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MEDIA CULPA?

NAIROBI COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS AND THE POST-
ELECTION VIOLENCE

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“Journalism can never be silent: that is its greatest virtue and its greatest fault. It must speak, and speak immediately, while the echoes of wonder, the daims of triumph and the signs of horror are still in the air.”

Henry Anatole Grunwald
Editor in chief of Time inc., 1979-1987

Abstract

Community radio stations are a new phenomenon in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya. While the Kenya Communications (Amendment) Act 2008 recognizes them as a media category, confusion remains around questions of ownership, funding and roles. Following the volatile post-election situation of December 2007, the government imposed a month-long live media ban. Media has been blamed by politicians for inflaming passion and they have received criticism from media professionals for preaching peace. The study explores how the post-election violence has affected community media practitioner's perceptions of their roles and responsibilities and highlights the debate on the universality of media ethics. The title of this thesis, *Media Culpa*, is making reference to while questioning the heavy criticism that 'the media' received during the post-election violence. The well-known Latin phrase *mea culpa*, translates into English as 'my fault', 'my own fault'. The analysis shows to a large extent that community radio practitioners believe in the pre-eminence of the 'Do no harm' ethical standard over the 'Seek truth and report it as fully as possible' responsibility. Kenyan media specialists demand a recontextualization of media morals. The study is built on questionnaire, nineteen semi-structured interviews and observations conducted in Nairobi, between September and January 08-09. The thesis conveys and is related to ideas within the communitarianism theory and the realist approach applied to news journalism.

Keywords: Media, Community Radio, Media Ethics, Post-Election Violence, Kenya, Peace-Journalism

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Abbreviations / Acronyms

AMARC: *Association Mondiale des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires* (World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters)

APHRC: Africa Population & Health Research Center

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

CBS: Central Bureau of Statistics

CCK: Communication Commission of Kenya

EU: European Union

FM: Frequency Modulation

ICT: Information and Communication Technologies

ICTR: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

IDP: Internally Displaced Person

IDRC: The International Development Research Center

KBC: Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

KCCT: The Kenya College of Communication Technology

KCDF: Kenyan Community Development Fund

KCOMNET: The Kenya Community Media Network

KICC: Kenyatta International Conference Center

KSH: Kenyan Shilling

KTN: Kenya Television Network

NGO: Non-governmental organisation

ODM: Orange Democratic Movement

PEV: Post-Election Violence

RTL**M:** *Radio télévision libre des mille collines* (Free Radio Television of the Thousand Hills)

RFP: Reporting for Peace

SEK: Swedish Crown

SIDAREC: Slums Information Development and Resource Center

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

Prelude

My original intentions, back in April 2008, were to analyze the role of radio in the reconciliation process in Burundi. I had heard and read about Studio Ijambo, and in collaboration with the organization La Benevolencija, we were discussing the possibility of conducting a joint-impact evaluation research on their own drama production 'Murikira Ukuri' (Deflander, 2008). It was focused, organized and concrete; just the way I like things to be. Security issues have brought chaos on this calm and well-planned project, forcing me to reorient my research some kilometers away, in what I, at that time, considered to be an utterly touristic and over-studied country: Kenya.

Within two weeks, I had found out about a new community radio station in Nairobi called Pamoja FM, which apparently had played a uniquely positive role during the post-election violence (PEV) period (Abdi and Dean, 2008b). The aim of my research then moved to analyze why Pamoja FM¹ had succeeded where other Kenyan radios have failed. Cohen's agenda-setting theory in mind, I was ready to test it, to demonstrate if Pamoja had the capacity to tell people what to think or merely what to think about (Cohen, 1963). With this classic media impact study, I intended to perform a content analysis on the radio archives and focus group discussions with Pamoja's audience. Upon my first visit to the station in Kibera slum, I realized that technical constraints had rendered archives nonexistent. Sensitivities and tensions surrounding ethnic affiliations in the radio stations were too strong for me to ignore. Organizing focus group discussions around a topic that was still boiling and bubbling would have been counterproductive and most importantly unethical (Lloyd-Evans, 2006). Once again, I had to reorient my research. I experienced first-hand that appropriateness of research methods is primarily affected by feasibility and availability. I fought with myself to learn to appreciate imprecise, spontaneous and unexpected state of affairs.

¹ Pamoja means together in Kiswahili, one of Kenya's official languages.

1. Introduction

Freedom of expression is a fundamental element of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Several theorists, coming from various schools of thoughts, have defended that a free press is *sine qua non* to a country's democratization and development process (Sen, 2001; Dahl 1989; World Bank, 2002). Call them what you like – ‘the fourth estate’, ‘the watchdog of the democracy’ or ‘the vultures’– the fact remains; mass media is part of our daily lives.

Where the North has a predilection for television, Sub-Saharan Africa prefers a more accessible, furthermore less cost-prohibitive medium: radio. The dominative importance of radio on the African continent has been demonstrated repeatedly (McInerney, 2004; Abdi and Dean, 2008b; Alumuku, 2006; Buckley, 2000; Hieber, 2001; Jensen 1999; Githaiga, 2000; Lewis & Booth, 1989; Puddephatt, 2004; Traber, 1989). The infamous *Radio télévision libre des milles collines* (RTL) in Rwanda has made the world conscious of the power of the airwaves. Its founder, Ferdinand Nahimana, was found guilty of direct and public incitement to commit genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) (ICTR, 2007). Radio has become a symbol of the genocide in Rwanda. Regrettably, ‘peace radio’ initiatives such as SPEAR-Kosovo, Talking Drums in Liberia, Studio Ijambo in Burundi and many more, have not received the same attention from their international journalist peers (Hieber, 2001).

In December 2007, following the announcement of the controversial Kenyan presidential elections result, journalists were ejected from the Kenyatta International Conference Center (KICC) in Nairobi. Moments after, a directive from the Internal Security ordered broadcasters to suspend all live broadcasts (EU, 2008). The Minister of Information and Communications, Samuel Poghiso, defended the contentious measure: “The violence after the announcement of the polls was due to the polarity in the media” (Kenya News Agency, 2008). The Kenyan media, often misperceived as one homogenous category, has received criticism from all sides; in the first place for catalyzing ethnic hatred and in the second place for preaching peace (Kumba and Mathenge 2008; Waki et al., 2008; Reporters Without Borders, 2008)

A BBC world Service Report, analyzing the role of media during and after the 2007 elections, has offered, for each medium sub-category², specific conclusions. Among those, the authors defend

² In their report, Abdi and Dean cover vernacular radio, community radio, mainstream radio (also called commercial radio), government radio and international radio.

that more community radios stations would have helped since they have worked under extreme conditions to promote reconciliation and defuse tension in time of uncertainty and emergency (Abdi and Dean, 2008b). Community radio stations are new phenomena in Nairobi, the earliest one being established in 2006 (Wakoli, 2008). The participatory development communication approach is challenging thirty years of top-down communication, by defending the position that community members should be placed at the center of development communication activities (Alumuku, 2006). This conception of communication will be helpful in understanding the roles of community media in Nairobi. Simultaneously, nuance and criticism need to be brought to this one-sided approach, which tends to divinize community media as the new panacea to development. While the questions of objectivity and journalistic ethics are rarely applied to community media, the international journalistic norms, embraced by Africa and influenced by the West have been denounced by African scholars and media professionals (Kasoma, 1996; Ochilo, 1997; Ochieng, 1992).

The paper premises the analysis on two media theories: the communitarianism or participatory development communication theory and the realist approach on news journalism constructed on Searle's two-part theory on the construction of social reality (1995).

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to contribute to the discussion on media and development in four ways: first, by providing data on the working realities of the Nairobi community radio stations. Second, by giving a space to community radio practitioners for them to express their perceptions of their roles and responsibilities. Third, following an emotionalist approach, I employed open-ended interviews to understand their experiences and to study how the post-election crisis has affected them as community media actors. Fourth, I aim to insert this research into larger debates on peace journalism and contextualization of international media ethics, using Gauthier's realist approach on news journalism.

Research Question and Importance of Research

Research Question

Based on the purpose of the thesis the following questions have been formulated. The overall research question is:

1) How has post-election violence affected the community radio practitioners' perceptions of their own roles and responsibilities?

The following related questions will also be addressed:

1.1 What are the operational realities of the three selected community radio stations?

1.2 How are their perceived roles and responsibilities aligned with the internationally accepted journalistic ethics?

1.3 Should community radio stations, based on their specific roles, have the same duty of journalistic objectivity?

Importance of Research

First, community radio is a nascent category in Kenya and more knowledge needs to be created around their operational realities. Isabelle Kandagor, in charge of the radio frequency assignment and surveillance at the Communication Commission of Kenya (CCK), admitted openly that she does not know the definition of a community service oriented station (Interview Kandagor, 2009). Media is a broad category and differentiation between its different medium types is needed to conceptualize how their inputs can contribute to development. Second, the consequences of media exposure on individuals, groups, institutions and social systems have been traditionally studied as 'media effects'. Media effects researchers have used different socio-cognitive theories to explain the audience's reaction and to analyze patterns of behavioral change. Social cognition in the context of media effects research describes how information about people and the social environment is processed (Slater, 1989). Therefore, in academic circles, media is almost exclusively considered as the independent variable that affects behavior change. But the omnipotent media can sometimes play on the vertical axis too. Media and their actors are subject to influence, to trauma, and it is important to reveal their experiences (Brayne, 2000).

Finally, giving voice to a particular group in society is among the goals of social research (Ragin, 1994). Giving a voice to community radio stations' actors might sound incongruous since their daily activities is precisely to make their voices heard. Rarely though, they are given the chance to discuss their personal experiences as community media actors. "With the exception of hate media, one has to conclude that media studies are more focused in the presence of foreign press

in African conflicts than in African journalists themselves³” (Arrous, 2001:41). For once, I would like to pay attention to the local community radio journalist’s experiences.

Thesis Structure

This thesis begins with the necessary background information and contextual setting of the research problem. Information is given on the PEV crisis, on the general media situation in Kenya and more specifically on the state of affairs of community radio. Chapter three focuses on theory. First, this chapter reviews the research frontiers and defines the key concepts related to this study. Second, it explores the two main theories on which this paper is built. Chapter four covers the methodology and chapter five presents the data analysis. Finally, the concluding chapter offers directions for further research and recommendations.

2. Contextual Settings

Post-Election Violence

Kenya, once described as the pride of Africa with its functioning democracy, its growing economy and its vibrant tourism industry, has arrogantly dominated the East African region. Following the 2007 presidential elections, the country felt into a month of violence. Many analysts have explained the chaos through simplistic ethnic lenses. Mwai Kibaki, the Kenyan president, a Kikuyu, has been sworn in for a second term, in great secrecy (Reporters Without Borders, 2008). The supporters of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) of Raila Odinga, a Luo, went immediately in the streets to protest against what they considered to be a stolen election (ICG, 2008).⁴ The violence and confusion “was unprecedented. It was by far the most deadly and the most destructive violence ever experienced in Kenya. /.../ The 2007-2008 PEV was also more widespread than in the past” (Waki et al., 2008:vii). At time of writing, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are still living in camps in the Rift Valley region as a result of the PEV.

Kenya is placed among the top three countries in terms of perceptions of unfair treatment by government, worse economic conditions and less political influence based on one’s ethnic group

³ Author’s translation from French: *A l’exception, des ‘médias de la haine’, force est de constater que les études spécialisées s’intéressent plus à la présence de la presse étrangère dans les conflits africains, qu’aux propres journalistes africains.*

⁴ The Luo and the Kikuyu are two of Kenya’s larger ethnic groups.

(Holmqvist, 2008). Ethnic tensions do exist in Kenya; they are undeniable and palpable. But unaddressed issues of land ownership and disparate socioeconomic classes are underlying factors that should not be overlooked when explaining the violent explosion of December 2007 (Gibbs, 2009).

Media in Kenya

The volatile situation following the elections prompted the government to impose a month-long live media ban. According to Poghio, “the media had and were likely to inflame passions, if editors did not delay broadcasts” (Kumba and Mathenge 2008). The Ministry of Internal Security invoked Section 88 of the Kenyan Communications Act:

88. (1) On the declaration of any public emergency or in the interest of public safety and tranquility, the Minister for the time being responsible for internal security may, by order in writing, direct any officer duly authorized in that behalf, to take temporary possession of any telecommunication apparatus or any radio communication station or apparatus within Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 1998).

According to Ida Jooste, country director for Internews Network Kenya “the irony is that very few of the broadcasters actually have the technology to effect any kind of delay whatsoever, so even if they did want to implement it, they couldn't” (Garfield, 2008). Most broadcasters actually ignored the ban, perhaps due to lack of technology or understanding or purely by defiance. No measures have been taken to reprimand the offenders (Reporters Without Borders, 2008).

In his testimony to the Waki Commission, Amos Wako, Kenya’s Attorney General stated emphatically that “the ban was not proper, was unconstitutional, and definitely illegal” (Waki et al., 2008:296). Undeniably, as the supreme law of the land, the Constitution overrides any other law. Freedom of expression is guaranteed in section 79 of the Constitution:

79. (1) Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to communicate ideas and information' without interference (whether the communication be to the public generally or to any

person or class of persons) and freedom from interference with his correspondence (The Republic of Kenya, 1998 (Revised Edition)).

When other law is inconsistent with the Constitution, i.e. in this case, section 88 of the Kenya Communication Act, the Constitution must prevail (Okello, 2000). This breaching of the Constitution did not go unnoticed. Based on the Reporter Without Borders' Press Freedom Index 2008, Kenya occupies the 97th rank, out of 173 countries⁵: "This year's black spot in Africa was Kenya (97th), which fell 19 places as a result of post-electoral violence"(Reporters Without Borders, 2008).

Community Radio Station in Kenya

Although the first community radio station on the African continent was established in Kenya in 1982, it took organizations like EcoNews and the Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET)⁶ decades of advocacy and lobbying to get community radio recognized legally. The Homa Bay community radio station was shut down in 1984 by a government concerned that community media could exacerbate social and ethnic tensions (Githaiga, 2008). The Kenya Communications (Amendment) Act 2008 includes, for the first time, a definition of a 'community broadcasting service'⁷. During the past years, opposition towards community media came also from the commercial sector, as explained by Grace Githaiga, a pioneer in the promotion of community radio in Kenya. "The commercial radios thought that community radios were a threat and would be competing for the advertising cake. The legislators and regulators also lacked understanding and were also suspicious." (Interview with Githaiga, 2009)

In the BBC World Service Trust Kenya Country Report, Maina pointed that there is no regulation to support community or alternative media in Kenya. Maina also raised the issue of sustainability and expressed concerns regarding the fact that community stations are initiated and funded by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), both international and local (2006).

⁵ For more on the RWB Press Freedom Index methodology, visit: http://www.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/note_methodo_eng.pdf

⁶ EcoNews and KCOMNET are two non-governmental organizations who work towards the promotion of community media in Kenya.

⁷ See page 12 for the complete definition.

The first community radio station in Nairobi, Koch FM, was established in 2006. According to the CCK, 6 FM stations have received the permission to share the 99.9 frequency⁸ in Nairobi (See Appendix 1). This number represents half of all community radio stations which have already been granted frequencies in Kenya (Kandagor, 2008).

To sum up, PEV has been used by politicians to implement an unconstitutional and largely criticized live media ban that was not respected by Kenyan broadcasters. The short history of community radio stations in Kenya shows that decades of advocacy have been necessary for the implementation of the 'threatening' stations to take place three years ago. The following chapter starts with reviewing academic writings on radio and development before defining key concepts recurrent in this study.

3. Theoretical framework

Research Frontiers & Key Concepts

Radio and Development

The idea that radio might become a medium of popular participation was famously expressed by Bertolt Brecht in 1930: "Radio could be the most wonderful public communication system imaginable, a gigantic system of channels – could be, that is, if it were capable not only of transmitting but of receiving, of making listeners hear but also speak, not of isolating them but of connecting them" (in Lewis and Booth, 1989). It took 18 years for Brecht's suggestion to concretize: in Latin America, Bolivian miners' radio went on air in 1948 in Cancaniri. It is the first documented example of radio as a genuine community communication tool (Alumuku, 2006; Lewis and Booth, 1989).

If radio popularity is decreasing in the North in favor of television, in sub-Saharan Africa there is one radio receiver for every five people, or roughly one per household. In contrast there is roughly one telephone line for every 50 potential users (Jensen, 1999). The most recent UN data available for Kenya indicate that there are 107 radio receivers per thousand inhabitants (UNESCO, 1997). In their research for the CCK and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Omosa and McCormick found that among communication services, only radio is

⁸ See Chapter 4 for more detailed explanations on the concept of shared frequency.

widely-owned, by about 68% of the rural population, compare to 25% who own a TV set (Omosa and McCormick, 2004: 13). Listening to radio is frequently practiced as a group activity in Kenya, therefore, one radio receiver can serve more than one family. Buckley affirms that radio is the only medium that can offset the digital divide that prevents the world's poor access to information (Buckley, 2000). Alumuku goes further and specify what category of radio has the capacity to reach the masses. "In Africa, the rapid spread of community radio /.../ has for the first time made radio truly a potential means of communication and access to needed information at the grassroots" (Alumuku, 2006: 32). For example, the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC), through its Women's program, work with African women in community radio to help empower them through training and other developmental programs (Wanyeki, 2001).

Following the structural adjustment programs and the wave of liberalization of the late 1980s to early 1990s, possibilities for radio broadcasting were opened. The promotion for democratization and donor support has also encouraged the creation of independent radio stations in emerging democracies (Myers, 2000). After decades of top-down approaches, concepts of communities, grassroots and participation were embraced boisterously. Independent radio suddenly became an indispensable ingredient for development. The health sector has been a precursor with their 'community-based' health intervention campaign that included mass communication as a key element for success (Finnegan & Viswanath, 2002).

Putzel and van der Zwan from the London School of Economics, have suggested that liberalization of media should be reconsidered in the context of fragile states (2006). They assert that judicious state regulation of the media during the initial phase of state-building, should be allowed and encouraged. They believe that in the case of fragile states, independent media might undermine nation-building; therefore, it might be dangerous to encourage their creation. While the Rwandan case gave substance to their approach, organizations that uncompromisingly protect press freedom – Reporter without Borders, Article 19, Media Action International, Free Press and many others – have repudiated this idea while refusing to discuss it.

The World Bank maintains that there is an existing correlation between the existence of a liberal media and income growth in developing countries. According to them, free press leads to economic development by serving as a check on corruption (World Bank, 2002). Sen, who includes free press and independent media as an integral part of any functioning democratic

system, reinforced the idea of media as the watchdog of democracy, while demonstrating that no famine has ever taken place in the history of the world, in a functioning democracy (2001).

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is calling for more diversity of media and the organization argues that states should take positive measures to promote a pluralistic media. Puddephatt argues that a healthy combination of commercial, public and community media should be an objective for all nations and positive state measures to support community print and broadcast media can help to support this purpose (2008). The BBC World Service Trust African Media Development Initiative surveyed 17 sub-Saharan countries in 2006, Kenya was one of them.⁹ Among the group, only South Africa has legislation in place for the independent licensing of community radio and television stations (Power, 2006).

This section has shown that the virtues of radio for greater economic, democratic and human development have been unanimously put forward by international organizations during the last decade. This idea is challenged by scholars who believe that in the case of fragile states, free media have the possibility to cause more harm than good. If radio has been referred to as one category in this section, to the next section defines more specific concepts such as community, community radio, media ethics and peace-journalism.

Community and Community Radio¹⁰

In Kenya, the idea of community tends to be associated with a given ethnic group, with issues of tribalism (Githaiga, 2000). Therefore, community radios were feared in Kenya as potential instrument that could divide people along ethnic lines.

Put in the context of community radio, 'community' is defined geographically, as well as in terms of interest, language, cultural or ethnic groupings (Lewis and Booth, 1989). However there are limitations associated with the concept of 'community'. The danger of too great a reliance on the homogeneity and cohesion of any social group should be acknowledged (Myers, 2000). Community media are unlikely to voice the concerns of all individuals within one community.

⁹ The 16 other countries were: Angola, Botswana, Cameroun, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

¹⁰ The following terms are used in different parts of the world to describe what is here referred to as community radio: rural radio, cooperative radio, participatory radio, free radio, alternative radio, popular radio, educational radio and bush radio.

Participatory communications approaches tend to idealize the concept of community, disregarding power relationships and divergence of opinion within one community. Communities are not simply homogenous or heterogeneous but have varying degrees of homogeneity and heterogeneity (Speight, 1968). To that end, I decided to use a broad definition of community radio, namely AMARC's definition from their 1998 resource guide: "Community radio is defined as having three aspects: non-profit making, community ownership and control, community participation" (AMARC Africa, 1998).

Focusing on these three main aspects enables this study to go beyond definitions that focus on regulations regarding funding, which tend to differ from country to country and consequently to disqualify certain radios as being community radio.

To sum-up, in its ideal, community radio is a two-way process that entails a back and forth exchange between the radio and the audience. Having in mind the general meanings, it is also indispensable to look at what the Kenyan legislation says on the subject matter. For the first time, definitions of 'community' and 'community broadcasting service' have been inserted in the contentious Kenya Communications (Amendment Bill) 2008, signed into law at the beginning of 2009.

"community includes a geographically founded community or any group of persons or sector of the public having a specific, ascertainable common interest;"

"community broadcasting service" means a broadcasting service which meets all the following requirements-

- (a) is fully controlled by a non-profit entity and carried on for non-profit purposes;
- (b) serves a particular community;
- (c) encourages member of the community served by it or persons associated with or promoting the interests of such community to participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast in the course of such broadcasting service; and

(d) may be funded by donations, grants, sponsorships or memberships fees, or by any combination of the aforementioned (Republic of Kenya, 2009);

My personal experiences taught me that enormous confusion remains around community radio in Kenya. Radio stations located in rural settings, who broadcast in local languages, will be automatically identified as a community station, even though it is owned and controlled by a private commercial entity. The confusion remains among media people themselves. As one could notice, the question of ownership, central to the concept of community media, is not mentioned in the Kenya Communication Act. Under this definition, as long as there is no profit-making, the station could be owned and managed by an exogenous group to the community, it could be labelled community radio.

Media Ethics

Media ethics, as proposed by Black et al. enclose three main principles (for more details see Appendix 2) commonly accepted by individuals and institutions working in the media sector and generally taught in journalism schools around the world (Black et al., 1995, also see Hafez, 2002). As we will see later, African scholars have been critical towards universal ethics that are based on European deontology – a school of ethics based on individual duty that might not represent the African realities (Kasoma, 1996; Ochilo, 1997):

- 1) Seek truth and report it as fully as possible
- 2) Act independently
- 3) Minimise Harm (Black et al., 1995)

Are these principles presented in any hierarchical order? In the event of inconsistency between two, which one should prevail? For instance, during the PEV, some community radio practitioners in Nairobi have preferred holding the truth that was believed to be potentially causing more harm if exposed. The announcement of ethnic killings was withheld by fear of triggering revenge. As community radio actors, they thought that their first duty was towards the security of their fellow slum dwellers. If killings were announced, no ethnic affiliation was mentioned.

A discussion on the need for a global professional code has triggered various opinions which will be addressed more thoroughly later on. Using a range of culture from across the world, Christians and Traber focussed on what they call proto-norms, i.e. values applicable to communication in all cultures. They found out that truth-telling, respect for the dignity of the individual and the need to avoid to bring harm to the innocent are part of a cultural common ground (Christians, 1997). One could argue that it is the interpretation of the so called proto-norms that vary from culture to culture, from media house to media house, from individual to individual.

Peace-journalism

The peace-journalism model has been devised by Johan Galtung, the founder of Peace Studies, who opposed it to what he calls war journalism (See Appendix 3 for more details). According to him, peace journalism is an unbiased journalism, it is report-telling that gives space to both sides and does not fall in the dichotomy of good and evil. In his own words: “The peace journalist focuses on suffering — maybe particularly on women, the aged and children — give voice to the voiceless and name the evil on all sides” (Galtung, 2000). While Galtung is calling for more empathy and humanization of all sides, others defend that moving beyond the fact is dangerous (Humphrys, 1999). To clarify this point, peace-journalism does not equate preaching peace.

In 1994, the NGO INTERNEWS Network came up with the Reporting for Peace (RFP) project. This methodology suggests to reporters to explore the causes and dynamics of conflict before progressing to understand the potential for journalists to act as public mediators (Bruce, 2009). INTERNEWS Network Kenya has launched the RFP activities, including workshops, roundtables, mentoring, in Nairobi at the end of January 2009.

The BBC journalist Martin Bell went further and came up with a new term: journalism of attachment, a journalism that cares as well as knows: that is aware of its responsibilities and will not stand neutrally between good and evil, right and wrong, the victim and the oppressor (Bell, 1998). Journalism of attachment is closer to what is known as advocacy press. Advocacy journalism questions the status quo, challenges the political power on the issues and problems of the people (Traber, 1989). Both of these forms of journalism recognize that media do not stand apart from the world on which they exercise a certain influence. Advocacy journalism and journalism of attachment, to a lesser extent, take position; they reject the sacrosanct neutrality of ‘objective journalism’, which is, for many, the foundation, the essence of journalism.

Communitarianism Theory

Mass media have been seen beneficial for the conduct of democratic politics. In relation to development, it was believed that mass media could support and accelerate the transfer of technology, culture and social organization from the First World to the 'backward' Third World (Alumuku, 2006). Communication developed what is termed as 'the bullet theory', a typical top-down approach where the target audience is bombarded with messages that have been decided by a distant sender (ibid.). Negative effects of mass media started to be perceived in the North. Its vertical flow and the commercialization of the media markets led the media to neglect their democratic communication roles. The media organizations and forms of mass communication were not promoting dialogue or public participation (McQuail, 2005).

In that context, the idea of placing community members at the center of the communication process developed into its own 'communitarian' approach. Communitarianism "expects the benefits to come from greater grass-roots participation and input and the strengthening of local political communities" (McQuail, 2005:151). Adapted to development realities, such an approach has been termed 'participatory development communication' (Alumuku, 2006). In contrast to libertarian individualism, media have to engage in a dialogue with their public, the mutual exchange is at the center of 'communitarianism'.

Based on the four normative media theory models proposed by McQuail¹¹, communitarian theory falls under the alternative media model. The model "rejects a universal rationality as well as ideals of bureaucratic-professional competence and efficiency. It emphasizes the rights of subcultures" (2005:186).

Communitarianism theory, while largely in accord with the critics depicted in the manufacturing consent described by Chomsky and Herman in 1988, is proposing an alternative media role. The manufacturing consent, a political economy approach, criticizes media as serving an ideological function, legitimizing the actual order on behalf of the ruling classes (Herman, 1988). In that

¹¹ McQuail's three other models are: 1) A **liberal-pluralist or market model** that emphasizes the individual and his or her needs and defends that the public interest will be served by the operation of a free marketplace of ideas. 2) A **social responsibility or public interest model** that adds social purposes to the right to freedom of publication and agrees that mechanisms of accountability to society should be in place. 3) A **professional model** that adopts the view that the press is still the best guarantors of the interest of the public, it reinforces the idea of the press as the 'watchdog of the democracy' and defends that journalistic autonomy and professionalism are sine qua non for an adequate watch being kept on those in power (McQuail, 2005: 184-85)

sense, communitarianism is an alternative vision, a concrete response to the malcontents of the public sphere that proposes that journalism has a purpose that it ought to improve the quality of civic life. Direct connections can be drawn from communitarianism theory to the community radio approach as described by Lewis and Booth. Lewis and Booth characterize three approaches to radio each different from the other and engaged in struggle with one another: the free market model, public service broadcasting and community radio. In their description the objective of the commercial system is to conquer new markets and to compete with the public service domain. The objective of public service broadcasting is to defend national territories, industries and identities against such invasion. Community radio is a third sector defending human rights against the intrusions of state and capital (Lewis and Booth, 1989).

Participatory communication may challenge the authoritarian structures in society, in the churches and in the media. It may also challenge some of the 'professional rules' of the media, whereby the powerful, rich and glamorous occupy centre stage to the exclusion of ordinary men, women and children. Participatory communication, finally, can give people a new sense of human dignity, a new experience of community, and the enjoyment of a fuller life (Traber, 1989).

McQuail found the communitarian theory of the press too radical to travel and be at home in the communal society of Africa (2005). The growth, even inconsistent, in community radio stations across the African continent, challenges his view (Power, 2006). A theory that challenges the professional rules of the media, that rejects a universal rationality is pleasing African scholars, who have defended more African-inspired journalistic norms. Kasoma, a Zambian journalist and academic, has criticized the journalistic standards that are generally based on European morality. He called for African journalists to look in their own modern heritage (1996).

Kasoma argues, along with Andrew Moemeka, that European journalism ethics are based on deontology – a school of ethics based on duty. Decisions are taken by asking the question: what is the duty of a moral person in this context? By contrast, African ethics are situational, taking more account of the possible consequences of an action for the community as a whole (Moemeka, 1994; Kasoma, 1996). Ochilo, based on his study of African University curricula in communication and journalism, has also questioned the continued predication of the curricula on the Western Journalism models (Ochilo, 1997).

Nerone expresses communitarian idea of media as an agent of community formation:

“In the communitarian model, the goal of reporting is not intelligence but civic transformation. The press has bigger fish to fry than merely improving technology and streamlining performance...The questions is its vocational norm...In a communitarian world-view, the news media should seek to engender a like-minded philosophy among the public. A revitalized citizenship shaped by community norms becomes the press’s aim. News would be an agent of community formation” (1995:70-71 in McQuail, 2005:185).

The communitarian model is for the most part disconnected with the mainstream press theories that emphasises the individual and defines the public interest as ‘what interests the public’. In the market model, individual needs are above community needs and civic transformation is not an objective of the ‘free marketplace of ideas’ (McQuail, 2005). The communitarian model can also be challenged for its acceptance of community as a homogenous entity free of internal politics and divergent agendas.

Kasoma’s romantic depiction of African ethics has been disapproved by Francis B. Nyamnjoh. “The communal values and ethics /.../ are based more on a romantic reconstruction of the pre-colonial situation and a frozen view of harmony in rural Africa. /.../ The implication of this is that being African is not a static or frozen reality, but a dynamic identity that keeps redefining itself with new experiences and contacts with other peoples and cultures” (Nyamnjoh, 1999:66).

Traber’s general assumption is that Western communication ethics are shaped by an individualist approach and Asian and African ethics by communitarian or collectivist approaches (Christians, 1997). Therefore, in opposition to McQuail who thought communitarianism was too radical to appeal to African communities, Traber defends that it corresponds to the African ethical tradition. Hafez, based on his comparative study of journalism ethics in Europe and North Africa, the Middle East, and Muslim Asia warn the reader to be careful not to fall into the individualist vs ‘publicness’ dichotomy (Hafez, 2002). Hafez found this categorization too simplistic and reductionist to serve as a general paradigm.

Realist Approach on News Journalism

Studies on how news journalism is constructed have evolved from a naïve pre-critical empiricism that identifies news as reflecting a totally given environment to the extreme opposite antirealism view that no reality exists. Antirealism states that no reality exists that is not constructed. Novak

believes that there are no facts 'out there' apart from human observers. Events are not events until they are interpreted by human beings (1970 in Gauthier, 2005). Therefore, if applied to news journalism, it means that news is not coming from an independent reality, since there are no such things. Facts do not exist; they are the mere interpretation of socially constructed human beings.

Information always emerges from a necessarily prior state-of-affairs; something has to happen for news to exist. The debate here revolves around the factuality of this prior state-of-affairs. Gauthier confronts this above-mentioned antirealism with a realism applied to news journalism that is supported by Searle's theories. Searle's two-part theory on the construction of social reality is given credence to the proposition that social facts are constructed from brute facts and hence, a given reality exists. Searle differentiates the institutional facts that require human institutions for their existence, i.e. marriage, money, government, from the non-institutional or brute facts, i.e. hydrogen atoms have one electron that exist independently of human institutions (Searle, 1995). Gauthier applied Searle's theory to news journalism and defends that: (1) news emanates from a preliminary reality and that (2) this reality is brute (2005).

Social facts are formed by an iterative process. Iteration describes the process in which social facts are constructed from another also-constructed social fact. Therefore, the social reality is a complex addition of socially constructed facts. While the iterative process is infinite – there is no limit on how many constructed social facts can be added on top of each other – Searle defends that they must be an inferior limit to the iterative process "otherwise, it would produce an infinite of regression or lead to a circularity" (Gauthier, 2005:54).

Lynch describes peace journalism as a critical realist theory about the reporting of conflict (Lynch, 2006). On top of critiquing the propagandistic way in which war-journalism is practiced, peace journalism is indeed, calling for a change in methods and content. Peace journalism is asking mass media in general, while probably putting heavier demands on commercial media, to adopt a more explanatory and human style of news reporting.

Chapter three has showed that communitarianism is an alternative media model that challenges journalistic universal rationality and emphasizes a mutual exchange between the sender and the receiver. The realism approach on news journalism is based on the belief that a brute reality exists, and consequently, do not reject the existence of journalistic objectivity in the first place.

Before exploring the generated data, the next chapter focuses on the research strategy and approach and discusses each selected method.

4. Methodology

Research Strategy and Approach

Following the emotionalist model described by Silverman, my research aims to understand the experience of the community media actors (Silverman, 2005). Creswell prefers to talk of phenomenology – a methodology that contributes to a more thorough understanding of lived experiences (Creswell et al., 2007). My qualitative methodology has enabled me to study many aspects of few cases, to obtain deep understanding of their experiences (Ragin, 1994), namely through non-participant observation and interviews. Though my research is primarily qualitative, I also used a quantitative method in the form of self-administered questionnaires. Hence, triangulation is upheld by the use of multiple sources of evidence, by the complementary research tools (Yin, 2003; Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002; Desai, 2006; Mikkelsen, 2005; Nichols, 1991).

This thesis makes use of both inductive and deductive analysis of the empirical material. It has a deductive approach since it aims at using, and thereby testing, the participatory development communication approach as a framework for the empirical data. At the same time, the findings of the research will be used to enrich the participatory development communication approach as well as the realist approach on news journalism by suggesting additional aspects specific to community radio.

Appreciating that my identity as a white, female, trained radio journalist would influence all aspects of this research – from participants' reaction to me to my analysis of the data - was an important step to take. As put by Charmaz: “We are not passive receptacles into which data are pored” (Charmaz, 2006:15). I decided to approach my research with an open-mind and honestly, my profound convictions about the codes of ethics of this profession have been confronted and altered throughout the research process.

Defining Location

Primarily, Nairobi was chosen for its array of community radio stations. Kenya has 12 community radio stations licensed by the CCK (Kandagor, 2008)¹². Six of them are to be found in Nairobi (See Appendix 1) and the others are positioned throughout the country. Therefore, for comparability and feasibility purposes, Nairobi was the only option. It was important for me to be able to come and go in the stations, to arrive unannounced¹³ and to spend time with their teams at different moments throughout the research period. I accept the urban bias, that one could attribute to my research (Chambers, 1983). As it is the case with qualitative studies, I do not have the pretention of generalizing my findings. The regional realities have been extremely diverse in regards to what any given province experienced during the PEV. The community radio stations in Nairobi will not serve as a microcosm of Kenya's alternative radio culture; they can only tell their own stories.

Among the six radios in the capital (See Appendix 1), two of the community stations are University radio stations; St-Pauls and Kenyatta. The Kenya College of Communication Technology (KCCT) radio is not on air at the moment, even though they have received their broadcasting license. The three remaining radio stations are Koch FM, Pamoja FM and Ghetto FM, all three of them located in slum areas of the capital. University radio stations were not on air during the PEV since it was the holiday season. The only community radio stations who were broadcasting in Nairobi during the PEV were Koch FM, Pamoja FM and Ghetto FM, these three community stations are the ones that have been included in my research.

Data Collection Methods

Non-participant Observation

In October and November 2008, I had the opportunity to attend training sessions conducted by the organization INTERNEWS in the three community radio stations. My presence in those discussions enabled me to reorient my study subject and most importantly, to create a relationship based on respect with the community radio practitioners. Observations have been

¹² This number has probably increased since the summer of 2008.

¹³ The three community radio stations made it clear upon my first visit that I would be welcome anytime into their studios. To arrive unannounced was not considered to be impolite, on the contrary, the team of volunteers seemed to appreciate my impromptu visits.

fundamental for understanding the sub-culture that constitutes each community radio station. I disagree with Silverman when he writes that observations are “only appropriate at a preliminary or explanatory stage of research” (Silverman, 2005: 111). I believe observations are appropriate and useful at all stages of a qualitative research. Observations enable the researcher to continuously readjust methods, to negotiate concepts and to react to a changing context (Ragin, 1994).

I spent Saturday afternoons in studios with the volunteers¹⁴; they invited me for their Christmas party and we shared breakfast at the corner café. In some cases, I noticed the frustrations and the tensions between the management team and the volunteers. I witnessed the stress and the rush before the major news bulletin. While these observations were not the basis of data collection, they did affect my understanding of their realities and helped me to design the questionnaire.

I decided to use observation since it is the only method that does not place the researcher and the participants in an asymmetrical power relationship, as with an interview (Kvale, 1996). I appreciate this reciprocal interaction of equal partners. I found the reciprocal relationship especially important in slum areas setting where inhabitants face prejudice and exclusion from the rest of the society.

Questionnaire

Questionnaires were used to enable comparability at a high level and eventually helped in identifying divergent case studies. The questionnaire helped in obtaining relevant quantitative information about the entire pool for reducing the number of candidates in order to focus on selected multiple-case studies (Yin, 2003). Questionnaires also allowed me to cover a large number of informants. In this case, because my group of interest was small (approx. 15 active volunteers in each radio station, i.e. 45 in total), I performed a complete survey, meaning that 100% of the target population received the questionnaire (Nichols, 1991). Of the 45 distributed questionnaires, 37 were returned completed. The four page questionnaire (See Appendix 4) was designed and revised with the support of my research-assistant and Sandra N'Doye, from INTERNEWS Kenya. I tried to follow Mason's idea that questions should be couched in

¹⁴ The radio volunteers in Nairobi do not refer to themselves as 'volunteers', they rather say that “they work for the radio station”. One can suppose that the term volunteer carries a negative connotation in a context where unemployment is rampant.

specifics rather than generalities (2007). I share his belief that asking people about abstract concepts might be disappointing in terms of non-specific results.

While the questionnaires are completely controlled by the researcher and the formulation of questions embodies the concepts and categories of the outsiders (Chambers, 1983), the absence of an interviewer has helped to reduce the external influence and bias (Desai, 2006; Mikkelsen, 2005). Recognizing that I have expressive body language, I found the questionnaire important because there were no verbal and visual clues from me, the researcher, to influence the respondent (Walonick, 2004). The questionnaire was pre-tested and the back-translation technique used for more accuracy (Nichols, 1991).

SPSS was used to analyze the 37 completed questionnaires. Most of the variables are nominal and all variables are discrete, meaning that they cannot be reduced or subdivided (Babbie, 2007). Simple univariate analysis, i.e. frequency distribution, central tendency and dispersion, was performed in the first place, and was followed by bivariate analysis.

On top of permitting a complete survey and the circumvention of my expressive body language, a questionnaire was preferred because it offered the possibility of entering, in a respectful and none-intrusive way, people's PEV experience, sometimes traumatic. To gain deeper understanding, I then turned to individual interviews.

Interview with Volunteers

The community radio practitioners went through the experience of covering the PEV and therefore experienced firsthand the effects of the violence following the announcement of the election results. The interview method was chosen for its high level of privacy and the possibility for the interviewee to exercise some control on the addressed topics. One of the most important sources of case study information is the interview (Yin, 2003). The observations and self-administered questionnaires used prior to the interview, enabled me to develop a conceptual and theoretical understanding of the phenomena. Therefore, the interviews added knowledge to an already existing base (Kvale, 1996). Based on Patton typology of interview, I selected the interview guide approach, i.e. issues and topics to be covered will be determined in advance, in outline form. I had the liberty to decide sequence and wording of questions in the course of the interview, while leaving space for the interviewee to come up with his or her own topics (Mikkelsen, 2005).

I interviewed three volunteers per radio station, for a total of nine interviews conducted with three women and six men aged 18-50 years old. I decided to perform a strategic sampling. A pre-established list of decisive factors such as age, gender, trauma and level of exposure to violence has ensured the inclusion of a variety of case studies. Considering I have no aim of generalization, this non-random sampling does not affect the credibility of my data (Nichols, 1991).

Interviewees were given the option of being interviewed in English or Kiswahili, but all nine of them choose to be questioned in English, therefore, no translator was present during the interview. Numerous interview techniques such as sensitive silence, the summary feedback and the 'uh-huh' prompt have been used to place the respondent at ease (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). Nine audio recorded interviews with radio volunteers were completed. I transcribed them all, making certain that no words, pauses, laughter and intonation were lost or mistaken (Poland, 2002).

Interview with Key-experts

Following the purpose of contributing to the larger debate on peace journalism and contextualization of ethics, I conducted ten semi-structured interviews with key informants from the media scene in Kenya (see Appendix 5 for the complete list). The aim of these interviews was to get their informed views on community media, the roles and ethics of journalists in general and in the community radio scene in particular. Eight face-to-face interviews with key experts, including each station's manager, have been fully transcribed. Two key experts were outside Kenya and they responded to the questions via email.

Analysis

After transcription of all the interview materials, I proceeded with what Kvale described as clarification. Superfluous material such as repetitions or digressions were eliminated in a way that only essential information was left for analysis (1996). Giorigi's phenomenologically based meaning condensation method was preferred for its concerns of fidelity to phenomena and its search for meaning (in Kvale, 1996). After reading through the whole interviews, 'meaning units' were determined and marked. Then the themes that dominated each unit was stated as simply as possible. No themes were pre-established; I approached each interview without prejudice and in isolation from one another. Then, the themes were cross-referenced with the purpose of the

study and the research questions. Finally, the essential and recurrent themes of the entire interview were tied together and condensed into a short descriptive sentence (Kvale, 1996).

Ethical Considerations

The interview is a moral enterprise and I needed to be aware of the influence and impact it might have had on the interviewee. I was touching upon sensitive issues and possibly made the interviewee revisit traumatic memories. I have no training in counseling and I had to be careful to avoid turning the interview into a therapeutic session (ibid.).

With the key experts interviews, I was aware that they would have an agenda given their direct involvement in the topic (Mikkelsen, 2005). Some of them are attached to civil society or governmental organizations and might only repeat the official lines, while avoiding tackling my questions.

All respondents signed the informed consent form, available in both English and Kiswahili, which was attached to the questionnaire (See Appendix 6). I chose to maintain the anonymity and confidentiality of the nine radio volunteers. Some of them shared personal and traumatic experiences and no one can foresee how such information may be misused in the future. Pseudonyms – common Kenyan English names that are ethnically neutral – have been attributed to each of them. Their words and opinions are quoted exactly as they expressed them. For the experts, since they were representing organizations or governmental institutions, I thought it was important for the reader to know whose views they were representing.

Trustworthiness & Validity

Sandelowski rejects reliability as a useful measure of quality in qualitative research in favor of validity or trustworthiness (Rolfe, 2006). Using multiple methods of data collection led to a triangulation of data that some argue increases the validity of statements made (Mikkelsen, 2005). The self-administered questionnaires produced various descriptions and interpretations of the same event showing contradictions and confusion around factual incidents. The interviews served as a cross-check, to assess the truthfulness of the information. Observations also served as an important manner to increase the accuracy level of the information. Integrating quantitative and qualitative research approaches allow the researcher to offset their weaknesses and to draw on the strengths of both. The generated data, offered in the form of responses to the research questions, will now be presented.

5. Data Presentation and Analysis

Data and analysis are presented jointly in this section. The following segment describes the community radio's operational realities, responding to question 1.1 and is built on observations as well as on the semi-structured interviews with key experts and volunteers. After briefly presenting each radio station, shared concerns that interviewees repeatedly raised during the discussion will be addressed.

The Operational Realities of the Community Radio Stations

The three stations are all based in informal settlements areas in the Kenyan capital. Pamoja FM is situated in Kibera, Koch FM operates from Korogocho and Ghetto FM is based in Majengo (See Appendix 7 for a map of Nairobi). More than half of Nairobi's population lives in slum communities that occupy only 5 percent of the residential land area of the city (APHRC, 2002). Therefore, the population density is high, i.e. 3,079 people per square km, and the health conditions and livelihood opportunities are poor (CBS, 2001). The community radios operate on a shared frequency basis, in this case the 99.9 FM. Their particularly limited radius of 2Km coverage, enable them to operate on the same frequency, from different geographical coordinates, without interfering on each others' airwaves.

During the PEV, Kibera was one of the main focal points of conflict in Nairobi¹⁵ while the areas of Korogocho and Mejengo were surprisingly calm (Abdi and Dean, 2008b; Interview with volunteers and experts, 2008-09).

Pamoja FM, the Voice of Kibera¹⁶

Pamoja received its broadcasting license from the CCK in October 2006 (CCK, 2006). The broadcasting started in the summer of 2007, after the installation of the technical equipment and the recruitment of the team of volunteers. Three men were originally behind the community radio project: Robert Muchirikioi, John Nene and Adam Hussein; the latter is the current

¹⁵ The ODM chief and presidential aspirant, Raila Odinga, was candidate in the Lang'ata constituency, that encloses Kibera. Among other factors, like the strong presence of gangs in Kibera, the direct connection to the ODM chief explains partly the high level of violence in Kibera (ICG, 2008).

¹⁶ The Voice of Kibera, An Amplified Voice for the Voiceless and Edutainment are the radio stations' respective slogans.

manager of the station. All three of them have professional experiences in the Kenyan media as journalists or photojournalists. “Our intention was to actually give the Kibera people a voice. Cause Kibera being the largest slum in Africa¹⁷, so we thought there is need to give them a radio, whereby will educate them in so many ways so that they can also be aware of what is happening in the world, like any other people” (Interview with Hussein, 2008).

Pamoja was originally financed by individual donations. The organization has received grants in-kind from USAID and BBC World Service Trust. Following the PEV, USAID has given for 19,000 USD worth of equipment, recognizing the positive role that the station played during the turmoil period (DAI USAID, 2008). The micro-finance group Jamiibora Trust is supporting a bi-weekly radio programme aired on Pamoja FM with sponsorship of 120,000 KSH¹⁸. “That is how we sustain ourselves, with the money that they pay for the programme” (Interview with Hussein, 2008). Gabriel Kadidi, Senior Information Officer for Jamiibora, believes that radio is a powerful tool for social mobilization (Interview with Kadidi, 2008).

Mr. Hussein explained that the staff is volunteering yet they can sometimes be compensated with around 5000 KSH¹⁹ every other month. If they receive anything at all, it is on an irregular basis. Pamoja has around 15 volunteers, most of them are from 18 to 23 years old and they represent the religious and ethnic diversity of Kibera, even though some of the volunteers do not come from Kibera (Interview with Hussein, 2008). In the three radio stations, some volunteers were interns, fulfilling the final requirement of a communication course. They, therefore, do not live in the community.

Pamoja is located in Kibera, the largest slums of Nairobi and one of Africa’s biggest slums (APHRC, 2002). Pamoja volunteers give the approximate number of 1,000,000 inhabitants when asked about the population situation in their areas.

¹⁷ Kibera is often referred to as Africa’s biggest slum. Soweto, in Johannesburg, has, according to others, more settlers than Kibera (Marras, 2007).

¹⁸ Approx. 13 500 SEK.

¹⁹ Approx. 550 SEK

Ghetto FM, an Amplified Voice for the Voiceless

Ghetto FM was put in place by the community based organization Slums Information Development and Resource Center (SIDAREC). The organization was built on four pillars, one of them being 3) Community media and information and communication technologies (ICT) initiative. SIDAREC started the magazine *Slum News* in 1998 and its Youth Programmes officer, Mr. William Ongala explained that the establishment of a community radio station was the operative objective of the organization (Interview with Ongala, 2007). Ghetto FM received its broadcasting license in 2007; a decade after the idea of a community radio station was put on the table. At that time, the framework to organize and register a radio station of this nature was not in place. The only radio which was recognized and known was the commercial one (Interview with Ongala, 2008). After a compulsory three week training session on radio basics, the team of volunteers went on air in October 2007 (Musyoki, 2008). The Head of Ghetto FM, Mr. Ongala, describes a community radio station as a radio station that disseminates social development information (Interview with Ongala, 2008). Ghetto FM can count on a team of around 20 volunteers, who do not receive any compensation of any kind.

Ghetto is located in Majengo slum that is part of Pumwani division. Majengo slum is popularly believed to be a haven of commercial sex workers (APHRC, 2002). More than 50,000 inhabitants live in the Majengo slum (Pedersen, 2006).

Ghetto FM was burnt down on the night of January 28th 2009. At time of writing, the radio is not broadcasting and the causes of the fire remain unknown.

Koch FM, Edutainment

Koch FM is proud to present itself as the first community radio station in Nairobi. Ten friends from Korogocho area, inspired by Radio Favela in Brazil decided to put up a similar station in their neighbourhood. The team started in-house training and recruitment back in February 2006, but they had to wait until June 2006 to go on air legally (Interview with Njeru, 2008). According to the Human Resource Manager, Njeru Munyi, also one of the co-founders, the first objective is to relay information that will propel development within the village. The Korogocho 'village' counts 500,000 slum dwellers (Wakoli, 2008).

Koch FM has around 35 volunteers but Njeru lowered the figure down to less than 18 when he was referring to the active ones. He estimated the average age of the team to be somewhere around 21 years old (Interview with NJeru, 2008).

Koch gets its funding through two international organizations: Norwegian Church Aid²⁰ and the Open Society Institute.²¹ Sustainability depends upon the economic decisions of these donors and the management team is well-aware of their economic dependency. “We have no middle or long-term agreement with our partners. We hope to get there and we believe it is possible with good accountability and also performance, all these relationships can last for long”(Interview with NJeru, 2008).

Funding

As we have seen with Koch FM, common to the non-profit sector is the crucial question of sustainability. Community radio stations are no exception; they need to address issues of financial sustainability and at the same time they have to develop strategies to keep a team of volunteers who cannot afford this non-remunerated occupation on a long-term basis.

The economic base of community radio is diverse but typically consists of a mixture of public and private funding. State subsidy of the sector is the norm in Europe and North America but largely absent from Africa (Buckley, 2000). One of Maina’s Country Report conclusions is that community radio still lags behind due to, among other things, the low level of support from government (Maina, 2006). When asked for any concluding remarks before ending the interview, almost all of the nine radio volunteers wanted to address the absence of governmental support for community radio in Kenya. Three interviewees have mentioned the Kenyan Community Development Fund (KCDF)²² that could be used to support the stations.

²⁰ For more information: <http://www.kirkensnodhjelp.no/en/>

²¹ For more information: <http://www.soros.org/>

²² This Kenyan grant supports Kenya communities and other non-profit making organizations to raise and invest funds and resources that assist them in initiating self-sustainable development projects (Official website). www.kcdfoundation.org

While the Kenya Communication (Amendment) Act 2008, does not allow community service broadcasters to get income from broadcasting commercials, the Ghanaian broadcasting law recognizes that commercial advertising is permissible on community broadcasting stations for purposes of sustainability (Alumuku, 2006). Doreen Rukaria, coordinator at KCOMNET believes that there is a misunderstanding in Kenya, where people associate advertising with profit only. Her organization is engaged in dialogue with the government to try to win community broadcasters a restricted permission to air commercials. "We are going to limit advertising to anybody who is involved with the community and community development and that any income that is made by the community radio station is sending back for community development not for profit" (Interview with Rukaria, 2009). With commercial broadcasting come the ethical questions of possible conflict of interest, particularly crucial in the cases of stations who are supposed to put the interest of their communities in the first place. Isabelle Kandagor, from the CCK, explained that radio frequency is given for a three years period and should be revised at the end of each term. She does not exclude the possibility to allow the stations to aired commercials after the first term; "We have been told by UNESCO that after three years, such a broadcasting organization should be able to run on their own" (Interview with Kandagor, 2009). According to Kasoma, NGOs can initiate some of the stations but the local community should be prepared to take them over as co-operative ventures so that their sustainability is assured (1996).

Training

Training is a double-edged sword for community media; it can prepare the broadcasters to handle listener's sensitive comments and at the same time can kill the fresh spontaneity and local flavor brought to the programs. Most importantly in terms of sustainability, trained radio practitioners risk being lured away to paid and more secure jobs with commercial or public media outlets (Myers, 2000). As pointed out by the managers of the three community radio stations in Nairobi, their turn-over rate is extremely high. Of the nine volunteers selected for this research, at time of writing at least three of them had left their community radio station for better working conditions. Adam Hussein from Pamoja FM ensures that he is proud and content whenever one of his protégés receives an offer from another media house (Interview with Hussein, 2008). The organization EcoNews believes that recruitment by non-community media actors is inevitable. It should be appreciated as recognition of the quality and professionalism found in the community radio stations. To acknowledge the investment in human capital, they are proposing a system in which a commercial radio would have to pay compensation to the community media radio

station in which their new employee was trained and received experience. Although I understand the justification of EcoNews's proposition, it is unlikely to be accepted in a liberalized media context, where rules of the free labor market apply. It is the perfect example of a domain where government intervention, in forms of support for community media, could compensate this 'mic-drain'.

Second-class Media

Not all sources are created equal (Kruger, 2004), nor are the various media categories. If government officials get more airtime than other spokespersons in Kenya, commercial and public service media get more access to official information than community media. According to UNESCO and IPDC Media Development Indicators Manual, the principle of non-discrimination should be paramount. For example, the right to information must apply equally to all sectors of society and to all media organizations – including community based media – and not just to certain privileged groups (Puddephatt, 2008). During the interview, volunteer journalists mentioned the difficulties they are facing when trying to access different representative officials. James was the most vocal on the subject:

“ when I go there [to meet the traffic officer] with my badge Ghetto FM, haaaaa...you are the guys who are down there in the ghetto, I have nothing to do with that. Go and call KTN²³. When I come back to the station, I won't have tangible information; he didn't bother because a community radio station is something going 3 km around, they don't take us seriously.”

The lack of consideration towards community radio stations affects negatively the quality of their work.

Even though community radio is often described as a genuine participatory bottom-up project, as this section has shown, several limitations prevent them to fulfill completely the ultimate objectives of connecting people and bringing information at the grassroots. The next section analyzes and presents the data generated by the 37 completed questionnaires. At this stage, the reader is encouraged to become familiar with the questionnaire, placed in Appendix 4. Answers to the overall research question as well as the three sub-questions are presented in this section.

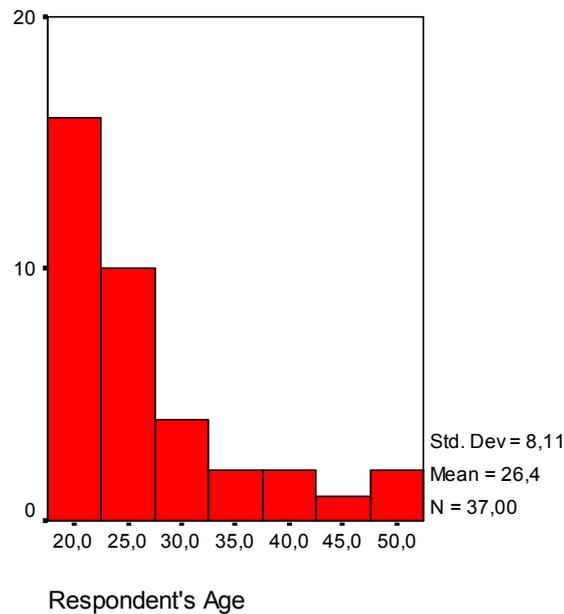
²³ Kenya Television Network (KTN) is a leading privately owned TV-station in Kenya.

Questionnaire

The average respondent's age is 26.5, which is slightly higher than expected based on the station's manager estimations of their volunteer's age (see Table 1). In terms of the radio station's main audience, 54 percent of the respondents answered that it is the youth, which is surprising considering the philosophy that community radio should serve the community as a whole (Alumuku, 2006). The bulk of volunteers are under 26, and so is their audience. One can argue that in a country where 72 percent of the population is below the age of 29, to address the needs of the youth is to touch upon the interest of the majority (United Nations Population Division, 2008). Still, this shows that the inclusive ideal of community media is not only challenged by the heterogeneity of the community, but also by the presence of a demographically dominating group.

The government ban on live broadcast was a bad thing according to 78,5 percent of the respondents; " this was a plot by the government to gag the press so as not to report their evil deeds and greed " noted a respondent from Pamoja FM in his questionnaire. Those who believe that the government ban was a good thing based their argument solely on the case of the vernacular media that needed to be controlled to minimize the violence. Eighty-six percent of the respondents consider that they have been personally affected by the PEV. This level is independent of their presence on the air during the PEV. Half of the group was on air during the January crisis while the other half were either on holiday at 'their rural home' or simply not yet engaged with community radio stations.

Table #1



SPSS Table

Only twenty percent of those questioned have responded positively to the question: Have you received a direct threat? One volunteer from Pamoja FM explained: "A group threatened to beat me because of my efforts to preach reconciliation and peace [on air]."

To the question: does your perception of your roles and responsibilities as a radio journalist changed following the PEV, 67.6 percent answered positively. The questions directly relates to the overall research question: How has post-election violence affected the community radio practitioners' perceptions of their own roles and responsibilities? The respondents had the opportunity to clarify their response in the questionnaire. A recurrent general idea, expressed here in the words of a volunteer from Koch FM, is that "even journalists have eyes and ears to recognize when things are going from bad to worse. I realized it was my responsibility to preach peace to protect my community." Another respondent, from Pamoja FM, clearly expressed some of the main notions found in Galtung's peace-journalism model (see Appendix 3): "I've learned to avoid reporting conflict as consisting of two opposing sides, my responsibility is also to report on efforts made to promote conflict reduction."²⁴ Among the thirty two percent of respondents who did not notice any change in their perception, one presenter from Ghetto FM

²⁴ When asked, the respondent told me that he was unfamiliar with the concept of peace-journalism and the Galtung's model.

put it this way: “ I still have the same convictions to stand for the truth without discrimination or leaning on any side.” This view directly relates to the duty of journalistic objectivity.

The more violence people witnessed, the more likely their perception is to have changed (see table 2). All those, i.e. 100 percent, who saw people being killed have seen their perception altered while the percentage is of 42,9 for those who have felt tensions between the groups. No other variable seem to be able to predict the variations for the changing perceptions. The variables of sex, age or one’s radio station do not affect the perception. Therefore, one can conclude that personal experiences can determine one’s perception of his or her professional activities.

Table # 2

		What you saw within your community during the PEV					
		Nothing Special	Tensions between different groups	Saw people fighting	Saw people being sexually abused	Saw people being killed	Total
Perceptions of their roles and responsibilities have changed	Yes						
	Count	1	6	6	0	12	25
	%	100	42,9	66,7	0	100	67,6
	No						
	Count	0	8	3	1	0	12
	%	0	57,1	33,3	100	0	32,4
	Total						
	Count	1	14	9	1	12	37
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100

Author’s reproduction of SPSS table

The group is divided into almost two equal parts when it comes to the question of having the same roles and responsibilities in times of crises and in times of peace: 48.6 percent believe that their roles remain the same, while 51.4 percent think that their roles are contextual; a key tenet of communitarianism theory. This idea of contextualization of roles and responsibilities (question 1.2, 1.3) is challenged by the concept of universality of ethics, both in time and place.

Volunteer Interviews & Expert Interviews

This sections is built exclusively on the volunteers and experts’ interviews. Findings generated by both groups will be presented here jointly, to allow results to be presented per subject instead of per respondent.

Their Power

This section brings responses to the overall question and presents the volunteer's reflection on their responsibilities.

All nine volunteers affirmed that they learned a lot, as journalists, during the PEV. They unanimously pointed out how the importance of radio as a medium was reaffirmed. James, from Ghetto FM, learned that radio is much more powerful than any other media; "there is a big difference between knowing it because you hear about what happened in Rwanda and to experience it first hand in your country, in your community. It really tells you how careful you need to be with what you say." According to Mike, a presenter has the power to make people violent or to calm them down; "I knew it before. Now, I learned it practically."

John knew the influence a community radio actor can have on his audience; "you are a leader, people know you and they respect you. But the violence made me realize that in times of crisis, your role is more crucial because people are looking for someone to look up to. And this someone is you. And that's a scary responsibility." John's observation underpins the media system dependency theory that asserts that social instability affects the degree of media dependence (Ball-Rokeach, 1976). Ball-Rokeach showed that in times of conflict and social change, the reliance on media for information will increase.

Mary realized that listeners perceived that radio presenters are educated and informed and whatever they say, people will believe it. Mitch Odero, a well-respected print journalist and former Editor of The Standard and the Kenya Times, referred to this phenomenon as 'media literacy'. According to him, Kenyans did not develop media literacy, meaning that they are not scrutinizing and criticizing their media but accepting everything they are proposing as matter of fact. It affects the way the Kenyan audience will receive messages from both 'hate media' and 'peace media'; "When a lady in Pamoja is preaching peace, she, at that time is engaged in advocacy work. And people take it seriously because it is the media; we should probably listen to what has been said, they told themselves" explained Odero (Interview with Odero, 2009).

This low level of media literacy can be explained by a combination of factors. Kenya's liberalized press is young and still learning. The media are just emerging from a long era of government control and interference, therefore establishment politics dominate the media landscape (Omale-Atemi, 2000). It is indeed overly political in its coverage, at the expense of human interest stories.

Journalists have a tendency to rely on official sources instead of looking for the everyday experience. They prefer to quote authorities that remain uncontested, that 'speak the truth.' Kenyan low levels of media literacy challenge the agenda setting theory. In the present case, media do not only tell people what to think about, but what to think (Cohen, 1963). Low media literacy levels increases the influence and power of the mass media.

The majority of the interviewed radio volunteers became conscious of radio influence while listening to the vernacular media, who 'were pumping venom' according to David from Pamoja FM. Even though they work in community stations, they also listen to 'their' vernacular stations, and it made them realize how hatred and division were promoted. The community radio volunteers were resolute in their actions to invalidate the influence of the vernacular media by using their microphones to preach peace.

Chris explained how community stations' audience is ethnically diverse;

"tribes have intermarried, intermingled in the slums. Therefore, we are not hiding ourselves behind a language that no one else understands. We are not talking to only one tribe. We broadcast in Kiswahili and we played a big role to unite all the tribes present in our communities, in our stations."

His opinion strengthens the argument that more community radio stations would have helped during the post-election crisis (Abdi and Dean, 2008b).

This section has shown how the PEV made the volunteers aware of their influence and perceived authority on a media illiterate audience. Therefore, the communitarianism ideal of mutual exchange seems to be challenged by decades of government media control and interference.

Alternative or Non-Professional Role

This segment proposes reflections on issues of journalistic morals and universality of ethics. It offers responses to research questions 1.2 and 1.3.

Interviewed volunteers from the three stations admitted that the crisis taught them that their roles are contextual. Anthony, who works in Korogocho, is convinced that the primary role of the station is to give people appropriate information, and this at all times.

“When it comes to crisis, your role is sometimes forced to change. You have to take another step forward. The politicians and the religious leaders were divided; they were not fulfilling their roles. It was now time to take another alternative role [preaching peace], and that is why we chipped in.”

The young man added that the alternative role of preaching peace is more important for community media. They have a greater responsibility based on the fact that they are dealing with extremely poor people, who live in insecurity and who have nothing to lose; “We need to be aware of our audience realities and act accordingly.” For him, preaching peace was the right thing to do, to prevent a highly responsive audience to plunge into anarchy. Chris shares the same view: “People were killing each other; people had no mercy, we had to preach peace. I realized they was nothing else to do at that moment.” Both of them maintain that in times of peace, when religious leaders and politicians are playing their unifying role, radio should not have to carry out the extra task of preaching peace. David agreed that it is not the role of media to preach peace but when politicians failed to play their role the media had to come in; “It became a bottom-up approach, we had to tell the big guys to maintain peace.”

Following the PEV, in a report produced by various press freedom organizations, Kenyan media were criticized for encouraging reconciliation. According to the group, they have “failed in their duty to report the facts, present them to those involved in events and let the public judge the result” (Reporters Without Borders, 2008). Their concerns echo the truth telling principle found in Black description of ethics but simultaneously ignore to address the principle of minimizing harm (Black et al., 1995). Minimizing harm was placed above reporting truth in the chain of command of community radio stations. The unprofessionally trained teams of volunteers, without being aware of Black’s media ethics, defended their responsibility to ‘be compassionate for those affected by your actions’ (Black et al., 1995, see Appendix 2).

The Human Resource Manager of Koch FM, Njeru Munyi disputed heartily the fact that Koch decided to preach peace, but for him, it was truth-telling; “the truth is that you should not kill one another. That is the truth. And what does that mean? It means, let’s maintain peace and order” (Interview with Njeru, 2008). The Media Institute director, David Makali was particularly vociferous about the Kenyan media failure: “They abandoned their professional principles and their job of promoting truth and justice. Preaching peace and reconciliation was the job of politicians and religious leaders” (Reporters Without Borders, 2008).

Margaret, John, Mary, Rose and James referred to their human responsibilities and have all reacted strongly to Makali's criticism. For these respondents, preaching peace had nothing to do with a journalistic code of conduct. Rose explains: "As a human person, you need to go beyond your journalistic role sometimes. You have to preach peace. Especially as a community media person, this is my community, my people; I am directly affected by their actions, contrary to the big media protected in their down-town buildings." Rose's colleague from Pamoja, John, talks about conscience:

"It goes further than any ethical code of conduct; it is a question of conscience. You see killings, you need to go through blockades to reach the station, you see the food delivery not reaching the one who need it and you don't feel, inside you, the responsibility to tell people to stop messing around? Come on!"

Margaret from Majengo spoke about her multiple identities (Sen, 2006). Not only is she a radio presenter, but she is also a Kenyan, a woman, a mother, a member of a "community that is harmed if her neighbor is harmed" and therefore, she had to preach peace. Mary makes no distinction between community and commercial media; "preaching peace is a matter of being responsible. Peace is a basic element of any functioning society. If politicians alone cannot make it happen, we need to support it. All media have a responsibility to preach peace."

Grace Githaiga from EcoNews has the same point of view: "These radios, being rooted in the community and having a responsibility to the diverse audience, are under obligation to preach peace and encourage tolerance among its people" (Interview with Githaiga, 2009). The KCOMNET coordinator agrees that since it is extremely easy for politicians to confuse the masses and to preach hate, the community radio voice is necessary to quell things down, to preach peace (Interview with Rukaria, 2009).

Their views are in accordance with the communitarian model's goal of civic transformation, they are challenging the more traditional professional roles of the press (McQuail, 2005). To the questions 1.2 and 1.3, a proponent of the communitarianism theory will affirm that their roles and responsibilities do not need to be aligned with international ethics, based on the rejection of ideals of bureaucratic-professional competence and efficiency. The alternative media model rejects a universal rationality and Mitch Odera shares the opinion that "it is time we review the morals to see what is workable for community media. Even to redefine news, for what is

workable from time to time.” Odero explains how the Western media and the media in Kenya have different roles: “Some of the journalists [in Kenya] can also help to heal their societies; to enable the survival of their societies, so they have an EXTRA mission compared to media in the developed world. Therefore, we have to find ways to train ourselves, because these extra missions, you don’t find them in University curricula.”

Similar to the idea expressed by some respondents in this section, the realist approach on news journalism will argue for some form of pre-established ethics to ensure a certain control over the iterative process (Gauthier, 2005). Preaching peace should not be the primary responsibility of a community radio station. Nevertheless, ethical standards should be in place in case this alternative role needs to be fulfilled.

Self-Censorship

The two sections: self-censorship and trauma/seeking counseling, respond to the overall question of this research. The respondents detail the new roles and responsibilities that they attributed to themselves during and following the PEV.

The PEV has created self-censorship around issues of ethnicity. The presenters and journalists restrained themselves from mentioning on air the ethnic group of a singer or a politician, something they would have automatically done before the crisis. “Small small mistakes contribute to something big. I have the responsibility to avoid referring to people by their tribes. We’ve realized one thing: when it comes to you giving people names, like this one is a Luo, this one is a Kikuyu²⁵, it sticks to the listener’s minds and to the listener’s ears so overtime, it gets into them, it really does. Then all of a sudden, it erupts,” explained Rose. Here again, their opinions are building on the do no harm concept of Black (Black et al., 1995). Margaret also notes the importance of what she called neutrality: “When you are presenting a Kenyan artist for instance, you make no reference to the tribe. Otherwise people will think that you are leaning on one side. You just say a Kenyan artist; do not even mention that he is from the Coast.” James went further; during the PEV he was not saying his last name on air. Some respondents openly admitted that they used to joke around each other’s ethnic group during their radio shows, something they

²⁵ Luo and Kikuyu are two of Kenya’s major ethnic groups.

would never attempt to do now. “even though it remains only humor, I do not want to trigger any favoritism or discrimination,” explained James.

Trauma/Seeking counseling

John, who attended group counseling right after the post-election crisis period, now considers that seeking help is a crucial journalistic responsibility: “I realize that unaddressed issues can unconsciously bias your views as a journalist. It is your responsibility to talk about what you have been through.” Counseling was not available in the community radio stations, and none of the volunteers had the financial capacity to pay for professional psychotherapy sessions. David noted that he would have like to talk about what he has seen and experienced, but he learned to deal with it by himself.

Mary was not attached to a radio station during the PEV but she was looking for an internship. On her way back home from the corner shop, she saw three men killing another one, cutting him into pieces. “I started to hate one tribe. I felt like those people are too much violent, you see. And I wanted to be in the radio, so I had to seek counseling so that it would be easy for me to see things and not looking for things with tribal lenses.” A friend of Mary’s family, who is a psychologist, has agreed to meet her and helped her to remove her ‘tribal lenses’.

Chris was not that lucky. He did not receive any support and today he is having difficulties coping with what he witnessed and with the threats he received because he was a journalist. Chris stresses the importance of counseling by making reference to the extreme case of the award-winning South African photojournalist Kevin Carter. Carter, who took his own life in 1994, was a member of the Bang-Bang Club²⁶. He received heavy criticism for not helping a dying child who appeared in one of his pictures, next to a vulture that seemed to stalk her. In his suicide notes, he wrote: “I am haunted by the vivid memories of killings and corpses and anger and pain ... of starving or wounded children” (Macleod, 1994).

All of them agreed that journalists can be the victims of a crisis situation. “Even though it is not accepted in African culture to ask for help, to admit that you are not feeling well, you should do it,” insisted John. Studies pointed out that this ‘macho self-sufficiency’ way of life is not confined

²⁶ The Bang-Bang Club is a group of four South-African (SA) photo-journalists who became famous at the beginning of the 1990, mostly for their temerity and their images of the violent transition period in SA.

to African culture but seems to be endemic to the broader journalistic culture (Brayne, 2000). Ricchiardi notes that reporters who have covered gruesome stories fear that admitting to any mental distress may be viewed as weakness (Ricchiardi, 1999). Jane Katuga is a life coach in Nairobi; she led counseling sessions with journalists during and after the PEV. She noticed that journalists “have numbed themselves. They are intoxicated but refuse to ‘detox’; someone has to find an outlet and often theirs is alcohol” (Interview with Katuga, 2009).

This section has shown how volunteers have added the responsibility of seeking counseling to their already existing responsibilities. They have realized that trauma would add a damaging layer of social construction to the given fact and that this layer is most likely to affect their work in a negative manner (Gauthier, 2005). Simultaneously, avoiding to mention one’s ethnic affiliations is now considered to be an important element of their personal code of ethics; a code that is not dictate by any universal rationality.

Further Discussion Points Raised by Interviewees

Anthony learned that it might be better to remain silent in times of uncertainty: “People were shouting that the election had been stolen, they were so much confusion on both sides following the announcement. Honestly, I had no clue what was going on so I decided to keep my mouth shut.” Anthony learned that a journalist has the responsibility not to talk about something he does not know about; someone needs a brute and solid fact to construct news (Gauthier, 2005).

All respondents were offended that media, taken as one big category, has received blanket blame. Mike started the interview by explaining to me the difference between commercial, public and community media: “I just want to be sure that you understand that we are not all the same. We are competitors”, he told me. John does not understand why governmental accusations were made to media; “And why they didn’t use the law to sue the guilty? They did something bad, you sue them. If you accuse ‘the media’, who’s gonna stand at the bar?” In addition to John’s point, the Waki Commission heard testimony from Macharia Gaitho, Chairman of the Kenya Editors’ Guild. He told them that while the media had been “accused of playing a part in fanning the [post-election] violence” the accusations were not specific and in his opinion came from various sides of the political spectrum which were aggrieved because they felt they were not supported by the media (Waki et al., 2008:297).

Mary believes that all media houses should accept their responsibilities and reflect on them. “Radio in Kenya has taken another dimension. We have lost our focuses; we are doing what the politicians are doing. Politicians are interfering with the radio and the radio is accepting the politics to interfere in their programs.” The question of political ownership of vernacular radio stations was not addressed; media were blamed but media owners were protected. Mitch Odero witnessed the consequences of this perilous situation when he conducts training, he “called journalists to be objective, to ensure fair play. They come to me and say: Mitch, what can I do... my boss is so and so?” (Interview with Odero, 2009). Odero explained that there is no legislation to prevent political ownership of media houses in Kenya. He added that most of the readers and listeners are not aware of this reality. The section 46D of the Kenya communication (Amendment Act) 2008 states that a political party is not eligible to receive a broadcasting license, but no prohibitions are made against individuals politicians and their engagement in media ownership and influence (Republic of Kenya, 2009).

Concluding Remarks

The Community Radio Charter, adopted in 1994 in Ljubljana, identifies common objectives which every community radio should strive to achieve. Among them is a “greater understanding in support for peace, tolerance, democracy and development” (Alumuku, 2006). As we have seen, the PEV made community media volunteers realize that their first responsibility is towards their community, following here Balck’s third media ethics: do no harm. Therefore, they follow international ethical standard, but they prioritize do not harm over the idea of seeking truth and report it as fully as possible (Black et al., 1995). Both the experts and the volunteers defended the community radio choices of preaching peace. No regret were expressed despite the criticism ‘media’ have received for letting go journalistic objectivity; no sense of guilt was found, no *media culpa* was made.

6. The Way Forward

Directions for Future Research

In the previous section, I showed that low media literacy levels increase the influence and power of the mass media. More research on the concept of media literacy and on how media literacy can be raised should be a priority for those interested in media and development. Efforts have been put into strengthening local media. But how do we build up a critical audience, a conscious

readership? Attention should be simultaneously put on the two sides of the same equation, on the sender AND the receiver because for a healthy press to exist, it needs to be scrutinized by a 'media literate' population.

Based on what has been said on the system dependency theory (Ball-Rokeach, 1976), further research on what type of media the audience will rely on in times in crisis would be interesting. There is no certainty; one can presume that proximity media would receive a bigger share of the increasing interest while other would suppose that more-established media – national or even international – would gain in audience and readership in times of uncertainty.

In the Kenyan context, studies on political ownership of vernacular radio stations could shed light on an existing reality that remains unknown to the general public (Interview with Odero, 2009). It could also help to weigh and contextualize the criticism leveled at the media by the politicians. I consider political ownership of media to be a disturbing reality that is seldom tackled in Kenyan public debate on journalism.

Recommendations

On a general note, whenever addressing criticism towards media, one needs to be precise in their attacks and to have substantiation to support it. In Rwanda, RTLM was found guilty; not the media. Before blaming the media, any individual or organization should ask himself, which media house is responsible? The blanket blame practice is very hurtful to media professionals and volunteers.

To the CCK, I recommend that community media should be allowed to air commercial advertising for purposes of sustainability. Rules should be put in place to minimize conflict of interest and to ensure that the community's interest remains the priority. The Ghanaian broadcasting law could be explored as an already existing and functioning model.

To the community radio stations, I suggest particular attention should be paid to ensure that different groups within the community – age, sex, ethnic affiliations, religion, professional backgrounds – are represented on air and in the decision process of the stations. The stations should be pro-active in recruiting a team of volunteers that represent the slum's diversity instead of passively waiting for the volunteers to present themselves.

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APPENDIX 1: FM Stations in Nairobi

LOCATION	Name of Broadcaster	FM Frequency (MHz)	Station ID	Status
Nairobi	1 Stangy Boyz	87.9	Sound Asia	on Air
	2 Kenya Episcopal Conference	88.3	Radio Waumini	on Air
	3 Garissa FM	88.7	Garissa FM	on Air
	4 Kalee Ltd	89.1	Kass FM	on Air
	5 KBC	89.5	Ghetto FM	on Air
	6 Radio France International	89.9	Radio France International	on Air
	7 Royal Media Services	90.4	change FM	on Air
	8 Biblia Husema Studios	90.7	Biblia Husema	on Air
	9 Bridge media	91.5	Homeboyz Radio	on Air
	10 China Radio International	91.9	China Radio	On Air
	11 KBC	92.9	KBC Idhaa ya Taifa	on Air
	12 Christ is the answer ministries (NPC)	93.3	Hope FM	on Air
	13 Digitopia	93.6	Milele FM	on Air
	14 BBC	93.9	BBC world service	On Air
	15 EATN	94.4		on Air
	16 Radio One IPP	94.7	East Africa Radio	on Air
	17 IQRA	95.1	IQRA FM	on Air
	18 KBC	95.6	English service	on Air
	19 Royal Media Services	96.0	Hot 96	on Air
	20 Nation Media Group	96.3	Easy FM	on Air
	21 GO Commucations	97.1	Bahasha FM	on Air
	22 Radio Holdings	97.5		on Air
	23 Royal Media Services	97.9	Mulembe FM	on Air
	24 Capital Group	98.4	Capital FM	on Air
	25 Royal Media Services	98.9	Inooro FM	On air
	26 KBC	99.5	Coro FM	on Air
	27 Koch FM	99.9	Koch FM	on Air
	27 SIDAREC	99.9	Ghetto FM	on Air
	27 Pamoja Development	99.9	Pamoja 99.9 FM	on Air
	27 St Pauls University	99.9	Light FM	on Air
	27 Kenyatta University	99.9	KU 99.9 FM	on Air
	27 KCCT	99.9		Not on air
	33 Radio Africa	100.3	Kiss 100	on Air
	34 Regional Reach	101.1	Kameme FM	on Air
	35 Neural Digital	101.5	Radio Umoja FM	on Air
	36 KBC	101.9	Metro FM	on Air
	37 Toads Media Group	102.7	Radio Simba	on Air
	38 Royal Media Services	103.2	Egessa FM	on Air
	39 Future Tech Electronics	103.9	Family FM	on Air
	40 KIMC	104.7	KIMC	on Air
	41 Kitambo Communications	105.2	Classic 105	on Air
	42 North Eastern Media & Telecomms	105.9	Star FM	On Air
	43 Lingam Enterprises	106.3	East FM	On Air
	44 Royal Media Services	106.7	Radio Citizen	on Air
	45 Royal Media Services	107.1	Ramogi FM	on Air
	46 International Broadcasting Bureau (VOA)	107.5	Voice of America	on Air

STATUS OF FM BROADCAST FREQUENCIES. From CCK official website, accessed on March 6th 2009

APPENDIX 2: Peace Journalism Model

VIOLENCE / WAR JOURNALISM

CONFLICT/PEACE JOURNALISM

<p>I. Violence / War-oriented</p> <p>Focus on a conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum oriented</p> <p>Close space, close time; causes and effect in arena: who threw the first stone; poor in the context</p> <p>Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)</p> <p>Making wars opaque/secret</p> <p>“Us-them” journalism, propaganda, voice for “us”</p> <p>See “them” as the problem, focus on the two prevails in war</p> <p>Dehumanisation of “them”; more so the worse the weapon</p> <p>Reactive: waiting for violence to occur before reporting</p>	<p>I. Conflict-oriented</p> <p>Explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, x issues, general “win-win” orientation</p> <p>Open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture; rich in context</p> <p>Focus also on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)</p> <p>Making conflicts transparent</p> <p>Giving voice to all parties: empathy, understanding</p> <p>See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity</p> <p>Humanisation of all sides: more so the worse weapons</p> <p>Proactive: reporting also before violence/war occurs</p>
<p>II. Propaganda-oriented</p> <p>Expose “their” untruths</p> <p>Help “our” cover-ups/lies</p>	<p>II. Truth-oriented</p> <p>Expose untruths on all sides</p> <p>Uncover all cover-ups</p>
<p>III. Elite-oriented</p> <p>Focus on “their” violence and “our” suffering; on able-bodied elites males</p> <p>Give name to their evil-doer</p> <p>Focus on elite peace-makers, being elite oriented</p>	<p>III. People-oriented</p> <p>Focus on violence by all sides and on suffering all over; also on women, children, aged</p> <p>Give name to all evil-doer</p> <p>Focus on people peace makers, giving voice to the voiceless</p>

From Reporting Conflict: The low and the high, Johan Galtung 1997 (in Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005)

APPENDIX 3: Media Ethics

1) Seek truth and report it as fully as possible

- Inform yourself continuously so you can inform, engage, and educate the public in clear and compelling ways on significant issues
- Be honest, fair, and courageous in gathering, reporting, and interpreting accurate information
- Give voice to the voiceless
- Hold the powerful accountable

2) Act independently

- Guard vigorously the essential stewardship role that a free press plays in an open society
- Seek out and disseminate competing perspectives without being unduly influenced by those who would use their power or position counter to the public interest
- Remain free of associations and activities that may compromise your integrity or damage your credibility
- Recognise that good ethical decisions require individual responsibility and collaborative efforts

3) Minimise Harm

- Be compassionate for those affected by your actions
- Treat source, subjects and colleagues as human beings deserving of respect, not merely as means to journalistic ends.
- Recognise that gathering and reporting information may cause harm or discomfort, but balance those negatives by choosing alternatives that maximise your goal of truth-telling

Proposed by Black et al.(1995)

APPENDIX 4: Questionnaire (English)

The impact of the PEV on community radio journalists in Nairobi

General Identification

1. Radio Station Name: _____
2. Name: _____
3. Position: _____
4. Radio Program: Name and brief description (*if you are attached to a specific radio program*) : _____

5. Sex: ___F___M
6. Age: _____
7. Phone number: _____
8. When did you start working for the radio station? (Please give the approximate. date)

Radio Station

9. Please describe the mission of your radio station.

10. Which of the following statement describes best your main roles and responsibilities as a radio practitioner? (Please tick only one answer)

___ Provide accurate and objective information to the audience

___ Provide the audience with programs and services that respond to their actual needs and concerns

11. Who is the main audience of your radio station?

Post Election Violence (PEV)

12. Where were you during the post-election violence period (December 2007/January 2008)

13. Describe your radio activities in December 2007/January 2008, during the post-election violence period? (Please tick only one answer)

I was not on air or working for the radio at any moment

I was on air and/or working for the radio

Please explain.

14. Please, describe what you saw within your communities during the post-election violence period? (You can tick more than one answer)

I saw nothing special, life was as usual

I felt tensions between different groups

I saw people fighting

I saw people being sexually abused

I saw people being killed

15. Have you received direct threat?

Yes

No

Please explain.

16. How have you been personally affected by the post-election violence?

Greatly affected

Affected

Fairly affected

Not affected

17. Do you consider yourself traumatized based on what you saw and experienced during the PEV?

Greatly traumatized

Traumatized

Fairly traumatized

Not traumatized

18. Have you seek counseling and support?

Yes

No

19. Does your perception of your roles and responsibilities as a radio journalist, has changed following the post-election violence?

Yes

No

Please explain.

20. As a community radio journalist, do you have the same roles and responsibilities in times of crisis and in times of peace?

Yes, I have the same roles and responsibilities at all times

No, my roles and responsibilities are changing depending on the community situation

21. Do you think the government ban on live broadcasts by media, implemented on 31 December 2007 was a good thing?

Yes

No

Please explain.

22. Please read the following:

“Media houses took sides in the run up to the 2007 election; they became sensational and unnecessarily alarmed their audiences and inflamed their passions”.

- Dr. Ndemo, the Permanent Secretary from the Ministry of Information and Communications

Do you agree with Dr. Ndemo?

Yes

No

Please explain.

23. Please read the following:

“Kenya’s journalists and editors, with no experience of covering such violent events, were easy prey for the government, which exerted heavy pressure on them to relay messages of peace and reconciliation. They obeyed and thus abandoned their professional principles and their job of promoting truth and justice. Preaching peace and reconciliation was the job of politicians and religious leaders.”

-David Makali, director of the Media Institute

Do you agree with Mr. Makali?

No

Yes

Please explain.

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX 5: List of Interviewees (Expert)

4.12.2008

Adam Hussein

General Manager and co-founder of Pamoja FM

4.12.2008

Njeru Munyi

Human Resource Manager and co-founder of Koch FM

9.12.2008

William Ongala

Head of Ghetto FM, Youth Programmes officer, SIDAREC

6.12.2008

Gabriel Kadidi

Senior Information Officer, Jamiibora

13.01.2009

Jane Katuga

Life Coach

13.01.2009

Doreen Rukaria

Coordinator at KCOMNET (Kenya Community Media Network)

14.01.2009

Mitch Odero

Journalist, former Chairman of the Ethics and Compliance Committee of the Media Council of Kenya, former Editor in Chief of The Standard and Editor in Chief of the Kenya Times

20.01.2009

Grace Githaiga

Executive Director EcoNews Africa and the Africa Chair of the World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC)

Q&R sent via email

26.01.2009

Fredrick Mariwa

Station Manager, Bondo Community Multimedia Center (Radio Mandeleo)

Q&R sent via email

26.01.2009

Isabelle Kandagor

Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK)

APPENDIX 6: Consent to Participate in Research (English)



Name: H el ene Mercier

Master Programme: International Master in Development and Management, Lund University

Address: S olvegatan 12, SE-223 62 Lund, Sweden

Title of Research Project: The Impact of the Post-Election Violence on Community Radio Journalists

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Introductory section: You are invited to take part in a research study conducted by H el ene Mercier from the Master in International Development and Management at Lund University, Sweden. Before you decide whether or not to participate in the study, you should read this form and ask questions if there is anything that you do not understand.

Description of the project: The purpose of the study is to understand how the Kenyan post-election violence crisis has affected community radio actors and their perceptions of their own roles and responsibilities.

What you will do in the study: If you decide to take part in this study, here is what will happen: you will be asked to complete a self-administered questionnaire. The questionnaire has 23 questions and is available both in English or Kiswahili. Following the reception of your completed questionnaire, you may or may not, be asked to be interviewed. The interview can be conducted in English or in Kiswahili and will be tape-recorded.

Time required: Participation will take approximately 25 minutes for completing the questionnaire. If you are asked to be interviewed, the interview will take approximately 60 minutes.

Benefits of this study: The study results will be reported in a Master Thesis. The thesis will be presented to Lund University professors and will also be distributed to different international media organizations. A copy of the thesis will also be sent to the participants' radio station management team, for them to share with you. Although there will be no direct benefit to you for taking part in this study, the researcher may learn more about your realities, and your experiences as a community radio practitioner.

Confidentiality: The information that you give in the study will be handled confidentially. Your name will not be used in any report.

If you are asked to be interviewed, with your permission, I would like to tape the interview so that I can make an accurate transcript. Once I have made the transcript, I will erase the recordings. Your name will not be in the transcript or my notes.

Rights: The decision to take part in this study is completely voluntary. You do not have to participate. Even if you decide at first to take part, you are free to change your mind at any time and quit the study.

Questions and Complaints: If you have questions about this research, please contact H  l  ne Mercier, Master student at Lund University, + 254 (0) 713 298 096, mercier.ln@gmail.com.

Signature:

Signing this document means that you understand the information given to you in this form and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the research described above.

___ I agree to complete the questionnaire.

___ I agree to be interviewed

___ I agree to have my interview taped.

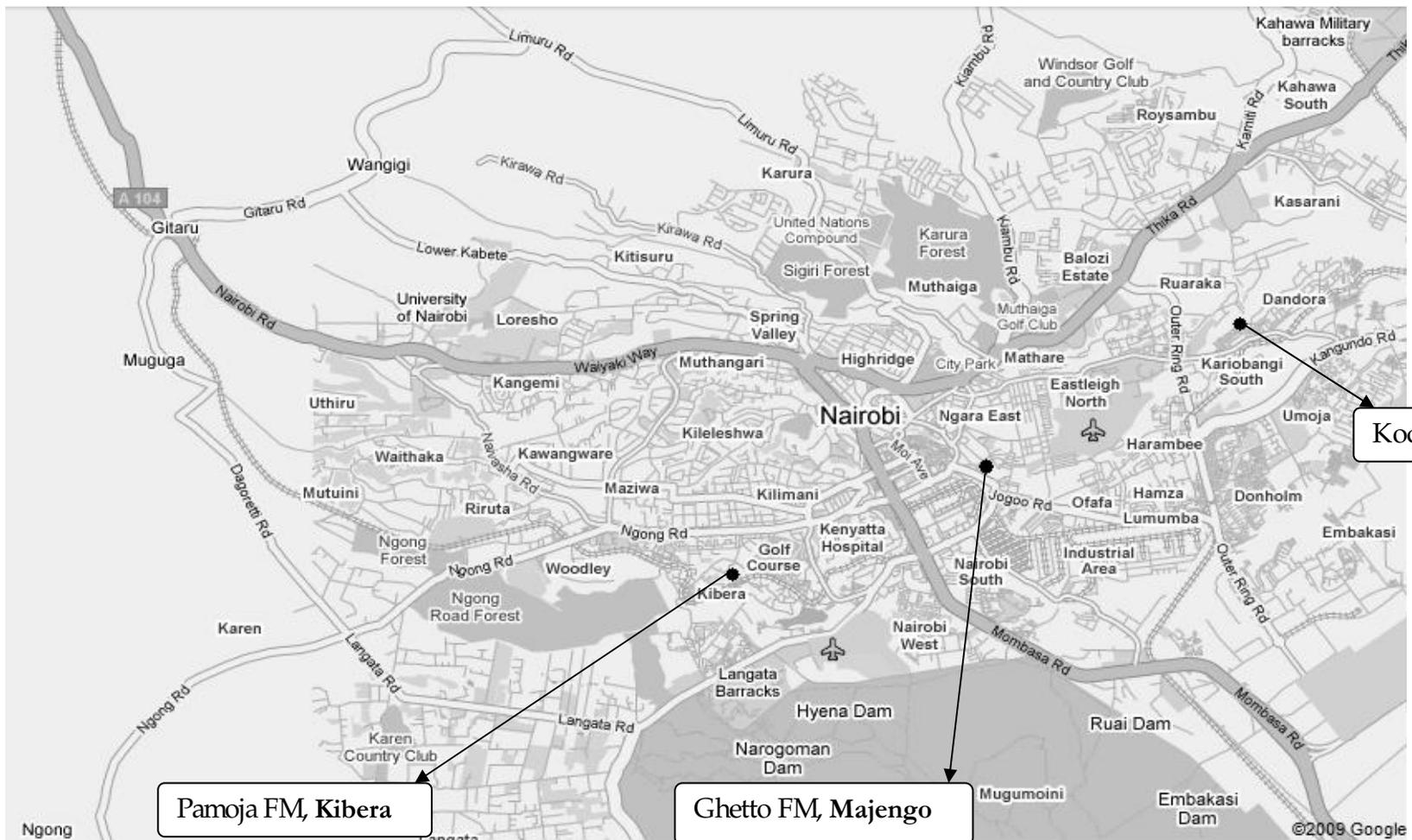
Signature of Participant

Date

Typed/printed Name

Please sign both consent forms, keeping one for yourself.

APPENDIX 7: Map of Nairobi



The three black points indicating the community radio stations do not represent their precise geographical locations.