COMMUNITY AND ITS RADIO
A case study of Chikuni Radio in Zambia
Media usage in Southern Africa is dominated by radio: it is easily accessible even to poor people. In this context community radios are seen by different agencies, donors and communities themselves as good means to provide information to all people. This Master’s thesis is a case study about one such community radio station, Chikuni Radio located in South-Eastern Zambia.

The radio station, founded in 2000, has potential listenership of 250,000 and is popular in its coverage area. It broadcasts in English and Tonga, which is the first language to the majority of the people in its coverage area. Because the radio is the main medium for many, and alternatives are hard to find, there is a strong pressure to cater for complex information needs and gather information from varying sources.

The study’s aim is to perceive understanding of interactions of this community radio and its audience, and furthermore, to discuss the concept of community radio from the point of view of the radio’s and community’s relation. The concrete study questions are how does the Chikuni community comprehend Chikuni Radio; how do people in Chikuni Radio comprehend their work; how do these aspects relate to current writings about the community radios and their communities in relation to ownership; how do these aspects relate to current writings about the community radios and their communities in relation to NGOs in HIV/AIDS reporting and finally, is Chikuni Radio essentially about top down or bottom up communication.

Data of this study includes interviews of staff, focus group discussions and a survey questionnaire. In addition I have included some of my own observations and information gained in conversations. It was collected in August and September 2006 in villages around in Chikuni Parish.

I am challenging professor Kasoma’s statement that no church radio would qualify as a community radio in Zambia. Taking Chikuni Radio and black magic as an example, I suggest that ideal community radio can be considered conservative rather than developmental. I also find need for studies about NGOs role in community radios.
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those who contributed to the successful completion of this study. Especially I would like to thank Fr Andrew Lesniara and Fr Tadeusz Swiderski for hosting me in Chikuni Mission during the field work period; Mr Matongo Maumbi for working as a contact person; and Mrs Kulemba Sakaimbo for working as a translator and facilitator and devoting much of her spare time for the study. I am also very grateful for Professor Ullamaia Kivikuru for her valuable advices, as well as for my supervisors, Professor Risto Kunelius and Professor Kaarle Nordenstreng, for their guidance.

The study was funded by a study grant from The Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala.
5.3.2. Chikuni Radio as a means to send information .......................................................... 46
5.3.3. Music and drama; forms of information? .................................................................. 50
5.4. Chikuni Radio as a tool for education .......................................................................... 54
  5.4.1. Bringing schools under trees .................................................................................... 54
  5.4.2. Developing agriculture ............................................................................................ 56
  5.4.3. Discussing health ...................................................................................................... 57
  5.4.4. NGOs and educative programming ......................................................................... 60
  5.4.5. A taboo, a community radio and development ....................................................... 62
5.5. Chikuni Radio as community builder ............................................................................ 65
  5.5.1. Our community, our radio ....................................................................................... 65
  5.5.2. Catholic radio, many denominations ....................................................................... 69
  5.5.3. Insults on radio waves ............................................................................................. 71
  5.5.4. Tonga Concert – event of the year ........................................................................... 73
  5.5.5. Chikuni Radio as a loan breaker – the multitasking institution ............................... 76
6. The future of Chikuni Radio ............................................................................................ 79
7. What are the results? ........................................................................................................ 81
  7.1. Answering the study questions .................................................................................... 81
  7.2. The research as an experience .................................................................................... 85
Bibliography .................................................................................................................. 88
Appendix 1: Focus group discussions .............................................................................. 93
Appendix 2: Survey questionnaire .................................................................................... 95
Appendix 3: Personal interviews ....................................................................................... 98
Appendix 4: Chikuni Radio’s programme schedule ........................................................... 99
1. Introduction: what, why and how

This Master’s thesis is about a community radio station called Chikuni Radio located in South-Eastern Zambia. The study’s aim is to perceive understanding of interactions of this community radio station and its audience, and furthermore, to discuss the concept of ‘community radio’ from the point of view of the radio’s and community’s relation.

The idea of this study was conceived in 2005, when I spent three months in Namibia working for newspaper the Namibian. I got to hear about community radio stations that are important serving small, maybe marginalised communities. What interested me in the community radios was that they are neither public nor commercial broadcasters, non-profit-making and, especially in Africa, emphasising development. The first study I came across was report *Changing Mediascapes? A Case Study in Nine Tanzanian Villages* made by Ullamaija Kivikuru & co (1994). The study pointed out that community communication is a widely studied area. Particular phenomena in village-level communication, such as health education and women’s activities, are studied quite frequently. Despite this communication in individual villages is rarely studied. One such study, a classic in its own category, was done by Y.V.L. Rao (1966), who stayed in two Indian villages over a period of months interviewing their selected members. Using this rather anthropological approach he sought out the villages’ opinion leaders, and also observed the communities’ contradictions and conflicts. Thus he on his part challenged the then prevailing idea of communities as harmonious groups cooperating and aiming at mutual good. According to Kivikuru Rao’s work proved that village-oriented communication research can be both possible and fruitful (1994, 7–8).

Another similar study that was introduced in Kivikuru’s study was carried out by Paul Hartmann, B.R. Patil and Anita Dighe (1989) during 11 years in a number of Indian villages. The authors emphasised that generalising about village life is not justified since there was a great variation in communication and development in the villages studied. According to the researchers the media exposure emerged as a significant factor influencing new farming and health practices, and the media proved an important source of political and other news from the wider world. Even more important than this seemed to be the social learning acquired via mass communication, the media providing a reference source for urban-oriented dressing style, music and manners. The researchers noted that generally mass communication that was classified entertaining, such as music and drama, as well as news has received little interest
among observers while research attention has focused on ‘developmental’ programming and issues.

I became fascinated by these studies. Previously I had taken some courses in Development Studies at the University of Helsinki, where I had read Chandra Talpade Mohanty’s book *Feminism without Borders* (2003). There she is criticising Western feminists of cultural reductionism that is practised in social science writings. As an example of a culturally sensitive local study she introduces Maria Mies’s study about Narsapur lace makers in India (1982). The study is not trying to generalize findings in direction of “women in India” or “women in Third World”, but is concentrating on historically and locally specific findings. Although this study is politically focused, which mine is not aiming to be, it convinced me of importance of specific case studies.

I decided to carry out a field study in Zambia for practical reasons: budgetwise it is an affordable country and it is English speaking. In November 2005 I wrote a letter to Zambian Community Media Forum (ZaCoMeF) that is hosted by Panos organisation. I stated that my aim is to study a community radio station, and that I am looking for a medium that would have interest in the project. Within a couple of days I received a reply from Chikuni Radio. The station had been studied once before by Social Impact Assessment and Policy Analysis Corporation (Pty) Ltd. in 2000, just after the radio was founded. Now six years later the radio was interested in gaining information that might benefit it in one way or another; they didn’t have any exact idea how, and so I was not given any specific topics to study. I was given free hands, and so the study formed to serve first and foremost my own interest.

This study is providing knowledge about a specific rural community, and the focus will be on a particular community radio. This study is locating itself somewhere in between a study of a singular communication phenomena (for example a radio school) and a study of a whole communication system of a community: I’m studying a community radio, but I have to take a look into the whole mediascape of the specific community, and like the two studies described above the study will need to consider power relations and conflicting interests within the community that affect Chikuni Radio’s functioning.

The focus is grounded on the specific characters of Chikuni Radio. My concrete study questions are how does the Chikuni community comprehend Chikuni Radio and how do
people in Chikuni Radio comprehend their work; and is the radio essentially about top-down or bottom-up communication. Also, I wish to contribute to discussions about the definition of community radio, and especially to the question of ownership in it. Furthermore I wish to discuss the role of NGOs in HIV/AIDS reporting. I find these questions particularly interesting in the case of Chikuni Radio. The medium defines itself as a community radio. However, it is owned by Jesuits, and for example Francis P. Kasoma, Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication in the University of Zambia, does not count Church owned radios as community radios at all (2002). He argues that this is because, given the Church’s authoritative nature, people haven’t been allowed to manage the media and put them to the service of the community.

Data of this study includes interviews of staff, focus group discussions and survey questionnaire. In addition I have included some of my own observations and information gained in conversations. The data was collected in August and September 2006 in villages around in Chikuni Parish.

2. Central concepts

2.1. Community

In United Nation’s Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) report If Community Media is the Answer, What is the Question? Alfred Opubor writes that many Africans do not feel they live in their nation, but they know they live in their communities. It is there in communities, that people seek to find work, to raise their families, to cure their sick, to grow old and die and be buried. Many people from rural areas have been forced to migrate from their original communities, to seek jobs, education and fortune elsewhere, to try to become part of new urban communities. And even then, they often migrate from neighbourhood to neighbourhood in the cities where they find themselves. Thus, in linking community and media to discuss community media, it is important that we do not marginalise the ‘community’ in favour of the ‘media’ (2000, 12).

Definition of ‘community’ has been under discussion for more than a century, yet a common definition is still to be found. Community may refer as well to a group of few people or, in occasions, to mankind in general; it may refer to a group formed by a specific location or it
may mean people sharing same interests. Roughly communities can be explored in three different ways that may overlap in particular instances. Smith (2001) summarizes them:

1. **Place.** Territorial or place community can be seen as where people have something in common, and this shared element is understood geographically. Another way of naming this is as ‘locality’.

2. **Interest.** In interest or ‘elective’ communities people share a common characteristic other than place. They are linked together by factors such as religious belief, sexual orientation, occupation or ethnic origin. These communities are located rather in the conceptual space than in any geographic place.

3. **Communion.** In its weakest form this can be understood a sense of attachment to a place, group or idea; in other words, whether there is a ‘spirit of community’. In its strongest form ‘communion’ entails a profound meeting or encounter. This third approach is not as commonly recognized as two others, but Willmott (1989) argues that it is legitimate to add a third understanding of community as communities of place or interest may not have a sense of shared identity. (Smith 2001)

Heikki Lehtonen (1990) understands community as a group of people that can be defined by a certain geographical area; that has social interaction; and a shared sense of belonging. However, this criteria is too general causing the whole concept of community to get too extensive, and he argues that ideally community ought to be defined as a group where its members are participating in concrete activities. In this way he finds it easy to describe a community: A group can be identified as a community, when people have joined and embarked on improving their livelihood, while the power to make decisions upon its actions and resources remains within the group, and all the members join in this process. Thus he brings up the question of participation which is much seen in discussions around community media.

Lehtonen identifies two processes that lead into formation of communities. If members’ group identity is being formed as a result of concrete action, the process is resulting functional communities. If sense of belonging is strengthening in one’s consciousness, symbolic communities are being formed. In the modern world also symbolic communities are considered communities. Lehtonen reminds us that although locality does not require shared action or shared ideas in consciousness, in a group sharing the same location the mutual sense
of belonging can be the strongest. According to him previously villages remained at an ideal size to function as a community: interaction was direct and personal. Everyone was aware of each other’s doings and opinions, and this information modified a mutual consciousness to all villagers. However, it is clear that these people had their needs and desires; the villagers did not pursue unselfishly towards common goals.

In the so called developed world, amidst the turmoil in cyberspace, a consolidated term such as ‘community’ has been even questioned by some theorists. Some claim that it has failed; Others point at instances of resistance that would prove its pertinence even in individualistic capitalist society; Others believe that the meaning of the concept has simply changed. Zygmunt Bauman (2001) supposes that today community and freedom are conflicting concepts: there’s a price to pay for the privilege of ‘living in community’. The price is paid in the form of freedom, also known as ‘autonomy’, ‘right to self affirmation’ and ‘right to identity’. (da Costa 2006, 2). How the concept of community in Zambian context doing is another thing; in the country a traditional rural village with self-built huts and wandering cows is a far more accurate reflection of reality than the concept of global village formed by information society.

2.2. Community media

Kwasi Ansu-Kyeremeh (2007, 102) states that community media usually refers to communication systems that are rooted in and reflect the sociocultural attributes of the community, but trying to say anything more specific than that proves difficult; there are a lot of different bodies that have created their own definitions varying from scholars, different associations such as World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) or donors, such as UNESCO. To squeeze the concept into a couple of words, most commonly it is defined as media that is owned and controlled by the community served. Other definitions focus on the profit nature of the media: it is usually non-profit making. The next expansion of the definition would be its purpose: community media is addressing specific issues that are in interest of its particular audience.

I find the term community media useful and descriptive when defining community media in relation to commercial and public media. The main difference can be found in their relation to their audience. Media for commercial purposes acquires and transmits programming which costs as little as possible, and maximises its profits by giving advertisers and sponsors access
to as large a number of potential consumers as possible; in a specialised market the aim is to reach as large a number as possible of a particular sort of consumer. Public service media, then, draws from four elements: a non-profit aim, universality of service, unified control and the maintenance of high standards in programming. Lewis and Booth argue that while the commercial and public service models both treat its audience as objects, to be captured for advertisers or improved and informed, community media aspires to treat its listeners as subjects and participants. Community media tries to offer listeners the power to control their own definitions of themselves, of what counts as news and what is enjoyable or significant about their own culture. (Lewis & Booth 1989, 5–9).

On average there seems to be a consensus about an ideal community media. For example Linda Fuller sees its relation to audience is similar as described by Lewis and Both, but takes it further. She quotes World Association of Christian Communication’s Media Development:

> Community media provide a vital alternative to the profit oriented agenda of corporate media. They are driven by social objectives rather than the private, profit motive. They empower people rather than treat them as passive consumers, and they nurture local knowledge rather than replace it with standard solutions. Ownership and control of community media is rooted in, and responsible to, the communities they serve. And they are committed to human rights, social justice, the environment and sustainable approaches to development. (Fuller 2007, 1)

There are, of course, limitations to all definitions. When defining the audience, for example, by taking a geographic location as standpoint, communities of interest and language, cultural or ethnic groupings are immediately excluded. Also ownership and control of community media are problematic criteria. For example Maslog (1997, 3 in Fuller 2007, 3) and Kasoma (2002) see that they ought to be rooted in the communities they serve. But if the media is owned by an institution, but this institution makes little effort to regulate the media’s content, can it not be a community media?

Some take the concept of owning the media very loosely. When looking at a community radios’ structure, Pine and Thomas (1986) name four basic types of structure for community radio stations. According to them the predominant objective for which a community radio is established will provide a key to the way it is organised. In *co-operative type* the radio is organised between peer groups for their own common purposes. In *partnership mode* the station is set, for example, between a local authority and a voluntary association to promote
joint development programmes. In *facilitative mode* facilities are provided to community groups by professionals to promote discussion of social issues, similar to that proposed by many national broadcasting services. Lastly, in *directive mode* the station is organised for use of local media by national or regional government. (Pine & Thomas 1986 in Lewis & Booth 1989, 33–34.)

Kasoma defines community radio as a broadcasting station that serves a specific section of people known as a community. For him, a community is a collection of people, usually living in the same area, with common interests that include the sharing of the same history, traditions and cultural background. He sets three conditions for a community radio station. It has to be set up for the community to be an instrument of the community’s communication needs; broadcasting must be about and concern the community; and the station has to be managed by and for the community, although not necessarily started by it. In addition Kasoma draws a line in between community media and church community media. According to him, none of the church media in Zambia in 2002 qualified to be called community media due to Church’s authoritative nature. (Kasoma 2002, 23–28.)

Kasoma does state that it is in theory “possible for Church to set up some quasi-community media.” Alfonso Gumucio Dagron, asking does the involvement of the Catholic Church in community media projects threaten the “purity” of the participatory approaches, reaches quite a different conclusion. He is drawing the question from the point of view of Latin America, where the Catholic Church is involved in a large number of “the most interesting experiences of communication for social change”; also, according to Dagron, the majority of the most stable, permanent and committed alternative communication experiences in Latin America are founded, funded, and run by the Church. Dagron is claiming that these experiences facilitate access and allow voices of people to be heard, so they are “participatory” in the sense of involving their constituency, even if ultimately the priests who run the stations make the main decisions. The contents of the media’s programming address the real needs of their listeners; moreover, their constituencies consider being represented through these radio stations. (Dagron in Fuller (ed.) 2007, 203–204.)

On the other hand Dagron is pointing out that there are hundreds of confessional stations owned by Pentecostal and Evangelist Churches popping up in rural areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America, with messages and content having little to do with democracy, support of local
culture, or the struggle for human rights. Dagron says that the question of ownership is more relevant and complex than ever, because it becomes difficult to draw a clear line separating those who act with the people and those who invade communities. (2007, 204.)

In some cases the definition of community media has been so exclusive or vague that other terms have been adapted. The term “grassroots media” is used in African Media Development Initiative’s (AMDI) report about South Africa, because of the contested legal and judicial definition of the term “community media” across the region, and because existing “community media” definitions do not accommodate the broad variety and hybridisation of grassroots media ownership and control structures (Milne & Taylor 2006, 111). AMARC provides a series of other possible terms for a community radio: rural radio, cooperative radio, participatory radio, free radio, alternative, popular, educational radio. In my opinion it might be useful to divide community media into more specific groups defined by their relation to their audiences. Media serving a specific community, and targeting the community as commercial / public service / empowering media should each have their own titles.

2.3. Development communication

2.3.1. From ivory tower down to grassroots

To understand the current development communication thinking, it is the best to look in the past. In the 1950’s when community radios started emerging prevalent theory in development thinking was so called modernization theory. Development was considered as an evolutionary process, where the underdeveloped states could catch up to the industrialized ones once their societies and individuals adopted Western attitudes, institutions and practices. So called hypodermic needle theory convinced that mass media could influence large groups of people directly and uniformly by ‘shooting’ or ‘injecting’ them with appropriate messages designed to trigger a desired response. (Katz & Lazarsfeld 1955.) For example Daniel Lerner (1958) and Wilbur Schramm (1964) found evidence that societies can change through the apparent influence of mass communication. Soon it was realised that industrialisation and urbanisation did not bring about the desired development, but in many cases increased the gap between the rich and the poor.

Modernization theory and co were challenged in the 1960’s by a number of different ideologies, one of them being structuralist dependency theory. It understood the idea of
development and underdevelopment in the context of the world system. Development was seen as political struggle, which led to movement toward bottom-up communication model, and had an important role in the calls for New World Information and Communication Order in the late 1960’s and 1980’s with the creation of a set of recommendations to make global media representation more equitable. (Pavlič & Hamelink 1985.)

In the 1970’s some pessimism crept into development thinking, because the rate of development was not as fast as had been predicted. It was noted that the mass media merely had managed to widen the knowledge gap between the poor, who didn’t have access to mass media in the developing world, and the rich. The media created rising expectations that could not be satisfied. Due to the top-down model, people were marginalized from the development agenda and didn’t participate in the process of their own development. Inequality among people had to be reduced and conditions of the poorest of the poor had to be improved. Mass media were directed at addressing the needs of the poor in society. Many large-scale media campaigns were designed, mainly by development experts. (Kasoma 2002, 141–142.)

It was mainly in the 1980’s that participatory decision making was taken into focus in development thinking. The right to communicate started to be an issue. Then in the 1990’s people were seen as active participants in the whole process of development. The concept of sustainable development became central, meaning meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising those of the coming generations. Attention was paid to gender sensitivity. The use of the ‘small media’ at the community level was seen to be more effective in promoting development than ‘big media’, because it could address more specific issues. The development of rural areas was emphasised. (Kasoma 2002, 144.)

Nowadays the basic assumption is that there are no countries or communities that are completely self-sufficient, nor are there any nations whose development is exclusively determined by external factors. Also the whole content of the concept of development is questioned. The empowerment of the most oppressed sectors of societies is central to this approach, and development communication is increasingly emphasising cultural identity and multidimensionality (Servaes 1995, 48). Characteristic to this thinking, Moore sees that nation building, through development communication, occurs as the result of people, not of government, and improvements in literacy, health, poverty, education and political awareness are all elements of nation building. According to Moore people must participate in
determining the focus of the media. Here, the concept of professionalism is central as it may hinder participation with its more or less fixed value systems and means of expression. (Moore 2005.)

According to current mainstream thinking, being given a platform to express oneself is one way of liberating the potential within individuals and groups. Paolo Freire’s concept of conscientization is a precondition to empowerment. Among the essential conditions of self empowerment are access to, and use of, the resources that enable people to express themselves; to communicate those expressions to others; to exchange ideas with others; to receive information about world; to create and control the production of knowledge; and to share the world’s resources of knowledge. (Hamelink 1995, 20 in Teer-Tomaselli & Mjwacu 2003.) This ideology is well described by an anonymous person commenting on radio campaigns in Tanzania in the 1970’s, quoted in Lewis and Booth:

Rural people never before called to think creatively need help getting started. Villagers may have grown accustomed to leaving major decisions about the most fundamental economic relationships within their community to others… It takes time for people to rediscover they have power and creativity, and that they can initiate positive alternatives to their present options or lack of options. (Lewis & Booth 1989, 169.)

Development communication is not totally secluded to Third World only. The latest development communication ideologies are close to what Chris Atton is calling alternative media. He claims that the alternative press creates responses to construction of mass media news not simply by critiques of those media but by constructing their own news, based on alternative values and frameworks of news-gathering and access. These values proceed from a wish to present other interpretations of stories – and to present stories not normally considered as news – which challenge the prevailing ‘hierarchy of access’ (Glasgow University Media Group, 1976: 245) normally found in the media. (Atton 2001.)

Under this changing development communication thinking radios have been used in different ways to pursue certain goals. One of earliest forms of development communication were Farm forums that appeared in Canada during WW II after a proposal by Canadian Association for Adult Education to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. These groups along with the Canadian Federation of Agriculture organised a group of farmers who met in each others’ homes to listen to broadcasts, study a pamphlet and discuss particular problems with a view to
co-operative action in solving them. A participatory approach was written into its statement of aims in 1940:

We should not tell people what they ought to do, but rather it is important to let them find out for themselves what needs to be done. An attempt should be made to make them realise that they must assume responsibility and take action themselves towards a solution of the problems facing them. (Lewis & Booth 1989, 167–168.)

The forums lasted over 40 years, and similar schemes followed in Africa. In several radio clubs members are still participating by sending back their view of problems, by recording discussions and making programmes. (Lewis & Booth 1989, 167–168.) Also different sorts of radio campaigns are used, for example, to explain elections, to inform about preventive health measures, food habits and nutritional values. Radio schools and radio listening clubs are popular around the world (and also used by and important to Chikuni Radio). Next I will take a look into development communication in Africa in more detail.

2.3.2. Forms of community media in Africa

The first community radio is seen to be KPFA that started broadcasting from Berkeley, California in 1948. It was then, and still is, an independent non-profit station supported by listener subscribers many of whom were pacifists and anarchists. (Partridge 1982, 17; Lewis & Booth 1989, 138–162.) The idea was soon adapted in various places. So called radios libres hit Europe about the same time community radios in North America and Australia became established, in the mid 1970’s (Lewis & Booth 1989, 138–162).

Community media differ greatly in different parts of the world. In Europe and North America community media tend to serve more communities of interest rather than geographically defined communities. The latter is more the case in Africa. And if it is anarchists that set up community media in Western world, the case is very different in Africa. According to UNESCO’s report Promoting Community media in Africa the 1990s have seen in Southern Africa the establishment and growth of media which are neither publicly – nor strictly corporately – owned and managed and which can be roughly grouped into two categories. First, there are media which are independent and corporately owned and managed with a community development orientation, and which are produced with some level of community participation. And second, there are the communications initiatives of the development industry which seek to incorporate community participation in their ownership, management
and production. If the definition of community media is to be that it is owned and controlled by the community served, the number of community media can be rather small. According to the UNESCO’s report the development, environment and religious sectors of the development industry have tended so far to achieve greater community participation in the ownership and management aspects of these media than the human rights and legal sectors, which have tended to address community participation only in the production aspects. (Muthoni Wanyeki 2000, 26–27.)

Regardless of the founder of an African community medium, the profound aim in the continent’s community media seems to be development agenda. Means to achieve this are broad. For example puppetry is used to initiate discussion on ‘taboo’ issues. ‘Theatre for development’ or ‘theatre of the oppressed’ techniques are used to stimulate participatory debate on issues requiring community consensus regarding interpretation or strategies. Local languages are used even in print to create a sense of community ownership. Audio listening groups are used not just to circumvent reluctantly-changing government broadcast regimes, but also as a means of sharing experiences among different communities. Radio broadcasting is used where possible to reach largely non-literate communities. Participatory video is also used with an especially effective impact when targeting external audiences for urgent action and/or redress. (Muthoni Wanyeki 2000, 27.)

Of note are the growing number of specifically peace-oriented audio and radio production houses and stations, supported largely by religious organisations such as the Catholic Church, bilateral funders such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and intergovernmental organisations such as UNESCO. These are situated specifically in the conflict areas of the so-called Great Lakes region and in the conflict areas of the Horn of Africa. While clearly initiated by these external organisations, some have come to include higher levels of community participation in both management and production. (Muthoni Wanyeki 2000, 27–28.)

Outside of the so-called Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa, as broadcasting regulation opens up, community radio initiatives are increasing. South Africa’s National Community Radio Forum (NCRF), an umbrella for community radio, groups together over a hundred community radio initiatives. These community radio initiatives focus on a broad range of community development issues, from education to land use and management
systems. Many of these initiatives are also keen to devise means of sharing information with one another, to learn how different communities address similar issues, and to develop their own community radio practice. (Muthoni Wanyeki 2000, 28–29.)

Kivikuru points out that community communication is a widely studied area. Particular phenomena in village-level communication, such as health education and women’s activities, are studied quite frequently. There are many reports available for example about HIV/AIDS reporting. In 2004 The Panos Institute Southern Africa conducted a comprehensive analysis Lessons for today and tomorrow: An analysis of HIV/AIDS reporting in Southern Africa of eight countries (Tapfumaneyi & Geloo 2004). Building on Zambia’s part in that report, International Federation of Journalists made a study IFJ research findings on reporting HIV/AIDS in six countries in Africa and Asia in 2006 (Walters & Bersten 2006). According to Kivikuru (2004), detailed case studies are not so frequent. Also Dagron is calling for such studies saying that as Churches’ participation becomes notorious in many countries of Africa – as well as Latin America and Asia – some field research is needed to capture better the essence of religious radio stations. (Dagron 2007, 205.)

2.4. Participatory communication

Community radio can be classified under what Denis McQuail calls democratic-participant normative theory. This approach sees media as a channel which supports the right to relevant local information, the right to answer back, and the right to use new means of communication for interaction and social action in small-scale settings of community, interest groups or subcultures. It proposes mutuality between senders and receivers, and collectivism through participation. (Teer-Tomaselli & Mjwacu 2003, 83–95.) A prerequisite for most democracy theories of our times is the idea of the informed citizen, able and willing to take challenges and to act. However, according to Kivikuru, processes awakening citizens’ interest in collective affairs pose great challenges in countries where media messages are scarce or unevenly distributed, perhaps also found irrelevant by a considerable part of the population – or, where the public sphere in general does not create great motivation for action. The basic idea has been to bring the media closer to the public, thus enabling more ‘natural’ communicative spaces to be born, following the line of many so-called alternative media. Most often, however, the community media, especially community radio, are recommended as a standard emergency aid for strengthening African citizenry. (2006, 5–6.)
Joseph Ascroft and Sipho Masilela (1994) argue that as a process of empowering the people, participation is the ideal consequence of participation. Here, the individuals are active in the development programmes and processes; they contribute ideas, take initiatives, articulate their needs and problems, and assert their autonomy. Community radio activists working for the South African National Community Radio Forum (NCRF), a collective devoted to the promotion and support of community radio, have the same idea. The collective defines community participation as “the involvement of the local residents in the decision-making and the work of the station; it is about ownership and sharing in the benefits of the station, it is about identifying ‘felt needs’ – what people say they want – and running the station with the aim of addressing those needs.”

Concepts of community radio, community and participation are intertwined and Ruth Teer-Tomaselli sets a question on the definitions. In practice ‘community’ often refers to the potential audience in a station’s coverage, but should it be that; or those, who listen to the radio; or should it be confined to those who involve themselves with the radio station’s operation and management? (Teer-Tomaselli & Mjwacu 2003, 95.)

In article Top–down or bottom–up? Radio in the Service of Democracy: Experiences from South Africa and Namibia Kivikuru groups South African community radio and its support apparatus, Democracy Radio, and the Namibian People’s Parliament under the concept of participatory media. Democracy Radio is a series of programmes made by a well-established NGO, Institute for a Democratic South Africa (IDASA). Democracy Radio has its foundation in the 1990’s. South Africa was living a new chapter of democracy, but the ordinary person knew very little about how parliament works, what the budget is and how it is constructed, plus how a citizen can influence parliament’s activities. Having this in mind IDASA established Democracy Radio, a radio programme ‘features agency’, aimed at sending radio programmes to community radio stations free of charge. (Kivikuru 2006, 15.) The People’s Parliament, a contact programme facilitated by the Namibian Broadcasting Company was introduced in 1991 as a ‘national window’, broadcasting in English on the National Radio but also being sent out on the whole spectrum of the Language Service channels. The then manager of National Radio, Robin Tyson recalled his visit to Hyde Park’s Speakers’ Corner in London, and a programme called Chatshow was launched to give people a platform to vent their anger. The idea was not to bury differences but to develop a meaningful discussion between the government and opposition. (2006, 18.)
For Kivikuru the two qualify as community media because they are modes of ‘giving a voice to the voiceless’. However, in my opinion the concept of community radio is especially in the case of People’s Parliament very stretched. It is part of a public broadcasting system, the community potentially covers the whole nation, and although people can bring up issues there is a moderator leading the speech. Discussing the latter aspect, Kivikuru (2006) points out that Andrew Crisell (1994, 181–99) has a fairly cynical view of telephone contact programmes. According to him they do not represent real interaction, but merely confirm that the channel is open and people at both ends of the channel somehow understand each other. However, according to Kivikuru, the People’s Parliament in fact appears more spontaneous than most South African community radio and its support organization, Democracy Radio. But does it still qualify as a community radio, or should it be considered as a special public service programme? Kivikuru states that compared with ‘pure’ community media, the weakness with both South African community radio and Namibian People’s Parliament perhaps lies in the fact that the radio is still used as an arena by individuals. The power structures are also aware of this, and thus these media are allowed to operate freely because they approach people as individuals, not as organized citizens. They lack the structures to pursue and achieve change: anyone is able to say almost whatever she or he wants, because what is said has little influence. (Kivikuru 2006.) This, in addition to its aim of being a medium “to heal, to promote peace, unity and nation-building, and to create a culture of tolerance” makes it more a public service programme than community medium.

This brings up the importance of context. Most researchers are talking about light entertainment programmes in terms of western, media-rich culture. Such descriptions are not so appropriate to the People’s Parliament programmes – although, no doubt, there is always a hint of exhibitionism displayed by the programme participants. The People’s Parliament programmes have a far more essential, informational function than western entertainment programmes; the latter serve to keep the channels to their audience open rather than to provide real information. The popularity of the People’s Parliament programmes expressed by their listeners could perhaps be interpreted as an indication of an experienced will to challenge the authorities. Kivikuru says it is another issue whether or not the People’s Parliament really is interactive in the same sense as community media – ideally, at least – are. (Kivikuru 2006, 26–27.)
2.5. Entertainment-education

A mixture of entertainment and education seems to be common in Zambian community media. Entertainment-education has existed for millennia in the form of parables and fables. Since the British Broadcasting Corporation’s agriculturally focused radio drama The Archers in 1945 and the developmental telenovelas (soap operas or serial dramas) in Latin America in the early 1960s, there has been increased use of entertainment programmes to deliver pro-social messages. One influential modern-day practitioner and theorist in the field is Miguel Sabido. Incorporating for example social learning theory of Albert Bandura, as well as research to determine whether programs impacted audience behaviour, in the 1970s he began producing telenovelas that combined communication theory with pro-health and education messages to educate audiences throughout Latin America about family planning, literacy, and other topics. The results were convincing. The first hit serial drama Sabido produced dealt primarily with the issue of illiteracy, and following the episode in which one of the main characters visited a literacy office, 250,000 people did the same thing in Mexico City the next day. Eventually that count rose to over 800,000. (Barker & Helmetag 2007.)

Terms such as enter-educate, infotainment, culture and development, pro-development entertainment, and entertainment-education have been used to describe this practise (Bosch 2006, 30). The term entertainment-education is used most often, and is described as “the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message both to entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members’ knowledge about an educational issue, create favourable attitudes, and change overt behaviour” (Singhal & Rogers 1999, 9 in Bosch 2006). Unlike pure entertainment, entertainment-education approaches attempt to positively change audience members’ knowledge, attitudes and behaviours with respect to a specific issue.

Kasoma has a practical list of ways in which music brings about development. According to him music plants development ideas in people. Musicians raise various development ideas and issues in their lyrics, thereby directly or indirectly inviting individuals in the community as well as the community as a whole to think about them. Music also urges individuals and groups involved in development work to carry on persevering in implementing development initiatives despite problems encountered. There are a lot of songs encouraging people to work hard. Music also chides and reprimands lazy people who retard development; sometimes people start teasing a person they think some lyrics of the song are applicable to, thus making
the person more self conscious about his or her short comings. Last but not the least, the aesthetic value of music is certainly good for human mind. (Kasoma 2002, 159–161.)

3. Frames for Zambian community media

3.1. Where are we located: Zambia in a nut shell

Zambia is a landlocked country in Southern Africa. It is sparsely populated by some 11 million people that form more than 70 ethnic groups speaking vernacular languages; despite being the official language, English is not widely spoken. It has some spectacular scenery, including the Victoria Falls, but little more to attract tourists or gain international attention. Being a former British colony, Zambia gained its independence in 1964. Zambia has had a turbulent economic history that has had a varied degree of impact on the health and well-being of the Zambians. In the late 1960s it was the third largest copper miner, after the US and the Soviet Union. World copper prices collapsed in 1975 with devastating effects on the economy. Copper still accounts for most of Zambia's foreign earnings. (BBC Country profile 21.6.2007.) Then potentially one of the continent's richest countries has turned to be one of the world's poorest.

AIDS and so called brain drain, migration of educated people, are blamed for decimating the cream of Zambian professionals – including engineers and politicians – and malaria is a major problem. Millions of Zambians live below the World Bank poverty threshold of $1 a day; in 2005, 67% of the population lived below the poverty line (CSO 2004 in Banda 2006). Indeed, economic decline since the mid 1970s coupled with high HIV/AIDS rates have resulted in Zambians in many respects being economically worse off in the beginning of 21st century than at the time of independence. (Social Impact Assessment and Policy Analysis Corporation Ltd. 2000 in Banda 2006) Zambia’s literacy rate is about 80.6% (CIA 2006 in Banda 2006), but it remains lower within rural populations. Television ownership in Zambia is at roughly 36.5% (ORC Macro 2004 in Banda 2006). The country is mainly a Christian-based country with Catholics and Protestants making up 59% of the population (Ethno-Net Africa Database Zambia 2006 in Banda 2006).

At the advent of independence the country adopted a multi-party system of government. However, from 1972 to 1991 Zambia functioned as a one-party state. Now the multi-party system is adopted again, and led by president Levy Mwanawasa, who won his second term in
2006. He has made the fight against corruption a centrepiece of his presidency, giving the green light to investigations into alleged graft during the Chiluba era. He pressed for the former president's immunity from prosecution to be lifted. However, defaming the president is still a criminal offence. (MISA 21.6.2007.)

3.2. Three kinds of media: Zambian media scene

3.2.1. The state is me; public service media

One thing that Zambia inherited from its colonizer was the British broadcasting system. Known as Northern Rhodesia the country got its first radio station in its capital city Lusaka in 1941 for the purpose of disseminating war-related information. What is remarkable is that it started addressing programs to local people in their own languages, becoming the African pioneer in vernacular broadcasting. (Head 1974, 125–131.) Nowadays Zambian National Broadcasting Corporation ZNBC has one television channel as well as radio channels. They are strongly projecting the news and views of the ruling political elite; studies conducted in earlier periods by Fackson Banda (e.g. 1997) demonstrate inequality in news reporting, and the situation has remained unchanged. According to my own observations it is not uncommon to have the main news broadcast consisting of six news items all about the doings of the president.

State-owned daily newspapers account for more than 50% of the existing titles (MISA 2005b). The readership is very low. The widest read papers are: The Post (0.39% readership); The Times of Zambia (0.26% readership); The Zambia Daily Mail (0.20% readership), of which The Post is the only one daily private newspaper, which has been in existence since the 1990s (CSO, 2002; Banda, 2004).

3.2.2. Commercial media

Private radio stations offer little political reporting. The authorities make use of several laws, including libel and security laws, to intimidate journalists, especially those who have reported on corruption (BBC Country profile). However, with the introduction in 1994 of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Regulations Act, the sector became more liberalised, with new entrants appearing on the scene. These are mainly local or regional radio stations with the exception of Radio Phoenix, which has continued to broadcast in four provinces throughout the country. Its long-term plan is to reach the whole country, but its applications for a national
broadcasting licence have so far been thwarted by the state. Subscription digital satellite television (DStv) has provided an alternative to the ZNBC TV channel since 1995.

The challenge of commercial media is that audiences are not such that the media can easily sell to advertisers. This is especially so for the emerging radio outlets, which have to compete for audiences with the nationally placed ZNBC. However, some commercial radio stations have found a niche market. Breeze FM is appealing to local businesspeople, as well as benefiting from some NGO sponsorship of issue-focused programmes. Radio Phoenix has also a reasonable market share of 9.3% in 2004 (ORC Macro, 2004).

3.2.3. Community media

Of the 26 licensed radio stations in Zambia, 14 are designated “community” (Banda 2006, 16). These tend to serve a specific community – defined geographically or as a community of interest, or both. Community radio is now recognised as a distinct sector both in legislation and in practice. The Independent Broadcasting Authority Act of 2002 acknowledges the sector in its own right. The formation of the Zambia Community Media Forum (ZaCoMeF) in 2004 is an attempt at operationalising “community radio” and other forms of community media. Housed within the Panos Institute, it provides a platform for supporting community media initiatives throughout the country. It is involved in developing guidelines for the self-regulation of the sector, including undertaking research and advocacy activities in support of community media.

An interesting point is that the Roman Catholic Church has emerged as a dominant actor in Zambian broadcasting, given its ownership of a number of FM radio stations throughout the republic. Their radio stations enjoy stable budgets. Other community radio stations are often struggling for sponsorship and advertising to keep afloat, so donor funding will continue to be the mainstay of their economic survival.

Kasoma (2002) lists five issues that make community radios needed in Zambia, weighed against national radio or ZNBC. First, ZNBC radio signals do not reach all corners of the country. In addition, in many parts of the country, the signal is too faint to provide a powerful and clearly audible reception, particularly on the cheaper, and hence weaker, sets that many people have in the country. Moreover, some of the channels of ZNBC radio, in particular radio 4, do not reach most of the country. They are restricted only to a small area, along the
line of the old railway from Livingstone to Chililabombwe. Community radios are transmitted on Frequency Modulation (FM), and are beamed to a smaller area. Thus they have much better reach to potential listeners.

To function, the relationship between democracy, the public sphere, citizenship and the media requires what Kivikuru calls ‘communication competence’. It is a receiver’s quality that allows her to have an active relationship with media and other forms of communication and utilise this to her own benefit. For the most part, argues Kivikuru, the competence building aspect of the media is absent in Africa. Especially rural areas are poverty stricken in access to quality media. Available media fits into three categories: the old fashioned ‘nation building communication’, which is close to propaganda; externally promoted ‘development communication’ in the form of advocacy campaigns ranging from education through to public health issues and good governance; and recently ‘freedom’ communication, which refers to privately owned commercial media. (Teer-Tomaselli & Mjwacu 2003.)

Second, ZNBC radio channels cannot cater for all audiences in the country. Especially in developing countries it does make a difference whether a person lives in an urban setting or in country side. A community radio station treats specific topics which are applicable to and of interest to a particular community; and in a way that answers the specific needs and concerns of the community. It is impossible for a national radio station to discuss smaller communities’ problems in detail; and it is out of its scope. After all, one of national broadcasters’ functions is to unify whole nation.

Third, a community radio station gives people a sense of mutual togetherness. Kasoma claims that because people own the station, they feel responsible to it for any benefits it provides as well as any bad effects it may create in the community. If the station fails to provide the service it is supposed to, the community have only each other to blame. Conversely, if the station is satisfying the people, members of the community can take all the pride to themselves.

Fourth Kasoma mentions that ZNBC does not provide programming in all languages of the country. This is understandable in a country with over 80 spoken languages and as many tribes. However, own vernaculars are important to people’s identity. This was seen for example in January 2007 in the Zambian Community Media Forum (quoted in 21.6.2007). A
hot debate about language issues broke out after journalist Sam Kaseba wrote that The Post newspaper, in its reports and editorial opinions, has not helped matters on the debate on Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE) reported prohibition of Bemba and Nyanja music on Oblate Radio Liseli in Mongu. He interpreted The Post’s writing in the way that Bemba and Nyanja music weren’t just entitled to the listenership of Lozi audiences, but also that Bemba language should be declared Zambia’s national language, whether Lozis and other languages like it or not. In addition, broadcasting can be considered as an important way of keeping languages alive. Like Kaseba mentioned, according to UNESCO studies on languages, African languages are the most endangered with extinction. In Zambia, the Central Statistical Office (CSO) 2000 Census Report also used the word extinction for several Zambian languages.

Fifth, specific problems and issues faced by communities can only be addressed by community media. According to Kasoma, community radio seems to be the best medium suitable for promoting people’s development initiatives, because only this form of media allows people to fully participate; and participation is crucial to development. (Kasoma 2002, 29–32.)

3.2.4. Media regulation

The period between 2000 and 2005 has seen increased advocacy activity by media support organisations in the country. Broadcast media law reforms are evident in this period, particularly the enactment of new legislation focusing on the creation of an independent broadcasting regulator as well as on turning ZNBC into a public-service broadcaster par excellence. Only the state continues to be reluctant to implement media law reforms.

There is still a plethora of laws inherited from British colonialism that continue to haunt journalists – ranging from the Public Order Act to the Penal Code. Also the state still has legal authority over the licensing of radio stations. This authority, which would have been removed from the state had the IBA Act of 2002 held sway, continues to amount to a degree of unhealthy state control over the rest of the radio stations.

According to report So This Is Democracy? by the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) this Section 69 of the Penal Code which is on Defamation of the President was the most notorious law which got Zambian journalists in trouble in 2005. For example The Post, the
country’s leading newspaper, was victimised using this law for its scathing criticism of President Mwanawasa over the Nolle Prosequi which was entered in favour of former Ministry of Health Permanent Secretary Dr. Kashiwa Bulaya over the procurement of AIDS drugs from Bulgaria. Due to the campaign by The Post, the Nolle Prosequi was withdrawn and Dr. Bulaya was put on trial. All together, in 2005 the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) recorded 21 media violations in Zambia. According to the MISA Zambian journalists were subjected to unnecessary arrests, detentions, intimidation and questioning by the police. (MISA 21.6.2006.)

Kasoma reports on incidences in the 1990’s and 2000’s where MMD Government had been banning songs, which were thought to be critical of people in Government. According to his sources, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services officials banned certain songs by simply calling the station’s management and warning them that if a particular song was played again, the station’s broadcasting licence would be withdrawn. (Kasoma 2002, 160–161.)

Chikuni Radio’s staff has had it’s share of charges. On 14 March 2006, Chikuni community radio station director Fr Andrew Lesniara and two students were questioned by police in Monze in connection with the charge of “publishing false news with intent to cause fear and alarm to the public,” brought against station staffers Matongo Maumbi and Jyde Hamoonga on 11 March 2006.

Maumbi and Hamoonga were arrested and charged for having broadcast an announcement on the radio station, inviting community members to meet to seek a solution to the alleged ritual murder of a 5-year-old boy who had been missing for one week and whose body was eventually found near a dam, with parts missing. The meeting subsequently led to a riot.

Lesniara's lawyer told that the three were questioned for three hours in his presence about their role in the broadcast of the announcement but were not charged. Meanwhile, Maumbi's and Hamoonga's expected appearance before the Monze magistrate court on 15 March 2006 was postponed to facilitate further investigation. No further information was given. (IFEX 31.7.2006.) The incident didn’t lead to any consequences.
MISA Zambia has urged government to speedily implement the recommendations of the 1993 Media Law Reform Committee and the 1999 Task Force on Media Law Reforms, which called for the repeal or amendment of all anti-media laws. Among the laws cited were Defamation of the President, Publication of False News, Prohibition of Publications, Criminal Defamation and the State Security Act.

According to Banda (2006) the increase in the number of NGOs is helping to create a critical mass to push for a more enabling political, economic and legislative environment within which the media can perform effectively and efficiently. There is strength in numbers and this is increasingly being demonstrated in Zambia. For instance, the minister of finance and national planning introduced value-added tax on the cover price of newspapers in the 2006 budget. This would have further crippled the print media. But a united public campaign by MISA-Zambia, Press Association of Zambia PAZA, Zambia Media Women’s Association ZAMWA, Society for Senior Zambian Journalists SSZJ and others compelled the minister to rescind the decision. Clearly, politicians are being persuaded to think in terms of laws and policies that can strengthen, rather than weaken, the media. (Banda 2006.)

But NGOs also have an important role in community radio’s general programming. As a rule of thumb community radios are poor. Accordingly, the programme time is filled with cheap and easily available material, not necessarily the most relevant content, and many important themes and plurality of information are sometimes forgotten. Discussing the South African Democracy Radio, Kivikuru states that before the two rounds of national elections in 2000, there were numerous foreign donors and independent producers who were interested in themes related to political processes. Since the elections, no producer other than Democracy Radio has been interested in the theme. The focus has been on HIV/AIDS, on health in general, on nutrition or on women’s issues, some also on agriculture. (Kivikuru 2006, 16.)

Kivikuru writes that most experts in the field recommend that the community radio stations should liaise more with domestic independent producers. However, this field is not without problems. Many domestic producers receive funds from either domestic or international donors, willing to promote ‘good’ causes such as health, HIV/AIDS prevention or refugees. These donors must be accountable to their home base. Accordingly, they put conditions on their support: their programmes should be broadcast within a particular time slot, or even on a particular date and time. ‘Packages from an unknown sender’, comprising a CD with a
covering letter expressing such demands, are a familiar phenomenon at most community radio stations – and quite often, the stations fulfil the conditions, fearing that if they did not, another ‘instalment’ might never come.

Happily, most of these donors are well-meaning NGOs, but a cynical analyst could see a danger in such an unbalanced situation: a well-meaning but wealthy advocacy agent sends material to a poor and perhaps somewhat naive receiver, in great need of material. These independent producers represent a totally different standard of professionalism to the community radio stations, but they, again, are dependent on donor funds. Some stations have realized their value and have asked payment for broadcasting material produced by independent producers or interest organizations. Regarding the situation in Namibia and South Africa, Kivikuru predicts that there may be clashes to come in the future. (Kivikuru 2006, 13.)

3.2.5. Challenges of community media in Zambia

Financing is a critical question to most of community media anywhere. In June 2007 there were five community newspapers. They all were struggling for survival. Banda (2006) takes an example of the Country News newspaper that was asking for urgent assistance to keep the community paper on the streets. The paper has failed to have two of their issues printed. They are asking for the following: Printing costs for the paper at K2.2 million (USD 524) per 1000 copies; Office space and computers to use or own; Any other assistance deemed necessary. I think it serves as a great example of community media being dependant on external financial support.

In addition to regulation and state control, the media in Zambia has difficulties unknown to Western media. Print media’s audience is limited due to poor literacy and logistics outside towns. In a conversation in ZaCoMeF, the issue of power was considered very critical to radios. Most rural areas and districts outside Lusaka have unstable power supply from Zambia’s largest power utility ZESCO. As a result, most transmitters that do not have power surge protectors simply burn. Recently, Media Trust Fund bought a new transmitter for Lyambai Radio, but it only worked for two days due to ZESCO’s unstable supply of power. The voltages fluctuated from 240 V down to 180 V and then up to 280 V, which is not friendly to most transmitters. (ZaCoMeF 12.9.2006.)
4. Designing the study: methods and samples

4.1. Purpose of the study

My empirical research is about Chikuni Radio, a community radio founded in 2000. The station broadcasts from Chikuni mission on 91.8 FM with a radius spanning over 70 kilometres. It is located in “Tonga land” and broadcasts in English and Tonga. Tonga is the third most popular vernacular language in Zambia with 10.6% of the population having it as their mother tongue (CSO, 2002).

The station is owned by Jesuit Mission. According to Fr Andrew Lesniara the radio was primarily founded to ensure communication: in the rainy season some outstations in the parish were unreachable because of flooding rivers. The first idea was to have a walkie-talkie network. Then, the now late bishop Lungu proposed Fr Lesniara for research of an actual radio station. It came to light that if the radio was to cover the whole diocese it would have needed seven outstations, which was too expensive. The idea died, but was brought up again when Fr Tadeusz Swiderski arrived in the Parish, now in the form of a community radio station. Fr Lesniara tells:

\begin{quote}
We knew here about community radio station and we thought about that because of we knew that many projects kind of died out exactly because of the distance, you know. Some priests before us they started very good projects but they died out because they couldn’t maintain them on a weekly basis or even a monthly basis. So the idea was that if we had a community radio station we could have teams of people producing programmes and to sustain those projects even on weekly basis. That was the beginning. Then we approached the community, we had a meeting, quite a big meeting, we invited people from you know all sorts of walk of lives if you could say that and they were very enthusiastic about it. But from the very beginning they were aware that it is again one of the projects started by Europeans. So when they left we were aware that it had to be a community project.
\end{quote}

A fund raising committee was founded. It’s main functions was to find out what would be the way of involving the community at the very start for example in building the radio station and homing the team. The project was planned to be accessible for all: for example people could
donate stones or make bricks for construction or participate in digging foundations. Meanwhile the parish sent three local people to partake in broadcasting training.

Now Chikuni Radio broadcasts to all the 21 out-stations in Chikuni Parish and beyond, with a conservatively estimated potential audience of 250,000. The station also reaches three other parishes, Monze, Mazabuka and Choma. The station broadcasts from 6:00 to 23:00 every day. On Mondays to Fridays there is a regular slot for a radio school called Taonga Market from 12:00 to 15:00 broken only by Children’s Songs sessions.

The mission statement of Chikuni Radio is very Christian minded. According to its official website, the mission of Chikuni Radio aims to evangelize by strengthening the Christian, and in particular the Catholic, faith of people and by promoting justice, but also to promote development by focusing on integral human development, and, in particular, by focusing on social, cultural, agricultural, health and appropriate technology formation; to promote formal education for out of school children and disadvantaged adults, and informal education on matters of general interest for the community; and to broadcast news and issues that are helpful for the local community. (Chikuni Radio’s website 30.7.2007.)

The radio’s objectives are plenty: to promote practical skills in radio communication; to provide information that is not readily available in rural areas; to provide a forum for discussions on important community issues and concerns; to provide health education and AIDS awareness programmes; to share information about the welfare and care for the orphaned children, the aged, the disabled and the HIV/AIDS victims; to offer education to out of school disadvantaged children and adults; to assist farming families to progress in agriculture enterprises; to demonstrate applications of appropriate technologies in the rural areas; to promote income generating and self-employment activities; to protect the interest of vulnerable, especially the widows, children, the aged and the disabled; to offer media scholarships to grade 12 school leavers; to build a self-sustaining institution; to promote local music and in particular traditional Tonga music; to promote the Zambian culture and traditions through music and recorded arts; to foster the growth of faith by Bible study, faith sharing, and other similar programmes; to provide on-going training in various skills in response to local needs. (Chikuni Radio website 30.7.2007.) Despite of the Christian ethos in the mission statement, the agenda of the radio seems to be rather “earthly”: practical and development orientated.
The ownership has brought one undeniable asset: quality equipment. One of the broadcasters says that he is comfortable saying that they have the best equipment in the country; Kasoma mentions Chikuni Radio as an example of a well-equipped station, which new comers should emulate (2002; 291). There are two studios, one for recording, and another for live broadcasting. Mixing tables for them are digital, bought in 2005. The station has its own power supply, because the current is not stable in the region; It has proven very handy. There is also an internet connection that was obtained to share a connection with 14 other radio stations about 5 years ago. It has never been used, because the other stations are lacking adequate equipment.

At the time of the study the radio had a staff of six permanent employees. They all have at least certificate or diploma in Broadcasting and Journalism. They are assisted in the radio’s running by six so called Media Scholars, who are offered a year long full-time internship after finishing their high school. Another important group considered as staff is the News Gatherers who provide news items from villages. They work on a voluntary basis. Formed by less regular participants, the station has 48 Listening clubs of not less than twenty members each. Since 2001 they have been identifying issues of concern and making programmes on the same issues for themselves. The Listening clubs, described as “the main success story of community participation in the radio” by one reporter, provide an hour long combined programme run from Monday to Friday. There are also a number of different, not so regular participants making programmes, for example in a drama group or in a youth group.

In a meeting with the radio’s coordinator, father Andrew Lesniara and a broadcaster Matongo Maumbi they listed their hopes about the research as followed.

- What is the community’s idea about the radio. According to Maumbi, when something is done in unsatisfying way, the community refers to the radio as ‘your radio’. In other times it is often recognised as ‘our radio’.

- How does the radio serve different age groups. Are there any redundant programmes? What are the must-haves?

- What are the aspects and issues that are not covered in the programmes? Maumbi assumed that more could be done with disability.
• Participation; some people do participate, but why do others not?

• Is the music policy good? Currently Tonga music is strongly emphasised.

• What do people think about the radio school? The school named as Taonga Market has a permanent slot in the middle of working days. The idea is that such children that are not able to attend regular school, for example due to long distances, can study in a Taonga Centre with the help of the programme. In the past five years some of those centres have closed down, and in feedback some listeners have demanded to shift Taonga Market into a separate channel.

• What do people think about the presentation and programming in general?

In addition to the core functions of a community radio, Chikuni Radio organises a concert every year that functions as a competition for local musicians. The competition has so far been free, but now some people have asked for a fee to be introduced, so that the event could be organised better, and the prizes could be raised. In the rural area of Monze District the concert is a major event of the year, and seen as an important aspect of building Tonga community. The station hopes to have suggestions on how to develop the concert too.

In the study I applied an ethnographic set of mind; I wanted to learn how does this community think and function. This was also essential to the study; to understand a community radio one has to have some understanding of the community in question. Therefore the questions I asked included some about the community or individual’s life.

Teer-Tomaselli is frank about how any study about a community radio should be conducted. According to her, any study of community radio needs to focus on four areas of concern: structure, personnel, programming output and interaction with the community (Teer-Tomaselli & Mjwacu 2003, 95). In this study I focus on the latter from the point of view of both the radio station and the listeners. The programming output is receiving less attention, because, being mainly in Tonga, for a European researcher it is very difficult to analyse.

4.2. Personal interviews

Berger (1998) describes depth interview as an extended conversation, which has a different purpose from that of an ordinary conversation. The depth interview is highly focused and is conducted to get at particular issues, such as hidden feelings or attitudes. (Berger 1998, 55.)
In order to get information about the running of radio it was vital to interview its staff. I decided to interview the director of the radio, Fr Andrew Lesniara as well as three journalists, identified as reporter 1, reporter 2 and reporter 3. I also interviewed one radio scholar.

4.3. Survey questionnaire

4.3.1. Collecting data

According to Berger surveys and questionnaires are two of the most common ways of finding out what people think and do: their beliefs, their opinions, actions they’ve taken and so on (Berger 1998, 35–38). In order to make questionnaires relevant, one has to design the questions with proper focus and find a representative group to answer them.

In the questionnaire I had 34 questions, 19 of which were targeted to find out about the person in question; who are the people listening to Chikuni Radio, in what kind of environment do they live, what is their denomination and so on. The rest of the questions were about usage of media and opinions about Chikuni Radio. The questionnaire can be seen in appendix of this thesis.

The sample group consisted of 94 potential listeners. The interviews were targeting people living both in Chikuni centre and the outstations. The latter created problems in communication in terms of language and transportation; the villages are far and scattered, and the people are not so fluent in English. It was be hard to reach the villages by foot and there were no extra cars around. Thus I visited villages with a Home Based Care unit, which is driving around to provide health care locally; they also provide educational video shows once a week in villages. I soon found out that it was good to carry out the survey questionnaires on both, video show trips as well as health care trips. This was due to the reason that most people arriving for the health care were HIV-positive. This affected answers; these people were asking for more HIV/AIDS programmes where the others expressed tiredness towards hearing about the disease over and over again.

Doing the survey in villages was only possible with a help of a translator, because people’s English skills – or my Tonga – were not adequate to communicate otherwise. Therefore I needed a patient, reliable translator that would do the work with only a modest compensation;
it was agreed with the Fathers that the people participating in the research should do it out of their shared interest only, since it was for mutual good. Kulemba Sakaimbo, who proved to be vital for the research thanks to her social and energetic character, was found for the task through the help of journalist Matongo Maumbi.

Altogether we travelled to undertake survey questionnaires in Hamagalu, Choompa, Kanchomba, Hanamaila and Chikuni centre itself. The participants were from 38 different villages. The aim was to have participants equally from both sexes and from different age groups. The sample groups are divided into these factors in chart 1 below.

**Chart 1. Age and gender of the sample group**

I gave emphasis to younger age groups, which makes age group 15–24 seem disproportionate. This was because in Zambian demography the younger age groups are bigger than elder ones. Thus the sample may seem to be not directly representative of the total listening demographic, but I have kept this in mind throughout the research and have weighed all other factors (e.g. education level) in this light.

I also tried to find participants with different socio-economical backgrounds. The result is shown in chart 2.
Due to the size of age group 15–24 years old, student was the most common “occupation”. However, people in Chikuni area are mainly living from farming, which is the second biggest occupation in this study; also, most of the students were from farmer families. These people were mainly subsistence farmers; 79 people revealed that either all products are used by the family or only some products are sold.

In the group named “professional” the occupations were a mixture of teacher and IT. Group “other” is comprised of businessmen, pensioners and unemployed. It was clear that younger people were better educated than elder population. The educational background of participants is shown in chart 3.
4.3.2. Evaluation of the survey questionnaire

There were no difficulties in respect of participation in completing survey questionnaires. When we arrived in a new village, we greeted the people together with the Home Based Care unit. Translator Kulemba Sakaimbo explained in Tonga what we are about to do, and I introduced myself in English. We were then welcomed by some singing. We would arrange a “reception” in a shaded area, and when we finished with one person, another was already queuing up. However, it proved to be very time consuming to complete a questionnaire in villages; for example in one particular day we completed only 12.

There was also a slight problem with communication. The translator had finished her high school, but was not familiar with interviewing techniques. For example during the first day I first found that she was sometimes guessing the answers on behalf of the interviewees, and I had to remind her to let the interviewees to express their own opinions. Although we talked about the questions before embarking on interviewing, there was a misunderstanding about one question. I realised this but only after the whole days work. This resulted in all the answers to that question had to be dismissed as well as a review of the other questions once more.
In spite of these incidents I am confident that the survey questionnaire provided reliable data. The methods used were the best available in the given conditions. The translator was the best available, because the number of local people with college level education was scarce; I also assume that they wouldn’t have had much time nor interest to travel around in villages for little financial compensation. Also use of staff of the radio station was in this respect out of question as their presence would constitute a conflict of interest. In principal it might have been possible to print the forms in Tonga and ask some local village school mentors or such to ask people to fill the forms, but then there was a question of motivation; the radio staff had carried out a small survey approximately three years ago, and believed that many forms were filled by the same people. Also by accessing people directly we could ensure that all the ages and genders were represented. It would have been easy to survey entire classes in local schools, but then the sample would not have been demographically representative.

4.4. Focus group discussions

4.4.1. The groups

In order to get some perspective to the survey questionnaire I held six focus group discussions (appendix 1). I wanted to have good representation in respect of age, education and gender, but the way of gathering participants differed. The first focus group discussion was formed in Mulongalwiili village by five men, and held in Tonga. I travelled there together with the facilitator with the Home Based Care unit that was about to show some educational films in the village. This was before the three-partite elections, and there was a group of different aged men gathered under a tree waiting for a political meeting. They were more than happy to participate, although we had to have a break during the political meeting. This proved to be good; although we had talked about the idea of focus group discussions in depth with the facilitator, I soon noticed that we had not reached an understanding and that the discussion was more in form of an interview. When we continued, the facilitator did very well in inspiring people to talk, and even more people were willing to take part.

The second and the third group consisted of women only. They were held within the Chikuni Mission on the yard of Home Based Care. The unit distributes food aid for HIV positive people, who had gathered to wait for their parcels. The participants, five in both groups, were gathered from the yard, with no difficulties again, since people saw it as an interesting way to
pass time. They both consisted of different age groups. Also these groups were held in Tonga by the facilitator.

The fourth focus group discussion was held with teachers, both male and female. The participants were selected by one teacher. In order to get younger participants the final two discussion groups consisted of high school students, one of boys, the other of girls. The participants were selected by teachers. All these three groups were all held in English and facilitated by me in premises of the two high schools in the Mission.

It was agreed with Fr Andrew Lesniara that all the participants were to contribute for free without any payment. However, I took the liberty to give every participant a bottle of Coca Cola as refreshment. The discussions were recorded. The ones held in Tonga we translated into English by Matongo Maumbi, a Chikuni Radio staff member. In quoting discussions in his text, the number refers to the conversation, letter to the participant. To ensure anonymity, I have not included a list where the given letter and any specific details of the participant would be connected.

4.4.2. About focus group discussions

Focus group discussions have been used in Social Sciences to provide background for opinions since the 1940’s. In the 1950’s quantitative research replaced group discussions, and they became popular only again in the 1980’s, first in marketing research. Later on the method was reapplied in Social Sciences. (Lunt & Livingstone 1996; Kunelius 1997; Pietilä 1997.) In practice focus groups are group interviews that are held to find out how people feel about some service, issue or product. The aim is not to build consensus, but to find out what each member of the group thinks about the topic under discussion, and to elicit from each person his or her opinions and descriptions of the behaviour of the interest. (Berger p. 89–91.) In optimal situation focus group discussions are simulating half-casual conversations, which are led by a moderator to obtain desired information. They provide answers to “why” questions and complement quantitative research methods.

4.4.3. Evaluation of the focus group discussions

I was mainly pleased with the discussions. The people were eager to participate and the facilitator was good in inspiring people to participate. There were no questions that people were not willing to discuss and I cannot recall anyone looking too shy or, on the other hand,
bullying others; the atmosphere was relaxed and positive in all six discussions. I think the participation was so impressive due to three reasons. First of all Tonga culture is extremely social; for example you are supposed to greet everyone you pass by on street, whether you have ever met them or not. Secondly, the facilitator was well known and respected in the community. She had superb people skills and was not too stingy in using them. Thirdly, there is not much happening in the Chikuni area. When a foreign girl comes to ask for opinions, people are willing to participate out of sheer curiosity.

4.4.4. Reliability and validity

In qualitative research reliability and validity are more difficult to show than when using quantitative methods. In focus group discussions the validity can be judged by how rich and versatile the gathered data is. Reliability can be seen when the discussion reaches a point where no new information is provided, but all the topics and points have already been mentioned. (Lunt & Livingstone 1996.) In this respect the number of focus group discussions, six, is relatively small. However, the socio-demographic background was versatile. Certain common themes could be found in all the discussions and at least in those parts the research could be considered reliable.

The data collecting methods in this research have been plural. Although findings are often represented by separating qualitative and quantitative data, I have grouped my findings under certain themes. I have categorised my findings of Chikuni Radio roughly under three headlines: information, education and community building. I will discuss these themes by using both, qualitative and quantitative data side by side. However, the themes are not entities within themselves, but the classification is a very arbitrary as the themes are intertwined: for example in Tonga culture a piece of music can be as much about information, education and entertainment while, being a product of the community’s heritage, strengthen the values of the community. But first, I will take a look into the community itself in more detail.

5. Meaning of Chikuni Radio for it’s community.

5.1. Chikuni community

What I refer to as Chikuni community in this thesis is Chikuni Radio’s potential audience of 250,000 people living around Chikuni Parish, midway between Lusaka and Livingstone, the nearest towns being Monze and Gwembe. Since 1905, when Jesuits established the Chikuni
Parish, the Jesuits have set up 48 primary schools, the Canisius Secondary School and the Charles Lwanga Teacher Training College. The Parish has many AIDS patients, of which many are participating in the Home Base Care Project. There are regular services in churches. Parish has provided hammer mills for grinding of maize and sports equipment to each of the 21 outstations. People are scattered in small villages; for this thesis I interviewed people from 38 different ones. The distances between places were long, as can be seen in the chart 4 below, especially considering that walking is virtually the only mean of transportation.

**Chart 4. Average distances from home**

Looking past the numbers the essence of the community is best described by the members of the community. I start by quoting a member of the station’s staff, reporter 3.

_Apart from the local people that are Tongas themselves, we’ve got other people, Zambians, who migrated from other parts of this country, who are not Tongas, who are working just here. Like my self I’m the best example, I’m not Tonga, but I have learned to speak Tonga on radio, I have lived with them, so I belong to this community. Then we have another community of peasant farmers who are Tongas and another community of people who are herdsmen, who look after animals. Most of them, and others, the community of intermarried people, so there are other people who are married to Tongas, so it’s that mixture of a community in Chikuni_
where we are. But outside there are pure Tongas in rural areas outside of Chikuni. Of course you find other people who came when they were constructing the railway from Livingstone, from Capetown South Africa to Cairo, Egypt. People who didn’t go back, who are staying here, who have been given goats, they are cultivating. That kind of community you find in Chikuni. Of course the other people are HIV positive, those who have come out in open. That’s another community. … Then there is another community that I am working with, disabled people, who are ... blind. So that’s another community again. It’s a variety of community. (Reporter)

The target community of Chikuni’s community radio is a natural one; it is not a community of interest, but it is defined by a specific location. It is also populated mainly by one ethnic group, Tongas, which makes it a community defined by shared culture too. In the focus group discussions I asked the participants to describe this community. People had a strong sense of togetherness, which is evident in people’s comments.

2B: It’s a community where if I have an issue, I go to the village headman and we talk about that issue, and then we are united as a community.

2C: I live in a community where, if there are problems, we meet as a community to help each other out.

Zambia is a poor country, and when asking about topical issues that are discussed in the community, people identified many daily problems they had. All the groups listed health related issues, mainly HIV/AIDS, but also TB and other diseases. Also poverty was taken into discussion in all groups. Lack of water was mentioned by three groups; by those participants that were involved with farming. This is highlighted by the fact demonstrated in the previous chart that the average distance to a water point from home was 1,1 km; only 11 out of 94 had tap at home. Difficulties in farming were brought up too. Group three elaborated the current situation, material and social, well:

3A: The main problem in our community is hunger. We are in this situation because we do not have good seed to plant and other inputs to help us move out of hunger.
3B: The other problem we have is the lack of water. Even when you would want to do some work like gardening, you cannot because there is no water. Laundry or cleaning of the house is made difficult as there is no water. We also do not have draught animal power to help with cultivating our fields.

3C: Diseases are also a problem especially that we lack knowledge of where to go when one is sick. We are also scared of going to the hospital because when they do a test, you may be found with the disease [referring to HIV/AIDS]. Fear is what is making diseases be on the increase in our community. If people were not afraid, we could have lessened the diseases. People should come out in the open like we have. It is easy to lead a good life when you know your status. Stigma and discrimination are a problem, but people should realize that when they are tested, they stand a better chance to improve their health. Personally, I was very sick, and when I was tested and followed the instructions, am now able to walk and do some work on my own. People should be willing to be tested.

3D: The other problem is that we have very few clinics in our areas. Each village should have a clinic and hand pumps. When someone feels sick, it’s difficult to go to the hospital due to the long distance. These are the issues in our community. We need help with clinics and water.

3E: People are laughing and insulting us a lot. They would even go on anthills and start insulting us because we have been tested and came out in the open. They really discredit us, but when we are given the food supplements, they are the first ones to come to beg for food.

Groups formed by teachers and students in the boys’ school talked about the intrusion of Western culture, which wasn’t seen as a favourable phenomenon. The group formed by students in the girls’ school and the second group formed during food distribution talked about security, in terms of thefts, and other crimes as well as the rights of children and widows: these two social groups were considered to need urgent extra attention and help.
5.2. Media landscape in Chikuni

According to its website, the Chikuni Parish has been aiming from the very beginning to help the local population to develop themselves in all areas of a human life. In realizing this aim, access to information is considered indispensable and central in any effort of development. This has led to the founding of Chikuni Radio. Fr Andrew Lesniara describes the meaning of the Chikuni Radio in the following words:

You could have a genius, a genius in the village, and if he or she has no access to information or education that genius would be walking with a bucket of water or a gun for the rest of his or her life. We are lucky that we had in Europe or whatever or even people in towns they have opportunities to read, to access internet, to go to school and so on. Other people don’t have it. They don’t even have running water, or not running water, they don’t even have water, a well in their villages. We try to provide them schools and so on. So I think that is the whole idea to have a radio. That people will have access to if you like to grow. If you don’t share experiences with others, if you don’t have access to let’s say education or to information, you would need to reinvent a wheel, which was you know invented how many thousand years ago. And that goes to every single walk of lives. This applies to education, this applies to proper technology, this applies also to spiritual mind that people have had for thousands of years. So that I think that is the whole idea. And people can choose. Radio, I think it is a fantastic medium because we are not being pushed to like watching to TV that has already images and so on. You are able to turn it on, you are able to choose what you want and if you have a good variety of programmes I think people would be able to choose what they would like to listen to, what they would like to say listen on weekly basis that they could be able to benefit after that.

Being in a rural area, the location affects Chikuni’s media scene. There are virtually no newspapers available, because of long distances and bad roads between towns; the relatively high price of prints; and poor literacy, which is discouraging reading. Television can be found in some households, but it is still rare and, according to my own observation, has very poor
visibility. The Internet is known about, but only a handful of people have access to it. Thus, media usage around Chikuni area is strongly dominated by one media, radio.

The survey questionnaire puts this in numbers, which is shown in the chart 5 below. Only one person claimed not to listen to radio at all. Roughly a third said they watched television, one in ten said they watched videos. Only 4 claimed to read newspapers. In addition 2 mentioned literature, one tapes and one the Internet as forms of media they use.

**Chart 5. Usage of mass communication media**

![Chart 5](image)

But electronic media is not needed for all mass communication. Material resources are scarce, but not vital to gain information. Here I counted story telling and drama as forms of media too. 30 people said they participated in story telling, 15 watched drama. Unfortunately I couldn’t clarify how organised these drama and story telling sessions in question were. I know that for example Home Based Care has a drama group visiting villages to educate people about HIV/AIDS. But did people consider it to be a story telling session when grandmother told an old story or did only more general meetings count? However, this gives an idea how face to face communication is still very important in Zambia.
It was still radio that dominated the information scene. Radio is relatively a cheap machine and so most of the people had radio in their use. 82 said they had a usable radio set at home, 9 didn’t have any; 3 said they had one, but it was not usable. Some people had hardships in maintaining the radio: 18 out of 94 claimed that needed batteries were not easily in their reach, because of the price.

Most people listened to the radio with family. 63 said they listened to radio mainly with family; 13 said it was usually whilst alone; 3 listened with friends; 3 with neighbours and 1 only in parties. Mainly the radio was listened to while doing some manual work; and mainly on daily basis. Two thirds said they listened to the radio daily; one in five listened to radio weekly; one tenth said their listening times were more rare. As previously mentioned, only one claimed he never listened to radio. This is demonstrated in the chart below.

Chart 6. Frequency of radio listening by individuals

Age and gender didn’t seem to make any difference in listening frequency.

Besides Chikuni Radio, four other stations can be listened to in the area, they being Sky fm, ZNBC Radio One, ZNBC Radio 2 and ZNBC Radio 4. Out of these the first one is a commercial station, being located in a near by town Monze, and having focus on music. The three latter ones are public service stations. Chikuni Radio turned out to be the most popular
one of those: 83 claimed to mainly listen to this station. It should be noted though that some people didn’t have any choice. Some complained that close to the station, the Chikuni station was reigning over the radio waves and no other channel could be heard at all. On the other hand, people living further away reported that the other channels were not clear there either, but radio Chikuni had good coverage. Only 2 people out of 94 said that Chikuni’s broadcasting signal wasn’t clear.

As can be seen in the next chart, the main listening hours were between from 18:00 to 21:00. Age didn’t seem to make any major differences in listening times either.

Chart 7. Main radio listening times

Then why do people listen to Chikuni Radio? In the survey questionnaire I let people answer this question in their own words. 5 people said the reason was practical; it is the only radio station that can be heard clearly in their area. 50 people said the main reason was information; 14 referred to the radio’s entertaining qualities. But it was 21 people who referred to its role as a community builder:

First, it uses Tonga language, second, it is within the villages. I'm proud of it.
What they talk about is nice; if someone is having problems, we get to know about it due to announcements, and then we can help.

I gain knowledge; and we can also talk about the radio.

5.3. Providing information

5.3.1. Chikuni radio as source of information
For many of its listeners Chikuni Radio is a main source of information about the world beyond the community. For many, this informing is seen as the main function of the radio: it was 50 people out of 94 that said the main reason to listen to the radio was information. This was described by one woman in focus group conversation 2:

2B: Chikuni Radio covers a lot of issues. The Home Based Care, through Veronica placed an announcement calling on all PALS [People Living Positively with HIV] to meet today and here we are. We got the message through radio. Sporting activities are as well announced on radio and the concerned teams know exactly where and when to play. For us who are not able to go and watch, we rely on the station to hear who lost or who won.

The radio has a vital role in bringing the community if not into at then least closer to “the global village”: it was stated that before the station started operating, the locals never heard of anything that was happening outside their country.

News bulletins are central to receiving information about the wider world. The radio broadcasts news 7 times a day, out of which 3 is only brief headlines. They are read both in Tonga and English. The news about issues located outside the radio’s radius are gathered mainly from the Internet by staff reporters. To get national stories the radio subscribes to news letters from the Zambian news and information centre Zanis. International stories that the radio broadcasts about four a day, are mainly collected from the BBC website. Covering local news is more problematic. The staff is able to work in Chikuni centre, but the radio has limited resources to send their staff into villages. Therefore for local news the radio has news gatherers. They are volunteers that the community has selected. According to a staff member most of them are in their 20’s, a few in their early 30’s, mainly male: there are only 4 or 5
women compared with 22 men. The radio provides the news gatherers some training: there are workshops every year in news writing, about dos and don’ts, otherwise support is scarce. The news gatherers are not paid, but given some benefits, for example spare parts for their bicycles.

The news items from news gatherers are compiled every week on Thursdays when the news gatherers come to the station. If there are some stories that turn out to be hard news, they are used immediately for the main bulletin. Otherwise their stories are edited and broadcast in a community news programme on Friday at 8:30 up to 9:00. One or two news gatherers are selected to cast the news in Tonga. Most of the stories don’t have great information value for the wider audience, and their function lies in building a sense of a mutual community; or they serve as entertainment as sometimes news with questionable objectivity but with great entertainment value was broadcast. I was told, for example, that once a news gatherer reported that a chicken with four legs was born in a village. The news item was broadcast and a reporter from the radio station’s regular staff was sent to investigate. It turned out that the villagers were convinced that the four legged chicken wasn’t just a product of imagination; however no one had seen it, because due to its physical abilities it could run so fast that a human eye couldn’t catch it.

In the research I evaluated the opinions about the amount of local, regional, national and international news. On average listeners were content: there were as many people saying that the amount was too small as there were saying it was adequate and too much. However, in focus group discussions some expressed their will to get more news especially in Tonga:

1A: Yes they do broadcast international news. The only problem is that it is only featured in the English bulletin, and when it comes to Tonga news, there is no international item in the bulletin. An English bulletin would take 15 minutes, but the Tonga one only takes five minutes. What they read in English should all be translated to Tonga.

3D: We do listen to ZNBC radio 1 from Lusaka and Sky in Monze. Most of the times I listen to Chikuni Radio because of the local language that is used. We don’t understand the other languages that are used on other station.
3A: We would want to listen to ZNBC, but we do not understand the language that they use.

According to one of the radio staff, station’s policy is that 60 per cent of broadcasting would be in Tonga, 40 per cent English; however, the current situation is about 80 per cent Tonga and about 20 per cent English, mainly because of the target group. Kasoma mentions broadcasting in the community’s own language as one reason why community radio is needed (2002, 29). This is vital in Chikuni. As previously mentioned, some people have difficulties in understanding English and thus Chikuni Radio works as a link and translator between the wider world and native Tonga speakers. But the community is not homogenous language-wise. For example a teacher training college is located within the area, and it gathers a number of students from beyond the Tonga region. It was clear that the more educated people were, the more they considered it important to have programmes in English.

Not all were pleased with the information received in the radio; the radio was not seen adequate enough to fulfil all thirst for knowledge. For example in group 6, formed by the school girls, one participant complained that only those having television are capable of knowing what is happening around the world; another was telling that she watches the BBC journal just to keep in touch with happenings. The information wanted was quite practical: the group wanted to know, for example, how to go about applications and arrangements to study or work abroad; but they were also keen to know about the economical and political conditions in other countries. This demonstrates how dependent information-wise people were from the community radio. As has been already stated, possibilities to obtain information by other means were very limited, and such information that people with access to a variety of media could have researched in the Internet (e.g. information about universities) or newspapers (e.g. commentaries and in depth reports about foreign affairs) was therefore beyond their reach.

Complains that the views broadcasted are often one-sided were expressed in five groups:

1B: They claim Chikuni Radio is a community media, but they always bring the same people to talk on the radio and they never give chance to people from other centres to get divergent views. The situation now is we are just getting views from one person.
1D: There is also a programme on the Bible (Atusalazyanye Mu Bbaibbele). Only one person is featured on that programme. I mean, there is no person born to have all the intelligence. Such programmes should just be gotten rid of since they are just for an individual.

Community media are often considered as means to inform about issues that concern the community directly, or to provide an arena for the community to interact; but in the case of Chikuni Radio the community’s interests extended beyond its geographical dimensions. To sum up, people were grateful for the new world the radio had opened to them, but wanted yet more diversity in information. When there is no variety of media available, so that one could receive different sorts of information from different sources, it adds pressure to the few available media to cater for all information needs. Next I will discuss this in more detail from another point of view: not about what kind of messages one can receive, but who can send their messages put out on radio waves.

5.3.2. Chikuni Radio as a means to send information

Berthold Brecht, a classic name among radio scholars, would had been happy to know about the present day community radios. He set high hopes on radio waves. According to him “radio could be the most wonderful public communication system imaginable, a gigantic system of channels – could be that is, if it were capable not only of transmitting but of receiving, of making listeners hear but also speak, not of isolating them but connecting them.”¹ Brecht wrote about the idea almost eight decades ago. Now, Chikuni Radio has been successful in realizing his dream, which can be seen for example in the following quotation:

3F: Like for me a few months ago my child was admitted to the hospital and I went to the radio to ask them to announce that someone brings me blankets to the hospital. And within a short time, blankets were brought to me from home. So in this line Chikuni Radio is really helpful.

Chikuni Radio gave the locals a chance to send very practical messages that led to immediate, concrete action. Also, messages with meaning to wider audience were sent and read:

¹ Brecht, 1930 p. 186
3D: In my case I wrote a letter to the Face The Media programme, though I wrote it late. I want Tenara Mwanakalanga [ward councillor] to let us know why he only gave goats to the youth and other women, but nothing is being done to help us who are living positively with HIV.

In general people were please that they were able to send announcements; also, announcement programmes were popular ones among listeners too. In the discussions people mentioned that the charge for putting an announcement, 1000 kwacha, was affordable – though there were hopes that death announcements should be free of charge.

It was clear that people felt they are treated as equals when bringing or sending written messages to the radio – there were no difference made between the rich and the poor or the old and the young. But when it came to participating in programmes as an individual, being interviewed or being able to express your self freely, there were strong concerns about equal representation of all sections of the community’s demography.

Unbalanced presentation was found in terms of location, denomination, between different age groups and social status. Most groups mentioned that people in villages were underrepresented in comparison to those living in Chikuni centre:

5E: ... I’ve been listening to the youths programme. Most people aired they are from Chikuni centre. And some other people like outstations or like other people out of Chikuni they are not put on air or they are not quoted saying, ... Those people that live in the villages or make programmes and yet some other people like in some areas they just don’t give out their views about their dream, about life. Think they are just doomed, doing nothing, because they are not quoted. And of course when the programme come the youth’s programme so quoting Chikuni people, so them they just back, because they know, oh, they are not us. They are rich people going participating in programme. So we are not, we here, considered. ... I just say they should improve some other places which are like away from Chikuni so that even them, they can be interviewed on their dream, about good life.
A man in Mulongalwiili said that the reason for not participating was simply that the programmes do not concern them. The radio seemed to function perfectly as a notice board for people to inform others about simple issues, for example lost property, but was there room for debate or bringing up bigger concerns?

Another imbalance was found in between different denominations. Everyone was aware of the fact that the radio was a Catholic radio station owned by Jesuits. Despite of this many felt that as the radio aims to be a community radio, it should incorporate other denominations better. Or do what it can; there were also views that the station itself does not leave out anyone, it’s the other churches that distance themselves from the station. I will discuss the role of the Catholic Church in more detail in chapter 5.3.2..

In the focus group discussions I asked the participants to identify those social groups that they feel are most vulnerable. Orphans, elderly people, widows, and unemployed were often mentioned. There were concerns that these groups were not represented well; their issues were discussed, but through somebody else’s mouth. For example in group number 6 the participants felt strongly that the radio did not go to the primary source, in cases of orphans but also widows and elder people:

6F: *The orphans are not given time to. There are some programmes which contain some other people which are not even orphans talking behalf of those orphans.*

6B: *Yeah, without experience.*

6F: *They tell the orphans what they are, what they feel.*

6C: *But the orphans are ones with the experience.*

Similar issues turned up in group five, only they felt that youth in general were not given the chance to talk for themselves and participate enough. One boy described:

5D: *Sometimes it’s just a matter, like, about telling the youth how to behave made on the air. Sometimes it’s good like to make some arrangement whereby youth answer elder people themselves, so that they still have their views about the youth.*
How can we, how we can improve our culture, our tradition and some other things. Not only like be aired or telling the youth through air, not all that good. But if at all, if they can like organise maybe a committee, something like that, so that they can tell the youth, face to face, so that they hear from them about the reality about life.

Only group number 3 agreed that the station gives room to everyone as long as that person has some information to share with the community; there were the disabled, poor, children and adults talking on the radio. In other groups there were opposing opinions:

2E: Chikuni Radio takes on those people that have something in the community. What will a poor person do at radio Chikuni? Nothing!

1B: The poor have no say on the radio; they have nothing to offer to the community, so how can they be called to participate on the radio.

1G: The station should give time to people that are in poverty to talk about it without paying.

6C: Those who are employed, especially educated ones, they are given chance to express their views, even about other issues that concern other people.

The radio’s management and staff were aware of the shortcomings about representation of people living in outstations, as discussed more in chapter 6. But none of them mentioned the poor. Poverty is not an easy thing as a common nominator for media to address a group of people, because it is both cause and a consequence of a number of issues. Also these people may have very limited means to participate; plus, for an individual poverty can be stigmatising which reduces interest to share problems. But would there have been a way for the radio staff to discuss poverty more in a straightforward manner, and call people to share their experiences about it? However, the community was setting the criteria for balanced communication not only from their own perspective. Considering the status of widows and orphans, the community showed interest to discuss its problems and maybe act on them, not only to keep up an image of perfect hegemony.
5.3.3. Music and drama; forms of information?

Music seems to be rooted in the hearts of Tongas. In the survey questionnaire I asked people to identify five programmes that they find most interesting. 17 people named Zambian music as the most interesting type; altogether 41 people listed Zambian music somewhere in their top 5 list, which is shown in the table below.

Table 1. Top 9 of most interesting programmes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
<th>5th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zambian music</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listeners’ choice</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greetings</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Announcements</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture programmes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not making it into the table, traditional Tonga music was put into a different category from Zambian music. Only 4 people ranked it as the most interesting programme type, but 25 named it in their top five list. Men in Mulongalwiili village’s focus group were strongly supporting music in Tonga language.

1B: We differ very much when it comes to music. They play music they like and not the music the listeners like. We enjoy listening to the music that we understand. They rarely play Tonga music, and this is bad.

1D: It seems 75 per cent of the music they play is non-Tonga music. Now, since radio Chikuni is in Tonga land, they should play more of Tonga music, instead of the other music.

What was very interesting to me was the importance of lyrics. When asked about good or bad music all the participants referred to lyrics only; I assume that in any given “Western” country people would had provided a list of different music genres from country to classical and beyond. Now, there was only one boy who claimed that he sometimes sings songs even when he doesn’t understand the lyrics, just because the song is “nice”.

50
So, the songs were judged first and foremost by their lyrics, and I was even told that musicians sometimes claimed to have a new song, if only its words were changed while melody, rhythm, instruments and artists remained the same. And it turned out that songs were a powerful way to put a message across, which can be seen in the following quotes.

3A: The songs are good. I say so because there is great advice in the lyrics of the songs.

3D: Just to add on, for those that say the songs are bad, those are the people that do bad things and they feel as though the songs are talking about them.

2F: Green Mamba has another good one where a father partitions his property in advance so as to avoid unnecessary wrangles when he dies. This is good because property grabbing is killing our society.

5D: … they sing songs which are educative to we, people. Local people and some other people far away. They are telling us or in their songs they sing about the way we must behave, the way we can prevent HIV and AIDS. … Cos what they sing, is going to be aired, and what is aired, maybe three or four quarters of the people are going to hear what they are saying.

As previously stated, Zambia has over 80 vernaculars. There was a notion that Pa Zed, a programme playing Zambian music, should have an interpretation of the songs so that all the audience would know what the songs are about. Taking this into account, it is understandable that many people wanted to emphasize Tonga music more: in two groups participants claimed that elderly people feel left out in the sense that music played is too recent or in a foreign language. However, a majority of people were saying that the music selection was fine and there was no real pressure to change it.

In general people wanted even more Zambian music. When asked in the survey questionnaire what sort of programmes people wanted to have more on air, 15 mentioned Zambian music. Thus it was considered as wanted as AIDS programmes, as can be seen in the chart below. Many said they were happy with the current programming.
Gender division didn’t determine any of these groups, but age did. Most of people asking for Zambian music were young, 13 to 18 years old, but also one 44 year old man was keen to hear more Zambian music. People asking for AIDS programmes were 17 to 62 years old. People asking for agriculture, news and drama were of all age groups.

What took me by surprise was the little interest in sports. Although one reporter named it as number one of community’s interests, and the timeslot dedicated to sports weekly grew recently from 0,5 hours to 1,5 hours on public demand, there was only one person who named it to be the most interesting programme; 22 listed sports in their top five.

The question of entertainment was in a way difficult: the concept of entertainment seemed to be different to me and the locals. Each focus group was asked about entertaining programmes, but all the discussion led straight on to useful or educating programmes: in one group they were talking about how useful it is to know about the importance of hygiene; in another about the important role that the radio has in discovering musical talents. When asked why people listen to radio, 14 said it’s entertaining; but when asked about entertaining programmes, hardly anyone could name any.
In this respect I found the research problematic, and could figure out three possible reasons for it. First of all, there is a chance that I faced a linguistic problem and somewhere we got lost in translation. I was told by Maumbi that at least in one focus group discussion the translator and facilitator was using a word that could be translated as both “good” and “entertaining”; maybe people were emphasising the “good side” of the word, and thought more about usefulness of programmes, rather than mere entertainment value. It was also possible that people linked development and community radio, and wanted to express to a foreign researcher that they do take development seriously.

I also realised that people have a strong thirst for information. Maybe the problem was not in language, but people were prioritising the information they got from programmes on top of everything. For example in drama listeners thought about the educative content of the programme, and were entertained just as a side product. This idea was expressed for example by the focus group 6. The girls said they wanted to gain information rather than hear mere rhythms and melodies when attending the Tonga concert, which is discussed later.

6B: So what we want is the information not dancing. We want information. People there, they sang a really nice song, but they didn’t win, someone else were put the number one. So the judges are not getting the information from the musicians.

6D: They are just being entertained. They should at least tell the people before the concert that there are songs that maybe have a meaning. Producing noises, making a song, not. They should have songs, which are educative to everyone and which have a proper meaning, not maybe just their own interest.

This would be exactly the opposite of the “information overload” we have in Western world – and even as close as South Africa. There, for most of the adult audience, radio is and has always been the main source for information, while for the youth, it is more a source of entertainment. There young people often refer to middle-age South Africans as the ‘Miriam Makeba generation’, which wants to combine music with social activism, while the young would simply like to listen to London hit lists. A ‘lost generation’ of youngsters is also found in rural and semi-urban societies. In fact, they might be more attached to the community station, because no alternative channels for entertainment are available. Still, youngsters’ programme choices differ considerably from the rest of the community. They select
predominantly music and skip the rest. The advocacy side of the community radio does not then get through. (Kivikuru 2006 p. 12–14.) In Chikuni there were no signs of such a generation.

### 5.4. Chikuni Radio as a tool for education

The most obvious example of education in Chikuni Radio is radio school Taonga market, where straightforward lessons are broadcast to enable instructors in villages to carry out school lessons. But one can learn from other formats too. Quoting one participant in group 2:

> 2B: *The radio drama, Hamaleke, teaches us a lot of things. Some people may just take the humour part of it, but there is a lot to learn from those plays. For example, there was a time they had a play on fertiliser loans and how they careless with their produce. That was a lesson were we have to look after our produce well so that we may be able to pay back loans.*

The quote provides an excellent example of education-entertainment that I introduced in chapter 2. The same applies to Tonga music discussed in previous chapter. Thus dividing broadcasting into information, education and entertainment is again proven to be difficult.

Considering education, the radio seemed to have three major sectors where it has had implications on people’s lives. The radio school Taonga market has enabled people to gain literacy skills and even to get school certificates. Programmes about health have increased knowledge about health related issues and the way people relate with HIV-positive people. Also programmes about agriculture have had palpable results in introducing more sustainable methods. Next I will take a look in these three.

### 5.4.1. Bringing schools under trees

In some areas around Chikuni approximately 80% of children are unable to attend conventional school. In order to provide them school education, Chikuni Radio is broadcasting radio school programme Taonga Market. The programme is produced, written and recorded by Educational Broadcasting Services (EBS) of the Directorate of Open and Distance Education (DODE) of the Ministry of Education in collaboration with Education Development Center. Since the programme is distributed nation-wide, it is in English.
The radio schools are run often under trees by local volunteer teachers, mentors, that are regular villagers chosen for the position. In Chikuni area there are 63 mentors in 21 outstations. The mentors help the children to follow the educational programmes/classes that are broadcast daily on the radio, and help them with exercises and drills before and after the programme. The pupils have achieved some excellent results with many children getting top places in the National School Tests. The radio school offers a chance of a full education up to grade seven, whilst ensuring that the pupils are able to remain an active part of their tight knit farming communities. In 2007 there were 43 classes with 912 pupils. (Chikuni Radio 29.7.2007.)

The pupils are usually children that are unable to walk the long distances to schools, sometimes a 50 km round trip, or carry the load of being farmers despite their young age. In addition some elder people have been encouraged to learn how to read and write in their old days. 59 people out of 94 answered in the survey questionnaire that there was someone in their family that was listening to Taonga market.

I was particularly asked by Matongo Maumbi to find out what people think about Taonga market. It had an ambivalent perception. The problem was that the programme is extremely monotonous, and it has long silent gaps when the pupils are supposed to do exercises and answer questions. Most admitted that the programme is good and needed, and the benefits that were mentioned were plenty. Taonga was regarded to have helped children from remote places to learn to read and write and to be free of charge, which has made education accessible to many children, also orphans; no uniforms were needed, which is an important reduction in schooling costs for the poor people; the programme included advice in gardening, which helped the whole family to have more nutritious diet. Someone had learned how to make a signature in Taonga lessons, another had grandparents that go to learn how to read and write, and someone had even found out that Taonga market students knew better English than those attending governmental schools.

Inspite of this the programme doesn’t have much to give for people that do not go to Taonga centres. Thus they switch off radios when it was aired. Many also complained about it and urged the lessons to be recorded on tapes. Like one man in Muloongalwiili said: “It's not that we do not like Taonga with our suggestion of using tapes, we like it very much. It's just that many people turn off the radio set because they are not part of the programme.” In this group
there were men whose children attended the classes, nevertheless everyone thought that something should have been done to have both the radio school and an interesting programming. An idea of a separate Taonga school channel was expressed. However, I believe this would be beyond the radio station’s resources.

Instead, the initiative expressed by teachers’ group would be easily realised. The group of teachers were of the opinion that there should had been more educational programmes on the radio; now the station is concentrating on Taonga that is listened to by a selected group of people only. According to them primary schools used to have programmes, and the teachers would be happy to hear them again. For adults there could be some competitions and quizzes that would engage them.

5.4.2. Developing agriculture

5E: ... Zambia is rich, but we people, we are poor. Because we don’t have that knowledge how to use the resources we are having. We have more resources, but no the knowledge how to use them, we have plenty of land, but no the knowledge how to use them, things to use, that’s what we are lacking of.

People in Chikuni area mainly live from agriculture, the majority being subsistence farmers. In the survey questionnaire 36 people out of 94 were farmers; also, most of the parents of those 39 interviewed students were farmers. Only 6 replied that question “Does your family use its farming or livestock products at home or are they sold outside?” didn’t apply to them at all. Therefore efficient methods in farming were well sought. In the survey questionnaire I asked people to identify five programmes that they find most interesting. 6 people named agricultural programmes as the most interesting type; in top five 32 people named agricultural programmes (see Table 1). When asked what sort of programmes people wanted to have more on air, 14 asked for agricultural programmes (see Chart 8).

There was plenty to do in this sector. According to a member of radio staff Southern province was once called as the food basket of the nation, because most of the maize in the country was produced there. Nowadays this area was almost entirely dependent on food aid. Faith in agriculture was great, once the right methods alongside some material help were found. The
wishes of the focus group participants were set high, the following describing a common attitude:

5E: At once there was maybe good agricultural and this place or this area one of the areas, and is going to be maybe one of richest areas, because there is plenty of lands, just plenty of land.

However, the radio staff had set aims much higher, like reporter 2 explains:

I want them to move to the next level of livelihood. For example here people have got all the resources: we have ground nuts, we have … which we sell to other people to produce cooking oil that they sell back to us. I want them, within the community, to start making cooking oil, because they have the ingredients to make them.

And there was belief that the educational ethos of the radio was bearing fruit. As one palpable result that the radio has brought along, one person in the focus groups mentioned that burning bushes has reduced considerably.

5.4.3. Discussing health

Being in a malaria and HIV stricken environment, programming of health related issues was of great importance. A girl student and a female farmer relate this:

5D: ... People from, we have organisations like health association of Zambia. They have very good programmes to educate people on health and HIV/AIDS. And the community is informed how they can protect them selves against this disease. And even malaria, they have even some malaria programmes, trying to see how they can protect the community so it prevents things like malaria, which is not necessary.

3D: We need to talk about HIV and AIDS before we all die. If we still take it as a taboo, then we shall not save our children from the deadly disease. HIV and AIDS are really deadly. We need to have frank talk with our children. It is hard to do so, but we need to find ways to do it.
The issue of HIV/AIDS programming divided people. Mainly people were happy about what was already told: how the disease is transmitted, and what was needed for prevention and care. However, approximately half were asking for more information in a more profound manner – and the other half was tired of hearing anything about the topic. Especially in groups where the participants were HIV-positive or students, more information was wanted. For example when group 5 formed by boy students was asked if there were any topics they would like to have discussed more on air the answers were like this:

5A: Yes there are, very important topics like HIV/AIDS. This is a problem that is now on. Its international and a world wide problem. And this topic is supposed to be discussed in detail. The youths have to discuss this topic in details. They should not just... like, they organise a programme on HIV/AIDS, people are just there dancing and they are just doing that time some foul in stead of concentrating on problem. Youth they are not thoroughly guided. This topic of this matter is supposed to be discussed intensively and seriously. They are there just to dance and drink.

In the teachers’ group HIV/AIDS was regarded as the main thing in the community, but the way things were discussed didn’t get much support.

4B: There are so many things about HIV/AIDS. And then, I think it’s becoming monotonous. I’ve heard some people saying, maybe after listening to some certain song, then this programme comes and they say, “Argh, it’s again about HIV”, and they turn off the radio and maybe play a CD or game or something like that... I think it would be good if it was reduced to so much that it is imposed to our reality. People should be looking for information about AIDS rather than saying it has come again.

4C: It’s boring. When it comes once a while people get bored with the programme. And you know why people get fed up with such a programme, because AIDS, when you talk of AIDS, maybe you have it and there is no cure. Now why should I listen to something that has no cure? Even if I have infection or I’m infected. So in that situation there’s no hope about it. But when you say that now there is cure then
people come to the radio... If they can up with some positive aspect about HIV they can encourage people; if you did this and this, but you do this and this, eat pumpkin seeds, ground nut, balanced food... They shut their radios now, saying I don’t want to hear about that.

This kind of tiredness “to hear the same recycled news” was noted in Panos’s study about HIV/AIDS reporting in Southern Africa in general (Tapfumaneyi & Geloo 2004, 34). On the other hand, Chikuni Radio’s audience was grateful for the radio for providing information and helping in reducing the spread of the disease. Also it was seen to have a vital role in reducing stigma that has been attached to positive people – but there remained a lot to be done in this respect. In group 2 a participant was complaining about programmes that were produced in the local communities, where people literally embarrass those that live positively with HIV; according to her they had even put suggestions that HIV positive people should be fenced away from other people. According to the focus group participants the cure for stigmatization and discrimination was to be found in frank and honest discussion.

Group 5 mentioned beliefs that are still strong in the society, for example a belief that if an infected person slept with a young girl AIDS can be healed. This group wanted also to incorporate elder people in the discussion of AIDS more – and more than that, they wanted them to lead by example in tackling the problem. Also some sensitivity was hoped for in the reporting:

6B: Some HIV/AIDS programmes. Some of the words they are using are not good. Many people are complaining because the phrases they put, like sex in Tonga, it’s insulting word. It’s insulting in Tonga. So they talk insulting words instead of teaching the youths... I don’t like them and I’m not happy with it.

However, no one was opposing discussions on the topic per se. Those sorts of opinions were found in audiences of South African community radios. According to Kivikuru, some elderly people have even openly resisted programmes on the stations, because sensitive issues – HIV/AIDS, sex education and family planning – have been brought up. The elderly were not against the political part of programming, but the ‘new’ social issues seem improper. (Kivikuru 2006, 15.) This is an important indicator that the disease is not anymore a taboo amongst Chikuni Radio’s listeners.
5.4.4. NGOs and educative programming

One interesting aspect about reporting on HIV/AIDS lies in funding. For example the Listening Club had a contract with an NGO to produce programmes only about HIV/AIDS related issues. Reporter 1 related the issue this way:

I’ve taught myself not to deal with issue that everyone else is talking about, unless the station wants me to, such as HIV and AIDS. The way it is now, issues that deal with health they are given priority in a lot of areas. There are more issues that create problems to health, which we could tackle, for example the farming methods. If people have enough food, have what ever, what ever, that would lead even to reduction of HIV/AIDS, because someone would want to do sex, even unprotected sex, those few days few hours they’d be out of poverty. But if you look at developmental issues if someone has food, has enough, there’ll be lesser chances so to that person to go out and do something that would endanger their health and the likes. ……Problem has been on looking at health and not on other issues separately looking at community development, where if that is developed, then these are things that would be in the past.

The broadcaster believed that the emphasis in radio is on health programming because of money: according to him especially the issue of HIV and AIDS is nowadays a big business. He claimed that if he wrote proposals to tackle HIV and AIDS he’d be sure to get a sponsor, but if he was to do a proposal on sustainable development, for example on sustainable agriculture, the chances to get money were almost zero. Now most of the health programmes that were produced by the radio staff were sponsored. Others were, for example, a good governance programme sponsored by MISA Zambia, and a series of ten programmes run by Zambian civic education about children’s rights.

I found questions of NGOs role in programming and sponsoring interesting, but there was not much nationwide information available about it. Banda cannot provide exact figures, but claims that there were clearly more NGOs operating with Zambian media in 2005 than in 2000. The emergence of NGO activity is more often linked to more sources of funding, both internal and external. For example MISA Zambia has always been advocating for media law
reforms, but Banda noted a trend that most local NGOs that traditionally had little to do with media are now moving into some form of media support. For example, they try to educate the media on ways to cover their particular issues and concerns. One area where that is certainly the case is that of gender and media representation. (Banda 2006.)

But is this sponsoring designed to emphasise HIV/AIDS education like it seems in Chikuni? IFJ carried out a study about Zambia’s HIV/AIDS reporting in 2005. It was a combination of media monitoring on December 11–24, 2005 and surveys distributed to NGOs and journalists. The monitoring involved a selection of ten media outlets, conscious that this selection would be widely representative of the general picture of the media landscape in Zambia. It consisted of public print media and privately owned print media, also public service ZNBC was assessed for radio and television reportage of HIV/AIDS. Commercial and community media was represented by Radio Phoenix that broadcasts both as a commercial and community radio station across four of Zambia’s nine provinces. In the survey period, two main news bulletins were analysed and only two items were on HIV/AIDS. Both stories were event-driven. During the monitoring period, ZNBC had a total of seven stories, all of them fairly prominent but all event driven, apart from a documentary that advocated for increased access to anti-AIDS drugs. According to the report, it is not too far fetched to suggest that the prominence of the stories was motivated by high positioned officials who wanted to make public statements rather than the issues raised. A total of 13 media/information-based NGOs that are also dealing in a wide range of HIV/AIDS work were chosen for the study. For the NGOs, 98% said giving HIV/AIDS stories more prominent placement was most important for improving reporting; 92% said having access to more people affected by HIV/AIDS or better quality control of published/broadcast facts. (Walters & Bersten 2006, 58–64.)

The result collected from the broadcasters in this study is quite different from what would have been collected from Chikuni Radio. The study showed that there would have been more space for NGO reporting. It may indicate that there would be call for NGOs to fine tune the selection of programmes that they sponsor; what is needed for one may not be needed for another. However, it does not answer the questions whether HIV/AIDS issues are over represented in sponsored programmes or not. That would be an important issues to study.
5.4.5. A taboo, a community radio and development

AIDS reporting has been important not only in making people aware about the disease, but also to reduce stigma attached to infected people. This can be seen in the comments collected from the third focus group discussion, where all the participants were HIV-positive.

3B: Diseases are also a problem especially that we lack knowledge of where to go when one is sick. We are also scared of going to the hospital because when they do a test, you may be found with the disease (HIV and AIDS). Fear is what is making diseases be on the increase in our community. If people were not afraid, we could have lessened the diseases. People should come out in the open like we have. It is easy to lead a good life when you know your status. Stigma and discrimination are a problem, but people should realize that when they are tested, they stand a better chance to improve their health. Personally, I was very sick, and when I was tested and followed the instructions, am now able to walk and do some work on my own. People should be willing to be tested.

... ...

3A: The station has helped us a lot as it gives advice to people that stigmatise against us, and it has helped in reducing the spread of the disease. We are proud of it.

......

3C: We need to be frank with one another so that we also reduce on back-biting. The programme Gama Cuulu should really be on air, so that we fight the so called taboos in our society.

No one could deny that breaking this taboo was only a positive thing. It is clear that this was not all springing up from the community itself, but was brought on to the agenda by some extra forces, namely the medium and some NGOs. This hadn’t happened in a day. Panos’s study about HIV/AIDS reporting states that like in other countries in the area, the Zambian media went through a process of denial and blame (Tapfumaneyi & Geloo 2004, 22). This 20 years of denial, according to researcher Tendayi Kureya, has made it more difficult to manage the epidemic now.
However, the amount of reporting of HIV/AIDS related issues has increased tremendously, and in Chikuni there seemed to be almost over exposition of AIDS related broadcasting. Breaking of the taboo was of course vital for the survival of the community once the epidemic had broken out from the point of view of health care, but also for people having the virus. Breaking a taboo has brought change; but another remaining taboo, black magic, was left intact.

Black magic seemed to be a self-evident part of life in Chikuni. It wasn’t unusual for a local person to point out some scattered wood and conclude that a flying basket has landed there. It was believed that at midnight witches fly in baskets stark naked to move from one place to another. I was told that news gatherers reported on that quite often, but staff didn’t. Group 2 related thus:

2D: The only time we hear issues like that is on the weekly current affairs programme “Cuundu Acisi Coonse”. It is carried as news where there is theft, or someone is using black magic. They do not talk about such issues on other programmes.

2A: The station fears to be sued if they talk about issues on witchcraft unless there is a source that is revealing such information.

2C: And they do not disclose names of people involved in such acts. Only the place is mentioned, and never the names. It is against the law.

2B: They only carry such issues on the current affairs programme and the concerned would know if he is an upright thinking person and may change after that. They don’t mention the names.

Only one member of teachers’ group remembered that once there had been a documentary about the issue. When asked about staff members, they didn’t seem to like to get involved.

Me: Do you cover black magic issues in your other reporting?

Reporter 1: Personally I don’t, I don’t have interest in that.
Me: Is there anyone who covers them?

Reporter 1: Not so much. Not that I can think about anybody now. Because black magic, it is quite tricky. Especially being an African and having grown up here, I know it exists. I hear quite lot about it. Sometimes they talk too much about it. So just individually I don’t touch it. I don’t know what might happen, I don’t know whom I might offend rightly or wrongly. I don’t think it’s possible...

From the point of view of the community radio and development communication this is an interesting observation. First of all, the radio station in question, Chikuni Radio, is a Catholic radio station, and black magic does not fit into Christian ideology. However, when black magic was referred to in news gatherers’ news, the radio’s manager didn’t seem to bother. For example, he told me that the radio once broadcast a piece of news about a man who, because of collecting somebody’s money from streets, turned out to be a cow. This seemed only to amuse him. In a way this is a cultural sensitive approach, and in its part challenging Kasoma’s idea that church owned radio’s are first and foremost there to evangelise.

On the other hand, black magic had also serious and brutal consequences within the village. As previously mentioned, in 2006 remains of a young boy’s body were found only some hundreds of metres away from the radio station. In this light, following the ideals of Western journalism, not only the murder, but the whole concept of black magic, should had been brought into examination in the media in detail. In addition to the murder it would had been discussed how black magic functions, how does it manifest itself, how can you avoid it and so on. In Chikuni Radio this brutal aspect of black magic was not challenged or questioned. Possibly the reason for the passivity was that the community or the radio’s staff didn’t feel need to talk about it, possibly because the staff was afraid or maybe didn’t see it to be relevant. Neither was there a force from outside to start the discussion. Because there was no such force, the situation evolved in line with ideals of community radios: a community radio is supposed to be by the community and for the community. Thus, nothing happened discussion-wise.

This is clashing with the developmental ideals of community radios: by a common definition they are supposed to be developmentally oriented. Kasoma points out that it is important to
remember that a community radio station does not itself directly bring about development. It is merely a conduit through which development ideas are sifted and people arrive at a decision regarding what ought to be done. A community radio station is a catalyst for development. (Kasoma 2002, 148.) He describes how a community radio can help direct people’s attention to a particular issue of a problem, through news reporting. For instance, an area may be facing serious drought every year. News reports would constantly reveal the extent of damage the drought is inflicting on human, animal and plant life. As the news about the effects of the drought continues to be broadcast year after year, the people would sooner or later realize that they need to do something to alleviate the effects of the drought in their community. (Kasoma 2002, 146.) Kasoma writes that it is normally issues that are covered in the news that become subjects of discussion programmes on the radio. During these programmes, discussion panels brainstorm about what should be done about the issues being reported. As a result of the slow process, Kasoma assumes that people may for example decide to dig water wells.

This is a slow and very sensitive way of improving one’s living conditions. But is it enough to only report an incident in a death case, whether the reason behind it is a taboo or not? It is rare to have a child killed for black magic, maybe it happens only once in a generation. Merely reporting this kind of incidents is not likely to make people tackle black magic even in the long run. If a community is reluctant to touch certain issues, wouldn’t it suggest that in the case of taboo an ideal community radio, being by the people for the people, is rather a conservative than a developmental instrument?

5.5. Chikuni Radio as community builder

5.5.1. Our community, our radio

Members of a society require a feeling of belonging (Kunelius 1997, 168). This applies to different sizes of communities: as much to an entire society or a village, as can be related from discussion about concept of ‘community’ in chapter 2.1.

It is easy to see that media has an important role in creating this feeling. It can be done by raising issues to common agenda and offering shared experiences. It is not so important what is talked about: as Kunelius points out, what the sender may consider as an expression of power and ability to set agendas, for the community it may serve as maintenance of
coherency. If shared experiences and topics of discussion don’t exist, the whole coherency may stagger. (Kunelius 1997, 168.) On the level of an entire society coherency is vital for a state to function. In the case of Chikuni Radio, it is needed for Jesuits to reach their targets of community development. For a sole member of society it may mean a plain feeling of belonging and having something that against you can relate your identity.

Any mass media, be it a national broadcaster or commercial one, can provide things to talk and gossip about. In addition to this a community radio can provide something to do, something to get involved with. Kasoma states that one of the reasons that make community radios needed is the sense of mutual togetherness and responsibility. He looks at the issue from the point of view of action. According to him the feeling of togetherness moulds members of a community closer together to improve the life conditions in the community; thus a community radio station has good potential to be used as a channel of development.

Did people feel willing to contribute to the radio? In the survey questionnaire 35 people, about one third, said they had contributed to the Chikuni Radio by one way or the other. Mainly they had participated in programme making or by writing letters to the radio, or they had contributed in form of donating money or other goods. In focus group discussions people evaluated that the participation was good. Especially in groups formed by boy school students and teachers, participants expressed strong interest to get more involved; the boys mainly wanted to be interviewed in programmes, but they were also interested in producing. However, they felt that they are often turned down. One of the teachers had the same feeling; that the radio is in somebody else’s hands, somehow hostile towards involvement. The teacher wanted the community to participate more even in management, and questioned whether Radio Chikuni should be called a community radio in the first place:

4C: When you talk about a community radio station it means more. I’ve said about it that I wanted to have say. When we are talking about the community radio station we are looking at even such things as management, there must be a committee within the community that will have say for that radio station. Because maybe something goes wrong within programming or the running of the station, but people they don’t have their say. Is that a, can you say that is a community radio station? No. This community must build consensus to say no……The
commission should also be involved in programmes they put on air. Then you can say it’s fully a community radio station.

4D: I was looking at the two areas where the community is involved well. At least they are taking part and then they can take part in the running of the institution. That is the area where we lack presentation. They can’t take part of it, where people need to be educated to a certain level with knowledge before they are trusted in that area. Then we have the economical part of it. The economical part, the financial area in running the institution. That is where I see the community lacks that type of involvement. Perhaps it is... I don’t know. But the rest of the social aspects of the community radio, it’s not bad. But talking about the mechanical part, because there are machines which are there, operators must be educated, and they need knowledge. Now the involvement of the financial part can, the technical part, that is where I need the community to have to be left out.

From the part of the radio staff, it wasn’t only once or twice that I heard that people were not participating enough. When asking about challenges that the radio is facing, Fr Lesniara counted participation as one of them. He saw that the interest in radio was superficial:

I think in the beginning the participation was very very good. At the moment we have a bit of a problem at that space because NGOs which come to Zambia and splash huge amount of money for anything that is about to be done. I think you have heard about the sitting allowances and so on. If we organise a say a workshop for musicians the first question is how much are we going to pay us. To sit at the workshop.....I don’t know how you can call it, but it spoils I think the spirit that was there, and now it really takes a lot of talking and walking and so on to revive the community spirit, this idea of offering things that say as part of broadcasting or of a team that would produce a programme that would benefit their all community.

The question of participation is not simple. I tried to take a look into activity in general. Out of 94 people 23 said they were active members of some club or organisation. 45 said they attended village meetings regularly. There were also other village activities, for example football, secret friends’ parties, kitchen parties and initiation ceremonies. Only 2 said they
attended them always, 6 regularly, 57 occasionally and 16 never. I also asked if there are some activities around Radio Chikuni in their village and whether people attended them. 53 said there is something happening in their village. Out of these 13 said they attended these events always, 23 claimed to attend them sometimes. If the numbers of “general levels of activity” are compared to contributions to Radio Chikuni, in my opinion participation ought to be estimated as good.

What and how much can be expected from an average Mr or Mrs Smith? It was clear that the radio staff were striving for professionalism. Many times they mentioned about news gatherers not being properly trained, complained there was not enough resources to make quality programme and so on. On the other hand they wanted more involvement from local folks; and while I conducted the study some 20 teenagers participated in a radio work shop run by a staff member, people wrote letters, sent announcements, participated in Listening Clubs and a drama group and helped in organising Tonga concert. Some did ask for money, but when not given, participated anyway. Was the problem that volunteers knew that some people are properly paid for working for the radio – why not them? I attended a meeting between a staff member and some representatives of Listening Clubs, and one man from a Listening Club told me that he knows the staff are well paid, and thinks that it would be only fair that they got some compensation as well, because their programme was as important as any other.

Maybe there was a lack of community spirit in the sense that, as Fr Lesniara said, if the radio organised a workshop, people asked for money to attend it. This brings us back to the whole idea of community radio and development initiatives. Kasoma criticizes the Christian radios, as he calls them, for not being set up because the people felt the need to set them up; but the church hierarchy established them to propagate the evangelizing mission of the Church. According to him the people were merely informed by Church leaders that the stations would be established, and then asked people to contribute to the station’s programming. (Kasoma 2002, 45.) What should be planned for the community; and what should the community come up with by itself? Maybe there was a lack of community spirit in the sense that the community members didn’t organise workshops themselves, but waited for someone else to arrange it. On the other hand the radio didn’t seem to get the community fully integrated in its running. Despite all the expressed willingness to get people more involved in the running of
the radio, the station staff and management seemed to consider the community more as audience than as potential colleagues or equals in programme making.

Kunelius notes that even a good lively strife may strengthen a community by creating some shared reality. Next I will discuss some issues that I find worth mentioning in relation to the coherency of community. I start with the role of Catholic Church, and then look at the issue of language. Last I will discuss straightforward conflicts and insults on radio waves.

5.5.2. Catholic radio, many denominations

4C: *It was very bitter to start with. But people came to realise that it was not evangelic programme.*

This is how a participant in the teachers’ focus group summarized how the religious aspect of Chikuni Radio was received. The survey questionnaire revealed that in the radio’s coverage a whole spectrum of Christianity was present. 64 people identified themselves as Catholics, but there were also 19 members of Seventh Day Adventist Church; 3 of New Apostole Church; 2 of Brethren in Christ Church; and one of Baptist, Anglican and Paradise Spirit Churches, one from United Church of Zambia, one Jehovah’s Witness and one atheist.

According to Kasoma, none of the church media in Zambia in 2002 qualified to be called community media due to church’s authoritative nature. (Kasoma 2002, 23–28.) He claims that a Christian radio is usually more restricted in use than a community radio. By adding the word ‘usually’ he leaves the backdoor open for exceptions to show up, but continues that the primary aim of a Christian radio is to evangelize, and all the programmes it broadcasts are biased towards Christian teaching. According to him even the most liberal Christian stations are not as open to everyone as community radio stations, and members of the community who do not belong to the particular Christian church that owns the station feel the station is not ‘their’ station and they cannot have influence over its use. (Kasoma 2002, 33-34.)

How did Catholic values show in practice? Because most of the programming was in Tonga, I was not able to conduct a content analysis on them. Instead I interviewed the staff about their values and guidelines that were given to them by the radio. In concrete terms one staff member said they were told to ensure that they weren’t segregating any group and not marginalising anyone, for example women. Another recalled they were told never to produce
programmes that promote use of alcohol or such programmes that directly promote use of condoms. The latter meant that condoms may be talked about in programmes, but the station is encouraging abstinence. The third reporter told that the staff was told to be objective and to look at developmental issues, but first and foremost, the radio is there to build and not to destroy: “Where there is destruction, we should go and rebuild what destruction has been done.” The guidelines seemed thus quite broad, which was also the opinion of Fr Andrew Lesniara:

Now most of the, you know that we are being accused basically a little bit by a Catholic community that we are not Catholic as such, that we are not showing Catholic identity. Well it is maybe true, it is not true. …..Well of course we are very much a in a sort of a Catholic ethos so we believe in things like that you can’t harm a person, right, you can’t put a let’s say personal let’s say games and things like that at larger so as every single Catholic school or Catholic hospital we have a sort of guidelines, but I think they are very broad and basically they are based on justice and peace, that would be two leading things, and of course we would like to our broadcasters who are employed to follow Catholic ethical moral, that sort of guidelines.

In focus groups there were two things in this respect that the participants criticized in five groups. The first of them was the opening hours of the radio station. The station is broadcasting each day from 6:00 to 11:00. Only on Sundays the radio is having a break from 9:00 to 12:00. This is because on Sunday the Catholics go to mass. This did not please many people, despite their denomination, because they found it disrespecting to the large community of Seventh Day Adventists that live in Chikuni area and pray on Saturdays. This was a thing that the radio was not about to negotiate. Fr Andrew Lesniara explains:

This is a conscious, this is as well, as you know the Zambia is a Catholic nation or what ever you like to call it. And we close that because we believe that personal, as Catholics and as Christians we believe that personal contacts are very important so we make a conscious decision that people, well there are other radio stations they can advantage to them and listen to them if they like and, but those who would like to come for service or mass they have opportunities. We believe that making such a drastic sort of a decision not to broadcast at that time means a
lot. That we encourage people to go to whatever congregation to congregate, if
they are Muslim let them go to pray as Muslims, if they practice yoga let them
practice yoga in their own time and so on. So it is very conscious decision to make
this time for to quiet down, to make this time for your self.

Another thing people complained about was other Churches’ lack of representation on
airwaves. This was noted by five groups out of six. In three groups the opinion was that the
minority Churches had distanced themselves from the radio; that the radio had called them to
participate, but that they turned the offer down. Unfortunately I did not have opportunity to
interview a representative of any minor church to ask their opinion. However, from the point
of view of evangelisation, Jesuits’ ownership of the radio didn’t seem to have any major role
either in radio’s content or in people’s attitudes towards it.

5.5.3. Insults on radio waves

One particular issue that came up in the research was insults. In the community many people
were concerned about conflicts. “No, we don’t want any conflicts in the community” was
often said when I asked whether people would like to have political programmes aired. It was
47 out of 94 who didn’t want to hear about politics; although many said that they are simply
not interested in it.

In focus group discussions conflicts were talked about. The community radio didn’t seem to
be the right forum to solve them. The group in Mulongalwiili discussed thus:

1B: Radio can never end a conflict. It just empowers us with information. There
are just issues taken to the station. When you are missing some property, they can
announce. If people are not clear on something, they can help you get
clarification. If there are some conflicts at the village, they should be settled at the
village level.
1D: We do not take conflicts to the station; we just take issues to do with
development.
1F: If I have a problem with my wife, how can I take it to the station? No ways.
1D: When there are some land conflicts, yes, in that instance we may take to the
station so that some relevant authorities can come to our aid.
Most issues are sorted out by our village headmen. Adultery cases are solved at village level. Even issues to do with boundaries of maize fields.

The groups claimed that the staff at the station did all they can to avoid any conflicts and issues that might cause them were mainly kept silent. But there had been incidents where people had got insulted. The participants in the girls’ group complained about programmes where people are given an opportunity to write letters about how do they feel about a certain musician or the radio’s staff. Some feedback was not very encouraging. The girls’ and boys’ groups especially asked for more censorship on possibly insulting letters. But accidents happened in other broadcasting too. One of the staff members, reporter 3, told an example about one Radio Listening Club programme:

People did programme about widows putting on trousers. You know in Zambian culture women putting on trousers they take it not to be a normal situation, because women should be putting on dresses and skirts. And then in the programme one of the guests said these widows putting on trousers are causing this spread of HIV/AIDS, you see. And then I had a problem from a section of widows, a number of widows approached me. Even though they were not mentioned, but that court disadvised, because for us to be sued or for us to take task, for unless we mention someone’s name, but it was realised, which was also dangerous. But I had to excuse them, and I still want to excuse them because they are not professionals. They never went to any training like the radio staff to say this is legally binding and this is not legally binding.

Another thing that seemed to cause problems was people false identity. People are welcome to send letters to a number of programmes. Sometimes the writers saw this as an opportunity to make a little joke, and appear with made-up identity. This was annoying many, as can be seen in the following quote:

There are some letters which are sent to the station and people do not write the actual names. There was a time when some people wrote letters to the station and they interchanged names deliberately. This issue brought some conflict in the village. The village headman had to call for a meeting to follow up that issue. Fortunately or unfortunately, after the letter was read on radio, it was discarded.
We know it was a school boy, but we could not find the real culprit as there was no much evidence.

5D: There is one programme that I personally don’t like. It’s the programme Talking Box. The programme is good, but I don’t like the way they are conducting the programme. I think they give people too much freedom. People should be given freedom to suggest but to an extent where staff would decide how it should operate. If you give community too much freedom to rule you then you might be deserted. Maybe someone is suggesting something and it happens to include insults, they will read the letter where the writer has not put down his particulars, who he is or who she is, where he or she comes from. In such a programme they should make sure that if someone has not included his or her particulars that letter shouldn’t be aired because if they write insult in that letter, it would be really difficult to follow that letter.

The problem here is obvious: it is hard to check identities of the writers. Many letters are brought in by friends or neighbours, and writer’s identity is thus impossible to check. What could be done is more careful checking of contents: not every letter has to be read, and the community wanted to have this kind of professional content filtering, although it might conflict with the idea of “everyone’s access to radio waves”.

5.5.4. Tonga Concert – event of the year

Tonga Concert is now an annual event, taking place in Chikuni in August. It is both a concert and a competition, thoroughly run by the radio staff. In focus group discussions people recognised three functions that the concert has: it is good entertainment; it is improving Tonga music through competition; and it is giving people something meaningful to do.

One of its functions is to promote Tonga culture. Participants’ songs must be original, and never published or recorded before. There are eleven different categories in the competition, which shows the richness of Tonga’s cultural heritage. For example in one category people must use kalumbu, an instrument from the family of African Chordophones. It produces sound from a stretched chord on a strong piece of wood that is curved like a bow. The kalumbu is known for being an instrument that was played by young men who were intending
to marry. In the past marriages were usually arranged by parents. In order to communicate that a wife was needed, young men played the instrument usually from evening till late while singing. Another category is Kalyaba, a dance that is performed by both women and men. It’s a leisure dance with conical shaped drums played at all sorts of social events including weddings, initiation ceremonies and even Mweesyo, a ceremony to complete a funeral of a dead person. Kalyaba is played with at least three drums with the rhythm often also tapped with a stick at the side of a Kukonkoola drum. Each category has three prizes. The panel of judges makes sure that acts fall into one of the categories, have meaningful lyrics and original tune. It was estimated that in 2006 some 8000 people attended the two day long concert.

The concert is of course not a core function of the radio, but all together an important event to it. The radio is solely responsible for organising the event. It is important for fundraising: although the event is free, there is a raffle and t-shirts and cassette tapes are sold. On the other hand some of the winners are given not only a prize, but also a chance to make a record that is produced by the radio; and, according to Fr Andrew Lesniera, tape selling is the main source of revenue for the radio. Also, the concert is put live on air, which gives everyone, even those not capable to attend, a sense that there’s something mutual happening in the community. Like someone said in a focus group discussion: I can not walk to get there, but am always present through live transmission.

Here, it was evident that the music is not only entertainment for the Tongas, but it is an important channel in transferring information. It was however seen to be degrading for the musicians that some members of jury were not able to understand the lyrics:

6B: Songs that they sing are local songs, Tonga. But you find that those judges who are there they are not even Tongas. Maybe they are Bemba, so they won’t get information, those from right information. So we should put some of those people who are much familiar with the language, those people who can get the information.....They don’t even know how to pronounce the names of the winners. This means they won’t get the good information or the bad information, they just look and listen. So what we want is the information not dancing. We want information. People there, they sang a really nice song, but they didn’t win, someone else were put the number one. So the judges are not getting the information from the musicians.
6D: They are just being entertained. They should at least tell the people before the concert that there are songs that maybe have a meaning. Producing noises, making a song, not. They should have songs, which are educative to everyone and which have a proper meaning, not maybe just their own interest.

Formation of the jury got critique also from other groups. Also, many hoped that the concert would have more variety in its programme: the concert seemed to have similar performers every year. I take a lengthy quotation from Mulongalwiili’s focus group to describe the current situation of the Tonga concert and changes that were needed. The other groups shared these opinions:

1B: The concert has brought an increase in the number of musicians. It is one of the provinces with the greatest number of musicians.
1A: A lot of musicians have come up.
1B: It also teaches us on the Tonga Traditions with the instruments that were played by our forefathers. The Mukanzubo Tonga Woman beauty show has helped us know how the Tonga woman dressed in the yester years. We have learned a lot about our culture, we are able to see the traditional instruments being played.
1D: Judges at the concert should not mind the attire of the artists. The artists are poor and they are hoping that when they win they would buy something nice for themselves. Now, if you start removing points because of their poor attire, then you are not helping the poor. The concert should help uplift the standard of the young ones instead of giving awards to the already well-to-do artistes.
1A: Those people compete in music terms, and not in dressing.
1F: If you are know you are rich, why should you go for the competition? People go to the concert because they are poor and want to be helped.
1B: Prizes should go up to the fifth positions.
1D: How can they put a Chief Judge who is not Tonga? How shall he know the songs being played? We have people winning all the time, when shall others have a chance to win?
1C: There are people that have been stopped from competing in the concert and yet there are others who started a long time ago and are still competing. All those
that started a long time ago should not be allowed to compete in the concert. It is not fair to the young musicians.

Facilitator: What should be changed in the concert?

1A: The winners in concert should not compete in the coming year so that they give chance to others.

1B: We should contribute prizes.

1D: We should encourage more musicians to compete. Those established artistes should have their own competition.

1E: Young artistes should have a separate competition.

1B: No artistes should be disqualified for registration.

1A: At one time I was listening to radio, and they way they turned the people back was not good. Words like "How do you walk all the way to come and sing this lousy song" are very bad. if it were me, I think I could have quit singing right there and then.

1E: I think they should include a cappella singers. is it not possible to sing without playing any instrument?

There were not many concrete suggestions how to improve the event. Some people were concerned about safety issues and worried about people loitering around Chikuni centre on those nights. The importance of the event was still undeniable. It was always talked about with enthusiasm and pride. It was seen as a notable event that was able to bring audience from outside the community, and gave thus a feeling that this community can create something remarkable. The competition was also giving people something meaningful to do around the year, as they practised their performances.

5.5.5. Chikuni Radio as a loan breaker – the multitasking institution

During the research I found out that in many occasions, a definition given to community radios is not totally applicable to Chikuni Radio. In these cases it didn’t seem to fill the definition of community radio: for example the way it was founded and closed on Sundays despite public opinion. On the other hand it seemed to have roles beyond the expectations that were listed by Kasoma. The radio was not only a medium for communication, but an institution that had wider meaning. For example it participated in promoting local culture by having stock of about 800 mini disks of local Tonga music. I found that in the minds of the local people the radio had more functions. I list here some of them.
Radio as a hobby. For example one journalist held a two day long radio school for teenagers. They were then supposed to make a programme about youth that would be edited and broadcast. Also Listening clubs and drama group gave people something meaningful to do. Importance of this is highlighted by the fact that the other hobbies around were scarce, mostly football and reading.

Radio as a way to develop oneself. Chikuni Radio is seen by many as a possibility to develop skills. One of these ways already mentioned is the annual music competition in Tonga Concert. Yet another way is offered to radio scholars. One radio scholar I interviewed, identifying himself as “a journalism student-to-be at the University of Zambia”, described the reasons to spend a year as a radio scholar like this:

> From my childhood I would watch television news how those broadcasting news. Just from there the interest grew up to now when I completed my school and found out that they employ scholars on voluntary basis here. I also sacrificed to came here. I was just trying to see if what I want to do if I really can do it. I found out that I really can do it. Yes, I say I can read news but people didn’t believe me before they tried if I can do it, and they found out that I’m very good at that.

> I was very much satisfied, though learning never ends, we are still learning. More specially when we talk about computers there are a lot of things I’m still learning. When you say typing, I’m learning that because I never did that course so I’m learning the basics about typing and other things that are about computer. So, as days goes by I’ll be getting satisfied, I cannot say I’m fully satisfied because there are a lot of things I haven’t learned about yet, but you have to know them.

Radio as a way of earning extra income. Chikuni Radio is proving livelihood only for a few people. However, the local people saw possibilities in this respect. For example one man participating in Radio Listening Clubs told me that he hoped some donors in the North would now find out about the radio and how hard people are working for it, and maybe some would like to send them some money as a token of appreciation.
Radio as a visiting card. Some mentioned that the radio could work as a visiting card for the wider world. In one focus group discussion there was an idea that the concert and music collected there could gather people’s attention even abroad:

5B: I’d like the community to participate. I’d like to make sure the concert is widely advertised so that maybe it can become a tourist attraction. These people from other countries can get clues about the concert and come to see what we are doing and we can generate funds to keep the community running.

5C: Then from here they maybe take them to Lusaka, there are also Tongas there. They attend them, they sing those songs which maybe win, so that even those other people from other sides of the world or country they see we here are doing. How we are living the life. And some other things. So that even them next time they can make a record oh, what is happening in Chikuni, like some time back these people who they send awards, what attracting they are doing and what made them win what they’re doing. You know.

Radio as a loan breaker. Radio was also seen as an institution with access to money. It was appreciated that it managed to find talents within the community, but in many discussions people stated that the prizes should be bigger to further spur people to compete. Also, it was hoped that the radio could further help the musicians, like in the following quote:

4E: I think the radio station could be the right institution to help them in the sense that they manage the station themselves to choose the person to sell they, maybe they know the person or band, where they can go and ask. So I would still propose maybe we can go to the management and say maybe it would be possible to think that you can help such man. So at the end of the day you give them some loan. At the end of the day maybe you can get your money back. Looking at how useful if would be to that band. Maybe to give some loan. But to those who are not so fortunate, then you see you are losing your money to them so you polish your self up physically, be on the market and then I can give you a loan. So that is how I propose that maybe we can help them. Maybe we can also go to business houses to ask for sponsorship.
It is clear that Chikuni Radio is seen within its community as something other than a radio how we see it. I think this is an important part of community radios. In Chikuni there were only a few other institutions around; churches, hospital, Home Based Care unit, schools and teachers’ training college. Besides churches, other institutions didn’t provide much events or other activities to the public. I think it is fair to say that there was really not much to do and not much happening. In this sense Chikuni Radio is an institution by the people for the people, but in a complex way; it is a much more versatile institution than a “conventional” radio station that is often considered as merely a means to receive information.

6. The future of Chikuni Radio

What are the real impacts and achievements of the radio are hard to define. One reporter thought the greatest impact would be that people nowadays talk freely about themselves and about issues that affect them. Another member of the staff, reporter 2, described the impact of the radio thus:

*I think the impact is great, I would certainly say that. This is the most sensitised community that has come across for a long time. OK? I’ve had workshops in Lusaka where we go to ask people on issues, like we go to the areas, compounds in Lusaka. I couldn’t believe that people in urban areas are so ignorant about issues that would be automatic to our listeners. For example when I was doing the malaria course to which I went to a compound called Kalingalinga. We were trying to find out what they know, like for example for pregnant women who are what time they are supposed to go to antenatal clinic and we found that, I think most of the respondents said that they don’t even go for antenatal clinic, they don’t know the dangers that would come if they got malaria, that would come to their pregnancy, meaning the child that they carry and themselves. Talk about HIV/AIDS, even when you talk about issues of voluntary counselling and testing, in Lusaka people, or not only in Lusaka but even elsewhere people shun away the topic but here it’s daily life. People say OK, I go for counselling and it’s because of radio, because we’ve talked about these things. But, I think, the way I can put it is that people are now making informed decisions in all aspects of their lives, because the programmes that we have here cater across all these women’s issues, children’s issues, a bit of politics, like now.*
It seems that within six years Chikuni Radio has found its place within the community. I have described many expectations that the audience has, but the station is undergoing changes. The manager of the radio, Fr Andrew Lesniara, told that in the future there were hopes that the station would be “Zambianized”. He was in process of looking for a Zambian who could work as the station’s director. Another challenge was to keep the radio financially healthy. Fr Lesniara told that advertising as a source of income was out of question, because, despite challenging some “big names”, for instance, nobody seems to be interested in sponsoring a radio station that is “in the bushes”. The idea was that ultimately all the income would come from Zambia itself. The third challenge was to find a way to employ more staff to improve the quality of broadcasting – and to find reporters that would be dedicated to their work in rather a secluded place. Location “in the bushes” was seen as a difficulty also in the respect that people used to a city life didn’t feel inclined to stay in the countryside. That’s why the director was trying to find some mature workers.

The staff had some different ideas. One named challenges to be: transport issues in producing programmes in the community; having more time to produce a programme; and to seek more actively revenues, because, according to him, the radio is more waiting for sponsors to come to them, instead of being proactive and approaching potential sponsors. Another staff member listed transport, e.g. motorbikes or bicycles, that the staff could use to reach more distant places; giving voice to women that were denied voice by husbands; avoiding power blackouts; covering a wider area; and, getting advertising revenue. The third saw the main challenges to be in participation: according to him, the greatest challenge is that when it comes to organising things, like a concert, people are reluctant to come. But when you make a mistake on radio, they are quick to criticise the staff. Another challenge was to find out how to bring up new issues and angles. This last point was nicely described by one of the staff members, as quoted here. I think this quotation also describes well the gap in understanding between sponsors and locals. It also tells to some extent about the state of journalism, where the guests may decide about the contents of programming. Reporter 3 tells:

*Like I told you we have covered most of all issues. And the angles I’m taking, what things am I going to talk about this. I give you the best example where I’ve been, when Fr Tadeuzs, the programming manager called me and asked me about one programme that had nothing new in it. But it was not of my own making as people from a movement that is talking about death consolation. But they diverted from*
that, death consolation, they started dealing with HIV/AIDS. So they came with precise questions them selves, they gave it to me. So I just interviewed them based on those questions. And ended there. Then I was called by Fr Tadeusz, he told me about this programme, you tell me about this programme, what new things are in this? And I was as a producer present asking them. So the image of the radio brought down. So for me to tell that the image of the radio was brought down, I was very touched. .......That was my weakness, I just followed what my guest brought to me. You see all those things. Maybe it’s good because we are sponsored, you know, they are drift to come here, for them to write good reports. They diverted from talking about death consolation to HIV/AIDS issues, I think they don’t know that has already been covered.

There are various ways in which attempts are made to overcome these challenges. To reach outstations, the station had tried to have a motorbike, but it was out of commission in less than two weeks. Also a bicycle cannot survive on Chikuni’s roads. According to Fr Andrew Lesniara there were some talks ongoing with a German NGO to look into possibilities of having some sort of a technology that could be employed in a situation like this.

One problem I found in respect of the workers was that there were only limited chances for them to progress in their career and develop their skills. The radio helped, for example, radio scholars to get into journalism, and for example Musonda Mukanu, radio scholar in year 1999 and Mary-Theresa Kamoto, radio scholar in year 2000 had both finished a journalism course at Evelyn Hone College of Applied Arts in the capital Lusaka and were working at Chikuni Radio. Beyond that there was no much space to develop. All the three staff members I interviewed were thinking about gaining further education and making career moves. Sometimes they felt that the station was not supporting their pursuits.

7. What are the results?

7.1. Answering the study questions

My concrete study questions are how does the Chikuni community comprehend Chikuni Radio; how do people in Chikuni Radio comprehend their work; and how do these aspects relate to current writings about the community radios and their communities in relation to
ownership and HIV/AIDS reporting. I have discussed these issues in detail but summarize the key points below.

1. How does the Chikuni community comprehend Chikuni Radio?

- Media usage in Chikuni is dominated by radio: it is easily accessible even to poor people. Out of four radio channels available Chikuni Radio is the most popular one.
- It is appreciated that the radio broadcasts in Tonga, which is the first language to the majority of the people in its coverage area. Also, people think it is focusing on this specific community, which is creating a sense of belonging.
- The audience is mainly using Chikuni Radio as a source of information. The radio is considered entertaining as well, but this function comes as a “side product”. Even music is considered as a way of receiving information.
- Because the radio is the main medium for many, and alternatives are hard to find, there is a strong pressure to cater for complex information needs and gather information from varying sources.
- The radio has had a role, for example, in changing the community’s attitude towards HIV/AIDS and infected people, and has been a means to provide education for pupils unable to attend conventional schools.
- Radio Chikuni has also an important role in the community as an institution that is accessible for all the community.
- The overall image of Chikuni Radio is positive. The radio is seen as a medium that is aiming for mutual good.

2. How do people in Chikuni Radio comprehend their work?

- Chikuni Radio was founded in 2000 to provide all the members of the community a chance to develop themselves. This is still the main aim of the staff and management.
- All acknowledged the religious aspect of the station, but developmental issues were far more emphasised than evangelisation.
- The staff named the challenges of the radio to be in reporting from outstations; tight time schedules; financing; and getting people to participate.
- The staff were enthusiastic about their work, but saw very limited chances to develop in their work.
3. How do these aspects relate to current writings about the community radios and their communities in relation to ownership?

As stated in chapter 2.2., there is a problem regarding the definition of community radios. Community radio is very wide a concept as it can refer to, for example, a commercial jazz music channel serving a community of interest as well as a non-profit-making radio serving a natural community. In its widest meaning Chikuni Radio is, as it classifies itself, a community radio. In the concept’s narrowest definition Chikuni Radio is not a community radio; this because it is not owned and run by the community itself.

Francis P. Kasoma, professor of journalism and mass communication in the University of Zambia, does not count Church owned radios as community radios at all (2002). He argues that this is because, given the Church’s authoritative nature, people haven’t been allowed to manage the media and put them to the service of the community. Another point of view is that, according to Kivikuru, only very rarely is a community radio station born out of genuine communication needs; in most cases, it is established as an NGO activity because the activists behind it – outsiders or community members – know that this is a project that can get outside financing. (2006, 26). Then what does qualify as a community radio?

Dagron is claiming established Catholic stations are clearly on the “good side” of the participatory communication game. Although I would like to separate that from being something essentially Catholic, I do claim that Chikuni Radio is playing on this same side. It does deal with the issues that are relevant to its listeners’ life and these listeners feel that they are represented through this station. Certainly, if plans to get a Zambian director are realized, it is more and more filling the criteria of a “pure” community radio.

There are also discrepancies in the definition of “pure” community radio. If by definition a community radio is to be development oriented and by the community for the community, the definition creates a problem with taboos. A community is possibly not ready to handle taboos, and thus they are never discussed or questioned.

4. How NGOs are affecting HIV/AIDS reporting?
Zambia’s HIV/AIDS prevalence rates according to government and UN figures stand at 16.5% as of December 2005. Thus HIV/AIDS is not — as journalists and even some editors in IFJ’s survey suggested — a beaten story. It is an active story that can find practical expression across all branches of journalism. HIV/AIDS is still as much a business story as it is a political and health story; it is a major socioeconomic story and an ethical question just as much as it is a moral and cultural question. Although several other means of HIV/AIDS dissemination exist, campaigners report the media is seen as the most suitable method of getting information out about HIV/AIDS. Governmental bodies and NGOs involved in HIV/AIDS programmes have increasingly relied on the media as a tool for dissemination of HIV/AIDS information. (Walters & Bersten 2006, 56–57.)

In Chikuni Radio HIV/AIDS was a widely discussed topic. Although being owned by Jesuits and receiving funding from them, Chikuni Radio was aiming to have more sources of income. Like for other community radio stations, sponsorship and donor funding was important to its economics. I was told that nowadays it is easy for a broadcaster in a Zambian community media to write a proposal to make programmes that discuss HIV/AIDS, and get a sponsor. On the other hand, if the reporter was to do a proposal on sustainable development, for example on sustainable agriculture, the chances to get money were slim. This is partly seen in the radio’s programming.

5. Is Chikuni Radio essentially about top down or bottom up communication?

Called “the success story of participation” by one reporter, Listening Clubs are close to ideals of two way communication. Maybe themes of these programmes are preset, but within those frames people are free to raise issues and discuss them, and let a wider audience hear their opinions. These programmes are edited, which is necessary for legal and quality reasons, but I am convinced that essentially the voice of ordinary people is being heard. Next to that are the youth programmes, and the work of news gatherers. Then there is a lot of participation in the form of phone ins, letter writing, etc.

Chikuni Radio has had a real effect in changing the community’s own life circle. But has it been able to challenge any power structures? Writing about nationwide experiences Kivikuru states that compared with ‘pure’ community media, the weakness with both South African community radio and Namibian People’s Parliament perhaps lies in the fact that the radio is
still used as an arena by individuals. The power structures are also aware of this, and thus these media are allowed to operate freely. They lack the structures to pursue and achieve change. In this sense, both forums really do resemble the Speaker’s Corner in Hyde Park tradition: anyone is able to say almost whatever she or he wants, because what is said has little influence. In small Chikuni Radio people are informed and educated about agricultural practices, health care, education and so on. It is working as a secluded medium for its own people not aiming to challenge authorities for better roads, water points etc. An interesting question is would there be space to challenge the Jesuits if somebody deemed that necessary?

In the beginning of this thesis I quoted Linda Fuller quoting World Association of Christian Communication’s Media Development. According to that the current ideal of community radio was something that provides a vital alternative to the profit oriented agenda of corporate media. They are driven by social objectives rather than the private, profit motive. They empower people rather than treat them as passive consumers, and they nurture local knowledge rather than replace it with standard solutions. Ownership and control of community media is rooted in, and responsible to, the communities they serve. And they are committed to human rights, social justice, the environment and sustainable approaches to development. (Fuller 2007, 1.) Having focus in sustainable development and local conditions and issues, being non-profit making, Radio Chikuni seems like a proper community radio. Despite being Catholic radio it is not to force feed evangelisation. Ownership and control of community media, however, seems to distance it from the radio; even though the community consider the radio as their own medium, visiting card and a way to send their own messages, there’s still a certain feeling that it is yet another institution created for them, but on someone else’s conditions. The community involvement is there – but it is thin rooted.

7.2. The research as an experience

I started preparing for the field work in autumn 2005. After getting in touch with Chikuni Radio I did research about conditions in Southern Africa from various literary resources and kept in touch with the radio’s staff, mainly Matongo Maumbi. Then, in 2006 I spent two months in Chikuni community. In the beginning of 2007 I started a full time work, and since I have spent most of my spare time writing the study. I learned a whole lot during the research period, and there are, of course, a lot of things I learned about Tonga culture and people in Chikuni that can’t be written into the thesis. For instance the remarkable life story of Kulemba Sakaimbo, who is now studying social work at Monze Community Developement College,
has to be left out. However, there are two issues I have personally gained that are on top of others.

**Confidence as a researcher.** It is important for Finnish media scholars to gain knowledge of African community radios, partly because Finland has been funding many community media projects in Africa with multiple objectives. Also, the radio didn’t have resources to carry out a study themselves, so it was justified for a foreigner to do that. Despite this I found myself wondering is it reasonable to travel to another continent to study a communication system; would I be able to make observations and conclusions in a culturally sensitive way?

When planning the field work, I was getting ready to live in Zambian conditions, but I was not prepared for certain aspects of living in a community that was founded in the Jesuit mission. In my opinion it was a very hierarchical community. The Jesuit mission had built churches, schools, a college, a hospital and a community radio centre during a century of missionary work, and in return they had a say in basically everything that was going on in the community. The community seemed to accept this set of order; but being from different culture, I had certain difficulties to get accustomed to such social order. This created some difficulties for me when writing this report. Was I able to reflect the thoughts of the community, or was I interpreting things through my own experiences and ideology? Of course it is never possible to reach totally objective information through qualitative methods, but at occasions I have had to rethink and rewrite my statements many times to reach the level of objectivity that satisfies me.

I made good friends with some people in the community. I spent my spare time by learning to cook nshima at Kulemba Sakaimbo’s home, watching television at Matongo Maumbi’s home or chatting with people. I had great company, but sometimes I would had liked to have colleagues with whom to discuss the research and its methods while doing the field work. Another issue was to be dependant on translator, which I have already discussed in chapter 4. In addition to this, at the end of field work period I caught cerebral malaria, which was luckily diagnosed and treated effectively. When back at home, I faced difficulties in finding relevant articles and studies, although there seemed to be a number of studies about “community radios in Africa” or discussions about the essence of “community radio”. I was told, that it is known that NGOs tend to prefer HIV/AIDS programmes in their funding, but there was no
comprehensive studies available of the topic. This all contributed to a number of doubts and uncertainty, which later on turned into increased confidence.

**Importance of understanding local conditions.** There were many times that my anticipations proved wrong. For example, when I was attending thesis seminar in Finland, I told that I will ask people what kind of programmes they would like to have more. Somebody said that people probably say that they just want to have more music. I replied that I’d be happy with that result, because it would mean that I most likely got reliable data; after all people around the world want to get entertained. Now that I think of it, I was right in a way. People in Chikuni did desire more music; but it wasn’t only the catchy melodies and rhythms that people were interested in, but the lyrics that had some though-provoking teaching or message. There was a thirst for knowledge in the community, and the interest was varied. Inspite of living in “the bushes”, the community had much interest in current issues of the wider world. It was not adequate to know only about the community and its gossip. Despite the fact that hardly anyone had a chance to travel abroad, the people felt they belonged to the “global village” and wanted to know where the world is going.

Another thing was to understand the local conditions. I was planning to include a question about people’s wealth in the questionnaire to have one indicator about their socio-economic status. I was told that I can ask it; but the answers are hardly reliable. I was explained that for many people in rural Zambia foreigners are sources of income; most foreigners that come there are working for NGOs and other agencies that are planning to donate something for the community. Therefore it is wiser for local people to emphasise their poverty.

Now afterwards, I can’t say I was wrong with my intentions or assumptions; they were both logical. However, they did not reflect the local conditions. Already in the beginning I was convinced of the importance of case studies, and the experience only assured me. The same applies to many policies and practices that are nation or region wide, just to take already mentioned sponsoring of HIV/AIDS programming as an example.
Bibliography


**Internet**

ABC Ulwazi <http://www.abculwazi.org.za/jsp/ABC_Ulwazi.jsp>

AMARC <http://www.amarc.org/>


Soul Beat <http://www.comminit.com/africa/community-radio/>


**Video**

Appendix 1: Focus group discussions

The first focus group was held in Mulongalwiili village on August 30, 2006. It consisted of five men. One was 30 years old farmer with wife and three kids; one 26 years old single farmer; one 22 years old married teacher with one child; a 63 years old farmer, that was married with 12 children; and a 40 years old farmer that was married to two wives and had seven children. Later on a 51 years old married teacher with ten children and a 24 years old teacher, father of three children participated. The discussion was held in two parts, length of discussion was $24 + 53$ minutes.

The second was held on September 2, 2006 and lasted 1 hour, 19 minutes. It consisted of six women. It was held on a day when Home Based Care distributed some food to HIV positive patients. The participants were gathered by asking random people.

The third discussion was held on September 4, 2006 and lasted 1 hour, 48 minutes. It consisted of five women. It was held on a day when Home Based Care distributed some food to HIV positive patients. The participants were gathered by asking random people. In this conversation one participant was a 48 years old single woman with no employment and five children; a 32 years old single woman, not employed with five children; a 32 years old, married farmer with one child; a 29 years old unemployed woman, married with five children; and a 63 years old widow with children.

The fourth focus group discussion was held with teachers on September 11, 2006 and lasted 1 hour 47 minutes. The participants were one woman aged 39, married with five children; single male of 25 years; single male of 28 years; man aged 44, married with six children; man aged 34, married with two children.

The fifth focus group discussion was held in Canisius High School on September 11, 2006. It was held in two parts, because we were asked to change the room. The discussion lasted $45 + 36$ minutes. The participants were as follows: a boy of 20 years, going to grade 12; 17 years old, going to grade 12; a 19 year old doing grade 12; 18 years old doing grade 12; a 19 year old doing grade 12.

The last focus group was formed in Chikuni Girls High School on September 13, 2006. The length was 1 hour 10 minutes. The participants were as follows: a girl of 17 years, going to
grade 7; a girl of 16 years, going to grade 7; a girl of 17 years, going to grade 12; a girl of 18 years, going to grade 12; a girl of 19 years, going to grade 10; a girl of 16 years, going to grade 10.
## Appendix 2: Survey questionnaire

### Survey questionnaire

1. Name of village:
2. Sex:  
   1. Female  
   2. Male  
3. Age:
4. Marital Status:  
   1. Single  
   2. Married  
   3. Divorced  
   4. Widowed  
5. Education:  
   1. Illiterate  
   2. Primary education  
   3. Secondary education  
   4. Vocational training  
   5. College or university  
   6. Other, what:
6. Socio-economic status:  
   1. Village leadership; specify:  
   2. Professional; field:  
   3. Semi-professional; field:  
   4. Farming; main products:  
   5. Student; standard or field:  
   6. Other; specify:  
7. Number of children:  
   Age of oldest:  
   Age of youngest:  
8. Religion (Denomination):
9. Distance (in km) to  
   nearest hospital:  
   church or place of worship:  
   primary school:  
   secondary school:  
   political party office:  
   nearest shop:  
   pipe borne water or well:  
10. Distance to nearest town:  
    Name of town:  
    How often do you visit there in general?  
    1. daily  
    2. weekly  
    3. monthly  
    4. sometimes a year  
    5. once a year or less  
11. How are transport services to the town?  
    1. regular bus service times per week  
    2. irregular bus services times per week  
    3. village lorry times per week  
    4. other form of transport, please specify:  
12. Are you an active member of any society, organization or club? Please specify:  
13. Do you attend village meetings regularly?  
    1. Yes  
    2. No  
    What other forms of village activities there are?  
    Have you attended them  
    1. Always  
    2. Regularly  
    3. Occasionally  
    4. Never  
14. What kind of activities there are in your village around Chikuni Radio (e.g. radio listening club)?  
    Have you attended them
15. Do you have considerable daily problems (housing, firewood, food, water, health etc.)?
   1. Yes; please specify:
   2. No
   Has Chikuni Radio discussed the problems in a satisfying way?
   1. Yes
   2. No

16. Does your family use its farming or livestock products at home or are they sold outside?
   1. All products are used by the family
   2. Some products are sold to other villagers
   3. Most products are grown for marketing to other villagers
   4. Most products are grown for marketing outside the village

17. If you have a health problem, who do you turn to?
   1. Village leadership
   2. Elders
   3. Health professional; specify
   4. Traditional healer
   5. Neighbour
   6. Friends
   7. Family members
   8. Other; specify

18. If you have a farming problem, who do you turn to?
   1. Village leadership
   2. Elders
   3. Professional expert; specify
   4. Traditionally knowledgeable person
   5. Neighbour
   6. Friends
   7. Family members
   8. Other; specify

19. What do you do when you have some free time?

   Media usage

20. What media do you follow?
   1. Radio
   2. Television
   3. Video
   4. Newspapers
   5. Drama
   6. Story telling
   7. Other, please specify:

20. Do you have a radio set at home?
   1. Yes
   2. Yes, but not usable
   3. No
   If 2. or 3. where do you listen to radio?

21. Do you listen to radio
   1. Daily
   2. 2–3 times per week
   3. Once a week
   4. Occasionally
   5. Hardly ever or never

22. Do you usually listen to radio
   1. Alone
   2. With family members
   3. With friends
   4. With neighbours
   5. At a shop etc.
   6. In another space; where:

23. Can Chikuni Radio be heard clearly in your village?
   1. Yes
   2. No

24. Are batteries or electricity easily available?
   1. Yes
   2. No

25. What of the following stations you listen to most:
   1. Chikuni Radio
   2. Sky fm
26. Indicate the time you listen to radio most frequently (in minutes)
   Morning  6–9 am
   9–12 am
   Afternoon  12–3 pm
              3–6 pm
   Evening  6–9 pm
              9–11 pm

27. If Chikuni Radio had programmes between 11 pm and 6 am, do you think you would listen to them?
   1. Yes; what sort of programmes you would like to listen that time?
   2. No

28. On News, do you get…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Too few</th>
<th>Enough</th>
<th>Too much</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Local (Chikuni Mission)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Regional (Southern Province)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. National (Zambia)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. International (World)?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. Indicate the programme types which you find most interesting (no:s 1–5 according to your taste)

- News bulletins
- Social commentaries
- Political programmes
- Announcements
- Greetings
- Traditional Tonga music
- Sports programmes
- Taonga Market
- Cultural
- Religious

What would you like to have more programmes on?

What would be the best timing for these programmes?

30. Are you pleased with the schedules (timing) of Chikuni Radio’s programmes?
   1. Yes
   2. No; why not?

31. Would you like to have political programmes in Chikuni?

32. Does anyone in your family listen to Taonga Market?
   1. Yes; ages of those listening to
   2. No

33. Do you think you can have impact on Chikuni Radio’s programmes?
   1. Yes; how?
   2. No; why not?

34. Have you made any contribution to Chikuni Radio?
   1. Yes; what?
   2. No
Appendix 3: Personal interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
<th>Time Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio Scholar 1</td>
<td>24.8.2006</td>
<td>47 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter 1</td>
<td>28.8.2006</td>
<td>56 min + 4 min + 17 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter 2</td>
<td>29.8.2006</td>
<td>1 hour 4 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter 3</td>
<td>1.9.2006</td>
<td>46 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr Andrew Lesniara</td>
<td>1.10.2006</td>
<td>32 min</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4: Chikuni Radio’s programme schedule

As in July 2007

**Monday**
06:00 Tone, Station ID, Thought & Prayer
06:15 Programme Line up.
06:30 Community Announcements/ Commercials
07:00 Song For The Day.
07:15 News in English
07:30 Music
08:00 News in Tonga
08:30 CHBC Information
09:00 Inspiration
09:30 Music
10:00 Simukobonyina Azyilengwaleza
11:00 Ma Center aamu Chikuni Parish.
11:55 Latest News Headlines
12:00 Thought for The Day (Repeat)
12:10 Strictly Children's Music
12:15 Taonga Market Grade 7
12:45 Strictly Children’s Songs
12:55 Taonga Market Grade 6
13:25 Strictly Children’s Songs
13:35 Taonga Market – Grade 2
14:05 Strictly Children’s Songs
14:10 Taonga Market – Grade 4
14:40 Music
15:00 News in Tonga ,Community Announcements & Commercials
15:30 Mwakotoka Nobalimi (Hello farmers)
16:00 Music
16:30 Luzyibo Ndusumpuka (District Agro Prog)
17:00 News in English
17:30 The African
18:00 Taandabale Wakamana (No Room For Laziness)
18:30 Church Documents
19:00 Twaano
19:30 News in Tonga, Community Announcements/Commercials
20:00 Mabuka-buka (Random Talk)
20:30 Faith and Social Aspect
21:00 Muisc
21:30 Kuzundana kwa Baimbi
22:00 Gospel Music
22:45 Prayer of Awareness
23:00 Station ID & Close Down

Tuesday
06:00 Tone, Station ID, Thought & Prayer
06:15 Programme Line up.
06:30 Community Announcements/ Commercials
07:00 Song For The Day.
07:15 News in English
07:30 Music
08:00 News in Tonga
08:30 Music
09:00 Balikuli? (Where are they?)
09:30 Music
10:00 Bu Tonga Bwasanduka (Repeat)
10:30 Music
11:00 Let's Share it (MISA – Good Governance)
11:30 Music
11:55 Latest News Headlines
12:00 Thought for The Day
12:10 Music
12:15 Taonga Market Grade 7
12:45 Strictly Children’s Songs
12:55 Taonga Market Grade 6
13:25 Strictly Children’s Songs
13:35 Taonga Market – Grade 2
14:05 Strictly Children’s Songs
14:10 Taonga Market – Grade 4
14:40 Music
15:00 News in Tonga, Community Announcements & Commercials
15:30 Lusumpuko (Development)
16:00 Music
16:30 Kizito Pastoral Centre Documentaries
17:00 News in English
17:30 Music
18:00 The Constitution (Mulawo Wacisi)
18:30 Faith Building
19:00 Twalumba
19:30 News in Tonga, Community Announcements/Commercials
20:00 PA ZED
21:00 African Beats
21:30 Music
22:00 Gospel Music
22:45 Prayer of Awareness
23:00 Station ID & Close Down

Wednesday
06:00 Tone, Station ID, Thought & Prayer
06:15 Programme Line up.
06:30 Community Announcements/Commercials
07:00 Song For The Day.
07:15 News in English
07:30 Music
08:00 News in Tonga
08:30 Nseba Zyesu (Our Health)
09:00 Music
10:00 Twaaambo (Local Burning Issues)
10:30 Music
11:00 Around Africa
11:30 Music
11:55 Latest News Headlines
12:00 Thought for The Day
12:10 Music
12:15 Taonga Market Grade 7
12:45 Strictly Children’s Songs
12:55 Taonga Market Grade 6
13:25 Strictly Children’s Songs
13:35 Taonga Market – Grade 2
14:05 Strictly Children’s Songs
14:10 Taonga Market – Grade 4
14:40 Music
15:00 News in Tonga, Community Announcements & Commercials
15:30 Ijwi Lya Mulimi (Voice of the farmer)
16:00 Music
16:30 Music
17:00 News in English
17:30 Wren Media
18:00 Mbaabo Bamakaintu (Women Issues)
18:30 Mwatambulwa Ku Bbaibbele
19:00 Education for all
19:30 News in Tonga, Community Announcements/Commercials
20:00 Bulimi Bukkalila (Sustainable Agriculture)
20:30 KWATU Muwailesi (HIV/AIDS Drama)
21:00 Music
22:00 Gospel Music
22:45 Prayer of Awareness
23:00 Station ID & Close Down

**Thursday**

06:00 Tone, Station ID, Thought & Prayer
06:15 Programme Line up.
06:30 Community Announcements/ Commercials
07:00 Song For The Day.
07:15 News in English
07:30 The Miracle
08:00 News in Tonga
08:30 Music
09:00 Music
10:00 Haamaleke Amukwashi (Repeat)
10:30 Music
10:50 Amubabuzye (Face the Media) – Live
11:55 Latest News Headlines
12:00 Thought for The Day
12:10 Music
12:15 Taonga Market Grade 7
12:45 Strictly Children’s Songs
12:55 Taonga Market Grade 6
13:25 Strictly Children’s Songs
13:35 Taonga Market – Grade 2
14:05 Strictly Children’s Songs
14:10 Taonga Market – Grade 4
15:00 News in Tonga, Community Announcements & Commercials
15:30 Music
16:00 Komena Ubone Twansi
16:30 Music
17:00 News in English
17:30 The Miracle
18:00 Nkosaadi 2007 (Annual Concert)
18:30 The MASS
19:00 ZNFU Mubulimi
19:30 News in Tonga, Community Announcements/Commercials
20:00 Greetings
20:30 Kaulu Kalaamutwe – Mukanzubo
21:00 Music
21:30 Amubaleke Bakubusi Bakanane
22:00 Nyimbo Zya Leza Ziyianda Baswiilizi
22:45 Prayer of Awareness
23:00 Station ID & Close Down

Friday
06:00 Tone, Station ID, Thought & Prayer
06:15 Programme Line up.
06:30 Community Announcements/ Commercials
07:00 Song For The Day.
07:15 News in English
07:30 Music
08:00 News in Tonga
08:30 Music
09:00 Pals
09:45 Music
10:00 Roving Report
10:30 Music
11:00 Bakubusi Mubu Christo
11:30 Music
11:55 Latest News Headlines
12:00 Thought for The Day
12:10 Music
12:15 Taonga Market Grade 7
12:45 Strictly Children’s Songs
12:55 Taonga Market Grade 6
13:25 Strictly Children’s Songs
13:35 Taonga Market – Grade 2
14:05 Music
14:10 Taonga Market – Grade 4
14:40 Music
15:00 News in Tonga ,Community Announcements & Commercials
15:30 Simalelo
16:00 Music
16:30 Music
17:00 News in English
17:30 Music
18:00 SAFAIDS
18:30 Cuundu Acici Coonse (Community Current Affairs)
19:00 Music
19:30 News in Tonga, Community Announcements/Commercials
20:00 Bulimi Bwesu (Taonga AgroForestry)
20:30 Hamaleke Amukwasyi (Drama)
21:00 Music
22:00 Gospel Music
22:45 Prayer of Awareness
23:00 Station ID & Close Down

**Saturday**
06:00 Tone, Station ID, Thought & Prayer
06:15 Programme Line up.
06:30 Community Announcements/ Commercials
07:00 Music
07:15 News in English
07:30 Sports News and Information
08:00 News in Tonga
08:15 Sports Info Continues
08:45 Music
09:00 Nyimbo Ziyianda Baswiilizyi
10:00 Bbokesi Lyaambaula (Feedback Prog.)
10:30 Dreadlocks
11:00 Hallo Patients
11:55 Latest News Headlines
12:00 Thought for The Day
12:10 Music
12:30 Around Africa (Curent Affairs)
13:00 Music
13:30 Mulomo Mpande (Live Greetings)
14:30 Music
15:00 News in Tonga, Community Announcements & Commercials
15:30 Music
16:00 Music
16:30 Music
17:00 News in English
17:30 Music
18:00 Mukwasyi (Family Matters)
18:30 Get Ready for Sunday
19:00 Music
19:30 News in Tonga, Community Announcements/Commercials
20:00 Bu Tonga Bwasanduka (Tong Culture)
20:30 Bumwi Buzuba (Proverbs Explained)
21:00 Top Ten
22:00 Gospel Music
22:45 Prayer of Awareness
23:00 Station ID & Close Down

Sunday
06:00 Tone, Station ID, Thought & Prayer
06:15 Programme Line up.
06:30 Community Announcements/ Commercials
07:00 Prayer Moment
07:15 Gospel Music
07:30 Catholic Panorama
08:00 Pals and Nutrition
08:15 African Gospel Music
09:00 Transmission Breaks off for the morning
OFF AIR
12:00 Thought for The Day
12:10 Music
12:30 Lusumpuko Mucikombelo
13:00 Music
13:30 Kutembaula Mwami Munyimbo
14:00 Music
14:15 Bumwi Buzuba (Repeat)
15:00 Events of the Week in Tonga
15:30 Community Announcements & Commercials
16:00 Kuyabila
16:30 Music
17:00 Events of the Week in English
17:30 Zyaano zya Muzumino
18:00 Health Promotion
18:30 Music
19:00 Community Announcements and Commercials
19:30 Career Prospects
20:30 Gama Cuulu
21:00 Music
21:30 Nyimbo Zya Leza Ziyianda Baswiilizi
22:30 Gospel Music
22:45 Prayer of Awareness
23:00 Station ID & Close Down