a member of one of the women's organizations to impart knowledge on the impact of intimacy to democracy because most callers appeared ignorant to the matter and the presenters only echoed what the callers posited. Educating the people would have been possible because the strike went on for one week so there would have been an opportunity for the invited guest to come. Another instance where individuals ceased to be individuals and came out as members of a civil society was when they made endless calls to the show to criticize the Ministry of Agriculture for not addressing the food scam issue. On 15 April 2009 *Jambo Kenya* invited a studio guest, the Minister of Agriculture William Ruto to address this issue (part of this has been discussed above). Despite the callers not being given a chance to air their grievances through audio dialogue with the Minister, they called in the previous day and the day after the guest had been invited to the show. Members of the Farmers Association were calling in not to speak as individuals but to speak as members of a collective. This was also evident in instances like 1 May 2009 when members of different labour unions called into the show complaining about the working conditions in Kenya. While individuals called in they spoke about the situation and referred to issues that their civil society felt they could be addressed. Through this, members of the civil society used the talk radio avenue to lobby for change in different institutions by seeking audience from

members of parliament to improve their working conditions. *Jambo Kenya* facilitated the poverty and nutrition debate which Toroitich-Ruto (1998) observes, that poor nutrition affects the poor more than the rich because factors associated with income, poverty, female illiteracy levels, a subsequent lack of access to sufficient nutrition information, food insecurity, and a poor health environment. As a result, poor nutritional status has manifested itself as both a cause and a consequence of poverty in most rural parts of Kenya. There are manifestations of food insecurity in Kenya; therefore it has become a topic that has always come on air in *Jambo Kenya*. Farmers come in as members of a civil society.

Although the civil society members' concerns are planned at different times, *Jambo Kenya* ought to strive to ensure that its members have identified the program to be the ideal space where they can connect with members of other public spheres. It can do this by having studio guests from the civil society. Civil societies are arguably very strong communication channels, which have an impact to the society. When listeners call into *Jambo Kenya*, they refer to the civil society group that they belong to in connection with the topic of the day, or refer to matters that were brought out by a civil society group.

5.5 Chapter Conclusion

Thematic content analysis was employed to code and interpret this data in seeking out the role of *Jambo Kenya* as a public sphere for political communication process in a social context. It adopted Smith's (1992) thematic content analysis as the scoring of messages for content, style or both for the purpose of assessing the characteristics or experiences of persons, groups, or historical periods. This was important in explaining the intervention of the program through the analysis of issues of power knowledge and how media constructs and reflects power struggles. Focusing on *Jambo Kenya* creating an analysis of media production, distribution and consumption (output) of media messages; the study shows that good governance is increasingly being described as a precondition for economic growth. The content of the debates under study that the research determined were the effect of political talk debates on listeners' attitudes, (through verbatim excerpts) on those

debates concerning whether a strong civil society is ready to struggle for basic freedoms, equality, and social justice and advocate for popular participation through community empowerment by the media. All issues in this chapter point to one thing—democracy.

From the *Jambo Kenya*'s transcripts, it is clear that *Jambo Kenya* facilitated debates on issues pertaining to failure to implement Agenda 4. Callers' comments reveal that the Kenyan government promotes horizontal inequalities in the economic and political institutions of the country in terms of tribalism. The youth, just like women need to be enlightened on the opportunities available to them in political representation. Manifested in *Jambo Kenya* also is some instances where the presenters actively influenced the direction of debates through opinions overtly expressed by the presenters. This is seen in the case of debates on constitutional powers by the president and on the use of CDF funds.

This study on talk radio's role in mediating public discourses reveals that *Jambo Kenya* lacks in getting the opinion of the civil society. Talk radio, as the society's watchdog offers a space for airing public opinion and helps influence and create the direction of social change. This social change could occur through the civil society, whose role is to ensure that the state is not controlled by vested interests. *Jambo Kenya*'s producers can do this through contact with civil society leaders. It is noted that as much as *Jambo Kenya* articulates issues surrounding power, and good governance, it lacks in the ultimate involvement of integrating the authority-studio guest and the callers of the show.

The ways in which talk radio creates a sense of national identity among its people in the face of ethnic diversity will be discussed in the next chapter. It will focus on how *Jambo Kenya* sensitizes people towards citizenship issues.

CHAPTER 6

Formation of Citizenship through Talk Radio Participation

6.1 Aim of the Chapter

This chapter aims at investigating the relationship between the concept of mediated citizenship and participation through talk radio deliberation. It intends to offer an analysis of the content mediated through public discourses by determining the way in which participants draw their identities through different topics articulated in the show. It will also focus on how the call-in listeners gain access to this media space, referred to as a “mediated arena of contestation” (Pinto and Hughes 2011:1).

6.2 Introduction

Citizenship is a contested concept that is at the centre of policy debates within and across national borders. According to sections 87(1) & 89; 87(2) & 90; 91 & 92(1) and 93 of the Constitution of Kenya, one becomes a citizen by birth, descent, registration and naturalization. This study however, goes beyond this by looking at citizenship as a sense of belonging to the Kenyan state with all the rights and responsibilities granted to an individual by the government. As Engin Isin and Greg Neilsen (2008) note, focus on governing subjects is given hoping that it produces the citizen as an individual. This study adopts Mark Smith and Piya Pangsapa's (2008:27) and Murdock's (1995:93) definition of citizenship as an aspect no longer fixated on membership of a particular nation-state but as a contested space for a variety of identity construction projects that shift the focus from a fixation with rights, to a concern with some combination of entitlements and obligations; and as “the constitution of rights and responsibilities required by full and effective membership of a political community. These entail not only rights of access to the resources that underwire personal expression and social participation but also agreements to contribute to the renegotiation of the common good”.

The concept of being a Kenyan citizen has brought lots of debates in both the electronic and the print media in Kenya. Participation in talk radio shows is concerned with the study of the nature of talk radio as a genre in relation to issues of right of access to public

information, checks and balances on power, human rights, and respect for minorities in the society, nationhood, citizenship, corruption and their ultimate involvement in governing of the country. *Jambo Kenya's* participation focuses on the emergence of ideas around democracy and citizenship. While analyzing these concepts, this chapter draws on Livingstone and Lunt's (1994:10) notion of citizenship through participation, where they argue that

The debate over political involvement and communication has recently focused on the notion of 'citizenship', and one aspect of this concern is with the notion of the 'public sphere'. If the citizenry is to play a role in democracy then it needs access to an institutionally guaranteed forum in which to express their opinions and to question established power. Thus the debate about public involvement of citizens in political communication leads to questions about the media as a public sphere where the relations between established power and the citizenry take place (10).

Hinegardner L. (2011:99), in her article "*We made that film; there is no filmmaker*" notes that "social theories about the changing meanings of citizenship, have shown that, although one generally thinks of 'citizenship' as membership in a national community, a diverse set of practices and contexts is transforming the category of 'citizen' into a concept increasingly detached from definition by state. Based on empirical research of *Jambo Kenya* this chapter argues that participation in the public sphere plays an important role in reinforcing citizenship as a social identity through public political deliberation. The chapter addresses talk radio as a social platform by seeking to establish whether *Jambo Kenya* enhances citizenship through participation in democratic deliberation hinged on full and equal participation of citizens. Just like Habermas (1992[1997]:360) describes the public sphere as a network for communicating information and points of view, in the process the streams of communication are filtered and synthesized in such a way that they coalesce into bundles of topically specified public opinions. The idea of citizenship, as a principle of equality is interrogated as meaning and practice, not reference to citizens of a particular nation/state (acquired through birth, naturalization or by descent).

Participation and/or interaction does not necessarily lead to democracy, therefore, as a form of news and current affairs program, *Jambo Kenya's* notion of participation is carried out by analyzing its role in encouraging knowledge and the caller's perspectives on

citizenship. The nature of carrying out this chapter is by analyzing the citizens' practices of, and attitudes towards political debates, opinion expressions, and their importance in the functioning of a democratic society. There are several questions whose answers this chapter seeks to establish. Bearing in mind that democracy and citizenship should be developed from bottom up, does *Jambo Kenya* act as an arbitrator between the state and the citizens? How does it construct and reflect power struggles? In what way does *Jambo Kenya* mediate deliberation and hold the government accountable? How does *Jambo Kenya* invite participation? In what ways do callers, studio guests and producers use this forum for participation? Do the producers and presenters of the show tailor their topics to fit into the issues of citizenship and participation? What role does *Jambo Kenya* play in the formation and practice of citizenship?

6.3 Negotiating Citizenship through Nationhood in Kenya

Citizenship is what William Connolly (1974) has called an essentially contested concept. He describes it as of utmost importance with regard to the relationship between the nation and the state as it defines belongings, identities and personal rights and in many countries it also defines the level of access to social benefits. Several states recognise citizenship in four ways -- birth, descent, marriage and naturalisation. There are different types of citizenship: social, civil, environmental, political, formal, and substantive citizenship. Several studies have been done to understand the idea of citizenship in different democracies. Some authors have mostly unpacked the idea of citizenship into substantive citizenship and formal citizenship (Chesterman & Galligan, 1997:7; McEwan, 2001:51). In Kenya, nationhood is associated with 'Kenyaness' (Kenyan nationhood). Peter Wekesa (2008)⁷⁰ argues that Kenyaness could be considered as an ethical and philosophical doctrine that aspires or inspires the Kenyan people into the love for the country. This doctrine could form a starting point for the ideology of nationhood, informed by the fact of a shared identity as well as other attributes including a common descent, language, culture, religion and a territorial boundary.

⁷⁰ Peter Wafula Wekesa. Negotiating 'Kenyaness': public discourses and private realities. Paper presented at the 12th General Assembly governing the African Public sphere. CODESRIA. 7-11 December 2008. Yaounde', Cameroun.

Nationhood can be argued to be a basis for the creation of citizenship, which is an act that occurs through political consciousness. This research does not focus on nationalism because nationalism is a political ideology. It focuses on nationhood as the creation of a distinctive group of people.

Before the advent of multi-party politics in Kenya, airing of patriotic songs by all media houses was made mandatory by the government. These songs were mostly sung during the Moi era when KANU (Kenya African National Union) was not only the ruling party but also the sole political party. They were sung with the government's hope that the songs would curb ethnicity in the country and create a sense of nationhood. The national monument of the Uhuru Gardens and the Peace, Love and Unity monument situated at Uhuru Park are some of the monuments that have been spruced up to reflect nationhood. The use of spares such as "Harambee" (let us pull together) and "Nyayo" philosophy (of peace, love and unity) did not prevent the country from hurtling towards the precipice in 2008. With the re-introduction of multi-party politics and the end of the KANU era, alternative efforts to maintain a sense of nationhood were practised. Suggestions like having a national dress and the "*najivunia kua Mkenya campaign*"⁷¹ (I am proud to be Kenyan) were put in place. To date the national dress has not been implemented hence Kenyans thought that notions of nationhood are just but an illusion. The meme has been regarded by many as having sinister connotations. Nationhood being a bond by common descent or language, the study of *Jambo Kenya* interrogates language basing on the assumption that there is a sense of citizenship, through nationhood that is likely to be forged among the callers when they articulate similar issues using the same language.

6.3.1 Language Use

Kiswahili (Swahili) language has since the mid-1970s been Kenya's national language with English being the only official language. "The term Kiswahili is a language that is

⁷¹ "Najivunia Kua Mkenya" is a campaign that was formulated by the then government spokesman Dr. Alfred Mutua. This campaign was meant to establish a sense of patriotism and belonging to Kenya as a nation. Kenyans put stickers on their vehicles, houses, bicycles and offices as a sign of patriotism.

widely spoken by the people of Eastern Africa and adjacent islands” (Momanyi 2009:127). It is the most widely spoken language in Kenya with about 70% of Kenyans using it. The term Kiswahili is a language that is widely spoken by the people of Eastern Africa and adjacent islands. It is the most widely spoken African language in Kenya, accounting for about 70 per cent of the speakers. Kiswahili has the oldest uninterrupted history as an African written language compared to other African languages used in the country (Momanyi, 2009: 128), it’s journey has however been long and gruelling (Wahome Thuku, The Standard, 29/08/2010) dating back to the post-colonial period, where several debates surrounding the use of language to create the national identity have been carried out in different forums. A lot had been written on the debate about colonial vs African languages and identity, the most popular being the debate between Ngugi wa’Thiongo and Chinua Achebe. Ngugi (1986) argues that language carries culture and memory of a people. In 1969, Charles Njonjo, the then attorney general of Kenya stated clearly that “Swahili is derived from Arabic, a language which originated from the Arabs. Swahili is not our language and it is not our mother-tongue: it is a foreign language just as much as English is a foreign language. ” Mazrui, A. & Mazrui, M. (1995, 78) from Republic of Kenya 1965: Column 8). Mazrui & Mazrui also note that “...it was not until July 4, 1974, after the Governing Council of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) unanimously resolved to make Kiswahili the national language of Kenya and the official medium of parliament with immediate effect, that these Anti-Kiswahili sentiments were silenced once and for all” (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1995:78).

Kenya’s Constitution (2010) under Chapter Two Section 7 (2) declared Kiswahili an official language of the Republic together with English (1) retaining its previous status as a national language⁷² while barely a quarter of the Kenyan population can adequately use English, it remains the advantaged official language and the medium of instruction in the education system, unlike Kiswahili, the co-official language (Ogechi & Ogechi 2002). As

⁷² str8talk (28th October 2010) Swahili becomes Kenya’s second official language
<http://str8talkchronicle.com/?p=9992> [Accessed 1 December 2010]

per the Constitution of Republic of Kenya and the National Language Policy, all official documents, bills, and financial resolutions are to be released in English. All members of the national assembly are required to have reading and speaking knowledge in Kiswahili and English. The main reason for the development of the policy is to unify politics and generate the ability to participate in global communication. It is also seen as a unifying factor for the many diverse cultures and indigenous tribes that call Kenya home.⁷³ Patriotic songs, the national anthem and the Kenyan flag could be significant to the creation of identity.

In the study of *Jambo Kenya*, the researcher base on Kiswahili as a language used not only to facilitate debates but also as a marker of national identity among its people in the face of ethnic diversity. This is based by the fact that in Kenya, people use Kiswahili to communicate in offices while the president sometimes uses Kiswahili to address the nation, mostly off the cuff. The decision to use Kiswahili as the national language after independence was recognized as a need to foster human development. This is because Kiswahili is the language of interethnic communication in Kenya where it bridges the linguistic gap between communities and curbs the contestation of which indigenous language should be declared official.

When *Jambo Kenya* begins, the radio station's (Radio Citizen) signature tune is played "Radio Citizen *Chemichemi ya ukweli*, 106.7 Citizen" *Chemichemi ya ukweli* means "the fountain of truth". When this is played, first of all the tune (which is in Kiswahili) and its lyrics captivate the audience and they tend to listen to the content with the hope that the truth will be disseminated through it. Studies carried out by Steadman⁷⁴ in 2009 reveal that 73% of Kenyans believe in the content that is disseminated by the media. Radio Citizen has therefore ensured that it has a captivating slogan that would motivate the listener to keep listening. *Jambo Kenya* has its own slogan that is not used during other programs that

⁷³ Language Policy in Kenya. <http://www.cybertraveltips.com/africa/kenya/culture/Language-Policy-In-Kenya.html> [Accessed 27 February 2013]

⁷⁴ Steadman is a Research Services International group based in Kenya it carries out research on citizen's opinion towards government operations, political, social and matters that affect people on a day to day basis.

are aired by Radio Citizen. This slogan is “*Mjadala wa Jambo Kenya- Mjadala wa Mwananchi. Kuzungumza ni kuelewana*”, or “*Jambo Kenya’s debate, the citizen’s debate, dialogue breeds consensus.*” This slogan is in Kiswahili, encouraging the listener to participate in the topics under discussion. This way, *Jambo Kenya*, as a mediated public sphere uses Kiswahili in the slogan and the signature tune, to attract audiences because they bring about the aspect of creation of citizenships through language use and also so that the message is not transient.

Jambo Kenya language defines its audience membership by allowing its call-in audiences, those who send text messages and its studio guests to converse in Kiswahili and sheng.⁷⁵ They do not pay much attention to audiences speaking fluent Swahili (which is arguably a somewhat difficult language to speak fluently) so sheng comes in to substitute the somewhat difficult Swahili syntax, not to resist it. Sheng is a grammatically unstable social code that sounds like Kiswahili but has a distinct and unstable vocabulary, Ngesa (2002). *Jambo Kenya’s* participants mainly speak Kiswahili. Sheng only comes in as a way of facilitating debates by drawing audiences from all age groups, from the youth who mostly converse in Sheng to the old who are more likely to speak fluent Kiswahili. The researcher views this as language (ab) use to the delight of the audiences, not undermining Kiswahili’s hegemony towards the nationhood that Kiswahili is meant to foster, but to explore Sheng as the unofficial language derived from Kiswahili the official language.

The researcher’s interview with the two presenters of the show Vincent Ateya and Lincloln Njogu revealed that Kiswahili is a very difficult language and so they encourage use (and possibly abuse) of language as long as their content is understood. They note that at times they are at a disadvantage when it comes to getting appropriate studio guests for the show because some individuals experience major challenges speaking fluent Swahili. Therefore, while fostering the audience’s delight by letting them use language as they please, the

⁷⁵ Sheng is a mixed language that emerged from the complex multilingual situation of Nairobi City. It is mainly spoken by young people - preadolescents to young adults - and dominates the discourse of primary and secondary school children outside their formal classroom setting. Its syntax is basically Swahili, but through ingenious code-switching, it draws from the phonology, morphology and lexicon of Kenyan languages spoken in the city such as, but not restricted to, Luo, Gikuyu, Maasai, Luhya, and coastal languages such as Giriama and Taita, See Githiora, C. (2002, 259). “Sheng: Peer language, Swahili dialect or Emerging Creole?” *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol 15, No. 2, pp159-181.

presenters still focusing on the contentious issues. I read this as a means of ensuring that everyone is involved in the debates that are carried out. This inclusion is an aspect that the program seeks to achieve, as sheng is used during different social settings (hence social formation), even as it mediates between the citizens and the state. It is imperative to note that despite *Jambo Kenya* inviting the use of sheng in its production, this does not mean that or imply that its audience is predominantly youth. Its sole intent of welcoming (ab) use of language is to attract the youth who would like to participate in the debates but are unable to use fluent Swahili in their communication hence making it a public sphere for people of all ages. The excerpts below, from some of the *Jambo Kenya* episodes illustrate how the presenters themselves also use sheng to put their points across.

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Ni kwamba wakati tunaposaga miwa, pia tutengeneze umeme na vile vile tutengeneze petrol. Kutokana na miwa ile ile ya mkulima anakuza. Pale tutakuwa na mapato matatu, kwanza kuzidi mkulima kwa sababu sasa hivi tunapoteza nafasi ya kutengeneza umeme na petrol. Ndio mpango tulioko sasa nayo ni kutafuta senti kupita kwa ubinafsishaji, shilingi karibu billion punch, sita katika kila factory*

[When we process sugarcane, we should also process electricity and petrol. This can be possible from the sugarcane sold by the farmers, from which we will have three sources of income: the farmer will profit and from the processed sugarcane we can make petrol and generate electricity to benefit everyone. The plan now is to make profits through privatization of these factories by investing five to six billion Kenya shillings in each factory]. (19 May 2009)

Caller 1: Ateya Museveni ananyita chenye atapata kule misingo tunataka jeshi litoke na kuelekea misingo immediately.

[Ateya, Museveni knows that he will benefit from Misingo. We want your army to leave and head to Misingo Immediately].

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): {Interjects} *Leo ni Tuesday, lazima tumerudi janta wengine wana hang-over nyingi za Easter lakini tufanyeje?*

[It's Tuesday; we may all be back to our work places by now. Others are suffering from Easter hangovers but what do we do?] (26 May 2009).

(More excerpts on appendix VIII)

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, *Jambo Kenya* broadcasts in Kiswahili, its debates inviting the use of *Sheng*, a Swahili-based patois or slang-based language, originating in Nairobi, and influenced by not only English and Swahili, but also by the many languages spoken there. Sheng in Kenya is not only as language of the youth in Nairobi but it is also understood and spoken by the youth living in other areas in the country. Considering the

above excerpts selected from different episodes within the language context to illustrate the use of English and Sheng to discuss different issues. It is clear from these excerpts that not only do the audiences use language to their delight, so do the presenters. They use certain words that are not in Swahili like “punch”, “janta” ananyita” “petrol”, “factory”, “immediately”, “Tuesday”, “hangover”, “Easter”, “I hope”, “pirates”, “important”, “agenda”, and “time”. They also use sheng, e.g. “mumewatch” to mean “you have watched”.

6.3.2 Narrative Storytelling Techniques Setting the Scene through Language

Jambo Kenya presenters use narrative storytelling techniques to narrate a situation/circumstance to enable audiences join in the debate but enables the listeners to visualize the situation. The excerpts below reveal this. In the first excerpt, the presenter (Vincent Ateya) begins the debate by narrating through describing the situation of the coalition government of Kenya which has been “accused” of not delivering its promises.

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Katika tena uiano, kuleta tena muungano, katika kuhakikisha kwamba yanaeleweka kwamba serikali ya muungano, kushirikiana sasa ni ndoto. Ni hivi majuzi tu ambapo pande mbili katika serikali hii ya muungano zilikuwa zimeelekea katika sehemu ya Kilanguni kuzungumza na kuweza kutafakari kuhusu mwelekeo wa serikali ya muungano lakini matumaini ya wakenya kuweza kuona kuwa serikali itawezaje kufanya kazi pamoja yakatumbukia nyongo maanake tofauti zilibuka, mazungumzo hayakuandaliwa. Upande wa ODM sababu za kuibuka zilikuwa zipi?*

[In relation to the coalition government’s agreement that it will ensure that we live together as a nation, as opposed to the expectations of Kenyans, arguments state that the expectations that the people had regarding the coalition government are nothing but a dream. Recently, the two parties in this coalition government headed for talks in Kilanguni to plan on the governing direction of the coalition government. However, the hope that Kenyans expected to see the government work together were in vain because the talks did not take place because differences emerged from the ODM side. What was the cause of these differences?] (16 June 2009)

The studio guest present during this interview is former Prime Minister Raila Odinga. He responds, although not through narrative story telling but his description creates a visual image of how the debate has been planned (see excerpt below).

Studio Guest, Raila Odinga: *Mazungumzo hayakufua dafu kwasababu ya ajenda, wengi wetu hawakutaka kuzungumzia maswala ambayo yalikuwa nyeti ambayo yanayoleta tatizo katika serikali ya mseto, hawakutaka maneno yale yazugumzwe kwa hiyo tukawa na mvurutano hapa na pale.*

[The issues that were on the agenda did not take place because most of us did not want to speak on issues that were sensitive. This is one thing that creates a problem in the coalition government. This caused the disagreement and the meeting came to a halt.] (16 June 2009)

To engage with the studio guest more, the presenter takes on a more nuanced stance on the situation in the coalition government, still through narrative storytelling techniques. This is done to enable audiences to identify with the narratives presented and participate in the debates:

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Baada ya haya ya Kilanguni, malumbano yaliendelea na punde.... kila mmoja akaanza kumlaumu mwingine kwa sababu ya mazungumzo ya pale Kilaguni; upande wa ODM wakaanza kulaumu upande wa PNU, PNU upande wao wakasema ni ODM. Hadi sasa, sisi Kana kwamba hiyo haitoshi Martha Karua akajiuzulu kama waziri hapo juzi*

[After this Kilanguni saga, the meeting took off and soon.... everyone began blaming the other for the failure of the Kilanguni meeting. The ODM side blamed the PNU side while the PNU blamed the ODM. To date, the Kenyan citizens do not know who caused the disagreements that affected the meeting that was to take off in Kilanguni. As if that's not enough, Martha Karua recently resigned as a cabinet minister.] (9 June 2009).

The presenter also seeks to illustrate how service delivery is important in the creation of citizenship. This comes with the argument that for the people to feel a sense of citizenship, they ought to have faith in their government to deliver on what their role is. In the excerpt below, the presenter acknowledges the research done by Steadman by noting that only 3% of the Kenyans involved in the study have faith in service delivery of the government.

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Hivi leo alasiri bunge linarejelea vikao vyake. Ni kikao ambacho ni cha tatu cha bunge la kumi baada ya kuingia mwaka elfu mbili na nane. Tutilie maanani kwamba wabunge asilimia sabini natano walitemwa nje tukawa na sura mpya mwaka mmoja baadaye. Malalamishi yametolewa tena kuhusu ufanyikazi wa bunge la kumi. Kulingana na utafiti uliofanywa hivi majuzi na kampuni ya utafiti ya Steadman, asilimia tatu pekee ya wakenya ndio wanaoliamini bunge la kumi.*

[This afternoon, parliament will resume its sessions. This will be the third session of the tenth parliament in 2008. Let us remember that after the previous elections, 75% of the legislators were voted out and we now have a new image in parliament. One year later, there were complaints about the responsibilities of the tenth parliament. According to a study recently conducted by Steadman; only 3% of Kenyans have faith in the tenth parliament.] (21 April 2009)

The above comes at a time when parliament insisted that they were opposed to media coverage of their sessions. The presenter therefore uses a narrative to illustrate how the right to citizenship is being interfered with by those in power. He also illustrates how one year after the tenth parliament took office, 75% of the members lost their re-election bids in 2007; but service delivery is still an aspect that needs to be focused on. The excerpt

below shows how the presenter used narration, through Kiswahili, to emphasize on the issues that need to be addressed. The excerpt below has been translated. It is evident that the translation has not manifested the emphasis that the presenter puts in this issue through use of Kiswahili. Kiswahili therefore, as a language has been used by *Jambo Kenya* to elaborate on the situation at hand.

Presenter 2 (Lincoln Njogu): *Baraza ambalo lakuhudumia wewe pale kukupatia na kukuhakikishia maji safi ya kunywa pale nyumbani. Ni wajibu wa mabaraza kama haya kuhakikisha kwamba barabara zimo katika miji hii. Ni wajibu wa mabaraza kama haya kuhakikisha kwamba kuna usafi wa uzoaji wa taka katika maeneo ambayo wewe mwenyewe unayashuhudia kila siku. Ni wajibu wa mabaraza kama haya kuhakikisha kwamba uchafu kama huu unaondolewa.*

[A council that serves you should ensure that it provides you with clean drinking water at home. It is the responsibility of these councils to ensure that the roads that are in these cities are memorable. As to make sure that there is proper waste disposal and management in areas where you can see. It is the responsibility of forums like these to ensure that such waste is removed.] (22 May 2009).

6.4 Formation of Citizenship and Contest through the Mediated Public Sphere

Citizenship is an evolving idea and practice. Nonetheless the citizenship situation in Kenya, as in the world, is evolving but remains controversially state-centric. Citizenship thus remains a less understood practice as a concept of belonging contested in practice, (Kenya Human Rights Commission KHRC, 2009). Singer J. B. (2008: 95) observes that “citizenship is not usually understood in terms of acts.” He notes that “citizenship is generally associated with democracy and as such is deemed a political matter”. Equality between and among citizens in accessing state institutions and resources too has been unattainable.

In this chapter, I perceive the citizens who participate in *Jambo Kenya* as an imagined community. The notion of imagined community as mentioned earlier, adopted from Benedict, (1991:6) argues that nations are imagined communities “because the members will never know most of their fellow-members...yet in the minds of each, the image of their communion lives”. The introduction sequence on talkback radio fulfils a number of purposes including preparing the off-air caller, identifying the next caller for the audience, and providing a cue for the caller to begin to talk (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002). This preparation is evident when the presenter begins the show with ‘*Jambo Kenya*’ and the caller responds in the same manner before giving their opinion. This is a culture that has

been set by the presenters and the producers of the program. ‘Jambo’ is a greeting that is said to build friendship and as an identity by the Kenyan citizens. This is evident in the excerpts below where, when the listeners call in, they either say ‘*Jambo* (name of presenter)’ or they repeat the slogan *Jambo Kenya*. When the presenters add Kenya onto the greeting, it is a means of addressing the nation and a way of citizenship- citizens of Kenya.

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Jambo Kenya, Waziri Martha Karua ameacha bendera sasa yeye anasema she is a backbencher.....*

[Minister Martha Karua has resigned and is now a backbencher....] (6 April 2009)

Caller 1 (Mpiga Picha wa Turbo): *Jambo Ateya Mpiga picha wa Turbo....*

[Hello Ateya, this is the photographer from Turbo...] (14 April 2009)

Presenter 2 (Lincoln Njogu): Haya yeye anaunga mkono

[He also supports her move.] (11 May)

Presenter 2 (Lincoln Njogu): *Jambo Kenya*

Caller 2: *Jambo Kenya, Jumba Sakwa wa Lugari...*

[*Jambo Kenya*, this is Jumba Sakwa from Lugari...] (27 May 2009)

From the above excerpts from different episodes, (Full excerpts in Appendix VIII) it is evident that the title of the program (*JamboKenya*) therefore echoes the idea of citizenship although inadvertently, formed through *Jambo Kenya* as a mediated public sphere for articulating issues of democracy and good governance. Wahl-Jorgensen Karin (2006:202) advises that we acknowledge that acts of citizenship do not arise from rational, detached observation, but from a set of strong emotions, including anger, love, hate, and a sense of injustice. This is unavoidable during public contestations in *Jambo Kenya*, mostly those which the citizens have been deliberating on the state not involving them in decision making.

The consensus that the slogan seeks to achieve is not practical. The slogan: “*Mjadala wa Jambo Kenya - Mjadala wa mwananchi. Kuzungumza ni kuelewana*”. [*Jambo Kenya’s* debate, the citizen’s debate, and dialogue breeds consensus]. When debates take place, not

every participant agrees on the same point. In a democracy not everyone gets into agreement with what is said or with the issues under discussion so bringing consensus, as the slogan suggests, is relative. Some of the topics that reveal this include the unwillingness by MPs to pay taxes when a majority of ordinary Kenyans suffer under heavy burden of taxes. It is more annoying that MPs could increase their salaries without appearing to work as hard as other Kenyans. Despite being taxed heavily the citizens still experience insecurity, lack of resources like health care, water, sanitation, roads, and schools. Instead of using the money to provide and subsidise services, the excerpt below illustrates how a set of strong emotions are experienced among the participants in the public sphere regarding insecurity in the country that has forced the youth to form vigilante groups to protect their communities. In the issue below, the debate concerns the lack of confidence in the government to offer security as a right to its citizens. The argument among the call in audiences is that there are citizens who are favoured by the government, the high society ones whose security is always assured.

Security and stability are always critical in achieving these important individual and national endeavours. Security and stability are basic needs of the African people, in fact for all people of the world (Deng *et al*, 2002). Scholars and politicians have described security and stability as all-encompassing concepts and ideals that enable African people to live in peace and harmony. They create a situation of equal access both to the national resources and to participate fully in the process of their governance (Deng, *et al*, 2002). The two excerpts below are separate excerpts from the same episode illustrating a segment of live talk concerning insecurity and instability issues in Kenya.

Caller 1 (Mpiga picha wa Turbo): *Ni Josephat, mpiga picha wa Turbo. Mimi nataka kusema makundi haya ni sawa. Nataka nipeane mfano wa Kisii. Wakati watu waliuwawa na majambazi na polisi hawakufanya lolote ndio maana tukaanza na Chinkororo. Kwa sababu serikali haikuwa inatujali na hakuna lolote ambalo limefanya.*

[This is Josephat, the photographer from Turbo. I want to say these groups are right. I would like to give an example of Kisii. When people were killed by criminals, the police did nothing and so we started the group

Chinkororo.⁷⁶ We did this because the government knows about the security issues but it does not act.] (1 June 2009)

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *(Interjects) Kundi hili la Chinkororo lina manufaa yeyote kwa jamii?.*

[How does the group benefit members of the community?] (1 June 2009)

Caller 2: *Kundi hili limetusaidia sana. Waziri wa Internal Security haelewi chochote.....*

[This group has helped us alot. The Internal Security Minister does not understand our plight] (1 June 2009)

The presenter picks up a call from another caller and engages with the caller.

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Wasemaje*

[What do you have to say?] (1 June 2009)

Caller 3: *Sisi hapa Lugari tuliform community policing kwa sababu serikali ilikuwa imeshindwa.*

[Here in Lugari we formed a community policing group because the government is unable to take care of us.] (1 June 2009)

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Kwa hivyo mumeunda kile kikundi.*

[So have you formed that group?] (1 June 2009)

Caller 3: *(Continues) Sio kikundi lakini ni kama serikali na sisi tu tena*

[No, it's not a group, it's like we are working as the government.] (1 June 2009)

Caller 4: *Makundi haya yafaa tuyaunge mkono, uhalifu upungue. Mpaka leo Saitoti bado anachunguza chanzo cha vifo lakini hajapata majibu sijui ni kwa nini. Hili ndilo linanikera sana.*

[These groups should work together until the levels of crime decrease. To date, Saitoti (then Minister for Internal Security) is investigating the matter but there have been no answers. I do not know why. This is very disgusting.] (1 June 2009)

Presenter 2 (Lincoln Njogu): *Profesa Saitoti inabidi aangalie maeneo yale ambayo yaliathirika na vifo vya vijana 29. Amewajibika kukaa na wengine ili kushauriana kuhusu Amani ya mahali pale kuhakikisha usalama. Je unakubalina kuwa makundi haya yapewe kipa u mbele yapigwe marufuku. Jambo Kenya.*

[Professor Saitoti has to investigate the killing of the 29 youths. He is obligated to meet with some of the youth in these areas to confer about peace and ensuring there is security. Do you agree that these groups being supported should be banned? *Jambo Kenya...*] (1 June 2009)

(More excerpts on appendix VIII)

Jambo Kenya tailors its debate in a manner that it criticizes leaders without offending them. It does this by having an element of incitement but in a way that it doesn't appear to

⁷⁶ Chinkororo; outlawed in the 1990s, is the Kisii equivalent of Kalenjin warriors, and represents the armed wing of the Abagusii community

obviously be inciting the audiences. The excerpts below reveal that in articulating human rights issues, the presenters, in their introduction, give an illustration of the situation focusing on poor governance as a factor which has led to the insecurity.

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Kwanza kabisa imebainika kwamba pale mitaani usalama ni haba lakini Bwana Herbert Khaemba mkuu wa polisi Nairobi ametuhakikishia kuwa usalama utaimarika. Hii inafuatia vita vya kule Imarisio, Karatina, ambapo wanachama 14 wa Mungiki waliuwawa. Habari ambazo tunazipata katika sehemu hizo ni kuwa vijana huwa wanaamrisha kujiunga na makundi haya ili kupigana na makundi kama vile mungiki. Vijana wa Kirinyaga na Meru. Makundi kama Chigomo au Kwechere, hii huwa kwasababu serikali huwa inalegea katika kutekeleza majukumu yake. Hiyo makundi kama haya hujitokeza na kutetea jamii zao kutokana na hatari zozote. Tunafaa kuyaunga mkono kutetea jamii. au la? Kutoka umoja wa mataifa serikali yafaa kujihadharisha na makundi kama haya jinsi yanavyoibuka.*

[Firstly it has been noted that there is little security on the streets but Nairobi police Chief Mr. Herbert Khaemba has assured us that the security will be boosted. This follows the campaign in Imarisio, Karatina where 14 members of the Mungiki cult were killed. We have received information that the youth in these areas have been ordered to fight with groups such as Mungiki, Chigomo or Kwechere. This includes the young people in Kirinyaga and Meru. This is because the Kenyan government tends to be lax in performing its duties. Groups such as these have been formed to protect their communities from any danger. Should we offer support to these groups? From the United Nations policy, the government should be cautious of how such groups emerge.] (14 May 2009)

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Kiraitu anasema police have not used excessive force katika harakati hii. Watu wanauwawa kiholela kama yule aliyekuwa anapeleka pesa banki, watoto wake wanakosa hela, karo na kadhalika. Jambazi anakuja na bullet proof, mwananchi silaha yake. Wakati kosa linatokea awe waziri mkuu tunasimama kwa afisi ya polisi wafanye kazi yao, lakini polisi pia wana familia hivyo anasema wacha nichunge familia yangu. For example, Rais ana security wangapi? Ina maana kuwa wanajipenda wenyewe. Nimekua Ushagi police post ina askari wannne the whole location. Patrol ni mchana, usiku anachunga padogo tu tena yafaa mmoja abaki. Iwapo kuna majambazi kumi naye ana risasi tatu je? That's why wananchi wameamua kujipanga. Swala hili lakini how best? Kwanini wananchi temeunga vigilante group? Nyinyi ambao ni wenyeji wa Karatina ndio mlifanya vijana wenu wakauwawa na mungiki. Mtaendelea kuunda makundi haya? Hii ni Jambo Kenya.....*

[Kiraitu (then cabinet minister) says that the police have not used excessive force in this campaign yet people are killed arbitrarily. An example is the man who was taking money to the bank; he was killed and his children are left with no money and school fees. A criminal can access and use a bullet proof jacket, and even use civilians as armoured human shields. When there is a security breach at the prime minister's office, we are stopped by the office of the police instructing them to do their job, but police also have families and in this instance they opt to take care of their families than of the citizens. A case in point, how big is the President's security detail? It means that those in power only focus on themselves. I went to Ushagi police post and noticed that the whole troop consists of four policemen guarding the entire location. Police patrol is carried out during the day, at night only one policeman is on guard. In case there are ten thugs, what can the one officer possibly do? That is why people have decided to organize the vigilante groups. The question I am posing to you today is, do you support vigilante groups? Residents of Karatina are responsible for the death of the youth in their area by members of the Mungiki sect. Shall we continue creating these groups? This is *Jambo Kenya.....*] (24 April 2009)

The above excerpts illustrate how the presenter has already taken a position, maybe subconsciously, regarding the issue at hand. He then opens up the debate. It is important to note that through his formed opinion, the call in listeners would already have formed an

opinion regarding this contentious issue. Fraser, (2000) proposes a theoretical framework that addresses both the political economy and culture, and considers both redistribution and recognition as appropriate responses to inequality, but ones that stand in tension to one another. Hence the affirmative politics of recognition conflicts with the transformative politics of redistribution in that the former affirms group identity whilst the latter aims to eliminate the group as a group. The dimensions of citizens' rights include rights of social citizenship like public education and healthcare, civil and political (Humphrey Marshall, 1964). Inequality in Kenya is an issue that has always been of great concern. It has occasioned doubts of citizenship as national aspects established as likely to form citizenship identities.

Jambo Kenya acts as a mediated public sphere by airing emerging political issues giving the program topics for debates and the audience's content for articulation of "citizenship". Different perspectives on citizenship have been articulated, not only in *Jambo Kenya* but also among other public spheres. The slogan "nani ni mkenya" (Who is a Kenyan citizen?) has been contested with the aim of understanding the sense of "Kenyaness" and belonging. Since Mwai Kibaki was controversially sworn in as president in January 2008, Alfred Mutua, then the Kenya government spokesman seemed to have become increasingly indifferent to reality. First of all he denied that there were violent conflicts all over the country. With international media coverage and horrifying reports about police brutality and ethnic clashes, he changed his mind and stated, that only about 3% of the country's 34 million people were affected. He declared that "Kenya is not burning and not (in) the throes of any division" (Associated Press, 2008). Leaving aside that this number bares any facts and much more people were "affected" by the crises, Mutua did not seem to appreciate that 3% of 34 Million is more than one Million people. Any crisis of this dimension would alert any government in the world.⁷⁷ This came at a time when Kenya was embroiled in Post-Election Violence (PEV) and ethnic hatred, which is a clear indication of

⁷⁷ Eyes on Kenya - Eyes on Kenya is Non-Governmental entity that came up after considering the need for a voice that can critically analyze situations as they occur in Kenya. It seeks to provide an information portal that is educative as well as critical about politics, democracy and good governance in Kenya. It also provides a space for expression and debate about critical issues concerning relevant issues. <http://eyesonkenya.org/blog/?p=31> [Accessed 06 January 2013]

regional politics, insecurity and inequality illustrating the regional politics that are vivid in Kenya.

There has been inequality and no progress in service delivery, health, housing and injustices on land ownership, security and nepotism. The excerpt below (episode on 15 June 2009) reveals how the issue of housing is being problematized by the call in audiences. The homeowners (landlords) seem to be overcharging the tenants who feel that it is an aspect of inequality where the rich landlords/home owners are getting richer. The audiences became producers of the show and aired this issue and changed the subject to challenge those in power as not delivering according to their expectation.

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Leo hii tunataka kuangazia swala la nyumba. Watu wanasema land lord wangu, ama yule mpangishaji wangu anaongeza kodi kiholela. Ama wapangaji ni wengi kuliko landlord.*

[Today we want to highlight the issue of housing. People say that their landlords keep increasing rent. Are the tenants more than the landlords can handle?]

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Kulingana na hali ilivyo nchini, watu wameamua kuhamia mjini na hapo tatizo ni nyumba Nairobi na sehemu nyingi nchini. Landlord wanawajibika kusema kuhusu bei za nyumba lakini baraza lilipokaa likasema haipo hoja ya kupandisha bei, hivi karibuni pendekazo hili litawasilishwa bungeni na hakuna mwenye nyumba ambaye atapandisha bei yake kiholela. Si vema wapangaji kuchelewa kulipa malipo ya nyumba.*

[Considering the situation in the country, people have decided to move to the cities and the peri-urban areas hence the housing problem. Landlords have decided to give a favourable price for the houses but they noted that there is no council of landlords that can handle that issue. The motion on raising house prices was moved in parliament and decided that no landlord who will raise rent arbitrarily and the tenants will have to pay their rent on time.]

Voice of the studio guest interjects: *Hakuna landlord ataruhusiwa kutupa mtu nje bila kuwasiliana na ofisi yetu, hili ni wazo ambalo tutajadili kama bunge na tukapitisha.*

[No landlord will be allowed to evict a tenant without involving our office. This is a motion that will be passed in parliament.]

Caller 1 (Joel): *Jambo Kenya naitwa Joel niko Nandi Hills. Mimi wabunge wa sasa ni heri waondoke tu. Hawana kazi. Walienda Kung'ang'ania mamlaka mle ndani. Tunawaambia wasikilizane. Wasiseme toa Muthaura au Mutua, haina tofauti. Angalia kumetokea ajali katika mkoa wa kati. Inafaa wabunge watoe amani. Sisi hatutaki kusikia hiyo 3%. Yaani sisi ni wabunge ahsante.*

[*Jambo Kenya*, my name is Joel from Nandi Hills. The legislators should leave. They do not work. They went to parliament to fight for authority. Complaining about Muthaura or Mutua will make no difference. Look at the accident that has happened in Central Kenya. Legislators ought to bring peace to the country. We do not want to hear about 3%. That means we are our own legislators. Thank you.]

Presenter 1 (Vincent Ateya): *Anasema inaonekana wananchi wanaelewa maswala yanayoendeshwa katika nchi yetu zaidi ya wabunge. Jambo Kenya...*

[He says it appears the public understands the issues affecting our country more than MPs. *Jambo Kenya...*]

(Excerpts from episode on 15 June 2009. More excerpts on appendix VIII)

During an interview with Waweru Mburu, Head of Radio, he recounted that *Jambo Kenya's* project to educate the audiences on their rights as citizens are crucial in their dissemination of content. The station's management does this through training the producers and the presenters on how to educate the audiences on how to resolve conflict and how to know their rights and responsibilities as Kenyan citizens Connolly (1974) in Chakraborty (2010:174), however, points out that problems regarding citizenship education arise not only because it is an internally complex concept, but also because it is a normative concept. Normative concepts usually do not have a universally shared definition because of the reason that they describe things from a moral point of view.

From Dahlgren's (2010:21) assertion that social reality of the public spheres is plural, where major mass media create the dominant sphere and smaller outlets foster smaller spheres, organized by gender, ethnicity and other interest for demographics. Anita Seibert and Dorota Roslaniec (1998) acknowledge that women's access to power within the public sphere has always been the objective of feminism movement.

6.5 Participation and the Public Sphere: The Right to Achieve Democracy Through Talk Radio Participation

Citizen participation has long been regarded as a hallmark of a democratic society (Bowen 2007). In the South African context, Herman Wasserman and Anthea Garman (2012:2)⁷⁸ take note that "Eighteen years in South African democracy the very notion of citizenship itself is fiercely contested. While the decisive shift to formal democracy in 1994 restores the legal and political rights of all south Africans reinstating to all the status of citizenship- the high levels of inequality have prevented the majority of citizens the practice of

⁷⁸ Wasserman H. & Garman A. Being South African and belonging: the status and practice of mediated citizenship in a new democracy. Paper presented at The 7th Global Conference 'Pluralism, Inclusion and Citizenship', Prague, Czech Republic, 12-14 March 2012. www.interdisciplinary.net/wp.../2012/02/garmanpaper.pdf [Accessed on 18 January 2013]

citizenship in the ways that matter most- voice in the public sphere and decision making power at local level to impact on the process that affect their daily lives. Citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future (Sherry Arnstein, 1969).

The notion of the public sphere, as a central aspect of good governance, is at the centre of participatory approaches to democracy.⁷⁹ Citizen participation is, thus, at the heart of political equality. Turner, (2010:46) acknowledges the citizen's meaningful participation in decision making- which involves the exercise of some form of structural power is what underpins democracy. Political participation provides the mechanism by which citizens can communicate information about their interests, preferences, and needs and generate pressure to respond. Political equality is a valued good *per se*. The ability to express one's political views is constitutive of membership in the polity. It confers a sense of selfhood, of agency, of belonging, (Sidney Verba 2000). Smith and Pangsapa (2008:27) also note that participatory citizenship recognizes the role of groups in collective negotiation and co-determination in the decision making process that affects the lives of group members.

The issues that the producers focus on to achieve participation and or citizenship or good governance are illustrated in the excerpt below, on how through the foundation for the development of social inclusion in governance of the country, talk radio call-in audiences come in to critique the Kenyan government.

Presenter 2 (Lincoln Njogu): *Haiya mmoja wa wakenya akikiri kuwa hawana imani na bunge hili la kumi. Wanaenda ndani ya bunge leo. Wanafaa waondolewe kwanza serikali ya mseto imetugandamiza sisi raia wa kwawida.*

[One of the Kenyans has admitted that they have no confidence in the tenth parliament. MP's resume parliamentary sittings today. They should first be dismissed. The coalition government has suppressed the common man]. (21 April 2009)

Presenter 2 (Lincoln Njogu): *Ni hivi punde ambapo DPM Bwana Musalia Mudavadi alisema wizara ya Nairobi metropolitan yake Githae watolewe kabisa kwani yale anayofanya yeye kama waziri ni yale yanayofanywa na huyu Githae. Sasa hapa huyu Amos Wako, Attorney General anapendekeza katika uchapishaji wake kwamba mawaziri ni lazima wawe na degree, pia anapendekeza wizara 24 ya PM, DPM*

⁷⁹ Communication for Governance & Accountability Program, (CommGAP). (2011). *The Public Sphere*. The World Bank.

na DPN wizara ya nne kilimo, uvuvi na mifugo. Tano ya ulinzi, utawala wa mikoa na usalama wa ndani ya ushirikiano wa Afrika mashariki na hapa nchini, elimu sayansi na teknolojia, kawi na ustawi wa rasli mali na madini.

[The Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Musalia Mudavadi said that the Ministry of Nairobi Metropolitan headed by Githae should be abolished completely because the work that Githae is doing is a duplicate of his. Attorney General Amos Wako suggests in his publication that ministers must have a university degree. He also suggested the 24 ministries headed by the PM, DPM ministry of agriculture fisheries and livestock, defence of the provincial administration and internal security cooperation and here in East Africa, science and technology education and welfare, energy and mineral properties.] (21 April 2009)

Achieving citizenship and democracy in Kenya is only possible through the constitution. This was revealed through participation by talk radio audiences who, as Kenyan citizen's view participation as a right to achieve democracy. From the history of democracy in Kenya, they credit the 2005 referendum where citizens cast their vote for the constitution that they deemed fit to run the country. Through it, they credit participation of citizens as crucial. They use *Jambo Kenya* as an avenue for articulating these issues that would lead to participatory democracy as illustrated in the excerpts below.

Presenter, Lincoln Njogu: *Akizungumza na Daily Nation hapo jana, waziri mkuu Raila Odinga alisema tutayafikia mageuzi haya ifikapo mwezi June 2010. Kuna kundi ambalo limekuja kuamini kama hi katiba itapatikana June 2010. Tume huru humu nchini interim boundary commission ya Andrew Ligale, truth justice and reconciliation commission itaanza kufanya kazi yake hivi karibuni. Baadhi ya haya ni kama idara ya usalama mashamba, land reforms yote haya asema PM asema 2010 watafanikiwa. Je unakubaliana na hawa wawili PM na Rais? Ni mjadala wa Jambo Kenya...*

[Speaking to the Daily Nation yesterday, Prime Minister Raila Odinga said that they will come to these reforms by the month of June 2010. There is a group that believes that the new constitution will be available in June 2010. The independent commissions in this country such as the Andrew Ligale interim boundaries and the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission will begin their work soon. Some contacts are in the security department of lands, land reform all this the PM says will be successful in 2010. Do you agree with these two, the PM and President? This is *Jambo Kenya's* debate...] (08 May 2009)

Inclusion is very important in the governance of a democratic country. Inequality in Kenya however has been seen as one of the factors which had created exclusion from development processes to the disadvantage of certain communities. One call in listener noted that development could only be meaningful if it reinforced inclusion in terms of access to resources by every citizen. The role of leadership in fostering nationhood was emphasized. Leadership must be based on fairness and inclusion. In Kenya's case, centralization of decision-making had limited the significance of decision-making at the

local levels and in cases where the center was dominant, development prospects were affected by the weakening of decision-making at the local level.⁸⁰

6.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter suggests that participation is important when government officials take audience debates as a means to social change because it is an important aspect that citizens need in a democracy. This is evident in the similarity of the caller's comments and thoughts on different themes articulated in the show. As problematic as the idea of citizenship might be, Wahl-Jorgensen (2006:199) believes that citizenship should be thought about as a national thing (not universalistic). Accordingly, "citizenship cannot merely be an empty vessel into which we pour all our hopes and dreams or alternatively, our nightmares. We also ought to retain the principle that political efficacy matters to citizenship". This is how talk radio show *Jambo Kenya* offers an avenue for participation as a right to achieve democracy and offering knowledge, despite its shortcomings.

Of the three sectors—government, private business, and civil society—civil society is the most diverse and the least well understood.... Civil society organisations need to reach for the highest levels of competence to justify their support. The sector combines energy and creativity, with a social conscience. Together, these constitute a powerful impulse and should be nurtured. At the same time, capacities for management, programme design and implementation, fund-raising and self-study and evaluation need to be strengthened.⁸¹

A vibrant civil society supports citizens' demand for accountability and participation in the public sphere. Civil society organizations organize and promote the citizen agenda.⁸² Margaret Somers (1993, 589) establishes that popular public spheres must be infused through participation from members of active civil societies. The chapter confirms that it

⁸⁰Kenya Elections 2007 Media Campaign. *Narok Asks Hard Questions On Nationhood*. Media focus on Africa Foundation. http://mfoa.africanews.com/site/Narok_asks_hard_questions_on_nationhood/list_messages/13403 [Accessed 24 July 2009]

⁸¹ His Highness the Aga Khan. AKDN Civil Society Programme Kenya 2006-2008 EBRD Annual Meeting, Tashkent, 5 May 2003. http://www.akdn.org/publications/civil_society_kenya_programme.pdf [Accessed 17 November 2009]

⁸² Communication for Governance & Accountability Program (CommGAP). *The Public Sphere*. The World Bank.

is imperative for the producers to include studio guests from different civil society groups to partly negotiate citizenships in this public sphere. As noted earlier by Livingstone and Lunt (1994:10) individuals use the public sphere for their concerns therefore the civil society may come in the advocacy for a democratic Kenya. The Kenya Civil Society Strengthening Program (KCSSP) has also been set up to ensure that targeted civil societies organizations work more effectively to advocate for reforms, monitor government activities and provide other critical services to their constituents.

Media organizations should “promote active citizenship, education, and social integration” through their messages (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001:37). As much as the media ought to act as an agent of promoting development of citizenship, citizens should have conscience of their right and responsibility. The Kenyan government also needs to be reconstructed so that citizenship becomes meaningful.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion: Curbing Centralism through a Mediated Public Sphere

The purpose of this research was to determine talk radio's responsibility in the public sphere through interrogating the role of talk radio shows in mediating public debates. It engaged with aspects of space and democratic expressions illustrated through the role of talk radio in the public sphere through public deliberation. The research further sought to find out whether *Jambo Kenya* is providing a new space for public deliberation by exploring how radio station "Radio Citizen" and its highly popular call-in program *Jambo Kenya* have created a new form of critical public sphere that is challenging traditional forms of authoritarian media control in Kenya. While *Jambo Kenya* strives to influence the way its listeners perceive different issues by carrying out public deliberation on supposed by looking at injustices that are still hindering Kenya's development and are yet to be implemented in Agenda 4, this thesis interrogated *Jambo Kenya's* quality of public deliberation mediated through its content.

Utilizing an "instrumental case study" design, the research summarizes various on-air dialogic exchanges to highlight some of the discursive strategies used, such as code-switching between Kiswahili and *sheng* dialects, news as an agenda setter, music in the public sphere, use of narrative storytelling techniques and the voice in the public sphere as a sentinel for democracy. The public sphere theory is used throughout the study to give a critique of the indicators to whether talk radio acts as a tool of "creating" a public sphere where debates are carried out and the strategies employed by *Jambo Kenya* in mediating public discussion and its democratic potential for advocacy of good governance.

Thematic content analysis is employed to code and interpret this data in seeking out the role of *Jambo Kenya* as a public sphere for political communication process in a social context. The research determined how *Jambo Kenya* influences debates surrounding corruption, power, good governance and their implication on democracy. To what extent does it create an avenue for the formation of citizenship and notions of participation; and to what extent do commercial interests (internalized economic, political and cultural values

and ideologies) of the station affect the production and distribution of the content disseminated by it.

Informed participants, freedom of expression, right of access to public information, rule of law, checks and balances on power, human rights, and respect for minorities in the society formed the core issues that fostered my interest in this study. Of particular interest to me was how Radio Citizen's management and radio producers decided to implement a project through *Jambo Kenya* aimed at playing the role of retrieving the lost democratic ground for Kenya, by encouraging and engaging citizens in rational debates on emerging views of present day democracy in Kenya.

The study analyzed content, structures and strategies deployed by Radio Citizen, through *Jambo Kenya* in both the control and expansion of the democratic space for the Kenyan citizens to have their say in one way or another on the opportunities open to, as well as challenges facing them in political and socio-economic governance, human rights, nationhood, citizenship, corruption, and their ultimate involvement in governance of the country. The research revealed that good governance in Kenya is not transparent yet it ought to be participatory, transparent and accountable, effective and equitable, and it promotes the rule of law. The study also established that circulation of news determines the level of participation by talk radio call in audiences, in this case *Jambo Kenya*.

The analysis of good governance revealed sub-themes other than the six that the study sought to discuss. These include grand coalition government failures, misuse of funds meant for constituency development, power, nepotism, reforms in the judiciary, corruption, and job creation and resettling the internally displaced people who lost their homes during the 2007-8 post-election violence. Apart from answering the research questions, the study also revealed some important findings and observations that are worth noting. These are five more sub themes that the analysis of matters concerning democracy revealed, thus fair elections, impunity, land reforms, health and poverty.

In this thesis, my argument is that participation is tantamount to democratization. The study suggests that participation is important when government officials take audience

debates as a means to social change because it is an important aspect that citizens need in a democracy. The contribution of mobile telephony to talk radio through call in and text messages are a way of ensuring participation for the listeners who are unable to call in. These citizens are not necessarily consumers of *Jambo Kenya* but their opinion of the day's issue counts into the content production. *Jambo Kenya* plays a very significant role in reconfiguration of the media by creating an avenue through which media can be accountable and be part of democratization in Kenya. The researcher uncovered factors important for a thorough understanding of talk radio. The live studio sit-ins revealed the presenters' perspectives of *Jambo Kenya*'s role, the discursive strategies that the call in audiences use and the interaction power of the show. Furthermore from the excerpts, it was revealed that call in listeners often regard the hosts as credible, if not authoritative, sources of information and opinions. This is evident in the similarity of the caller's comments and thoughts on different themes articulated in the show.

Whereas the role of talk shows is to mediate participation by audiences and the studio guest in the public sphere, *Jambo Kenya* lacked this because it can be revealed from some of the episodes; the only people present during the show were the presenter and the occasional studio guests. Media, as the fourth estate in a democracy is supposed to involve the audiences and not just state what the audiences said in previous episodes.

It can therefore be noted that as much as *Jambo Kenya* articulates issues surrounding power, and good governance, it lacks in the ultimate involvement of integrating the authority, studio guest and the callers of the show, considering that no member of the civil society was invited to the show during this period of research despite the fact that there were many concerns regarding democracy by the Kenyan citizens. Callers' comments reveal that the Kenyan government promotes horizontal inequalities in the economic and political institutions of the country.

Based on empirical research on *Jambo Kenya* this thesis argues that participation in the public sphere plays an important role in reinforcing citizenship as a social identity through public political deliberation, thus gaining a fuller and deeper understanding of the

implications of assertion of local or ethnic citizenship for democracy. The citizenship is an evolving idea and practice. Nonetheless the citizenship situation in Kenya, as in the world, is evolving but remains controversially state-centric. Citizenship thus remains a less understood practice as a concept of belonging; contested in practice. Interrogation of the relationship between the concept of mediated citizenship and participation through talk radio deliberation revealed that there exist conflict between national citizenship and local or ethnic citizenship, but *Jambo Kenya* fails to critique or reshape these concepts through its content in as much as shifting notions of citizenship and how national and ethnic citizenship are used for different, but mostly opposing goals. National citizenship is deployed to foster a national identity, promote peaceful co-existence and equal rights for all. *Jambo Kenya* does not deliberate on issues of ethnicity, which comes about through local citizenship as undermining national citizenship

This thesis pursued language use, which proved to be very crucial in formation of citizenship. Selected excerpts from different episodes were analysed within the language context to illustrate the use of English and Sheng to describe/illustrate different issues. It is therefore reasonable to assume that through Kiswahili language, *Jambo Kenya* presenters use narrative storytelling techniques to narrate situations that enable audiences join in the debate and further enable the listeners to visualize the situation.

The title of the program, *Jambo Kenya* therefore echoes the idea of citizenships, although subconsciously, formed through *Jambo Kenya* as a mediated public sphere for articulating issues of democracy and good governance. The consensus that the slogan seeks to achieve is not practical in that, when debates take place, not every participant agrees on the same point.

Writing about revitalizing the public sphere, Eric Neveu (2004) concurs with Michele Hilmes (2004) by noting that media are accused of transforming public debate into endlessly degenerating triviality. This highlights that a more active study of content analysis should be encouraged as a produce approach to study talk radio content in Kenya. Talk radio shows

should consider members of the civil society groups as guests in their shows because these are groups likely to influence participation.

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Interviews

Ateya, Vincent, *Jambo Kenya* Producer and Presenter, Interview carried out on 21 December 2009 and 15 January 2010 at the Radio Citizen studios. Nairobi.

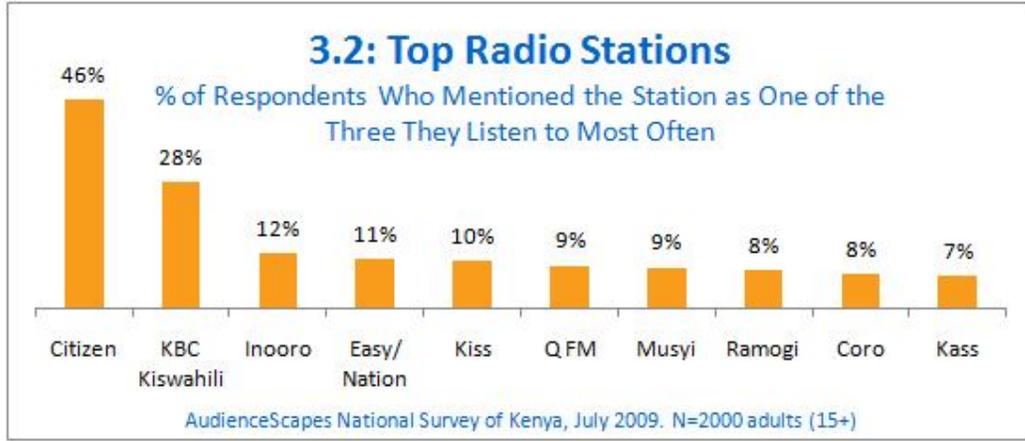
Mburu, Waweru. Radio Citizen Manager, Interview carried out on 21 December 2009 at 10h00 at Radio Citizen Studios. Nairobi.

Mburu, Waweru. Radio Citizen Manager, Interview carried out on 15 January 2010 at the Radio Citizen studios. Nairobi.

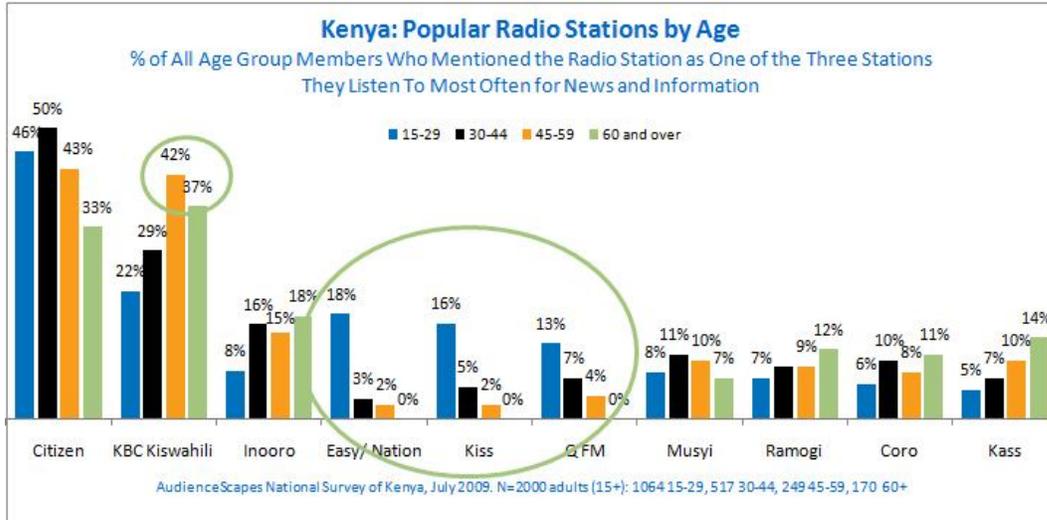
Njogu, Lincoln, Head of News and *Jambo Kenya* Presenter, Interview carried out on 15 January 2010 and 21 December 2009 at the Radio Citizen Studios. Nairobi.

APPENDICES

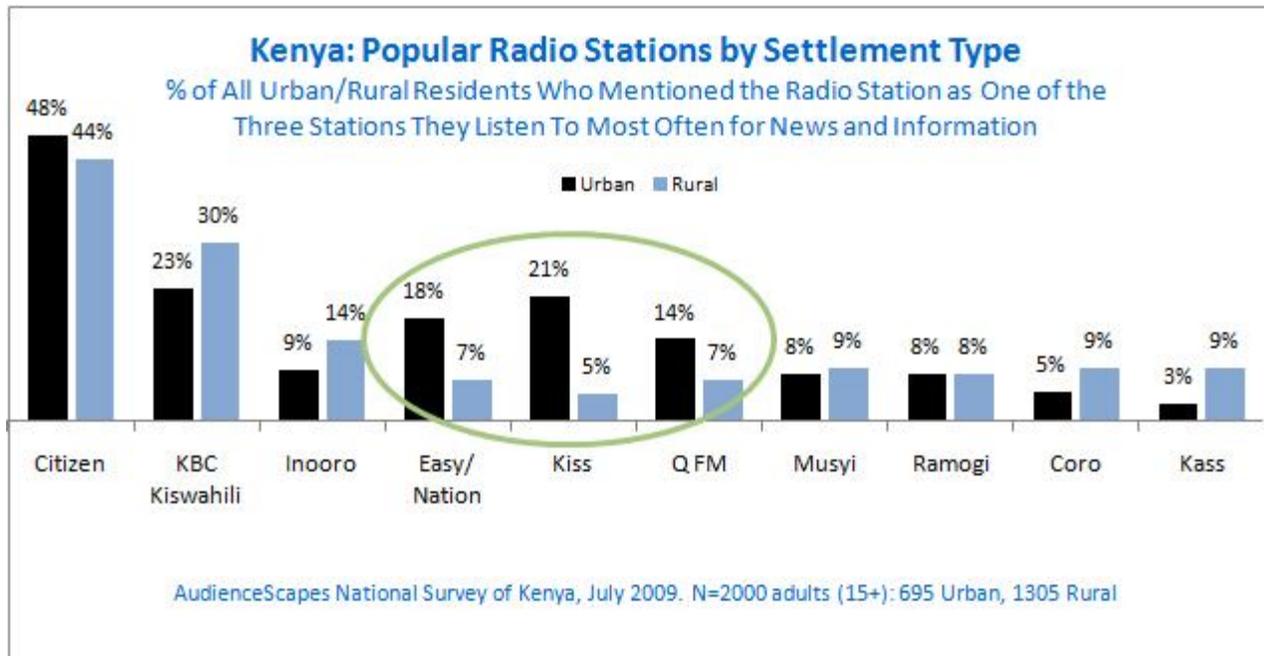
Appendix I: Top Radio Stations in Kenya



Appendix II: Kenya: Popular Radio Stations by Age



Appendix III: Kenya: Popular Stations by Settlement Type



Appendix IV: Kenyan Television Talk Shows

Louis Otieno Live, a discussion program that travelled around the country to give Kenyans a chance to air their views on TV during the run up to the 2007 general elections.

This program was aired on Citizen TV focusing on topics such as

The Summit aired on Kenya Television Network (KTN) by John Sibi Okumu who conducted incisive, one-on-one TV interviews with political personalities

Tyme Yetu, a youth political TV show produced in 2007 to educate the youth on choosing the right leaders and to eradicate tribalism.

1. Citizen TV

i) **Cheche**. This is a political talk show aired every Wednesday morning.

ii) **The Kibaki Succession**. Political talk show aired every Sunday evening.

2. NTV

i) **Lifestyle**. Focuses on different issues e.g. health, arts, education and is aired every morning.

ii) **PM Live**. Focuses on business agenda in the country and is aired daily in the afternoon.

iii) **Business Agenda** focuses on business landscape in the country and is aired weekly.

iv) **Sebuleni** is a magazine show aired weekly.

v) **The Space**. Focus on youth issues and is aired weekly.

vi) Tyme Yetu is a youth political TV show that was produced in 2007 to educate the youth on choosing the right leaders and to eradicate tribalism

3. K24

i) On the bench. Daily show highlights topical issues of the day (personalities).

ii) Connect. Weekly show that focusses on relationships and mostly sex education.

KBC

i) Good morning Kenya. Focus on topical issues and is aired daily

ii) Together on the Move. Focus on the country's political landscape and is aired weekly.

iii) Crystal Ball. A political show that is aired weekly

KTN

i) Straight up. Focuses on the youth and is aired daily.

ii) Financial Markets Live. It is a business magazine highlighting the latest in business and money matters. It airs Monday to Friday.

iii) The summit by John Sibi Okumu. Between 1997 and 2002 he conducted epoch-making TV interviews on “The Summit,” with such personalities as Daniel Arap Moi, Mwai Kibaki, Robert Mugabe, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Raila Odinga, Uhuru Kenyatta, Richard Leakey and Wangari Maathai, among many others

iv) **The Breakfast show and The Third Opinion are live**, interactive shows that invite Kenyans to air their opinions of governance and civil society, and to express themselves freely on a wide range of topics.

Appendix V: Radio Citizen Program line up and Synopsis

TIME	PROGRAM	SYNOPSIS
5:00am	Pambazuka	This hour features gospel music with pre-recorded inspirational messages. We also have SMS driven wake up "calls"
5:55am	Fasihi Fasaha	Set book review. We analyze secondary school set books. It is pre-recorded
6:00am	Mukhtasari wa Dira	The breakfast news in brief. Dira is Swahili for Compass; an instrument used to find direction/bearing.
6:20am	Uchambuzi wa Magazeti	Newspaper review. A look at the stories making headlines in the dailies with Lincoln Njogu (sponsorship/ beverage companies)
6:30am	Yaliyotendeka (RPT)	Our award winning commentary hosted by Waweru Mburu.
6:58am	Wazo la Leo	Thought of the day
7:00am	Dira ya Radio Citizen	The first main bulletin of the day. Give Lincoln Njogu 5 minutes of your time and he will help you find your bearing. Dira is followed by the commentary and weather.
	Tahariri	
	The weather	
7:15am	Mjadala wa Jambo Kenya	This is probably what most Kenyans know us for. Bringing the truth to the forefront through thought provoking dialogue and giving a voice to groups that would otherwise be unheard. Mjadala seeks to carry on this legacy and every day on the show we float a topic on an issue affecting Kenyans and Vincent Ateya sets out to get the answers. We invite a studio guest and run vox pops on what Kenyans think of the day's issue. The show is highly interactive. We have phone ins and the days topic and guest are well promoted beforehand on the show
8:15am	Chemsha Bongo	Brainteaser. Those who qualify during the week feature in the 1 hour Sunday evening Chemsha Bongo game show
8:45am	Ulimwengu wa Fulusi	Business News
8.50am	Mambo Chwara	A feature that highlights the bad habits people should drop. It done by one of our re-known broadcaster Mohammed Juma Njuguna
9:00am	Dira ya Radio Citizen	The second main bulletin of the day. It features lots of news from the provinces filed by our regional correspondents. Being a national Radio Station, we have a responsibly to cover the entire nation and that is what this bulletin seeks to do.
9:15am	Tatu Bora	We play " nyimbo tatu bora saa tatu" three songs at 9am the songs are selected by the audience while on other occasions they can be selected by the presenters for people/a person who has done something exceptional. However, the norm is that the audience picks the tatu bora. NOTE: This property works well for new products or products wishing to push brand attributes
9:30am	Dokezo la Afya	A short health feature that focuses on different diseases in each episode. Jeridah Andayi tells you everything you need to know about various illnesses. Their causes, prevention and cure. It's repeated at 6:05pm on Drive
9.45am	Jukwaa la michezo	Sports news. NOTE: You can sell breakfast sport as a package 6:45 and 9:45am. Both are live.

10:00am	Dira ya Radio Citizen	News headlines and the weather
10:15am	Dokezo la Urembo	Beauty tip. Each day June Dezina Vel takes our audience through beauty procedures and teaches them how to "do it yourself"
10:30am	Kasheshe	A comedy strip featuring strange/ out the ordinary but real occurrences from around the world. Presented by comics Kapanga and Zengu and is repeated at 9.30pm
10:45am	Kazi Ni kazi	A feature highlighting Different occupations we mainly feature self-employed business people. We learn about their trade, problems they encounter etc. NOTE: This feature works well for financial institutions, agricultural input manufacturers, detergents etc.
11:00am	Mukhtasari wa Dira	News Headlines, Weather
11:30am	Jukwaa la Michezo	Sports news
	Muziki wa Kumbu Kumbu	11.45am
12:00pm	Mukhtasari wa Dira	News headlines
12:30pm	Vidokezo	Every half hour to the main news bulletins, we have pre-recorded highlights of what to expect in the main bulletin. These highlights run at 12:30, 3:30 and 6:30pm
12:32pm	Mapishi	We take our audience through the stages of preparing various mouth-watering recipes
1:00pm	Dira kamili ya Citizen, Weather	News Headlines and weather update
	Jungu la Makala Maalum	Jungu la makala maalum - a series of short features that runs Mon - Fri each day touching on a different issue from culture to corruption
1:15pm	Chaguo Lako	Requests - the audience calls/sms/emails to request for the music they would like played and it's played back for them. The presenter also makes birthday/love calls (you can brand this hour)
1:30pm	Ulimwengu wa Fulusi	Business news
1:35pm	Chaguo lako	Continues
2:00pm	Mukhtasari wa Jarida	News headlines
12:30pm	Vidokezo	Every half hour to the main news bulletins, we have pre-recorded highlights of what to expect in the main bulletin. These highlights run at 12:30, 3:30 and 6:30pm
12:32pm	Mapishi	We take our audience through the stages of preparing various mouth-watering recipes
1:00pm	Dira kamili ya Citizen, Weather	News Headlines and weather update
	Jungu la Makala Maalum	Jungu la makala maalum - a series of short features that runs Mon - Fri each day touching on a different issue from culture to corruption
1:15pm	Chaguo Lako	Requests - the audience calls/sms/emails to request for the music they would like played and it's played back for them. The presenter also makes birthday/love calls (you can brand this hour)
1:30pm	Ulimwengu wa Fulusi	Business news

2:15pm	Tafsiri ya maneno	We play back line/words from a song and ask our audience to figure out what the artiste is talking about. E.g. what does Nonini really mean when he says "wacha kwanza nitoe hii mbota"
		We invite an artiste to the studio to basically hang out and talk about their music, aspirations etc. the audience is free to call and ask the guest questions. Nonini, Amani, chameleon, Q-Chief , Nyota ndogo to name afwe have all been interviewed on this show
2:30pm	Habari za wasanii	This is celebrity gossip. What are the people in entertainment up to? Tid bits about their personal lives
3:00pm	Mukhtasari wa Jarida	News headlines
3:15pm	Msanii chipukizi	Features a brief history of an individual in the entertainment industry.
3:20pm	Amini usiamini	Directly translates to believe it or not. We give amazing facts on varied aspects of life
3:30pm	Jukwaa la michezo	Sports news and news briefs
	vidokezo vya Jarida	
3:40pm	Mambo Mseto zilizobamba	Nyimbo 3 (kutoka Kenya, UG,TZ) za kizazi kipya zilizobamba
4:00pm	Jarida la citizen	News (full bulletin) followed by the weather check
4:30pm	Ulimwengu wa Fulusi	Business news
5:00pm	Mukhtasari wa Jarida	News headlines
5:15pm	Fumbo	A brain teaser to be solved by the audience
5:30pm	Swala Kuu	A social debate on matters mainly relating to family life. The presenter floats the topic and the audience calls in with their views.
6:00pm	Mukhtasari wa Jarida	News headlines
This is an interactive hour where the audience calls in to send messages to help their friends unwind after a hard day's work "pole kwa siku"		
6:05pm	Dokezo La Afya	A short health feature that focuses on different diseases in each episode. Jeridah Andayi tells you everything you need to know about various illnesses. Their causes, prevention and cure. It's repeated also runs at 9:30am on Chapa Kazi
6:30pm	Vidokezo vya Jarida	Highlights of what to expect on Jarida at 7:00pm
6:40pm	Mambo Chwara	A three minutes feature that highlights the bad habits people should drop. Done by our re-knowned broadcaster Mohammed Juma Njuguna
6:45pm	Angaza Macho Barabarani	Traffic watch

TIME	PROGRAM	SYNOPSIS
7:00pm	Jarida saa moja Tahariri	The 7:00 o'clock hour is packed with news and information. We have a complete news broadcast, the commentary, weather and Jungu la makala maalum. Jungu is a series of short features on different issues ranging from culture to corruption and human rights.
	weather Jungu la ; makala maalum; VOA news	Live from Washington, 30 minutes of international news in Swahili
8:00pm	Yaliyotendeka	Our award winning commentary by Waweru Mburu.
8:30pm	Ulimwengu wa Fulusi	Business news
9:00pm	Jarida Kamili	This is the final main bulletin of the day
9:15pm	Jukaa la Michezo	Sports news
9:30pm	Good evening Kenya	Begin the days' discussion. Each day of the week has a different theme as stated above
10:00am	Mukhtasari wa Jarida	News headlines
10:10pm	Kasheshe	A comedy strip featuring strange/ out of the ordinary but real occurrences from around the world. Presented by a comic character "Kapanga"& Zengu. Also runs at 10:10pm on Good Evening Kenya.
10:15pm	Discussion continues	
11:00pm	Salamu za lala salama	Kamua gives the audience a chance to call-in or SMS to wish each other a good night
12:00am	Jarida headlines	News headlines
12:05am	Citizen Express with Ali Hassan/ Nasty until 5:00am	
	This is a five hour show with repeats of pre-recorded features that run during the day.	
	It also features comedy strips, news highlights at the top of every hour and press review	
Saturday & Sunday		

TIME	PROGRAM	SYNOPSIS
6:00am	Mukhtasari wa Dira	News headlines
6:15am	Yaliyojiri wiki hii	We focus on human-interest stories from the provinces that rarely get banner headlines in the dailies or the top slot in bulletin orders but affect our audience from that region on a large scale.
6:25am	Je unamtambua?	Here we play back a voice clip of someone who was in the news and invite the audience to call-in and elaborate on what the speaker was talking about, where, and in reaction to what.
6:30am	Yaliyotendeka	A repeat of the previous evening's episode
6:58am	Wazo la Leo	Thought of the day
7:00am	Dira kamili ya Citizen	The first complete news broadcast of the day
	Tahariri	
	Weather	
	Jungu la makala maalum	
07:15am	Uchambuzi wa magazeti	Newspaper review. A look at the stories making headlines in the dailies
7:30am	Sauti ya Mkulima	A program that looks at topical problems in the sector and seeks to find solutions for the same. It's pre-recorded. 3 minutes long by Angela Nge'ndo
7:35am	Sauti ya watoto	This is a children's show that includes a narrative from Mjomba simtaji, Children's views on various aspects of life, poems, rhymes and all manner of fun activities
8:30am	Ng'arisha	We take our audience through the stages of cleaning various garments and surfaces and offer simple solutions to seemingly difficult domestic tasks
9:00am	Dira kamili ya Citizen	Then day's News

TIME	PROGRAM	SYNOPSIS
9:15am	Makuzi ya Lugha	Tunafafanua zaidi kuhusu misamiati inayotumika katika sehemu mbali mbali kama hospitalini, mahakamani, katika usafiri na kadhalika
9:20am	Mukhtasari wa Dira	News headlines
9:30am	Swala Ibuka	We focus on topical issues in relation to the development of language and education in general
11:00am	Mukhtasari wa dira	News headlines
	Utabiri wa hali ya hewa	Weather forecast

Appendix VI: Summary of Themes and Sub Themes from *Jambo Kenya's* Content

DEMOCRACY THEMES	SUB THEMES
Informed participants	Checks and balances on power Impunity Regional imbalances Fair elections Land Reforms Health Poverty
Freedom of expression	
Right of access to public information	
Human Rights	
Checks and balances on power	
Respect for minorities in society	
GOVERNANCE THEMES	SUB THEMES
Political and Socio-Economic Governance	Institutional and legal reforms Failure to implement the new constitution Nepotism & tribalism Grand coalition government failures Reforms in Judiciary Uneven distribution of resources Constituency Development Fund mismanagement Youth issues-Unemployment, Health and Civic Education Resettlement of the Internally Displaced People Insecurity
Rule of law	
Citizenship	
Nationhood	
Accountability	
Corruption	
Political Stability	

Appendix VII: Interview Schedule used to the Jambo Kenya Presenters/Producers and head of Radio

1. What is the origin of the name *Jambo Kenya*?
2. Why is the show very popular in Kenya?
3. What does the slogan mean and why did you choose to use this particular slogan?
4. What role does the comedian(s) in the show play?
5. How is *Jambo Kenya* scheduled? Is it quarterly then they reschedule or how is it done? Are there any changes made?
6. How does the management of the station guide your production?
7. What are the objectives of Radio Citizen? How are they revealed in *Jambo Kenya*'s content?
8. What are the guidelines that you have to operate within before, during and after the show?
9. Under what conditions is the music playlist determined? Who determines the music playlist? Is it informed by issues under discussion?
10. Do you have callers who are committed and addicted to the show? Do they affect the flow of the show?
11. What kinds of people make up your target audience? How do they differ in terms of age, gender, occupation?
12. Where are the audiences located? Are there particular target areas where you do not reach your audiences (those calling in to participate).
13. What are the strategies that you employ to ensure that the debate is sustained to the end?
14. Which class of people listens to your show? (Regular callers) From what part of the country are they located?
15. Are there companies/and organizations that sponsor the program?
16. How does commercialization of the content affect the content of *Jambo Kenya*?
17. How is *Jambo Kenya* as a talk show different from other talk shows aired on Radio Citizen?
18. Which radio talk show program is your competitor? Is it a threat to your popularity?

19. How do presenters link between one topic and another? For example having two very crucial issues aired between two days.
20. What are the challenges faced by the producers?
21. How do the presenters establish a 'connection' with their listeners?
22. What is the accumulated experience of the producers regarding talk shows in the past and present? Is there need to enhance it/change /challenge history?
23. How has the history of radio and democratization changed the way that shows are conducted?
24. Are there any outside forces that influence content and structure of the program?
25. After the PEV, was Jambo Kenya also accused of fanning flames of ethnic hatred?
26. Do you think that Jambo Kenya is striving towards retrieving the lost democratic grounds of Kenyans?
27. Does the profile of the producers and presenters have an effect on the program?
28. On road shows, getting to know each other not just in radio but in the 'real world'
29. How does it work with the callers who have valid points but are cut off because of lack of airtime? Do they call them back?
30. How do you negotiate comments that are: i) Abusive ii) Subversive iii) contain issues of libel

Appendix VIII: Excerpts from Selected Episodes

The Excerpts Below Reveal Some of the Issues That Were Sent In By the Audiences through Text Messages

Presenter: *Okay wacha nikupe SMS mbili tatu usikie. SMS ya kwanza inavutia macho yangu.*

[Okay let me read two or three text messages. Listen to this. The first text message caught my eye.]

Presenter: *Jinsi wanavyong'ang'ana ni dhibitisho ya walivyolewa na mamlaka, ni nini wamefanya na pesa za hazina ya ufadhali ya eneo bunge kando na kuajiri jamaa zao? Mahitaji yao yasitiwe maanani manake wakenywa wanaporwa ushuru wao *Jeribon wa Kapkenda Anasema.**

[The manner in which they are demanding proves how they are drunk with power.... what have they done with the current CDF money other than employing their next of kin? Their demand must not be honoured because Kenyans are being conned of their taxes Says Jeribon from Kapkenda.]

Presenter: *Badala ya kuongeza pesa za hazina za eneo bunge waondoe kabisa wabunge ambao wanafanyia pesa hizo siasa. Wanataka iongezwe mara dufu ndio waweze kujimilikizia 2012. Ni Lay John kutoka Kuresoi*

[Instead of adding CDF funds to these members of parliament, they should not be voted in because they want to spend the CDF money on the 2012 elections. This is Lay John from Kuresoi.]

Presenter: *Huu ni mzaha Bwana Ateya hakuna pesa waache vitisho vyao. Uhuru Kenyatta, waziri wa fedha, anasema hakuna pesa za hazina za eneo bunge. He says no more money for CDF in this budget. Laurence from Malaha Mumias*

[This is a joke Mr Ateya; there is no money so people should stop issuing threats. Uhuru Kenyatta (then Minister for Finance) says there is no more money for CDF in this budget. Laurence Malaha from Mumias]

Presenter: *Okay I thought tunaunga mkono.*

[I thought we were supporting this issue]

Presenter: *Mimi ninakaa eneo bunge Kasarani sijaona miradi yoyote katika mtaa wa Baba Dogo.*

[I stay in Kasarani constituency. I have not seen any projects in the neighborhood of Baba Dogo].

Presenter: *Lakisama kwangu sioni haja ya kuongeza Joshua Anasema.*

[I see no need to increase in Lakisama, says Joshua].

Presenter: *Jamaa yangu ipo Mombasa mimi nipo Chwele pesa hizo zapaswa ziongezwe kwa sababu mahitaji ni mengi kwa shule hasa haitatosha.*

[My relatives in Mombasa, am in Chwele. The money should be increased because the demands, especially for schools, are high.]

The Excerpts Below Reveal Police Brutality in Kenya

Presenter 1: *Jambo Kenya*

Caller: *Hallo Jambo Kenya Dickson hapa. Polisi si shida sana. Sasa umeona vikundi haramu vikifanya kazi ya polisi kuprotect life. Sasa naona watu wa human rights waingilie kati.*

[Hello *Jambo Kenya*, This is Dickson. The police are not a major problem. Small groups have been coming together to protect human life. We feel that the Human Rights group should intervene.]

Presenter 1: *Kabla aingie bungeni aliye sasa waziri wa maswala ya kikatiba Bi. Martha Karua, ameskika hivi punde akizungumzia maswala ya polisi kutumia nguvu kupita kiasi, asema wale wa maeneo wa Kirinyaga ni Mungiki Je? Polisi, wametumia nguvu zaidi kutekeleza kazi yao ya kulinda nchi dhidi ya wahalifu. Ni mjadala wa Jambo Kenya saa mbili kasoro dakika kumi na moja.*

[Before becoming a Member of Parliament, the current Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs Ms. Martha Karua pointed out issues of police using excessive force. She said those in the areas of Kirinyaga are not members of the Mungiki sect. The question today is; have the police used excessive force to carry out their mission of protecting the country against criminals? This is *Jambo Kenya's* debate. It is eleven minutes to 8 o'clock.]

Caller: *Lincoln nikupe mfano tulisema mungiki kukatokea makundi kama kwekwe. Tukasema polisi wanatumia excessive force. Umesikia wale wa haki za binadamu wakistrike na wapelekwe ndani lakini wasichokiona hawa wa human rights ni ile nafasi ambayo polisi anawapa huko ndani. Hebu angalia jinsi wameua askari huko samburu, Wao hawatutetei wale ambao nimezungumza nao wanasema ufisadi mahakamani umejaa.*

[Lincoln, (caller addressing one of the presenters) let me give you an example. We complained about Mungiki but other groups like Kwekwe came up. We even complained that the police were using excessive force. The human rights members strike, they are arrested and taken to court; but they realize there is no room for them in police custody. Soldiers have been killed in Samburu,

they have not been assisted. I have spoken to a few people who note that corruption is rampant in the courts.]

Presenter 2: *Bila shaka kuna sheria dhidi ya polisi kutumia bunduki.*

[Of course there is a law against police using excessive force.]

Presenter 2: *kila mkenya ana haki ya kuishi. Kuna polisi ambao wanakuwekea bangi kwa mfuko kisha wanasema ni yako. Kuna wale kabla useme chochote wamekuuliza maswali si haba hajajibu ashakuzaba makofi. Wanakuandika mlevi na kuranda randa.*

[Every Kenyan has the right to life. There exists a group of police who plant marijuana in someone's pockets and claim that it belongs to the innocent person. Then there are those who ask you several questions, which you attempt to answer but before you do they slap you across the face and charge you of being drunk and loitering.]

The Excerpts Below Reveal land Concerns in Kenya (Interview with Eugene Wamalwa)

Presenter: *Anajulikana kama Kidum (baada ya wimbo wake Kidum). Wengine wanasema ardhi kama kuna swala ambalo halijapata kutatuliwa ni swala hili la ardhi nchini Kenya. Kuna wakenya ambao siku hizi wenyewanaishi kama ndege mtini hawajui leo tutaishi wapi kesho tutaishi wapi ndio kwa maana leo tuko na mbunge wa Saboti kama sijakosea. Eugene Wamalwa kwenye studio zetu. Tunaangazia hazina ya maskwota. Hivi tumeona hazina ya kina mama bado twataka kuhakikisha kama milioni moja vijana nao wana hazina yao. Hatujajua kwa uhakika imeweza kukita mizizi vijana wamefaidika, lakini kwanza muulize huyu skuota, wengine wanasema kuna professional skuotas na kuna wengine wanaonelea kwamba kuna watu ambao wamejiwekelea uskuota. Mheshimiwa karibu.*

[Known as Kidum (after song by Kidum) some say that the issue of land as a query will not get resolved. There are Kenyans who live on trees like birds. That's why we have the MP of Saboti Constituency. Eugene Wamalwa in our studio. We will examine the tribulations of the squatters thus we have seen mothers still we want to prove the one million young people and children do not have homes. We haven't known for sure how the young people have benefited. When you speak to some squatters, they say that there exist 'professional' (bogus) squatters and there are some people who are masquerading as squatters.]

Eugene W: *Asante...ni vile umesema swala la maskuota limekua kama kitendawili ambacho hakijateguliwa tangu nchi hii ipate uhuru. Maskuota hawa haswaa walianza kuonekana katika nchi hii wakoloni walipoingia. Huko mbeleni kabla wakoloni kuingia hapa Kenya, wakenya walikaa katika mikoa mbalimbali. Walikaa bila shida yoyote. Wakoloni walipoingia hapa wakachukua ardhi ya wakenya wale waafrika waliokuwepo pale na kuwafanya maskuota. Waliwafanyia kazi katika mashamba yao na walipoondoka kurudi kwao baada ya nchi hii kupata uhuru ikaonekana ya kwamba nchi hii haikutatua swala hili la maskuota. Walianzisha hazina ya SFT (Settlement Fund Trustees) ambao wale waliofukuzwa walichukua pesa kutoka uingereza*

kupitia serekali ya Kenya kununua mashamba ya SFT. Lakini kuna wengi hawakuweza kuchukua hizi pesa, walikua wafanyakazi katika yale mashamba ya wazungu, Walibaki pale pale na hawa ndio watu ambao hatujabuni sera rasmi ya ardhi kuweza kuona ni vipi wakenya wenzetu hawa walio marafijii katika nchi yao ya Kenya wanaweza wakasaidika na ndiyo sababu tunashughulikia swala sababu maskuota wako wengi karibu kila mkoa hasa kule Rift Valley na Trans-Nzoia. Ninakotoka kuna maskwota wengi sana wananiambia kuna headquarters ya maskwota. Pwani pia kuna maskuota, Ukienda Kibwezi, karai, Rongai, kila pahali kuna maskuota ndio sababu nasema ni swala ambalo lazima tulishighulikie tutegue kitendawili hiki.

[Thank you. Just like you have said, the issue of squatters has grown as a riddle which hasn't been resolved since Kenya got its independence. These squatters started to appear in this country since the colonial period when the colonialists settled in different regions. They lived without any problems. Colonialists came here and took land making the blacks who owned the land. The blacks worked in their fields and only left when the country gained independence. They started the Settlement Fund Trusteed (SFT) that those expelled had taken money from England through the government of Kenya to buy plots of SFT but they could not take this money, they continued working in the fields of the whites. These are the people who we have not formulated an official land policy to see how fellow Kenyans who are refugees in their country may be assisted. That is why we address the issue because squatters exist in nearly every region, especially in Rift Valley, Trans Nzoia. I come from an area occupied by too many squatters; some cynically told me that they occupy the headquarters of squatters. Down at the Coast there are squatters especially in Kibwezi, Karai, and Rongai. I feel that we have to resolve his riddle.]

The Excerpts below Reveal Matters on Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) in Kenya

Presenter: *Asema waziri Mutula Kilonzo isiwe kama 2005 tuwe na mbili za kuchaguwa*

[Minister Mutula Kilonzo, the caller suggests that it shouldn't go like 2005 to have two to choose from.]

Presenter: *Jambo Kenya*

Caller: *Jambo Kenya Ateya na Lincoln.*

Presenter: *Wasemaje*

[What do you have to say?]

Caller: *Wanyala wa Sangalo Bungoma*

Presenter: *Haya tutayapata?*

[Will we achieve this?]

Caller: *Haya mimi siamini mimi naona kuwa ni paka na panya ya serikali wanatumia sisi kama tusioelewa wanaendelea kutumia sisi wanaendelea kwa kulipa ushuru wabunge walipe ushuru ndio ufanye kazi ,tena PM ... (phone hangs)*

[I do not believe it. It seems like a cat and mouse game. They are using out taxes to pay the MPs salaried, again PM ... (phone hangs)]

Presenter: *Anasema haya (voice of the PM) alisema 2009 tutapata katiba mpya hiyo kesho akasema tutapata mwaka ujao hayo ndio mwananchi anasema ni mchezo wa paka ana panya*

[He says this (voice of the PM) He said that in 2009 Kenya would receive a new constitution. Tomorrow he will say 'next year' this is why the citizens feel it is a game of cat has the mouse.]

The Excerpts Below Reveal Use of Sheng during the show

Presenter: *Mumesikia wabunge wetu wakizungumzia, mmeskia mitaani, mume wawatch citizen TV na Stesheni zingine important But what are they going to do wanaporejea bungeni tena hivi leo, what are they going to do? Wanaenda kufanya nini? Wana ajenda gani? Wana maazimio gani wanapoelekea bungeni?*

[You have heard our members of parliament speak, you have heard on the streets and you have watched on Citizen TV and other important stations.... what are the parliamentarians going to do when they go back to parliament today? What is their agenda? Do they have any declarations?]

Presenter 2: *kulikua na wakati ambao umetengwa ya wananchi. Naambiwa kutoka hii time hadi hii time, hatuwa ruhusu watu kupita, na kutoka hii time hadi hii time watu wanaweza pita.*

[There was the time that had been designated for citizens to go through. I am told that from this time to this time no one is allowed to pass, and from this time until this time people can pass.]

The Excerpts below Reveal Issues on Insecurity, focusing on vigilante groups in Kenya

Caller: *Jambo Lincon, nasema siwezi kuunga mkono swala hili sababu tuna Rais katika taifa hili. Swala kama la Martha Karua tunataka a savior, sababu hawa wanang'anag'nia pesa tu. Siungi mkono hawa tuko na jeshi, tuna Rais.*

[Hello Lincon, I cannot support this issue because we have a president in this nation. Martha Karua's issue is important because we need a savior in this country, because the people in power are only focusing on the money. I do not support these groups because we have a military and a president.]

Caller: *Mimi nayapinga makundi haya. Hebu tuangalie kundi kama SLDF (Sabaot Land Defence Force) ambalo waliitisha pesa kwa kufanya kazi yao. Angalia mkoa wa kati, vijana wa mungiki eti tulipe shilingi 30,000, kwa permernet house. Je tulipe pesa kwa hawa au kwa serikali? Basi mkuu wa polisi afutwe.*

[I do not support these groups. A group like SLDF asked for payment because of the work they had done. Look at central region, where Mungiki youth ask people to pay KShs. 30,000 for owning a permanent house. Should we pay money to these groups or to the government? I propose that the police chief should be fired.]

The Excerpts below Reveal Inequality in distribution of resources in Kenya

Caller: *Huyu ni Jared Omondi...*

[This is Jared Omondi ...]

Presenter: *Wapatie viongozi wetu ujumbe warudi nao bungeni.*

[Give our leaders a message to return to Parliament with.]

Caller: *Hawa viongozi kwanza iwapo wanataka tuwarudishe bungeni sisi tunataka wakae chini watutengenezee katiba. Kwanza wakiwa bungeni waheshimu the two principals. Sababu tuna only two principals, both kotoka ODM na PNU. Waheshimiwa Mwai Kibaki na Raila Odinga. Wapiganie Migingo ardhi yetu isichukuliwe. Vile vile watuletee katiba mpya. Unajua Bwana Ateya katiba ya sasa ndiyo inafanya wanyama wanauzwa Grand Regency ikaenda, Migingo inauzwa. Nataka kushukuru Martha Karua, mama analeta urais hapa Kenya. Tunataka akienda bungeni kuwashawishi wabunge kwa niaba yetu ili tupate katiba mpya na tupate dawa, kazi, na makaazi mazuri. Sisi tunaamini, wakifanya mchezo sisi hatutawarudisha tena bungeni. Asante sana Bw. Ateya, Mimi ni Jared Omondi*

[Firstly, if these leaders want us to vote them back to parliament they should review the constitution and respect the two co-principals from ODM and PNU, Honourable Mwai Kibaki and Hon. Raila Odinga. They should fight for our island Migingo and also give us a new constitution. Ateya you know the current constitution is what permits the sale of our wild animals and the Grand Regency. I want to thank Martha Karua for resigning from the cabinet. We want her to go to parliament and lobby for a new constitution so that we can afford medicine, decent housing and jobs. Thank you, Mr. Ateya, this is Jared Omondi ...]