A field study

Pamoja FM – The voice of Kibera

How young Kenyan adults in Kibera perceive the local urban community radio and how it influences the community

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Abstract

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Media in Nairobi is segmented when it comes to news and information; different media target different audience groups in the society through their preferred channels in search of news and information.

In Kibera, the biggest slum area in Nairobi and in whole East Africa, the urban slum community radio station Pamoja FM only works for the citizens living within Kibera. We aimed to find out how the youth in Kibera perceive the efficacy of the radio station as a viable source of news and information. We wanted to establish how important this radio station is to them as a tool of empowerment and knowledge to the youth.

Through semi-structured interviews with the youth in Kibera we carried out a qualitative research study during ten weeks, from October until December in 2011. We walked the field in Kibera to gather as much data as possible, and our findings were very interesting.

Key theories used in this study included the participatory communication model, the media dependency model and the uses and gratifications model.

The findings indicated that Pamoja FM has a great influence in the community as it is considered the most important source for news and information for the youth in this slum, and provides a platform that meets their needs as active participating audiences to the content supplied by the radio station. The radio is accredited to have changed the citizens´ way of thinking about tribalism since the post-election violence in 2007; the young women have assertively declared their space by playing a more proactive role in the community and audiences are empowered with home-grown problem solving skills that have bettered their lives and in pursuit for peace.

Keywords: Urban slum community radio, empowerment, gender equality, Kenya, Kibera, media, Nairobi, youth participation, women’s empowerment.
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Anton Rosenblad     Sebastian Nyström

Nairobi, 17\textsuperscript{th} of December 2011
“Radio is the most democratic of media both in providing easy access to citizen participation and in being widely available. In rural areas from subsistence farmers in Mozambique to nomadic herdiers in Mongolia, radio is the only medium. With limited resources in new democracies, it is the most cost-effective medium. The expressive human voice and natural sound engage the imagination through story telling. Radio stations are not simply passive transmitters of information or hit music; they are a catalyst for building community, for improving health and education, for fostering a civil society. These are no longer theoretical visions; many stations now demonstrate all of these goals” (Siemering, 2000, 7:2, p. 373-378).
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Appendix A. Pamoja FM’s policy
1. Introduction

Community radio has its roots in Latin America in the 1960’s, and is considered a reaction against the one way flow of information. It was said that the content of the mainstream media, which by then was the only alternative, was irrelevant for the people living in third world countries (Bosch, 2003). According to the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) the number of community radio stations in sub-Saharan Africa\(^1\) has grown from 10 to more than 800 in the last 20 years.

In sub-Saharan Africa, radio is a superior medium to reach out to those who stand outside the daily mainstream media reporting. Radio reaches over 60 percent of sub-Saharan Africa’s inhabitants every day (Jensen, 2002). The reasons why today there are so many community radio stations across Africa is simply because almost everyone is able to listen to radio that has cheaper production costs in comparison to print media or television.

We think that the ability to take part of the daily news flow in a democratic society should be a right for each and everyone. This, not only, is a key problem, but also an opportunity in Kenya.

The prevalence of community radios in rural Kenya is high as compared to the urban areas. In the capital Nairobi there are only two stations broadcasting in the slums: Koch FM and Pamoja FM.

There is only little research about youth’s perceptions and use of urban slum community radio\(^2\). The future of Kenya lies in the hands of the youth; therefore it is important to study how the young adults (18-24 years old) in the slum perceive the news and information given by Pamoja FM. Pamoja FM says in its vision that they want to “promote a participatory culture” and “help to conserve local cultures and protect them against cultural globalization”. They also say they want to work with gender equality, decrease tensions between tribes and empower the youth through participation (Yusuf Nasur, 2011).

Their quest for audience participation has its roots in Freire’s Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Freire, 1996). Freire’s main idea was that a teacher and the students should be on the same power level, it should be a subject-subject relationship rather than subject-object. The part about “conserving local cultures” and “protect them against cultural globalization” in Pamoja FM’s vision could be seen as they have considered the MacBride Report’s conclusions about

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\(^1\) The Sub-Saharan region includes 15 nations – Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

\(^2\) Urban slum community radio is defined in chapter 2.8.1.
the four D’s for a community; democratization, decolonization, demonopolization and development, that was published in 1980 (Carlsson, 1998). The MacBride commission searched for “free and balanced flow of information”. The group was created in the late 70’s, when UNESCO wanted a study of communication problems in the world. The MacBride commission stressed that indigenous cultures needed to be protected and that a counter flow of information and entertainment in the world was needed.

We think that Pamoja FM has clearly situates themselves well within the participatory approach. Therefore we want to see what the youth in Kibera think about this.

The reason why we choose to do this research in Kenya is because we see a lot of potential in urban slum community radio in developing countries in Africa and in the world, as a tool for democratization. According to previous research, the existence of urban community radio in Africa is not very common and it is a field that is unexplored. Kibera is the biggest slum in Kenya and therefore it is a good place to carry out this research as it is representative of the complex social contexts in Kenya. The country has a population that consists of 42 different tribes that are a source of tension and conflicts that have in the past presented opportunity for situational violence and suffering in the country. Pamoja FM’s key agenda is focused on the reduction of the aforementioned chaos escalated by tribalism in the future of Kenya and specifically the Kibera Slum.

1.1 Positioning in the scientific field

The thesis is a qualitative and hermeneutic field study within the journalistic field. Key concepts in this study include the exploration of perceptions and use of journalistic content in radio production within a certain context. The key questions to the youth in Kibera focused on their perceptions of the purpose of Pamoja FM in their lives; explore their use of radio or other media as sources of news and information and the influence of the content delivered on the station on their attitude, beliefs and worldview. That is why we position ourselves within the range of the journalistic field and also the media and communication field.

Previous research about use and values on different media the latest decade illustrates a wide range spread over different fields, theories and starting-points (Antoni, 2002). This is the approach we have chosen to capture the complexity of our research questions.

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3 Tribalism is the word which describes the tensions between different tribes in a specific area.
1.2 Purpose

The scientific aim of this thesis is to examine how the youth as the target audience of Pamoja FM perceive the content of the radio that broadcasts in Kibera since 2007. This is in a bid to establish whether Pamoja proactively meets its vision to promote a participatory culture, empower youth and in playing an important role in peace building. They also aim at preserving local culture by protecting the community against cultural globalization and towards for democratization.

Therefore it’s important to, through field observations and interviews see if Pamoja FM succeeds to fulfill their goals or not. How they approach these issues are of great importance because media plays a decisive role in democratic societies (Servaes, 2009). Communication is a tool for social change and creates knowledge about the society at large. Media development and participation are expressed through good governance. But good governance demands many things: There must be public institutions, local government and communities, a program for anti-corruption and developing infrastructure (Servaes, 2009).

Community radio has, through earlier research, shown to play an extra important role to empower people in developing countries and poor communities (Servaes, 2009).

“Although the relationship between media production and youth empowerment is in only the tentative stages of investigation; the ethnographic research here indicates that these youth find their voices in radio production” (Wagg, 2004, p. 274).

Another purpose is to examine how well the young women in Kibera are included in the society through Pamoja FM and if the women are empowered by the radio or not. Community radio has shown to have a large influence on women’s empowerment and gender equality through previous research (Gatua, Patton, Owens, Brown, 2010).

The purpose of interviewing the middle- and the upper class about their use of news media is to get a deeper understanding of the media situation among youth in Kenya at large, to better understand the youth in Kibera.

1.3 Research questions

Main part (Overall research question): How do the youth in Kibera perceive Pamoja FM? This is supported by research questions that are divided into four parts reflected in the result chapter. The first part deals with significance of Pamoja FM and covers the questions:

- Is Pamoja FM their main source for news and information or not and why is that?
- In what way is Pamoja FM important or not for the youth?
• Which format/program do they like the most and why?

**Participation through Pamoja FM covers the questions:**

• Can the youth participate in the radio production and the issues the presenters discuss? If so, in what way do the youth participate?
• Do the youth learn anything that they can use in their everyday life and in what way does Pamoja FM educate them?
• Do the youth feel that they are a part of deciding what news Pamoja FM brings up?
• Do they feel empowered by the radio or not?

**Gender equality** is about differences between women’s and men’s perceptions of Pamoja FM.

• Do the youth feel that Pamoja FM is particularly important for them as men or women?
• Do the youth feel that Pamoja FM works with gender equality or not?

The last part **challenges of Pamoja FM cover the question:**

• Do the youth see any problems with Pamoja FM or things that they would like Pamoja FM to change for the future?

**Side track:** Compare the middle- and upper class youth to those in Kibera when it comes to media/news consumption and their perceptions on news media.

• What are the differences of media use and news consumption between these two groups?
• Do the different groups trust news media in Kenya?

1.4 Our contribution

The results and conclusions in this thesis can hopefully be used in other similar contexts for further research. For example, it can be used in other urban slums in Africa and around the world, which has not yet discovered the opportunity and possibilities of urban slum community radio.

The thesis can point out problems and opportunities which can also be used as a tool locally to improve the situation in Kibera and Kenya at large. To know a little bit more about news consumption and perceptions, especially on urban slum community radios among youth, it is easier to improve the situation. This thesis will provide information on how youth can be proactive and enthusiastic participants in the daily decisions and production of radio content and demonstrate how community radio can empower the youth.
2. Background

In this second chapter, we present a historical background about Pamoja FM community radio and the media situation in Kenya. We will also shed light on the issue of ethnic tensions between tribes in Kenya. We will describe the characteristics of urban slum community radio, upper- and middle class in Kenya and the youth in Kibera. The chapter aims to give the reader the precognition about the subjects and issue that the study focuses on and help in visualizing the social and cultural context in which Pamoja FM and its audience is located.

2.1 Community radio as a phenomenon in Africa and Kenya

Community radio traditionally has served as an alternative to commercial broadcasting in Africa. It is not profit motivated, typically relies on volunteers and has a more interactive relationship with audiences (Lewis, Booth, 1990; Thompsen, 2001). Community radio has been noted for its commitment and passion “to sustain an independent, critical, and oppositional public sphere on the broadcast spectrum” (Engelman, 1996, p. 82).

In Africa, South Africa has been the motherland of creating the new model of community radio and has been very important for the democratization process (Siemering, 2000). Siemering (2000, p. 374) points out that “…community radio was natural for the liberation struggle to end apartheid, to give a voice to the majority who had no voice”.

Even though community radio seems to be important in many African countries for empowering people and for democratization, Kenya has not yet been a hotbed of community radio growth, according to AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya (2009). “Although the first community radio on the entire African continent was established in Kenya – in Homa Bay in 1982 (and deregistered two years later) – community broadcasting has consistently struggled to gain foothold in the country” (AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya, 2009). There are only a few existing community outlets: Mangelete FM, Radio Maendeleo, Mugambo, Jyetu, Shinyalu, Konoina, Koch FM and Pamoja FM. Out of those eight stations; only two are urban slum community radios, Pamoja FM and Koch FM. There are also many sorts of community radio stations that broadcast on universities by students. But their purposes are not the same as urban or rural community radios. They only inform about what is going on within the specific university.

These eight community radio stations in Kenya just collectively reach a few percent of all
the 40 million Kenyan inhabitants (AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya, 2009). One reason to that is, for sure, that they all broadcast on the same frequency, 99.9, and are only given a radius of five kilometers to broadcast.

Another reason is the competition with the commercial radio stations broadcasting both in the rural and urban parts of Kenya. In the 2005 Baseline Survey of Media in Kenya, none of the 31 most popular radio stations in Kenya are community radio stations, all of them were commercial. The Baseline Survey of Media in Kenya (2005) points out that the people have a great need for news covering. However the respondents in the rural areas say they are limited to consume news because of lack of media facilities. It is especially print media and newspapers that could not easily be accessed in the rural areas. That can be a reason why there are a lot more community radio stations broadcasting in the rural areas.

### 2.2 Pamoja FM

“Pamoja” is the Swahili word meaning “together”. Pamoja FM was founded 2007 by Adam Hussein. He is a journalist, born and raised in Kibera, with a lot of experience from the mainstream media. When one retires it is custom to give something back to the society, and Pamoja FM was what he gave back to his community (Yusuf Nasur, 2011). Yusuf Nasur (2011) points out that Pamoja FM is a hobby for Adam, who is still the manager at the radio station, but at the same time he wants to do something good for Kibera.

It started more like a hobby but turned out to something very serious. Pamoja FM started just after the post-election violence in 2007. One of their main goals was to bring about reconciliation between the different tribes that were fighting each other and to bring peace to the community. Even today they are still prioritizing the tribal issues, according to Yusuf Nasur (2011).

Pamoja FM says they want to “empower the youth of Kibera and its environs through education, information and entertainment. Radio is the main and sometimes the only source of information for people living in informal settlements as they have limited access to TV or newspapers due to illiteracy and poverty”.

Even though Pamoja FM, in its vision, say they particularly want to empower the youth of Kibera they are targeting each and everyone; from small children which have their own program on Saturdays, to the oldest people in the community (Yusuf Nasur, 2011).

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4 Swahili is the language spoken by the majority in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.
There are a total number of 35 employed at Pamoja FM. There are 26 paid workers and 9 volunteers among the staff. “We are not paying the staff much. Most of them started as volunteers. We cannot call it a salary, just something to get them going” (Yusuf Nasur, 2011).

The majority of the staff working at Pamoja FM is youth living in the community. Pamoja FM says that they “…discharges its social responsibility at grass root level by offering internship opportunities to college students and less fortunate youth in the community to exercise their journalism potential. We recognize the vital role youth play as the leaders of public democracy and drivers of change”.6

Pamoja FM is more than just a radio station. As a part of their social agenda, they arrange different kinds of events. For example they arrange a big football tournament7 every year for the teams in Kibera. It’s both for women and men but they also have a tournament for the children (Yusuf Nasur, 2011).

**Programs and formats**

Pamoja FM basically only broadcasts in Swahili since that is the language almost everyone can speak and understand. They broadcast 24 hours per day and have a 50-50 percent mix of music and talk. They use what is called infotainment, which is a mix of information and entertainment (Yusuf Nasur, 2011).

They use phone-ins and sms-services so that the listeners always can call in or text the station (Yusuf Nasur, 2011). Pamoja FM has collaboration with BBC so that they broadcast the news together with them. Local, national and international news are given to the community six times every day. The reporters work a lot on the ground and talk to the citizens of Kibera to find out what is going on in the community.

They have all kinds of program formats; discussing programs, news, information programs and music. What they don’t have is commercials since a community radio in Kenya is not allowed to be a profit making organization. That is a condition fixed by the CCK (Communication Council Kenya).

We believe that it brings a lot of value to the research if the readers are able to read Pamoja FM’s own words about their goals and purposes. That part is added as an appendix in the end.

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7 Since 2008 Pamoja FM hosts the local football tournament “Pamoja Amani tournament”. The tournament’s purpose is to work for peace in the community.
2.3 The media situation in Kenya

Kenya is “...a major African communications hub trailing only South Africa and Egypt in regards to information and computer technologies (ICT) infrastructure” (Perkins, 2010, p. 9).

Yet to Perkins´ argument, the broadcast media is tightly controlled by the government through the independent Media Council of Kenya, which was established by the Media Act of 2007 (IWMF, 2010). That is a huge factor why Kenya is ranked 96th among nations in press freedom. The government controls the media under two laws. The first one is the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) Act of 1989, which is the authority that licenses dealers who sell communication equipment. The other one is The Kenyan Communications Act of 1998 that created the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK). CCK is the authority “…responsible for licensing, regulating and coordinating the telecommunication industry” (IWMF, 2010, p. 97).

Even though Kenya is only ranked 96th on the list of press freedom, the country is much respected and is being seen as innovative in Africa. The upcoming industry the last 20 years has made media houses rich and markets are increasing all the time. Perkins (2010, p. 9) writes that “Royal Media Group, the Standard, and the Daily Nation are examples of large commercial media houses, controlling about ¾ of the country’s media market”.

Since the press freedom has grown (over a long time), the citizens rely more on what is written and discussed in the media. The credibility has increased together with people’s participation. The media has made Kenya a multiparty democracy (Ismail, Deane, 2007); it has gained a reputation for exposing corruption and let people debate in their platforms. But since the post-election in 2007 the media’s reputation is challenged. Many journalists talk about how colleagues are corrupt and how they talk bad about different tribes and more (Ismail, Deane, 2007). “Many vernacular radio stations were accused of broadcasting ethnic hate speech in the wake of the 2007 election. The handful of community stations active in the postelection period were praised for their balanced reporting” (AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya, 2009).

Internet has not gotten the impact in Africa as it has in the rest of the world. About one third of the adults in Kenya say they don’t know what the internet is (AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya, 2009). Due to the shortage of electricity on many places the radio is still the best way to go to reach the audience (Dizard, 2000; Olorunnisola, 2000). Nearly one quarter of the population in Kenya pointed out they have problems with the electricity supply and that

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8 Vernacular means the local language of a certain tribe.
is why most of them not own a TV. About a third says they don’t own a TV (AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya, 2009).

There are two leading daily newspapers in Kenya; The Daily Nation and The East African Standard. But more are coming up. The newspaper industry is not as big as the radio. “Thirty-seven percent of respondents said that they had not read a newspaper within the last year” (AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya, 2009). According to the same survey the respondents say the reason why they don’t read is because of the cost or the inability to read or understand. About one quarter say they are not interested.

A lot of politicians own the media houses and use the media as a tool for propaganda (Yusuf Nasur, 2011). The tribalism among the media industry can’t be neglected because it’s often easier to get a job at a certain media house if you come from the same tribe as the owner, Yusuf Nasur (2011) argues.

Radio – the most popular media
Radio is the most popular and most accessible media in Kenya. It is the most widely accessed media in the country by nearly all the households (Baseline Survey of Media in Kenya, 2005). Nearly 89 percent of Kenyan adults (15+) get news and information from the radio on weekly basis. Radio is also the media that people find most trustworthy, 98 percent say that they think that the news provided by the radio are trustworthy. 37 percent say: somewhat trustworthy and 61 percent says: very trustworthy (AudienceScapes National Survey of Kenya, 2009).

In Kenya there are about 33 commercial stations and 8 community stations broadcasting. In Nairobi the three most popular stations among youth are KISS FM (music and entertainment), KBC Kiswahili (news and information) and Citizen (news and information).

2.4 Youth in Nairobi
Half of the population in Kenya is under 19 years old. The difference in life situations between youth from the middle- and upper class and those in the slums of Nairobi is huge. In the slum areas only one out of five in the age 12-24 attend school (Mugisha, 2003). The result of that is that they have a very hard time getting a job, which increases the gaps (Mugisha, 2003).

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9 http://www.landguiden.se/Lander/Afrika/Kenya/Befolkning-Sprak, 2011-11-13
2.5 Kibera – The informal settlement in Nairobi

To understand Pamoja FM and its audience one needs to understand what Kibera is like. Along with Soweto in South Africa it is the largest slum area in Africa and even one of the largest slum areas in the world. Because of the slum’s unorganized situation and the large number of people moving in and out of Kibera everyday it is hard to rely on all facts. One actually needs to be there and see for herself what the situation is like to be able to describe it.

There are approximately 2.5 million slum dwellers in about 200 settlements in Nairobi. They are representing 60 percent of the Nairobi population, occupying just 6 percent of the land. Kibera houses around 1 million of these people.\textsuperscript{10} But it’s hard to tell exactly how huge the population in Kibera is because of the complicatedness to count the people living there. According to most of the sources it is between 600,000 and somewhere above 1 million people.

During our field study, we got to know Kibera as a vibrant place where people and animals share the space. It’s a swarm business life going on in the crowded streets and early in the morning one can see crowds of thousands and thousands of people walking to the city for jobs. Children run around and play in the muddy water, underfed dogs rest in the dirty ditches and goats try to find something eatable among the garbage. Along the big shopping streets one will find small shops everywhere. People sell all things one can imagine, mostly second hand things. The smell of dirt, grilled meat, salty fish, and mud mixes up. But if one goes behind the shopping- and business areas one will find small dirty alleys where people live in rough shacks.

\textit{“Kibra, meaning “forest” in Kinubi\textsuperscript{11}, began as a settlement of 500 Nubian warriors’ families from the Kenyan and the Sudanese border, serving in the Anglo-Egyptian Army during the first decade of the 20th century”} (Perkins, 2010, p. 7). After the 2\textsuperscript{nd} world war the British were leaving Kenya. Kibera became an issue for the Kenyan government because when the British didn’t control Kibera others moved in, Kikuyu and other tribes.

In 1969 a Luo-politician was killed. After that a lot of tensions between Kikuyu and Luo began. Kibera kept growing. People from rural areas came in to look for jobs. During the 80’s many people from different tribes moved in (Yusuf Nasur, 2011).

The Nubian tribe now represents about 15 percent of Kibera and the people are mostly Muslims. Today Kibera is represented by all of the 42 ethnic groups of Kenya. The biggest

\textsuperscript{10} \url{http://www.kibera.org.uk/Facts.html}, 2011-11-12
\textsuperscript{11} Kinubi is the local language of the Nubian tribe.
tribe in Kibera is Kikuyu, together with Luo, Luhya, Kisii, Kamba (Perkins, 2010). The government owns all land, but 10 percent of the people in Kibera are shack owners and most of them are Nubian and Kikuyu. People from the other tribes are often tenants.\(^{12}\) Christianity, Islam and other religious views are represented in the slum.

As we discovered, Kibera is stigmatized. Not only in the pictures given by the mainstream media but also among the middle- and upper class citizens of Nairobi. For many people Kibera is a passage to something else. A lot of people are coming from the rural areas every day to search for, what they believe, a richer life in Nairobi, and they end up in Kibera or one of the other slums. We met a lot of people in Kibera and many of them said that they were very proud of their community and that they didn’t want to move, because they felt comfortable and safe there and that they got their families and relatives there.

We had a lot of walks deep down in the slum and what one can tell is that there is a lot of dirt and you see mountains of garbage everywhere. The average size of a shack in this area is 3 x 3 square meters. They are built with mud walls, screened with concrete, a corrugated tin roof and soil or concrete floor. The cost is about 700 Kenyan shillings per month (about 8, 6 USD, 2012-01-25). These shacks often house up to eight people or more, many sleeping on the floor. Only 20 percent of the shacks have electricity and the water supply is always a problem.\(^{13}\)

Some of the biggest issues for the people living in Kibera are the spread of HIV, unemployment, alcoholism, drugs, crime and rape. Actually the literacy in Kenya as a whole is about 80% percent, which is among the highest in Africa (IWMF, 2010). And as we discovered, most of the people that we met in Kibera could read and speak English pretty good.

There are also tensions in Kibera, particularly tribal tensions between the Luo and Kikuyu, but also between landlords and tenants and those with and without jobs.\(^{14}\)

When we talked to people in Kibera they said tensions between tribes do exists, but they said it is much better than before and that people today live side by side.

“This political environment and diversity of community members creates a hotbed of political activity. It is amongst this political activity and the low-income demographics of Kibera that community media may have an influence” (Perkins, 2010, p. 7).

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\(^{12}\) http://www.kibera.org.uk

\(^{13}\) http://www.kibera.org.uk/Facts.html, 2011-11-12

\(^{14}\) http://www.kibera.org.uk/Facts.html, 2011-11-12
2.6 Tribalism

The post-colonial era

Before the British came to colonize Kenya in the late 19th century, the 42 tribes that existed lived spread out in the country. Kikuyu, Embu and Meru were the ones who inhabited the richest agricultural lands in central Kenya, the Great Rift Valley.15

The different tribes around Kenya had a lot of trade links to each other. In western Kenya the Luo and Luhya had lots of animals that were necessary for other tribes. But the trade was not the only way the tribes met each other. The Luo were very keen on owning land. This created aggression against the Nilotic Nandi, Luhya and Gusii. Also Kalenjin inhabitants were involved in warfare with different neighboring tribes. The main reason was the drought that often occurred during longer periods (Rutten, Owour, 2009).

The Maasai also fought with other tribes. During the 19th century they were involved in lots of battles. But this came to an end around 1895. That was when the British arrived.

The history after the colonization

Spears (2003) argue that it was the colonial authorities that created the real tribalism in Kenya. When the British arrived, they more or less took the land right out of the Kenyan tribes´ hands. The British divided the tribes into different groups, according to region and language, so they easier could control the people and collect taxes.

This divided the tribes much, and that became a big issue when the British left Kenya in 1963. The next year a republic was created, and the first Kenyan president was Jomo Kenyatta. He belonged to the Kikuyu tribe, the biggest tribe in Kenya (Spears, 2003).

When Jomo Kenyatta died, Daniel Moi became the next president. He belonged to the Kalenjin tribe. During this time the corruption spread widely in Kenya. That increased the gaps between the ones with the money, and those who had nothing. At the same time, some of the tribes got more and more influence in the business sector in Kenya, while others were left out. This even more increased the tribalism in the country (Rutten, Owour, 2009).

In 2002, violent demonstrations occurred before the presidential election. A huge pressure from the church and international organizations wanted to see a change in Kenya. Finally Moi backed down and the Kikuyu opposition leader Mwai Kibaki was elected president. This was seen as a chance to change many things within the society. Democracy was promoted, an

15 The Great Rift Valley is the largest valley in the world which goes from Ethiopia, through Kenya and Tanzania, to Mozambique. In Kenya the Great Rift Valley inhabitants many of the tribes.
economical growth was coming and social problems were told to be solved. But until today, many of those issues haven´t been sorted out (Rutten, Owour, 2009).

2.7 The post-election violence in 2007

In 2007 wide-spread violence among people with various ethnic backgrounds broke out in different parts of Kenya, after suspicions of cheating in the president- and parliament election (Ismail, Deane, 2008). This election became historical because of the high rate of voters. 14.4 million registered voters were counted, which is 82 percent of the eligible population in Kenya (Perkins, 2010). People that had lived side by side for a very long time became enemies and that resulted in the death of over 1000 people (Perkins, 2010). The main reason was that today´s president Kibaki lost the election, but refused to step down. Tribes fought against each other, those who had been neighbors for ages (Ismail, Deane, 2008).

Kibera was very exposed and many people lost their lives there. In the mainstream media, like the newspapers and TV, the people of Nairobi could follow what happened in the country, and they understood that violence was not an option.

One of the slum areas in Nairobi was different from the rest and was spared from violence: Korogocho (Ochieng, 2011). The main reason was that Korogocho one year earlier had started a community radio station called Koch FM. When the violence began, Koch FM informed the people what was going on and told them to keep calm and peaceful (Ochieng, 2011). But in Kibera, there was no one to tell the inhabitants to remain calm. That is why the violence became so devastating.

2.8 Definitions

2.8.1 Defining urban slum community radio

“A community radio station is characterized by its ownership and programming and the community it is authorized to serve. It is owned and controlled by a non-profit organization whose structure provides for membership, management, operation and programming primarily by members of the community at large. Its programming should be based on community access and participation and should reflect the special interests and needs of the listenership it is licensed to serve.”

(Independent Radio and Television Commission of Ireland, 1988)
All over Africa the number of community radios increases. But defining a community radio is not very easy. It is certain that a community radio should work for the community, be run by local people and have non-profit interests (Banda, 2003). There is no doubt community radios are very important in promoting community development in areas such as agriculture, health, gender and education (MISA, 2000).

Community radios are spread all over the world and can be found both in rural and urban areas. One has to concretize the meaning and role of the community radio in a specific area to be able to define what kind of radio it is. Diversity not only exists between cultures, but also within cultures (Lie 2003; Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). The meaning with this is that one really has to break down the hard facts of what purpose the community radio has, and for who they broadcast. Manyozo (2007) describes the difference between rural and other alternative media. He argues that the rural community radio produces programs meant for rural audiences and decentralized populations. Urban community radios are focusing more on correcting social and economic marginalization.

The focus in this thesis is on Pamoja FM broadcasting for the people living in Kibera, the biggest slum area in Nairobi. But it would be wrong to talk about the radio station only as a “community radio”, that would be to generalize all types of community radios. Pamoja FM focuses on serving the community of Kibera, and nothing more. Morris and Morton (1998, p. 12) describes a community as “a big family” while the rest of the society is a colder, unattached and more fragmented way of living.

One could say that the station is an urban community radio, but that’s not concrete enough either. In Nairobi there are several urban community radios broadcasting, all on the same frequency, 99.9. Many of the universities in Nairobi have their own community radio which discusses issues regarding the school area. In those community radios the radio announcers and producers are students coming from urban areas around Nairobi (Manyozo, 2009). That’s the reason why saying “urban community radio” is not enough either.

To really concretize and define what Pamoja FM is, one has to look at what type of area the radio is broadcasting to. What Pamoja FM is trying to do is to empower the people living in Kibera, and develop their life situations. Therefore, the right definition of the radio station is an “urban slum community radio”. That leaves out all the other urban community radios serving other parts of Nairobi.
2.8.2 Definition of middle- and upper class

In Kenya there are huge social gaps between poor and rich people. One of the reasons is that the education costs a lot. The school is free up to secondary school. After that it becomes difficult for the exposed poor people to get further in their education. One semester can cost more than 100000 Kenyan shillings (about 8, 6 USD, 2012-01-25). This is a lot of money in Kenya. For example, a person in Kibera lives on one dollar per day (Yusuf Nasur, 2011). For poor people to continue their education, they have to rely on a sponsor or a scholarship that can pay each semester. It’s just a lucky few that find a sponsor, therefore the main part of the poor in Kenya stay on the secondary school educational level.

But the people who can afford a continued education are the ones with good jobs with a decent salary. They have the opportunity to continue their education and in the future get better jobs. And as a student, if you don’t have the money to finance the university study, you ask your parents (Yusuf Nasur, 2011).

And it’s here that the gap between poor people and the middle- and upper class is defined by us. Those who are students at the university, belong to the middle- or upper class in Kenya. Yet, there are a few youth from Kibera that go to a university and that is a problem when defining the youth this way.

2.8.3 Defining youth

The United Nations defines “youth” as persons between the ages of 15 and 24, so when we talk about youth in this thesis that is what we mean. To be even more precise, our focus is “youth” in the age 18 to 24, young adults that according to the Kenyan law are adults.

“UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) understands that young people are a heterogeneous group in constant evolution and that the experience of ‘being young’ varies enormously across regions and within countries”.

3. Theoretical framework and previous research

In this chapter we account relevant theories and previous research used as tools for analyses and interpretations of our findings. In an early stage, when examining academic literature and different theoretical models, we found out that we needed to collect a lot of different theories to catch the complexity of what we were about to examine. This was necessary to be

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able to reach a deeper understanding in a field study like ours. The reader will first be guided through the chapters about empowerment and participation. After that uses and gratifications theory and the media dependency theory will be explained. There are two chapters about different kinds of theoretical approaches of community radio and also about the media user. It all ends with women’s role in radio production and problems with community radio.

3.1 Empowering youth with radio power

Many forms of alternative media empower marginalized populations by providing the tools of media production as an outlet for their voices (Wagg, 2009). Although the production of the radio artifact initiates the process, it is the legitimacy of the discursive space that is truly empowering for youth. Wagg (2009) explores and furthers current understandings of the relationship between alternative media production and youth empowerment by demonstrating how youth, in their own words, are empowered through their participation in the production process.

Murillo (2003) describes how the Colombian youth organization Guaviare Youth Movement started a community radio station in San Jose in the southern department of Guaviare in 1998. The station is called Juventud Stereo. They began to broadcast and their purpose was to get the youth a part of the public debate to improve the democratization process. It was during a time characterized by military conflict, economic chaos and social disintegration.

In 2002, Murillo (2003, p. 137) writes that the station really started to make progress by “...taking on more public affairs issues, formerly considered taboo, that reflect the organization’s agenda to promote youth and community participation and engender a democratic discourse”.

Juventud Stereo is a platform for open debate, and the listeners can call in and challenge the local politicians. The programmers, administrators and listeners of the station feel more confident to confront the intransigence of the rigid political system (Murillo, 2003).

Murillo (2003) also points out that Juventud Stereo is more than just a radio because they act as a social player in process of empowering youth. In 2001, during the soccer tournament “Copa America”, they gathered the people and showed the semifinal game between Honduras and Colombia on large screen projection. Murillo (2003) argues that it was more than just a soccer game. He writes that “...the young directors of the radio station had integrated themselves into a much broader process of local participation on the part of the
municipality’s youth, for years marginalized by politicians and local power brokers in the region” (Murillo, 2003, p. 121).

3.2 Participatory communication model

This study about empowering youth in poor communities is situated within this model. All the definitions the participatory communication model discusses are topics our research work involves too. What this model is all about is the paradigm of “another development”. The importance lies within the cultural identity of local communities and of democratization and participation. Social institutions and relational patterns are results of the process of the communication, together with horizontality of communication. Because of this, this model suites better for qualitative research more than quantitative (Banda, 2003).

“Conscientisation” is a key word in the participatory communication model. It’s a process in which dialogue is more conscious about the social structure. When it comes to the sender-receiver approach, it’s only the receiver’s perspective that is vital. Freire (1996) writes that in traditional systems the receiver was supposed to be passive and uncritical, and leave the world to the elite. But Freire wanted a new dialogical pedagogy where the receivers were more involved in what happened. In that way, his new theory of participation became praxis for social and political transformation.

A profile of participatory communication was designed by Guncio-Dagron (2001):

- **An issue of power.** The democratization of communication cuts through the issue of power. The concept of participatory is to approach decision-making close to the people. It also helps people in the community to by themselves develop and confront their ideas to grow. That favors the idea of an internal democratic process.

- **An issue of identity.** Participatory communication helps to install the cultural pride and self-esteem to those communities that are marginalized and neglected. Through organization it strengthens the local and indigenous thinking. While it strengthens the integration, it also protects tradition and cultural values. A communication process is therefore a must for community development, and it has to happen with respectful cultural exchanges.
One of the advantages of participatory communication is that it is horizontal. It treats people as dynamic actors that are active in the social change of society. The people also have the tools to communicate with superiors to be able to make a change. Due to the process in participatory communication it enables people to shape their own future through a dialogue. That’s better than just campaigning, which only leads to mobilizing people, and not build a capacity to respond from the community level to the needs of change.

The long-term process in developing the community and the collective of interests prevents the risk of losing power to a few people. Gumcio-Dagron (2001) describes the term “with” which describes the meaning of participation instead of “for”, which will not be as effective for the community’s development.

By being very specific in the needs the participation communication can form the content to each community; social groups, language, culture and media. And with “people´s needs” instead of “donor´s must” community-based dialogue and communication can work as tools as a help to identify and define the real needs in the community. It’s either that, or else it becomes a donor-driven communication that are based on donor needs.

The community media must be owned by the people to provide equal opportunities to the community. It can’t be owned by politicians or religious people that just want to spread their word; it has to be for everyone, by everyone.

Participatory communication is also seen as a process of raising consciousness and deeper understanding about social reality, problems and solutions, rather than persuasion for short-term behavioral changes (Gumcio-Dagron, 2001).

Altogether, empowerment is the main key word in participatory communication. Through the community’s own priorities and standards it works without an authoritarian overtone. Banda (2003) argues that participation within community radio can be realized through the members in such a way that their participation becomes more an expression of the community rather than for the community.

Wigston (2001) has pointed up demands for a community radio if it wants to work with participation, empowerment and culture:

- It has to be fully controlled by a non-profit entity and carried on for non-profitable purposes
- It must serve a particular community
- It has to encourage the population of the community to participate in the selection and provision of programs to be broadcast
It may be funded by donations, grants or sponsorships

3.3 Uses and gratifications theory
This theory follows a model based on an audience-centered approach. Psychological and social characteristics and social situations are important for the theory, together with the purpose of satisfying a need for an active audience.

The base for uses and gratifications is that it is the audience who seeks the media, instead of the media tries to reach out to the audience. And by this the audience satisfies a need. People feel more confident when they have more knowledge and can add information to a conversation which they have learnt from the media (Rubin, Windahl, 1982). The audience has expectations on the media, and therefore they choose the media that fits and benefits them and in the end leads to ultimate gratification.

Levy and Windahl (1984) argue that audience activity can cover a big range of possible orientations to the communication process. But individuals tend to act differently when it comes to types and amounts of communication settings.

3.4 Media dependency theory
The media dependency theory can be seen as an extension to the uses and gratification approach to media. The more dependent a person gets to a specific medium the more important and significant the media becomes for that person. The dependency can be looked upon as a relationship between the behavior of the audience, the society and the media content (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1976). The goal is satisfaction for the individual, through his or her desire for information. The greater number of interest the media confirms to the individual, the bigger dependency. And that explains why the media messages have affective, variable and cognitive effects. Media that only touches a few things that are of interest doesn’t get the same kind of influence as the others (Littlejohn, Foss, 2002). Individuals are often more dependent on a specific medium if the number of available media are limited. If the alternatives are many, it is harder to depend on the media.

Ball-Rokeach (1985) argues that media dependency is high when an individual’s goal satisfaction relies on information from the media system. Media dependency is created when individuals either intentionally seek out information or use specific communication media channels (Ruggiero, 2000).
An aspect of the dependency theory is also that the dependency of media is bound to income. Some individuals that have a low income and are more attached to their home and community rely more on the media.

### 3.5 Four theoretical approaches to community radio

There are many ways of looking at and analyze alternative media use. The research field covers the individual’s opinion, media’s credibility, media’s influence and the relationship between media use and social engagement.

Antoni (2002) points out that more or less all the media researchers aim at the same goal: To increase the knowledge of why and how media are used by people in different cultures and social conditions. And also to find out what impact the media use has to the culture and society. But there are different ways of looking on and analyzing this. The researchers have different approaches to best accomplish their goals (Antoni, 2002).

Bailey, Cammaerts and Carpentier (2007) describe four different approaches to analyzing alternative media, which is presented below.

**Approach one: Serving a community**

In this first approach, the word “community” is the key. Alternative media, in this case Pamoja FM, should be there to strengthen and validate the community. It’s very important that the alternative media treats everyone living in the community as citizens and they should broadcast for all the individuals: Everybody must have something to listen to. By that, the participation becomes a big part of the everyday life. The alternative media has to enable contacts in every corner of the community so that everyone feels involved with the production. And through the participation, interesting and relating topics should be accessible for the people living in the community. Phone-ins and sms-contacts have to be available.

The alternative media must be there for misrepresented, stigmatized and repressed societal groups (Bailey, Cammaerts, Carpentier, 2007).

**Approach two: An alternative to the mainstream**

This second approach focuses on notion of the alternative media. It seeks a distinction between alternative media and mainstream media. Here the alternative media is seen as a supplement to the mainstream media. Alternative ways of organization, with a more horizontally focus than a vertical, is important. The alternative media shows that you can
survive without the state and market. While commercial mainstream media tends to be more and more market-oriented, alternative media shows that being the “third sector” is still an option as a media organization.

When it comes to contents in the programs, alternative media offers more about ideologies and representation than mainstream media, and by that it gets easier to participate and relate to the topics. The alternative media provides space to local manifestations, to ethnic minority groups and they talk about local political issues. Mainstream media on the other hand tends to be more about elites and governmental issues (Bailey, Cammaerts, Carpentier, 2007).

**Approach three: Linking alternative media to civil society**

Here the alternative media is seen as the “third voice” between commercial media and state media, thus it becomes a crucial part of the civil society. Through that, the democratization of media allows the people to participate more in the daily life; it becomes firstly a micro-participation. And when the citizens learn more about their rights in the society, they can adopt more democratic attitudes. Then it secondly becomes a macro-participation.

As part of the society, the alternative media contribute to the democratization through the media. Their alternative audience gets a chance to participate through a public debate and in a public sphere.

One problem with this approach is that alternative media sometimes is seen as a threat to the state. They can be outsourced because of the financially struggles they have, something that is not a problem for commercial media that rely on advertising (Bailey, Cammaerts, Carpentier, 2007).

**Approach four: Alternative media as rhizome**

This approach aims to three aspects: The role at the crossroads of civil society, the elusiveness and the interconnection with market and state. It doesn´t focus on the public sphere, but on the crossroads where people from struggles and different types of movements meet and collaborate. Through this the democracy deepens by linking the people that are different from each other. The approach makes it possible to highlight the fluidity of media organizations. The elusive identity of alternative media means that they can destabilize the certainties of public and commercial media.

One can´t say that alternative media is totally outside the state and market. Often there is some kind of relationship between them. Generally it is because the alternative media is in some way dependent on the state to survive (Bailey, Cammaerts, Carpentier, 2007).
3.6 Theoretical aspects of the media user

Rudolf Antoni (2002) has described four different ways of analyzing how the audience uses media. One can see the user as:

- **A citizen**: Here the research is not interested in what the user use in media. It’s more about how the user can be part of the society and participate.
- **An individual**: The science is interested in *how* and *why* the media user uses the kind of media that he or she does.
- **A mass**: The focus in this aspect is on how many people use different media; like TV, radio or newspaper.
- **An effect**: It’s about how the media users are affected by media. The researches try to figure out what kind of effect the media has on an individual.

In this thesis, we choose to see the media user as an **individual**. In this aspect, the individual is divided from the big mass of media users, and in that way he or she is given more space to more active individual media consumption. What the researcher is interested in is not how many persons look at TV, or how many that read the newspaper. It’s more about *how* and *why* they consume it (Antoni, 2002).

The starting-point is that humans actively choose what media to consume, and also that humans have a great power to interpret certain contents according to their own context. But this doesn’t mean that the media users all be themselves make their own decisions, without influence by other aspects. On the contrary the external cultural and social environment has a big influence on the individual.

Although, it’s the relation of power between the media and the individual that benefits to the individual. The media cannot decide when, where and how the media content should be used. And not either how it should be perceived. These interpretations and decisions lie with the individual herself.

The reason we choose this aspect is that Pamoja FM have visions of participation from the community. Each and every citizen has the opportunity to participate in the public debate as an individual. Another reason why we find this approach most relevant is because this is a qualitative research with pretty few respondents. In Kibera, there is also a multicultural context with different tribes and religions represented. The complexity in how people act and think is, regarding to that, wider. Therefore, it’s difficult to generalize and categorize people into different boxes. What we have are simply 12 young adults among about 1 million people
in Kibera. Every individual is unique. If one see each individual as more free, it will be easier to see the results from different perspectives, which suites a field research like this one.

3.7 Women´s situation in radio production

Previous research exposes that community radio often has a big influence on women´s empowerment. Feminist International Radio Endeavour (FIRE) started as a grassroots´ women’s community radio in 1991, and has now grown a lot. The organization now supports women’s community radio all over world, especially in sub-Saharan Africa (Gatua, Patton, Owens, Brown, 2010). FIRE has made a great progress in promoting and empowering women, and also “enable women to feel there is no restriction on their creativity and have enabled them to expand their horizons concerning what can be aired” (Gatua, Patton, Owens, Brown, 2010, p. 175).

Without considering gender issues, research related to community radio may in fact further marginalize individuals and groups (Myers, 2009). There is still a conservative view on women in many parts of Africa. Lelei (2005) points out that “women’s voices rarely contribute to policy debate about gender equity and poverty reduction. In most countries in Africa, women play a central role in family, community and social development. However, women often remain invisible and unheard and this has exacerbated their positions of marginality” (p. 162).

Radio, in many communities in Africa, is more or less the only media that is accessible and even affordable (Gatua, Patton, Brown, 2010). Sterling (2009, p. 3) points out that “Community radios are Africa’s internet”. Women are still not proportionally represented in the radio production (Thompson, Gomez, Toro, 2005). Myers (2009) writes that when women are presenters on the radio they mostly talk about positive aspects of things, and often they only discuss women issues, only to attract female listeners. But it has shown that women are the ones that listen the most to the radio in developing countries. Their work includes often child rearing, cooking and cleaning. While doing that, they listen to the radio. In a 2000 study of three thousand poor, rural women in four sub-Saharan countries, 91.1 percent of respondents indicated that they listened to the radio (Sibanda, 2001). 67.8 percent of these women indicated that they, not their husbands, owned radio sets.

Women meet obstacles every day when it comes to being a part of the radio production and participation. Only one out of two women in developing countries can read (Manyozo, 2007). Through life they have a hard time getting educated because they often have to be at home
and take care of the household and the children. The lack of education also creates boundaries when it comes to other obstacles. Very few women can afford the equipment they need to be a part of the information flow (Manyozo, 2007).

The mobilization process within community radio should be participatory, dialogical and informative for the population (Manyozo, 2007). Therefore it’s important to get the women involved in the production too, to be able to reach out to all the audiences. Collins (2011) discusses how women’s under-representation in media affects the audience: “If young girls do not see themselves reflected in media, will this diminish their sense of importance and self-esteem? Will boys conclude that women and girls are unimportant, as well? Will girls lack role models? Will adult women feel disenfranchised?” (Collins, 2011, p. 3).

It’s still difficult to see what consequences the under-representation of women has. But it is certain that women listening to the radio learn better from a female presenter than a male presenter (Collins, 2011). Women only represent a fourth of the journalistic employees in Kenya, and when it comes to full time-employment, the women represent 35 percent (IWMF, p. 96-100). Although in the International Women’s Media Foundation’s report 80 percent of the news companies had a policy for gender equality and sexual harassment.

3.8 Problems with community radio

Surviving as a community radio can sometimes be very difficult. The station has to lean on several aspects to be able to sustain their broadcasting. The community radio don’t work with the same starting-points as commercial radio stations do. Some of the problems include unrealistic and irrelevant capacity building in management, programming and marketing. And the biggest issue of all is the financial unsustainability (Manyoso, 2009).

The main part of the community radios are funded by NGO:s and other help organizations. Without that contribution to the radio station, it would be hard to survive at all. The donors purchase transmitters, equipment, salary, electricity, staff training and more (Manyoso, 2007). To call a radio station a community radio, one demand is that there should be no advertising. That makes the NGO:s very powerful. Only they can, through their funds, decide if the community radio should continue broadcasting or not. And because of the big influence, they can also be part of the agenda setting. NGO:s can, through their contribution and sponsoring to certain broadcasted programs, be able to decide what the program should be about. But what the NGO:s don’t understand is that their information is too difficult for the citizens that

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17 None-governmental organization.
live in the community. It often contains too academic information that gets hard to perceive (Yusuf Nasur, 2011).

One challenge that especially affects Kibera is the big culture divide that exists within the community. This makes it difficult for Pamoja FM to involve the whole community, and in the same time they don’t want to talk about certain tribes after what happened in 2007. They talk more about “Kenyanism” (Yusuf Nasur, 2011). But the tribalism has deep roots in the Kenyan mentality, and it’s difficult not to involve your tribe when you talk about politics. Still, when Kenyans vote to the parliament, they vote for the person that belongs to the same tribe. “People still take their politics according to their tribe, it’s not issue based”, Yusuf Nasur points out.

One problem that is in symbiosis with the financial issue is the understaffing and overworking (Fordie, Lloyd, 1998). Due to the fact that the community radio doesn’t have the money to pay their staff, the good, well trained staff disappears. Most of the staff begins their radio career at community radios, and when they come in they do it without any training. The universities have journalistic education, but there are none that are focused on development issues (Nyamnjoh, 2005). That makes it harder for the staff that is trained to discuss and in a professional way educate the citizens in the community about these issues. And it’s difficult for the staff to work as real journalists, because they have only had training in the field. To be able to really understand the journalistic task within the specific social and cultural context, they have to have both worked in the field and also theoretically in school (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Much of the bad journalism in Africa at large is blamed on the lack of professional training. This has, according to Nyamnjoh (2005), affected the capabilities of the messenger and the nature of the message and how it is received. Also, this has made the quality, prestige and credibility in the journalism suffer.

Community radio staff consists most often of people living within the community they broadcast to (Nyamnjoh, 2005). They are often poor as the rest of the community, and working as a volunteer is not an option for a very long time. As mentioned above, that makes it hard for the community radios to keep the good staff. The mainstream media, where you get a good salary, is therefore a much better option. This, in the end, creates a bad circle of staff leaving the community radio. The ones that are trained, that know how to reach out to the citizens, disappear to the mainstream media. Because of this, the community radios rely much on volunteer services. The volunteers often work as producers, presenters and technicians (Manyoso, 2009). Overworking is therefore not unusual, and there are also patterns of status conflicts between the paid staff and the unpaid staff (Fordie, Lloyd, 1998).
Yusuf Nasur (2011) is uncertain of the impact of the influence from the mainstream media. One threat for the preserving of the culture in a community is the influence of the mainstream media. The mainstream media don’t have a winning when it comes to discuss community issues. They broadcast what is “in”. And what’s “in” right now is the western culture. More and more Kenyan mainstream media try to act like they do in western media. This is, according to Yusuf Nasur (2011), a threat for preserving the local culture, which is one of the main goals community radios often have. But in the same time, mainstream media isn’t only bad. Even if they don’t discuss community issues concretely, they do discuss issues that affects the whole country, like HIV/aids, health and crime. A community radio’s goal is to reach out to the whole community and everyone living there, men and women. But a problem that community radios often have is the gender inequality (Fordie, Lloyd, 1998). Mostly men are broadcasting to the audience, which can lead to women feeling excluded. The community radio has to work for gender based issues to make the whole community feel that they can participate.

4. Research Methodology

*In this chapter the different methodologies used in the research are described. The methods used are field observations and focus groups, through semi-structured interviews. We also describe how we worked in the field during the study and why these methods suited our field research.*

4.1 Field observations

Field studies and observations have many advantages when it comes to analyzing media. For one thing, many media issues cannot be analyzed in a different methodology approach than through field observations. Being out on the field often helps the researcher to define basic background information (Winmer, 2000). Also, there is data that cannot be collected through other methods. Lack of reading skills can make, for example, questionnaires worthless.

Field observations may also provide access to groups of people that otherwise would stand outside the normal observation. It’s always better to get to know the field and a specific group of people to gain their trust. In that way the observation gets higher credibility (Winmer, 2000).
4.2 Focus groups

Using focus groups in the field is a way of understanding audience’s attitudes and behavior (Winnmer, 2000). A small number of people, maximum twelve, are interviewed simultaneously, with a moderator leading the respondents in a quite unstructured way. The procedure is then a wide group discussion, to let everyone contribute to what is discussed.

Using focus group as a method is considered very useful (Winnmer, 2000). The researcher can collect a huge amount of material from what the group is discussing. This material is useful both in pilot studies and in qualitative researches.

Using a focus group instead of individual interviews is in our research considered a better option. The interviews become more complete because one respondent’s remark tends to stimulate the others to think in different patterns that they use to. Their line of thinking expands during the interview session and contributes the discussion. But it’s also very important that the moderator knows when follow-up questions should be asked and don’t interrupt the group (Winnmer, 2000).

4.3 Different kinds of qualitative interviews

A central aspect that defines different kinds of qualitative interviews is how the questions are worked out and decided before the session. There are three different ways of deciding how to approach the focus group: Structured -, semi-structured -, and unstructured interviews (Østbye, Knapskog, Helland, Larsen, 2008).

In structured interviews, the moderator has predefined questions. But the possible answers are quite open. The questions are likely to be asked within a schedule. It’s very strict how the questions are asked and in what order, in an attempt to standardize and neutralize the questioning process (Deacon, Pickering, Golding, Murdock, 2007). Structured interviews are effective if the researcher is going to do tables.

A semi-structured interview is characterized by themes that are predefined. The moderator has a kind of interview guide that is used during the session. This gives the moderator lots of flexibility to ask follow-up questions in the discussion. The goal is to get a wide, open-ended dialogue with the interviewees. Semi-structured interviews are often used combined with field observation. During the field observation the researcher can understand what is important for the following individual or group interview.

Unstructured interviews are used when the researcher just wants knowledge about a specific context. For example, the researcher may want information about the society the focus group
lives within. The themes and questions in the interview are not defined from the start; they come up during the interview session. It can be difficult to call the session an interview too: It becomes more like an unofficial conversation. But on the other hand, the acknowledgements and information can be very useful for further, more structured interviews (Østbye, Knapskog, Helland & Larsen, 2008).

4.4 Method for collecting of material

To best understand the influence of Pamoja FM, we agreed that a qualitative research would be the most effective for a field study. We reckoned if we did a qualitative research through focus groups with youth representing different ages we would get a good picture of how the youth use media and perceive Pamoja FM. Also, with a questionnaire there could have been a lot of comprehension problems. Therefore, the best way to interview the youth was through face-to-face interviews. That would give the moderator freedom to elaborate and rephrase questions that were not understood the first time they were asked (Deacon, Pickering, Golding, Murdock, 2007).

But to understand the influence of Pamoja FM and the whole media situation among youth in Nairobi, we decided it was best to talk to youth that don’t live in Kibera too. We wanted to explore the differences in media consumption between youth from the middle- and upper class in Nairobi and the youth living in Kibera. This was how we came in touch with USIU (United States International University) in Nairobi. In that way we could compare the differences in media use among these different youth groups in Nairobi to get a deeper understanding of youth and their use of news media.

Even here, we decided that focus groups would be the best way to get the youth talking. We knew we wanted wide discussions so that the answers became more complete. To get a good choice of youth at USIU we decided to look up the respondents for the upcoming focus groups in the university cafeteria. Doing it that way, we had no idea what they were studying or how old they were, and therefore the choice became created without prejudices. We began with two groups: One with five men, one with five women.

When we had found the youth at USIU that we understood represented the right ages we began the interviews. The first group was with the men. After that we interviewed the women.

18 All the names in the thesis are pseudonyms.
19 The group with the men consisted of Peter, Jack, Abdallah, Mohammed and Ray, all between 18-24 years old.
Our goal with the interviews was to get a lively discussion with the youth filling in each other’s answers. This is why we used the semi-structured approach during the interviews. Most of the questions asked by the moderator (one of us) were decided before the interview session. In that way we could get the group to deepening their answers and think one more time. The moderator used a voice recorder and passed each question around so that everybody had to speak their mind. Also, during the interview, the one who wasn’t the moderator took notes and tried to read between the lines in the answers to get a deeper understanding.

We were uncertain if the number of students in the focus groups at USIU would be enough for our research. But we felt after the group discussion that we couldn’t get anything more out of the questions. In the end of the group discussion the students’ thoughts were more or less the same regarding the questions.

When we went to Kibera to meet the youth there, the procedure was quite different. Instead of going out in the community looking for youths, we let a man that was involved in Pamoja FM take us to a number of independent youth organizations. Youth organizations are spread out all over Kibera. We first visited five different youth organizations and just talked to them about the situation in Kibera. The next time we met the youth, we decided ourselves who we wanted to participate. In that way we didn’t get youth that had some kind of relation to Pamoja FM.

What we began with were three men from the youth organization\textsuperscript{21}. They gave us their point of view about the media in Nairobi and Kibera and about Pamoja FM. By using the same kind of interview; semi-structured, we could get the youth to participate more in the discussion, which grew during the interview session.

The next sessions were with first three women\textsuperscript{22}, then another three men\textsuperscript{23} and finally three more women\textsuperscript{24}. We separated the men and women so that they could be as open minded as possible. This was important for the gender issue too; we wanted to see how they looked upon Pamoja FM through that perspective. After the interviews we felt that the answers looked more or less the same, and we considered the material rich enough. Our goal wasn’t to build up a large number of similar cases for the purpose of making broader inferences, but rather to stop gathering information when we felt that the answers didn’t give more revealing information. Even after twelve interviews we had reached the saturation point in the research

\textsuperscript{20}The women’s group consisted of Purity, Claudette, Serena, Sonya and Pauline; all were between 18 and 24 years old.
\textsuperscript{21}This group consisted of Hassan, Jomo and Jems. They were between 20-23 years old.
\textsuperscript{22}Clara, Faith and Julia, between 19-23 years old.
\textsuperscript{23}Michael, Felix and George, between 20-24 years old.
\textsuperscript{24}Vivianne, Destiny and Maria, between 22-24 years old.
Since this is a field study, we needed to see more about the daily life in Kibera. To understand the underlying thoughts of the youth in the community, we often went there just to spend time with the youth and followed them around in their everyday life. In that way we collected huge amounts of information to the background part in the thesis, information that is decisive for the reader to understand the community mentality. For a researcher, just to read about Kibera isn’t enough, one has to be there to really understand what the citizens´ lives are like.

To get a more complete understanding about Kibera and Pamoja FM from another perspective, we also interviewed the chief of administration at Pamoja FM, Maalim Yusuf Nasur, who had been living in Kibera his entire life. Previous academic research about Kibera gets you a long way, but it doesn´t illustrate the real mentality of the community.

In this interview, we used the unstructured approach to get our answers. Maalim Yusuf Nasur was given time to explain how the community radio works, what their challenges were and what the future looked like. He also told us about the Kibera history: How the community was created and why the community looks like it does today, with all the poverty and tough life situations.

We transcribed all of the interviews we made without leaving anything out. After we finished the transcriptions we summarized and accounted for the opinions in the result chapter. We did not add the transcribed material as attachments because it was too large.

### 4.5 Self-criticism to the methodology

Field observations are effective in a lot of ways, but there are many limitations too especially when it comes to validity. The researcher will get information about the specific subject, but only in a certain context. She won’t see how the research subjects acts in different situations, with different people around and in different circumstances (Winnmer, 2000).

Another critic involves the researcher’s perceptions and judgments on the field that may have preconceived notions about the material under study and may tend to be biased toward their fixed notions but note what is revealed by the data (Winnmer, 2000). This of course is against the ethics of academic research so there is need to have at least two collaborating researchers who cross-validate data to get the right information.

There is the challenge of respondents falsifying information or altering behavior while on observation referred to as reactivity especially common in field observations. Research has
shown that people really do act differently when they know an observer is taking notes. They tend to be more polite or nicer (Winnmer, 2000).

When it comes to focus groups, the method has some disadvantages. It’s not unusual that one person in the group takes the lead and tries to impose his or her opinion on other participants. This may affect the performance of the rest of the group in that way that they reveal their real opinion. This was not a problem when we talked to the youth at USIU, but we saw this in Kibera where the first respondent to the questions talked more invalidating the different responses that others would have given. When this happened, the moderator had to be patient and wait for an up-coming answer and giving each respondent an opportunity to give views on issue at hand.

The moderator’s role in the focus group requires professionalism in discerning what further information was required to keep the discussion from going out of context. If the moderator interrupted and said anything inappropriate, it is believed to have a chilling effect on the group’s performance (Winnmer, 2000). The female women respondents from Kibera tended to be quiet in the beginning, and it was difficult to get good answers from them as they were more conversant with the use of Swahili other than English. Luckily, we had a friend with us who spoke Swahili and translated the questions to Swahili which made them more comfortable to give better answers.

Although a big part of the population in Kibera there is unemployed, the people there are very effective in finding job opportunities and the women engage in a variety of activities in the home-front hence a challenge to get a sizable number of times as respondents.

Since this was a qualitative research with small focus groups, we are not sure if the finding can be generalized to be reflective of the perceptions of all the youth living in Kibera. However, we have justified the appropriateness of the selected methodology for the purpose intended in this study.

5. Result

In this chapter the results of the interviews are shared. The first chapter treats what is called the “side-track” in the question formulation, which means the comparison between media use between the middle- and upper class in Nairobi and the youth living in Kibera. The chapter also covers trust and relevance; is the news relevant to the youth and can they trust in it?
The second chapter is all about perceptions of Pamoja FM, our main part in the question formulation.

5.1 Media use

In this part the result of how the youth in Kibera and in the USIU use news media in their everyday lives is shown. The result covers the questions of their source of information and news, if they prefer local, national or international news and why they use a specific media. Also the questions about whether the news and information given by the media are relevant to the youth or not and if they trust in the media are showed.

5.1.1 Source of information and news

Women in Kibera:
On the question about what kind of source they use for news and information they say TV, radio and newspapers. Four out of six of the women say that Pamoja FM is their main source of news and information. Internet has a very small importance for the women, only one woman say that she used internet occasionally. TV is second most important media, they say that they like to get the images and that TV is complementary to the radio. When they use TV, it is mostly for dramas and soap operas.

   Julia:
   “Since Pamoja FM started we stick to it because it informs us on everything going on in Kibera. They give us the breaking news immediately.”

None of the women read the newspapers on daily basis. Three women say they never read. The main reason is lack of time and that they can’t afford it. All the women are literate.

Women at USIU:
They use TV, radio, cellphones, newspapers, internet and social media for news and information, basically all types of media. Everybody search for news on the internet. Four out of five get news from TV and two out of five read the newspapers. Twitter is very popular for the women to get the breaking news fast. Radio seems to be the least popular media for news. They basically only use the commercial radio for music and entertainment. All of the women say they don’t like the newspapers because it is way too much about politics.
They also say that they prefer free news and information and that is also a reason why they like internet. The two girls who read the newspapers say that they don’t pay for it, someone else in the family pays for it.

Pauline:
“I prefer internet because it’s free and it’s easy. The paper is a bit too bulky and hulky and it’s a bit hard to carry around.

Men in Kibera:
All six men in Kibera say that radio is their main source when they look for news and information. Only one out of six says that he reads the newspaper on daily basis. The reason why the rest of the group don’t read is because it is too expensive. All the men are literate. The explanation why the men read the newspapers is to get information about different business opportunities. Three of the men say they use TV for information and it is mainly when they search for international news.

Men at USIU:
Among the group, the source of news and information is mostly TV and internet. All five men say that they use to read the newspapers too, but they seldom buy it. Instead they look for cheap news and information on the internet or on TV. Even social media, like Facebook and Twitter, is one of their main sources to go to. The few times they use radio, they only listen to commercial radio just for entertainment.

Ray:
“The different type of media will not inform in the same way. So if I want concrete news I watch TV. But if I want the whole story I go to the newspaper. Although, the news I read in the paper I probably watched last night in the news on TV. Sometimes I therefore find the news in the paper irrelevant. My generation uses the internet mostly.”
5.1.2 Local, national or international news

Women in Kibera:
All of the women in Kibera say that they prefer all kinds of news because they think it’s important to stay tuned. But they point out that they are more interested in news affecting them directly and those they can relate to. Basically all of them prefer the local issues.

Destiny:
“I don’t only want to think Kibera, I want to think worldwide. The international and national news is as important as our community news. I have to know about the people and the world outside too, not only about our own issues.”

All of them have either friends, family members or relatives living and working in other countries and therefore they want to stay updated about those countries and follow the international news reporting.

Vivianne:
“It’s important because my dad is working in Uganda and I’m here so I have to know what is going on there. And my sister is in Saudi Arabia and my uncle is in London. I want to know everything about every place.”

Women at USIU:
All of the five women say that they stay tuned in international, national and local news. They all prefer international news that directly affected them or Kenya.

Purity: “I prefer a little of everything. International news if it affects us. But sometimes I just want to know what’s going on in the world. Local news too but I think the national news is too much about politics.”

Sonya:
“Before, it was more local news. But now I prefer more international news because I think what’s going on in the world affects us more now, like the world economy and oil issues.”
Men in Kibera:
All the men answer that they prefer local news about Kibera. They need to know what is going on in their community, this they all agree on. But international news is also important for them. They have an interest in knowing what is happening in the world. The ongoing Kenyan war with al-Shabaab is the main reason they follow the national and international news right now.

One problem with the international and national news is that the youth can´t relate to the topics. They all feel that especially the newspapers concentrate on issues that don´t affect Kibera. The main reason why they read the newspapers is to look for jobs. The second reason is to read about sports.

Michael:
“Most of the topics I don´t find relevant for me. If you go deeper in the paper the topics are actually boring. I can notice the things they write about are only to attract the rich part of the society and the business oriented kind of people. It´s not actually meant for me. Sometimes the frontline attracts me but the deeper I go into the paper the more boring it gets. All the advertisement is for rich people.”

Men at USIU:
Everybody thinks that international news is most important for them. But national and local news also play an important role in their everyday life. Four out of five say that the issues in the national media are vital to follow because they need to know what is going on in the country. What they don´t like is the big amount of political news in the national media.

Jack:
“It’s the bizarreness of the worldwide news that interests me. I’m not interested in what’s happening in Kenya. Most of the news in the local scene is political. I think you have to mix it up. You have to look on the real news values.”

5.1.3 Preferred media and channels

Women in Kibera:
Pamoja FM is the most popular station for news and information when it comes to radio listening. Only one of the women says that she just listens to Pamoja FM very seldom because
she thinks it is boring. Two of the women listen to commercial radio, basically Easy FM and Classic FM, but only for music. For the international news they prefer BBC broadcasting on Pamoja FM. Two major reasons why the youth listen to Pamoja FM is because they find the topics discussed relevant and that they like that it is the only station targeting the citizens of Kibera directly.

Faith:
“*They inform us on everything going on in Kibera. They give us the breaking news immediately, even internationally through BBC.*”

The two women who like TV prefer the channels Citizen and KBC (Kenya Broadcasting Corporation) for news and information. One woman says that she uses Al Jazeera and CNN for international news as a complement to BBC broadcasting on Pamoja FM.

Maria:
“*KBC and Citizen go deeper into national news which I prefer. KBC also broadcasts in Kiswahili and that is the language all of us understand. The topics are relevant for me because they bring important and local news and discussing our daily issues, which I think educates illiterate young people that maybe haven’t gone to school.*”

When they read newspapers, it is either Daily Nation or East African Standard, the two major ones. But none of them buy it. They rent it or read it if they have the opportunity.

There is only one out of six women that uses internet and social media like Facebook. She uses her cell phone for that.

**Women at USIU:**
They mainly use internet for news and information. Twitter, CNN, Daily Nation’s and East African Standard’s online papers are the most common sites among this group.

The second most popular media for news and information is TV. They say they watch CNN, KBC and KTN (Kenya Television Network) most.

They basically only listen to radio for music and entertainment. The commercial stations KISS FM, One FM and Classic FM are the most popular stations.
Men in Kibera:
All men say that Pamoja FM is the most important media for them. Everybody uses it every day, many have Pamoja FM tuned in during the time they are working with something. Some other radio stations they use are KISS FM and Classic 105 FM, for music and entertainment.

The most used TV channel is Citizen. The reason why they use it is because they focus on more local news than other channels. Only three men use to watch TV, the rest say they don’t do it because they cannot afford it.

When they read newspapers, Daily Nation and East African Standard are the most popular ones. One man says he use to read Kibera Journal, a local newspaper.

Men at USIU:
When they listen to radio, which is very seldom, they prefer commercial radio stations like KISS FM, Capitol FM and X FM for music and entertainment. No one ever listen to community radio stations like Pamoja FM and Koch FM. But they sometimes listen to their own community radio, which is being aired within the university area.

Ray:
“I hardly consume radio. The only time I consume radio is when I’m in a bus. Classic FM is the most popular morning show, so that’s what I listen to.”

The TV channels they use are KTN, Citizen and KBC. They use the same newspapers as the youth in Kibera; Daily Nation and East African Standard. The difference is that the youth at USIU mostly read the paper on the internet.

5.1.4 Relevance and trust

Women in Kibera:
Three of the women in Kibera say they don’t feel that the TV channels are targeting them. But two of them like to watch the news on TV, either on Citizen or KBC, because they feel they are dealing with issues that are relevant for them.

Clara:
“I don’t really see the use of TV for news. I think the Pamoja FM is far better because they are the only media that deal with our issues.”
Overall they don’t feel that other media are targeting them and their issues in Kibera that much. For international news, they find the ones that takes place in geographical areas were they have relatives living or working more relevant.

Also, they say that most of the national mainstream news on TV, newspapers and radio are very far from their reality even though some of them are interested in it.

Even though some of them, from time to time, read the newspapers they say they don’t feel it is really meant for them.

Julia:

“A lot of the national news is just like stories to me. It’s not relevant for me if they write about money or so. We have our own economy in Kibera and what they write about isn’t for us. If it is something that directly affects us I’m are interested.”

Three of the women say that they feel excluded from the rest of the Kenyan society because the mainstream media aren’t targeting them.

Destiny:

“In some way you can say we are locked out but we stay updated. It’s good that Pamoja FM get us updated about what’s going on globally and nationally too.”

Two women don’t agree about that they feel excluded in some way even though they agree on that most of the media don’t target the people living in Kibera and their issues.

Faith:

“That is not the case. Pamoja FM got their link to BBC and if something big is happening here the mainstream media will come here.”

Five of the women say they trust that Pamoja FM gives truthful news about the community. Due to their own participation they say they know that the news isn’t redone or have been made up. One woman cannot say whether she trusts Pamoja FM or not, because she so seldom listens.
Women at USIU:
The women at USIU say that the news given by the mainstream media is relevant for them most of the time. More if it is African news but less if it is international news outside Africa. They think the local news is very politically based and that doesn’t catch their interest.

For example, the news about American politics is not relevant because it is too far away for them, both culturally and geographically. But when a ship was sinking outside Zanzibar they could relate to it because something similar could happen along Kenya’s coastline.

They agree on that about 80 percent of the international news flow don’t affect them and therefore the topics are not relevant for them.

Serena:
“I would say it is like a joke. If you tell me a Swedish joke you would laugh but I don’t get it because I don’t know what your country is like. It’s like the international news.”

Even though the women at USIU don’t listen to Pamoja FM or any other community radio (except their university radio) they sometimes unintentionally hear Pamoja FM when they pass Kibera. They say they find the issues Pamoja FM discusses irrelevant.

Claudette:
“Kibera is so far away from our world. When they discuss economic issues for example they pay like 2 shillings for a cigarette and 1 shilling for a bit of toothpaste. We are laughing but for them it’s such a serious topics. It’s like a culture chock for me when I go to the slam. We went there with the school one time and what I learned was that what they discuss there is things that are relevant for them. They discussed a lot about rape victims and that is apparently a big issue there, but I cannot relate to it.”

None of the women say they really trust the media. Since the post-election violence in 2007 their commitment to different media has decreased. It was after that they started to be suspicious against the media flow.

Maria:
“There is still a lot of corruption in media nowadays. Politicians can say more or less whatever they want, and they can decide when something should be written about them. It’s the same with all media.”
Men in Kibera:

Only one out of six men says that he finds the international news given to him relevant. He argue that it is important to know what is happening to his “brothers and sisters” in other countries with many Muslims. The rest of the men don’t find other news media than Pamoja FM relevant. All men in the research feel they are excluded from the society because they can’t find the national news relevant. They say nothing is ever written about Kibera, and therefore they feel left out.

Hassan:

“Sometimes I feel like I am not a Kenyan. The government doesn’t care about us, they don’t know what is going on in here. They look at us like we are not humans.”

Jems:

“The news Pamoja FM give is extraordinary. They can go deep into the ghetto and collect everything that is actually is taking place. No other media group can do that, they have to take their information from Pamoja FM.”

All six men in Kibera say they trust Pamoja FM, but no other media. Three of them say that newspapers only write what suites a certain audience, and that the truth isn’t always told. Pamoja FM, on the other hand, don’t angle news in the wrong way, they tell what has happened and nothing more, the men say.

Men at USIU:

Even here, the men have a hard time finding the relevance in the news, and the group is heterogeneous in their opinions. One man says he often is affected by both the international and the local news, and therefore finds it relevant. But two other men say they can never find the news relevant because they aren’t that interested in the news.

Peter:

“Everything that happens, bad or good, affects you as a voter, as a tax payer. If you choose a bad leader to lead the country, you only have yourself to blame. But if you choose a leader that is good, you could actually see the development in the country.”
One man say he trusts the media in Kenya, he says that they are telling the people the truth. The rest of the group is more uncertain. They think that Kenya’s media always angle the news in Kenya’s favor, and don’t talk about what has gone wrong in the country.

Mohammed:
“I think there are too much media that are competing with each other. They always want to be first, and therefore they won’t wait to hear the whole story when something happens. They just deliver the news without a real context.”

5.2 Perceptions of Pamoja FM

In this part the result about how the youth in Kibera perceive Pamoja FM is shown. All of the questions are divided into four major parts. **Significance of Pamoja FM** has to do with:

- Is Pamoja FM their main source of news and information or not and why is that?
- In what way is the radio important or not for the youth?
- Which format/program do they like the most and why?

**Participation through Pamoja FM** covers the questions:

- Can the youth participate in the radio production and the issues the presenters discuss? If so, in what way do the youth participate?
- Do the youth learn anything that they can use in their everyday life and in what way does Pamoja FM educate them?
- Do the youth feel that they are a part of deciding what news Pamoja FM brings up?
- Do they feel empowered by the radio or not?

**Gender equality** has to do with the questions if the youth feel Pamoja FM works with gender equality issues or not, and if they feel that Pamoja FM is important for them as men and women. **Challenges of Pamoja FM** has to do with problems the youth see with Pamoja FM and things they would like that Pamoja FM changed in the future.

5.2.1 Significance of Pamoja FM

**Women in Kibera:**

As the result showed earlier, four out of six use Pamoja FM as their main source for
information and news. They say that Pamoja FM is the only radio station they listen to. All of them have access to radio and TV. One of them uses radio, but for her TV is just as important. Another just listens to Pamoja FM very seldom, only for music, and she is very critical to the station.

Destiny:
“I seriously don’t like Pamoja FM because to me it’s boring. It’s a lot of Nubians in Kibera and for them it’s of very big importance. I have never heard Nubians phone in to other stations but to Pamoja FM they phone in a lot. It’s an advantage for them. But Pamoja FM is better now. They try to work proactive against tribalism and now I can at least listen to some music. But of course, their work is of importance for the community.”

The other women listen to it because they feel it’s the only station that is targeting them directly and discusses their issues. Four out of six feel that Pamoja FM basically gives them all information they need to stay updated. They say Pamoja FM covers everything from politics and international news to economy and community welfare. Yet, two women say TV is important because it’s complementary to get the images.

Julia:
“I stick to Pamoja because they teach us everything from domestic issues to community issues and give us basically all information and news we need. But it’s good to watch TV too, I like to get pictures of the news.”

Vivianne:
“They have brought a huge change in the community in terms of communication. Now people from all parts of Kibera can easily communicate with each other.”

Maria:
“They are empowering the community by supporting the local talents who are good in presenting. So if you want to work with radio you can try and if you are good you can work there.”
All of the women say they think that Pamoja FM is of great importance to the community in large and for them as individuals too. Five of the women say that they think Pamoja FM is important because they educate people and that they can participate in the public debate. The reasons are many.

Vivianne:
“Before I usually just listened to radio but didn’t get the message but with Pamoja FM it’s different because we interact. The openness is much more extent in Kibera now. If you see something wrong or different going on in the community you just don’t keep quiet, you call the station so that they maybe can observe it.”

Maria:
“Before the post-election violence and before the start of Pamoja FM it was much more tribalism in Kibera. People didn’t love each other. Since Pamoja FM started I think the biggest thing they have changed is to decrease the tribalism and help people to live side by side. For example they have a program called Kikuyeto and they play vernacular songs from all tribes. They deal with everyone equally. In my opinion we have become like one big family that strive for same goals. We can sit down together, Luo, Kikuyu and Nubian, and form goals together. We are going somewhere because of Pamoja FM.”

All of them say that tribalism is still a problem, as it is in Kenya at large. But they all are very optimistic and say that it’s getting better and that Pamoja FM has a lot to do with that.

Five of the women say that Pamoja FM is of great importance to them because they inform about lost children, fires, deaths, criminal gangs and big events going on in Kibera. One of them agrees on what they say but it’s not important for her personally.

All of them think the crime rate in the community have decreased because of the radio.

Faith:
“The rate of crime has reduced I believe. After Pamoja FM started to report on the crime stories in the community many of the young boys that were criminal decided to become better people.”
They are satisfied with the mix of programs. In general their favorite programs are news, educative programs and discussion programs. Also a little bit about programs that discuss religious issues. Only one says that she uses it most for music and two other say that they like the vernacular music. The most popular program is the daily news.

**Men in Kibera:**
Everyone believes that Pamoja FM is the only media they actually rely on. They like that the radio station informs them about the community at large, but also about what happens in the world. All of them say that Pamoja FM organizes social events outside the radio production and they think it is very important for empowering the community.

Peter:
“At first, Pamoja FM was all about Kibera. As time goes by, I am now proud that Pamoja FM is informing more about what is taking place in the country and in the world. Also, they organize things outside the radio too. They have lots of seminars, and every year they have a soccer tournament which is very important. It brings people together to bring peace.”

The big issues in Kibera, like HIV, crime and lack of education, are things that had improved in the right direction since the start of Pamoja FM, the men think. Through the information about HIV, the number of infected would go down, one man say. And the radio station helps a lot in the everyday education, everybody agree on.

Michael:
“They have taught the community to stop with the tribalism and respect others. I should see others like brothers and sisters – like Kenyans. The community still has problem, but it has reduced since Pamoja FM came. “

Pamoja FM has also collaboration with BBC. They broadcast every day for one hour, and that is very appreciated by the youth.

The music at Pamoja FM also plays a big role for the youth. Without that, they won’t be as interested in listening to radio as they are now.
Everyone agree on that Pamoja FM is very important for the community they live in. They say the radio station helps them in their daily life with different kinds of things. They all say that Pamoja FM gets them through the sometimes tough life in the slum, and that the radio informs them about things happening all around the community; from politics to sports.

Felix:
“They have come up with programs for certain groups. For children, for old people and for youth. Generally, whatever they have is good for the community. They are not specific for the youth, they work for everyone.”

Hassan:
“Community radio is much more important than commercial radio because they understand my problems and commercial radio doesn’t.”

Michael:
“Pamoja FM has done a big change for every one living in Kibera. Before it was here, we couldn’t get the news within the community. Now we know what is going around.”

5.2.2 Participation through Pamoja FM

Women in Kibera:
All of them say they have the opportunity and ability to participate and that it is easy. Four of them say that they use that opportunity. One says she participates only seldom and one other says never because she don’t like Pamoja FM. They say that the most common way of participate is to call or text in to Pamoja FM and that is how they usually do.

Vivianne:
“We have discussions and we can debate. We can come up with solutions to all kinds of social or domestic issues. Maybe another person share the same problem as me, and we can through Pamoja FM discuss our issue and learn from each other.”

Julia:
“I use to call or text to the station and debate and give them advice on what’s going on in the community and issues that they can possibly discuss.”
Five out of six they say they learn things that they can use in their everyday life and that they get educated by listening to Pamoja FM.

Faith:
“There is a program which talks about human rights and which is being aired on Saturdays. From this program I have learned how I can defend my rights and that is important to me. Pamoja FM is also building quizzes about a lot of things and I can test my knowledge about different issues.”

Clara:
“Yes, now I know about contraceptives and that I need to use it to avoid pregnancy and aids. I have become more educated because I can debate. I’m also more educated about what’s going on in the world and in Kenya at large. I feel they teach me about economy, politics, community welfare and everything I need to know.”

Julia:
“I have heard educative commercials where they tell the youth what to do or not to do. I’ve also heard them teaching about condoms, family planning methods and contraceptive and that I think is important for empowering people. I’ve also heard them talk about cases when men are raping small girls and they are taking those kinds of issues seriously. They are repeating it often and that I think is important because the community is getting educated so that they know that such things as raping are bad and wrong.”

All of the women in Kibera think that Pamoja FM lets the audience be a part of what contents Pamoja FM brings up.

Vivianne:
“I feel that they take my thoughts and ideas seriously and really want us to be a part of the producing process. Pamoja FM is all about its audience and the community. It’s like I am a reporter for the station even though I don’t work there.”

Four of the women say that they feel empowered by Pamoja FM. They say that since it started they feel that they are a part of the public debate, they feel more educated and they are more
than just housewives. The two other women agree on that the radio is important for empowering the people in Kibera, but for them Pamoja FM isn’t that important.

Julia:

“Through Pamoja FM me and some friends have formed a group. We are growing and are now about 50 members. Our goal is to mix tribes and meet each other to decrease preconceptions about each other. It has really changed me.”

Men in Kibera:

All the men can easily participate with Pamoja FM. With other media it is more difficult. The commercial radio stations never answer when the youth sometimes call in. At Pamoja FM, all the youths say it is very easy to get their voices heard on radio. Due to the many talk shows they broadcast, where the presenters used phone-ins and sms-services, the youth can participate easier. If something happens out in the community, someone calls in and tells the radio station. Minutes later that can be “breaking news”.

Another good thing, according to the youth, is that the people working at Pamoja FM are living in Kibera. That makes it even easier for the youth to participate. Three youth say they have the telephone number to a few presenters. So whenever they want something, they call them.

Michael:

“Before Pamoja FM was here it was different. If a child got lost, the mother could look all over Nairobi. Now, you just call to Pamoja FM, and they will go out with the information.”

Three men say they rely on Pamoja FM because the radio station helps them get through the day. Instead of stealing, they can learn how to make money through listening to Pamoja FM.

Hassan:

“They teach me how to survive rough times. Maybe I have no money. Stealing is not an option; therefore Pamoja FM can teach me how to make money in other ways. For example, they advise about work opportunities.”
All the men feel empowered by listening to Pamoja FM. One man say it is good that Pamoja FM advertises about job opportunities, it helps him in his everyday life. Two men like that the radio station often invites the citizens in the community to seminars. In that way they can go there, and through their new knowledge they can spread the word to others.

5.2.3 Relevance and trust

**Women in Kibera:**
One of the women say that she hasn´t reflected so much about whether Pamoja FM is working on gender equality or not because she don’t listen that much. The other five women say that they think Pamoja FM actively works on gender equality, but overall they say it is more men than women working as presenters.

Vivianne:

“Among the presenters the majority are men. The news presenters on the other hand are mostly women. We can’t choose and I don’t care about the gender as long as they entertain us. I don’t think it matters, they are both good and equally to each other.”

Five out of six of the women in Kibera say that they think that Pamoja FM works with gender equality and it doesn’t matter if it is a man or a woman speaking. But they say that if it’s a women’s issue discussed they will have a woman with experience as a presenter. They also feel the male presenters are aware of gender issues.

Even though all of them say that Pamoja FM is important for everybody in the society, old and young and women and men, they all agree on that Pamoja FM has made a big impact on them as women since it started. They say that Pamoja FM has changed the women’s situation a lot. Four of them say it means a lot for them as individuals and two of them agree on that it has changed the lives of many women, but for them not that much.

Julia:

“For me it’s important. They even have a program in the morning; it’s called “Ngasa”. It’s about empowering women. Men, they under look women in our society and this program bring up those issues. They teach me my rights and it has helped me a lot. Sometimes they bring career ladies to the station and let them speak about their issues. They give advice and I can call in and discuss with her and ask questions and..."
so. That is very helpful, I see other ladies who have succeed and they become role
models. Me as a woman can challenge others opinions, that was not possible before
Pamoja FM started.”

Vivianne:
“Most of us were just housewives, I was too. I just stayed at home, cooking, cleaning
and looking after the children. But through Pamoja FM I learned a lot. We went
outside, formed groups and met other women. We have a women’s group and we also
have a restaurant. At the end of it I see I have reached somewhere, you have done
something. I have stopped being just only a housewife and I have become a part of a
social context.”

Faith:
“I have learned a lot too, and became empowered because they discuss a lot of
domestic issues between the man and the woman in the house. The situation between
me and my man has improved and is now more equal. That is because of the
knowledge I have gotten through Pamoja I believe. It’s an ongoing process.
I have learned how I can defend my rights and that I feel is important to me.”

Clara:
“I feel empowered. I used to feel so small but since Pamoja FM came I feel I’m free
and I can talk and do what I want to do.”

Men in Kibera:
One man thinks there are more men than women in the radio production at Pamoja FM. The
rest of the group says they see a balance between men and women. They mean the
broadcasted programs are for both sexes and all ages. One man tells the rest of the group that
he knows that many women work in the news room, while more men are presenters.

The issues discussed on radio are also both for men and women, they say. All of them think
that the women’s situation has improved since the start of Pamoja FM.

Felix:
“Pamoja FM is for the whole community. There are programs for everybody, even elders. But I think women’s situation has improved since Pamoja FM started to broadcast”

5.2.4 Challenges of Pamoja FM

Women in Kibera:
All of the women say, independently, that they really want Pamoja FM to start a TV channel. To bring the images is important for all of them. The two women that don’t listen that much to Pamoja FM say that they would watch if Pamoja FM has a TV channel.

When it comes to the news and information that Pamoja FM are giving all are satisfied with their work, and when they are asked if they are wishing for something more they say that they don’t, except for a TV channel.

One woman say that she thinks Pamoja FM used to be more important for the voice of the Nubian tribe, but that it was getting better. Three women also say that they want to hear more women as presenters.

Two women mean that they think Pamoja FM is boring because the staff is unprofessional compared to the commercial stations.

Destiny:
“The radio has recently started and they just take local presenters which are not so good in presenting. They are volunteers and do not have education. But I do think they can improve.”

Men in Kibera:
Four men say they aren’t totally satisfied with the news and information at the radio station. They think the news is too brief, and that they want Pamoja FM to go even deeper into the slum to find news. More reporters were requested from one man, and three men say they want Pamoja FM to expand their network to other slums.

Three men also say they want Pamoja FM to start a TV-channel. In that way, they can expand their network even more and report about other slums too. With a TV-channel, one man argues, people outside Kibera can see more about the suffering in the community. In that way the life situations can maybe change, he says.
6. Analysis

6.1 Participation and empowerment

Wagg (2009) describes the relation between alternative media and youth’s participation and empowerment in the production. He argues that the youth use the alternative media to participate in the community they live in, and through that get empowered. This is demonstrated in the results of this thesis. The youth in Kibera is of the same opinion: Pamoja FM is empowering them. Through Pamoja FM’s services with phone-ins and sms-service the youth say it’s easy to participate and be a part of the programs. This result is also situated in Murillo’s (2003) theory about the community radio Juventud Stereo’s role in Colombia. Juventud Stereo is engendering a democratic discourse through an open debate and the ability for the youth to get their voice heard in a rigid political system. In Kibera, the youth say they can easily get their voice heard whenever they want. On the other hand, they cannot participate on the same level with mainstream media. Just as Juventud Stereo demonstrates, Pamoja FM also acts as a social player outside the field of radio production and that contributes to empower the community, according to the youth. Juventud Stereo showed a big football game on big screen TV to gather the people. Pamoja FM arranges a big football tournament for the youth and children of Kibera every year, which is a peace bringing project.

The concept of the participatory communication approach is to make decisions close to the people. In Kibera, the youth say that through their participation they can influence Pamoja FM more to do things. Some of the men say they know the presenters and have their phone numbers, which makes it easier to talk to them and participate.

The participatory communication model also deals with the issue of identity (Gumcio-Dagron, 2001). It helps to install the cultural pride and self-esteem to those communities that are marginalized and neglected. Through organization it strengthens the local and indigenous thinking. While it strengthens the integration, it also protects tradition and cultural values. The result shows that Pamoja FM has done much for the youth’s self-esteem in Kibera. The youth mean that Kibera is almost never written about in the mainstream media, and the majority of the youth interviewed say they feel excluded because of that. Since Pamoja FM began broadcasting, they “are the only media that deal with our issues” (Clara). The youth also say that Pamoja FM brings people together in the community. The different tribes that fought against each other in the post-election violence in 2007 can now easier talk and discuss issues within the community. Pamoja FM strengthens the cultural values through their programs.
concerning different ages and ethnicities in the community too, according to the youth.

Further in the participatory communication model one can see that the communication process through participation is an important tool for the youth to shape their future. Like the result demonstrates, the men and the women say they learn things from listening to Pamoja FM that they can use in their everyday life. One man says he has learned that stealing is not an option anymore, and that Pamoja FM helps him to get through the sometimes tough life in Kibera. One woman points out that she and her friends have created a group to get the people together in the area they live in – just from listening to Pamoja FM.

The participatory communication model also includes the issue of “people’s needs”. An alternative media, in this case Pamoja FM, has to be very specific in their needs to be able to influence the community in the right way. The alternative media has to form the content to match with the people’s wishes. Through Pamoja FM’s service with phone-ins, one woman says she can discuss with others about problems she has. “Maybe another person share the same problem as me, and we can through Pamoja FM discuss our issue and learn from each other even though we don’t know each other” (Vivianne). One man says he thinks that Pamoja FM is for everybody, not only the youth. In that way they reach the whole community, he argues.

According to the youth Pamoja FM has done a great change for the community since it started in 2007. The youth speak about decreased tribalism, crime and rapes. This is a result of the information Pamoja FM delivers to the people. The importance within the participatory communication model lies within the cultural identity of local communities and of democratization and participation. As one woman says: “I have heard educative programs where they tell the youth what to do or not to do. I’ve also heard them teaching about condoms, family planning methods and contraceptives and that I think is important for empowering people” (Julia).

The majority of the youth say they rely on Pamoja FM. They find the topics discussed relevant, and through that disseminate information to people who haven’t listened. Within the uses and gratifications theory one aspect is that people feel more confident when they have more knowledge and can add information to a conversation which they have learnt from the media (Rubin, Windahl, 1982). The audience has expectations on the media, and therefore they choose the media that fits and benefits them and in the end leads to ultimate gratification. “Before I usually just listened to radio but didn’t get the message, but with Pamoja FM it’s different because we interact. The openness is much more existent in Kibera now” (Vivanne).
The youth in Kibera agree on that they trust in Pamoja FM. They say they are certain that Pamoja FM gives truthful news about what is going on in the community. This result is situated within the media dependency theory. The more specific a media becomes to a person, the more significant it gets for that individual (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1976). A majority of the youth in Kibera say that Pamoja FM gives them all the information they need to stay updated. Mostly, they use Pamoja FM to get the news, and occasionally they use a few other media as a complement.

The goal in the media dependency theory is satisfaction for the individual, when it comes to desire for information. That is what the youth say too; the majority is satisfied with the news Pamoja FM gives them. Littlejohn and Foss (2002) write that media that only touch a few things of interest don’t have the same influence to people. The youth in Kibera say they don’t find the mainstream media news relevant because it feels far away. Pamoja FM is the only media that deals with issues within Kibera, that’s why the youth trust in the radio station.

A majority of the youth in USIU say they don’t trust media at all. One man argues that there are too many different media that are competing with each other, and because of that the truth isn’t the most important aspect. The media dependency theory says that individuals have harder to trust media if there are many alternatives, as shown among these students.

An aspect of the dependency theory is also that the dependency of media is bound to income. Some individuals that have a low income and are more attached to their home and community rely more on the media. This is shown from the results of the youth of Kibera. Because of their poor life situation it’s easier for them to rely on Pamoja FM, because the radio station helps them through their tough life.

When it comes to the four theoretical approaches to analyzing alternative media, one can find that the result in this thesis is situated in all the different aspects. If the alternative media is serving the community (approach one) the media has to work for everyone, and not exclude anyone. According to the youth, Pamoja FM isn’t only for them as young adults. They say the radio station works for all the people in the community, from children to elders. In approach two, where the alternative media should work as an alternative to mainstream media, an important part is that the alternative media offers other issues than mainstream media. The approach points out that mainstream media talks more about elites and governmental issues (Bailey, Cammaerts, Carpentier, 2007). This is what the youth in both Kibera and USIU confirm. They say the mainstream media is targeting political issues too much, and that Pamoja FM discusses more local issues within the community. That’s a big reason why they don’t consume mainstream media.
In approach three, the alternative media should be a link to civil society. Participation is even here an important word. Through the participation the alternative media strengthens the democratization. The youth in Kibera say they have developed since Pamoja FM started in 2007. The community has grown in the aspect of being more democratic and peace building, according to the youth.

When analyzing the alternative media as a rhizome, the most important role for the media is to get people from different areas and ethnic backgrounds together. This is, according to the youth, what Pamoja FM has done. Due to their endless discussions about “Kenyanism”, and not tribe issues, they have gotten people to work together. “They have brought a huge change in the community in terms of communication. Now people from all parts of Kibera can easily communicate with each other” (Vivianne).

6.2 Gender equality and women’s empowerment

When first comparing the result of men and women’s perception about Pamoja FM and what significance the radio has to them it shows out that they have a lot in common. Their opinions are in many ways the same. But when analyzing it closer it shows out that one can find out differences, just as we did the more questions we asked and the deeper we got into the interviews with the youth groups.

When asking the men if Pamoja FM is more important for them as men or another certain group in the community they say that it is just as important for everybody in the community. The women on the other hand say that it is very important for women’s empowerment and their own development as individuals particularly.

Freire (1996) writes that it is only the receiver’s perspective that is vital in the participatory communication model. Even though the men and the women say that Pamoja FM is just as important for anyone in the community the women point out that Pamoja FM has a big significance for their empowerment and ability to be a part of the public debate since it started broadcasting.

It shows out that the news and information Pamoja FM broadcasts have a large significance for the women that we interviewed, by looking at it as an issue of power. Gumcio-Dagron (2001) writes that the concept of participation is to approach decision-making close to the people. It also helps people in the community to by themselves develop and confront their ideas to grow. That favors the idea of an internal democratic process. And that can be applied on the fact that the women say that they feel free and can start groups, debate in radio and be
“more than just housewives”. That contributes to the idea about an internal democratic process.

By looking at what significance Pamoja FM has to these women’s empowerment in relation to uses and gratification theory one can see that the majority of the women in Kibera seek the media and use it for their own purposes and strive for a more independent life. “...trough Pamoja FM I learned a lot. We went outside, formed groups and met other women.” (Vivianne).

The audience has expectations on the media, and therefore they choose the media that fits and benefits them (Rubin, Windahl, 1982). Even though the women are influenced by the cultural and social context they are living in, it’s the relation of power between the media and the individual that benefits to the individual (Antoni, 2002).

Myers (2009) writes that without considering gender issues, research related to community radio may in fact further marginalize individuals and groups. The result shows that most of the youth don’t agree about that theoretical aspect.

According to Lelei (2005), earlier research demonstrates that there exists a conservative view on women in many parts of Africa. The majority of the women in Kibera in the research say that they used to be housewives, but that they feel freer now and that they know their rights. They point out that Pamoja FM has a lot to do with that because they get educated through the radio.

Lelei (2005) also points out that “…women’s voices rarely contribute to policy debate about gender equity and poverty reduction”. The result doesn’t really demonstrate whether one can say that the women are a part of the gender debate or not. But it does show that the content of the radio contributes to making the women more aware of gender equality issues. Yet, a few women say that they can discuss gender based problems and that Pamoja FM brings women to the studio for discussion. “Sometimes they bring career ladies to the station and let them speak about their issues… That is very helpful, I see other ladies who have succeed and they become role models. Me as a woman can challenge others opinions, that was not possible before Pamoja FM started.” (Julia).

Manyozo (2007) shows a very gloomy side of women’s situation in developing countries which cannot be applied in this research. He writes that women can’t afford the equipment to be a part of the media flow and also that most of the women are illiterate. That is not the case in this study. Women can debate, read and afford to take part of the media flow.

Although these women can participate and feel empowered by Pamoja FM, the situation is different when it comes to gender equality among the staff working at Pamoja FM. Most of
the staff working as presenters is men, according to the majority of the youth’s perceptions. In that case Thompson, Gomez and Toro (2005) are right when they say that women are still not proportionally represented as radio presenters. Myers (2009) writes that when women are presenters on the radio they mostly talk about women issues, only to attract female listeners. According to some of the respondents discussing that is true within Pamoja FM. But a majority of the women and men say that they don’t think it’s important if it’s a man or woman presenting the news and information. *We can’t choose and I don’t care about the gender as long as they entertain us. I don’t think it matters, they are both good and equally to each other”* (Vivianne).

All of the respondents in Kibera say that they think that Pamoja FM works with gender equality and it doesn’t matter if it is a man or a woman speaking. Everyone feels that the staff working at Pamoja FM are aware of gender issues, especially the male presenters, they point out. Collins (2011) writes that it is certain that women listening to the radio learn better from a female presenter than a male presenter. We don’t know if this is true in this case, but the women say that it doesn’t matter who is presenting the news and information.

### 6.3 Challenges

There are many challenges facing Pamoja FM. One is the aspect of the different tribes in Kibera. According to the youth, the tribalism has decreased much since Pamoja FM started, but it is still a problem.

Another aspect of this is that the presenters sometimes aren’t that good in getting the message out to the people. Two women in Kibera say they think the presenters are bad and boring, because of their lack of journalistic education. That makes it harder for the staff to discuss and in a professional way educate the citizens in the community about different issues.

One problem for the alternative media is the financial issues; it can be difficult to survive. In that way they have to rely on volunteers, and because of that the journalistic skills aren’t always the best (Manyoso, 2007). This is demonstrated through the results of the men in Kibera. Four men say they aren’t totally satisfied with the news given to them; they want Pamoja FM to go deeper into the slum and report. Another thing they want is to get Pamoja FM to expand their network to other areas. This is also difficult for Pamoja FM due to the financial issues. Alternative media often have limits in the production because of the money issue (Manyoso, 2007).
What all the youth in Kibera agree on is that they want Pamoja FM to start a TV channel. In that way Kibera would be more recognized by people around Kenya. And one woman in Kibera, who doesn’t listen to Pamoja FM, says she would watch the TV channel if it existed. Even this has to do with the financial aspect. Much of the bad journalism in Africa at large is blamed on the lack of professional training (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Therefore it would be a hard task for Pamoja FM to broadcast through a TV channel and reach out to the people in a professional way.

7. Ending discussion and conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the youth’s perceptions of Pamoja FM in Kibera, and how the radio station manages to reach their goals from perceptions. Our findings demonstrate that the youth have a very positive picture of Pamoja FM’s role in peace building efforts for the community of one million in Kibera. The previous research about community radio has, as in this study, underscored the importance of community radio to marginalized groups, as in Kibera. And as the youth in Kibera say, the situation has improved since Pamoja FM started in 2007.

When we first investigated our research field, we observed that basically all earlier research indicated that community radio tend to have a positive effect for empowerment and participation. This study further just proves that community radio is progressive for development and democratization in many ways. Yet, we have to be very critical to the result in this study because respondents tend to tell the researchers what they think they want to hear (Winnmer, 2000).

In spite of the subtle existence of tribalism as a key challenge, this research depicted Kibera as having a sense of being one community albeit the many communities within it. And as the result exposes, Pamoja FM’s main task is to bring these communities into one big community that brings the people together. Pamoja FM has influenced the community by teaching them to have a blind-spot to tribalism but focus on “Kenyanism”. This is an important aspect to bring the people together and act peacefully.

We think that the most interesting conclusion of the result is in discovering the efficacy of Pamoja FM in peace building within Kibera. According to the youth’s perceptions they also think that it is the radio’s main task and it would be interesting to see if Pamoja FM successfully perpetuates this role during the next year’s presidential- and governmental election. Only then will one view the radio station’s goal towards bringing people together as
“Kenyans” has been accomplished.

We think that earlier research and theories are too generalizing about populations and perceptions and are suited in the portrayal of rural community radio where populations are much more homogeneous. We found that the social and cultural context in Kibera is like a pattern of mosaic where it’s hard to put people into boxes. And that’s also a weakness in our thesis. We met youth of the same ages who in fact had similar opinions and perceptions. To be able to see the complexity in Kibera, we needed to have carried out a wider research spread among ages and different groups within the community. This would have been time consuming and expensive.

Our own perceptions before we went to Kenya were that the slum would be much more marginalized than it really is. Even though Kibera is characterized by poverty, the youth we met are educated, literate and aware of the world surrounding them. We also thought that the access to mainstream media like newspapers and TV would be low, but that’s not the case. Actually, the youth’s had made an active choice to Pamoja FM as their main source of news and information in the face of alternative media outlets. Our findings illustrate, some of the young respondents have other, mainstream sources, for their news consumption. The reason why they prefer Pamoja FM is that they feel locked out by the mainstream media and that they feel that Pamoja FM is the only media that understands their issues completely.

Overall, our findings show that Pamoja FM does many good things to offer Kibera with content fit for all members of the community. Our research may have used qualitative research methods like interviews, but could be a reflection of the views of specific youth perceptions from the respondents. This study however is useful in articulating the role Pamoja FM has undertaken to change the Kibera community for the better, and to rethink their perceptions of how they look at each other as Kenyans. This research result can be used as literature for media peace building projects to examine how media can work for people’s benefits in neglected communities.

An interesting aspect of differences in news consuming and media use among middle- and upper class and the youth in Kibera. Results clearly indicate that both of the groups have something in common. They are of the opinion that there is too much politics in the daily news flow, especially in the newspapers. And that is one explanation to why very few respondents among the youth don’t read the newspapers. Yusuf Nasur (2011) points out that a lot of politicians own the media houses and use the media as a tool for propaganda. This can also be explained as to why there too of the content of political nature in the daily news flow.
The media dependency theory says that richer populations don’t rely as much in media as poor populations do, because they have more choices. That turned out to be true in our research. This explains why the youth in Kibera trust more in Pamoja FM as a news source. We however are of the opinion that too much trust in one specific medium can be a threat to influence from propagandist sponsors of that specific medium.

This research result, which shows how Pamoja FM influence the community, can also be used by other marginalized communities when institutionalizing community radio as this is a great commitment to whole community. Pamoja FM to date still has challenges such as financing and inadequate journalistic skills in the production. The result of this thesis contributes to the previous research about community radios in Africa specifically those that have focused on urban slum community radio in examining the influence they have on the individuals’ daily life of their listeners.

**Conclusion**

We have found evidence in our empirical material that Pamoja FM has a significant importance for the respondents in this research living in Kibera. It supports these young people to participate and to feel empowered in their endeavor for a better life. These youth of Kibera feel free to debate in groups where get educated and learn things about the world surrounding them. Urban slum community radio has a great potential when it comes to women’s and youth’s empowerment. The aforementioned groups are given equal opportunity to contribute and are to be part of the public debate and they are aware of their rights, as they say. Urban slum community radio such as Pamoja FM can be instrumental in bringing and sustaining peace to a marginalized community, characterized by tribalism and poverty. In the end, urban slum community radio is a great and effective way to democratize societies and bring people together.
8. Suggestions on further research

By looking at the youth perceptions, this thesis shows that women are equal to men at Pamoja FM, both regarding the staff and the participating audience. The women of Kibera say that they have changed to the better since the radio station began broadcasting. We only found little research about women’s role in areas where urban community radios are working for everybody. Therefore, it is important to figure out how urban community radios are influencing women to another level in their life. Previous research talk about women being marginalized and neglected, but this thesis shows a different aspect. When a community radio is working for everyone, the women’s life situations change. That is something that should be deeper investigated.

Our research is qualitative, and that leaves some holes to fill regarding the audiences perceptions at Pamoja FM´s influence in Kibera. Through a quantitative research with the citizens in Kibera about the radio station one could see even more concrete how they perceive Pamoja FM. Maybe Pamoja FM´s main target group, the youth, aren’t the ones who best get influenced. A research like that can help Pamoja FM and other urban community radios to develop their goals in the future, to benefit all the citizens even more.

It would be a contribution to the media science to make a discourse analysis on the news given by Pamoja FM and compare the news given by mainstream radio channels in Nairobi and Kenya. Further, one can connect the findings to what people in different groups like and why they listen to different channels. That could be really helpful both for the mainstream media and community media to reach new groups.

The next year’s presidential- and parliament election in Kenya will be crucial for Pamoja FM. Only then can they evaluate their strive for peace building in Kibera. Therefore it would be interesting to, after the election, examine through a quantitative research the citizens´ perceptions of how Pamoja FM accomplished their goals, and how that affected the outcome of the citizens´ behavior.

Another interesting research question to further examine is whether Pamoja FM (and other community radios) is able to obtain and sustain their visions about participation and empowerment even if they turned commercial. The staff at Pamoja FM told us that they have a vision to turn Pamoja FM into a commercial media house to better tackle the challenges of the future, pay the staff and to be able to start a TV channel. Basically all previous research and theories say that it is impossible for a community radio to be commercial and still act as a community radio. But that is something we doubt.
9. References


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Information material


Interview with Maalim Yusuf Nasur, chief of administration at Pamoja FM, Nairobi, 2011-11-05.

Appendix A.

Pamoja FM's policy

“OUR VISION
We aim to create, develop, apply, and transmit through our thematic radio shows, knowledge, skills, and understanding at various human development levels to ensure equal, sustainable development, and peaceful co-existence among the various communities of Kibera.

Role of Pamoja FM
1. Address issues affecting local communities, promote a participatory culture and play an important role in peace building. The stations support grass root works of civil society and community based organizations. It also helps to conserve local cultures, protect them against cultural globalization and promote community development
2. The station provides a model of communication that counters dominance of heavily financed private broadcasters that pursue profit, maintains the socio-political status quo and generally grass root voices in their news and programs
3. Encouraging co-operation among the Kibera communities; Mobilizing the youth to participate in the community development arena and partner with other corporate parties including foreign missions agencies
4. It is a strong medium for economic development and free speech. It is a powerful tool that raises public awareness on health, environmental and cultivates an enabling environment suitable for creativity and innovations.

WHY KIBERA?
The term “Kibra” is a Nubian word meaning ‘forest’. Nubians were the earliest settlers of Kibera; they form the majority of the one million residents.
This is Africa’s largest informal settlement whose residents live in poor conditions with high levels of environmental pollution, insecurity, poverty, HIV/AIDS and inadequate housing. They lack essential services such as water, sanitation, roads, and face other social injustices but have no platform to voice their grievances. Pamoja FM continuously highlights and addresses these vital issues.

PROGRAM PROFILE AND TARGET AUDIENCE

Pamoja FM airs typical community radio programming — talk shows, phone-ins, informative programming, wedding and funeral announcements. Pamoja FM also broadcasts African music; reggae, Lingala, Bongo flava, Genge and blazing hot hip hop. The music is geared to appeal to Kibera’s youth who make up a majority of its one million residents. The Kibera community is very volatile; Pamoja FM concentrates on educative programs and instrumental in preaching peace. The program target youth, women, children, people with disability and other marginalized groups.  