VERNACULAR RADIO IN KENYA:

A CASE STUDY OF KAMEME FM ON THE FACTORS
INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF
VERNACULAR RADIO IN NDEIYA AND LIMURU
DIVISIONS OF KIAMBU DISTRICT



By

Martin Muriithi Kaumbutho



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School of Journalism
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DECLARATION

With due regard to the regulations of academic excellence, I hereby declare that this is my original work. It has not been presented for a degree or any other examination in another institution of learning.

Sign: Murithi Kaumbutho

Date: 23 M/ 2005

This report has been submitted for examination with my approval

as the University Supervisor:

Sign: _____ Peter Oriare

Lecturer, School of Journalism

Date:

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DEDICATION

To my children Gloria and Phil. May this work serve as a source of inspiration to you for the realization of the academic excellence inherent in you.

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was to discover the main factors that influence the development of FM radio broadcasting in Kenya and the region. FM broadcasting is the most widely accessed mass medium today. Kameme FM was used as a case study. Kameme FM being a commercial private station presents an ideal case study in respect to the development and trends in radio broadcasting. It broadcasts using Kikuyu vernacular language and recent radio launches have been in FM channels using vernacular languages.

The study was carried out using survey research methods in Ndeiya and Limuru divisions of Kiambu district. These are administrative divisions representing a mix of both urban and rural populations with a wide spectrum of socio-cultural values. The survey findings were supplemented with Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews.

The study found that there are fundamental shifts in radio listening habits as the majority of adults currently listen to radio individually. There is a remarkably high ownership of radio sets giving individuals the freedom to individually choose the channel to tune into. Entertainment is the gratification most sought after by the audience. Every channel must incorporate entertainment programming regardless of its preferred content Jeanings.

Technology based audience type – the interactive audience – is an audience grouping that is emerging due to proliferation of new technology in society. The internet and mobile telephony has made interaction between audiences and media easier. Cross ownership in media is a major determinant of the competitiveness of a given channel since synergistic support is needed in the increasingly competitive media environment. A channel is however able to retain an audience when it continuously evaluates and responds to the audiences needs and likings.

Individual, group cultural and environmental factors all affect the ability of a media channel to attract and retain audiences and advertisers. This study is an analysis of these factors and their dynamic influence.

ACRONYMS

ABC American Broadcasting Corporation

AM Amplitude Modulation

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

CBC Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

CCK Communications Commission of Kenya

C1 Commercial Market Research and Analysis acronym for

Middle Class

C2 Lower Middle Class

DI Lower Class

FCC Federal Communications Commission of America

FGDs Focus Group Discussions

FM Frequency Modulation

KBC Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

KII Key Informant Interviews

1

RCA Radio Corporation of America

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

In the 1920s when social scientists started appreciating the effects of mass media in society, mass media was viewed as having a magic bullet or hypodermic needle effect on audiences. The study of mass media effects has since been of great interest to communications scholars. Various studies have been carried out over the years with some showing the enormous power of mass media and others showing their limited power in influencing individuals and society.

The radio did not become a tool of mass media until after World War I. By the year 1919, United States of America, home to the radio, had 107 million radio sets. The radio however did not prove its enormous power in that country until 1938 when a presentation on America's CBS radio enacted, a science fiction 'War of the Worlds' depicting an invasion of earth by creatures from Mars. The dramatization was so real that it sent panic waves on a population of 6 million who believed that Martians were indeed taking over planet Earth (Shearon Lowery and Melvin de Fleur 1995).

The radio was the leading tool of mass communication soon after WW I. To date, It has continued to be the leading tool of mass dissemination in developing countries. Radio is affordable and does not require high literacy

levels to use. In Africa and other developing countries, the mass media of radio has been used as the principal tool of introducing innovations in the economic, social and cultural spheres of life. In Africa, agriculture, health, education and other social services have been extensively shaped by the radio (Charles Okigbo 1996).

In Kenya, radio has been used as a propaganda tool especially in shaping national consciousness and agenda setting. From the time of the launch of the first radio broadcast station in 1928, the colonial government used the power of the radio to spread propaganda. Radio was used to divide the fighters during the freedom struggle. Successive independent regimes from the 1960s to the 1980s effectively used it as a propaganda tool for propagating the regimes values and preferred agenda. With the wave of democratization experienced in the 1980s and 1990s, the mass media scene, especially radio experienced rapid changes with the introduction of FM (frequency modulation) radio. Metro FM Radio under Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, the state monopoly in broadcasting from the 1920s to the 1980s, was launched in 1987. This launch marked the beginning of rapid and phenomenal changes in the electronic media scene.

Vernacular radio broadcasts played minimal roles in the promotion of government and commercial interests. From the 1970s till 2000 all vernacular radio was government controlled. Vernacular stations were allocated meager broadcast hours. KBC run three regional vernacular services – Eastern, Central

and Western stations. A maximum of four hours of airtime per day for the large ethnic groups and two hours per day for the less populated ethnic languages was allocated. Their reach was restricted to particular geographical areas and their listenership was indeed limited.

Year 2000 however witnessed major changes as Kikuyu vernacular radio, Kameme FM, was launched in February. It was followed a month later by the launch of Sound Asia FM radio. These were the first vernacular stations entering the broadcast market on purely commercial basis. Since then other vernacular stations have been launched and are fully operational stations run on commercial basis (see figure I). Kameme FM to date remains one of the leading vernacular stations attracting over Kshs. 100 million in advertising revenue every year.

The other vernacular stations remain competitive with each attracting advertising revenue running into millions. They give the other stations using national languages a run for their money as they have loyal audiences that advertisers are eager to reach.

Vernacular radio that until the launch of Kameme FM never attracted enough audiences to warrant broadcast slots of more than four hours per day, are now run as 24 hour commercial stations. It is worthy of note that some of the FM radio stations launched recently have been vernacular stations, marking a new trend in current broadcasting preferences.

The potential use of vernacular radio as a tool of propagating social development issues or social change in Kenya remains enormous. Radio is the leading tool of mass communication with the highest reach and penetration in the country. The Steadman Media Services study of year 2000 indicated that 98% of Kenyan households own a radio set. This makes the radio a formidable tool of mass communication in Kenya. Its reach and influence can never be under estimated.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Since the launch of Kameme FM vernacular radio channel in February 2000, the commercial radio scene in Kenya has changed dramatically. Since then, another eight vernacular stations have been launched and are attracting considerable advertising revenues. Vernacular radio has proved to be a viable commercial business line for investors in the broadcasting sector. The growth in this sector has been phenomenal.

From observation, there has been consistent proliferation of vernacular FM radio listenership in the country. Judging from the amount of advertising revenue that the vernacular FM stations have been attracting, it is clear that advertisers have confidence in the reach and penetration of the vernacular radio channels. Five years since its Jaunch in February 2000 Kameme FM continues to have a strong audience reach. This is despite the competition from other FM stations using the same vernacular language (Coro FM, Inooro FM). This broadcasting

genre continues to attract many investors who are using various local languages for broadcast. Inspite of this, there seems to be potential for further growth as majority of the FM stations launched in the recent past are opting for the use of vernacular languages for broadcasts. Even broadcast stations like Sayare FM that traditionally used national languages like English and Swahili for their broadcasts are now slotting some ethnic broadcast for some hours using vernacular languages. Generally, the use of vernacular languages for broadcasting has developed very rapidly and dramatically. Little has been studied or written about this new phenomenon in the broadcasting sector which has great potential in influencing our communities agendas and perspectives.

A case study of Kameme FM to explore the factors that have contributed to its development, resilience and success should shed light as to what factors influence the development of vernacular FM radio stations among various groups of people in this country and region. One observes that FM vernacular stations are not the preserve of illiterate rural folk. They also seem to attract the attention of educated urban middle class making them viable channels of persuasion in social, economic, cultural and political thinking.

Geographical or ethnic boundaries. From observation, these vernacular stations seem not to be restricted to particular socio-economic groups or ethnic groups.

Their current penetration and potential reach not to mention their effect on mass media use has yet to be studied and documented.

It should be a matter of interest to licensing and regulatory agencies as well as advertisers as to what impact this popularity of vernacular stations will have on use of various mass media in determining social discourse and in advertising respectively. The apparent shift in media preferences and use have a major impact on media spend and media buying. The new trends have sent media managers, media buyers and advertising agencies back to the drawing boards.

To social scientists and communications scholars in particular there is interest in discovering what factors have led to the dramatic shift in audience preference in vernacular broadcasting and the wide acceptance of vernacular radio broadcasting. Are there any social and cultural factors contributing to this phenomenon? How permanent or fluid are these factors in the social and cultural fabrics of the respective target audience groups?

With the advent of FM vernacular broadcasting are we likely to witness further fragmentation of mass communication media and their audiences? What shape is radio broadcasting as a mass medium likely to take in future? Are we likely to witness the launch of more ethnic based commercial FM radio broadcasting in future or are these passing fanciess? What effects are they likely to have on our national development, national cohesion and socio-

cultural development? These are some of the questions that this pioneering study on this new phenomenon hopes to shed some light on.

The impact of vernacular broadcasting on national social cohesion and unity can be far reaching. This is a phenomenon that concerns the social and legal regulatory bodies that govern the radio broadcasting sector. It is also quite clear that being the mass medium that is most widely accessed FM radio broadcasting is likely to emerge as the leading medium not only in advertising, but also in development communication. Its reach and penetration seems to be cutting across a wide section of socio-economic groups and markets.

The potential danger of the vernacular FM radio channels being used to serve sectarian, even ethnic, interests is real. It is therefore important to understand the potential impact inherent in this medium and the effect it could have in these spheres of our national and community life.

1.3 PURPOSE OF STUDY

Little is documented about FM radio mass media in this country or region. A search through the national archives and university libraries shows that virtually nothing of scholarly value is available with respect to vernacular radio. In recent years vernacular radio broadcasting has grown dramatically making it a subject of interest to communications scholars. This is therefore an exploratory study to try and discover the dynamics of this genre of broadcasting.

The purpose of this study is to discover why audiences prefer Kameme FM and continue tuning into the channel. The study seeks to discover what it is the audiences like about the channel. Its attractions to a wide audience including the much sought after middle class has made it viable as an advertising avenue for many manufacturers. From a choice of over 30 FM stations broadcasting on clear stereo signal what makes them opt for Kameme FM? By getting empirical answers to these questions the study helps us understand the dynamics of successfully managing an FM station in today's fast changing mass communication environment. With other vernacular FM stations already launched in other vernacular languages including Dholuo (Ramogi FM), Luhya (Mulembe FM), Kalenjin (Sayare FM; KASS FM), Kamba (Mucii FM), this study contributes to our understanding of audience behaviour in a situation where there are many competing media channels.

Further, one notes that FM stations using vernacular languages continue to pose considerable competition to FM stations using national languages in attracting the elusive advertising shilling. An analysis of the strengths of these stations are issues that are of interest to not only advertisers and media managers but also policy makers and regulators in the media industry. This study gives us some insights into the future trends of radio broadcasting in Kenya and the region in general. It also helps us discover what the future portends for this mass medium in terms of growth, development and impact.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1

This study was designed to meet the following key objectives:

- To determine the socio-economic and socio-demographic profiles of listeners of Kameme FM.
- 2. To investigate the radio listening behaviour of listerners of Kameme FM.
- 3. To examine the programmes that attract various listeners to the station.
- To inquire into the satisfaction levels of the audiences with respect to Kameme FM programmes.
- 5. To explore the audience-presenter attractions of Kameme FM.
- 6. To investigate the media needs and gratifications sought and obtained by audiences by tuning into Kameme FM.
- 7. To explore other factors that make listeners tune into the station even where other stations are available.

These are the primary objectives of this study. These objectives guide the focus of this research study in helping us understand the key factors that have contributed to the development of Kameme FM broadcasting in particular and vernacular FM broadcasting in general.

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Sociologists, communications scholars and other social scientists from the behaviorist school of thought are in agreement with regard to the practical application of the structural-functionalist paradigm in carrying out media studies and audience analysis.

Lazersfeld's 1944 study of 'Peoples Choice' introduced sociological and psychological factors that need to be considered when carrying out studies on media use and effects. His study also laid the foundation for the axiomatic theory of 'uses and gratifications', which has continued to guide audience research studies to date.

This study was guided by theories that explain human behaviour in relation to media use. It set out to explore the functions that Kameme FM plays in audiences lives. The units of analysis were therefore at the individual, group and social levels. Psychographic and demographic characteristics of the channel audiences were explored in relation to their media consumption behaviour.

The structural functionalist approach and the systems theory formed the theoretical framework that guided this study. This approach views institutions as existing for the purpose of serving individual and social needs of the members. This study sought, to investigate what psychological, social and cultural needs the FM station meets amongst the media needs of the audiences.

The study was also guided by other communications theories, that relate to the functions of media in individuals and society. Some of these include theories such as the agenda setting role of the media and two-step flow theory. Their relevance in this study is discussed extensively in the literature review section of this report.

2.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

In the developing countries, Kenya included, radio has been used as the principal tool of reaching the largest possible population with messages of various types, be they promotional informational or educational. Over the years, education, health and agricultural promotion campaigns in this country have been carried out through the radio. The radio is affordable and accessible and does not require high literacy levels to reach its target audiences.

Vernacular FM radio broadcasting is a relatively new mass medium in this country. Like other genres of radio broadcasting, its power of influence on the thinking, attitudes and values of the people it reaches cannot be underestimated. It can be used as a tool to build or destroy a nation state. The role of the radio in fanning the 1994 ethnic genocide in Rwanda is a case that motivates many a communications scholar to learn more about the potential that vernacular radio broadcasting holds. It inspires mass media regulatory agencies to monitor the influence of such mass media in the maintenance of

social order in society. Radio Mile Collines incited the majority population of Rwanda to eliminate the 'cockroaches' in their midst resulting in the slaughter of an estimated 800,000 innocent people in one of the worst genocides in human history in the 1990s.

Within its limits, radio can persuade and influence large audiences thereby contributing substantially to the value of a society or nation. Closer home KBC radio is credited for having sustained the Moi presidency which many scholars feel would have long collapsed without its effective use of radio propaganda. Citizen radio is credited for changing the thinking of the nation during the 2002 election that the opposition won. The potential of radio in influencing mass thinking and behaviour continues to be experienced in our daily lives.

At a time when there is much concern about Western influence and domination in our mass media it is important to learn about the reach and influence of African culture based mass media like vernacular radio. In a situation where the number of FM stations using English language and spreading Western values has increased tremendously in recent years, it is important to have FM stations that ensure our cultural values and vernacular languages are not completely lost. We need to ensure they are effective mass media channels if they have to survive in the highly competitive mass media environment.

Like the stations founded on Western cultures and values which have tended to destroy our cultural fabric, the local media could likewise be used for

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constructive or destructive purposes. It can be used to promote narrow ethnic, chauvinist or even personal agenda, at the expense of socially beneficial agenda.

The findings of this study should therefore be of interest to the following groups of people:

- analysis study. It adds to the cummulative knowledge available on the behaviour of audiences especially in developing countries. The values being propagated by the vernacular FM radio channels is an issue that social scientists may want to analyse. The potential power of the vernacular FM radio as a source of social stability or social change may be gauged from this study.
- ii) Communications Policy Makers & Regulatory Agencies: Regulatory agencies should benefit from the knowledge on the dynamics of FM vernacular radio. The study contributes to the regulatory framework needed for licensing such media. Indeed the media bill to regulate broadcasting in Kenya has yet to be passed.
- iii) Media Buyers: The viability of using vernacular FM radio as a tool of reaching target market audiences is of interest to advertisers. The FM vernacular radio audience and their demographic and socio-psychological attributes is of interest to advertisers.
- iv) Media Managers: Media managers who are in the competitive field of attracting and holding audiences need to know the strengths,

weaknesses, opportunities and threats posed by the relatively new entry of FM vernacular radio into the mass media scene.

2.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

This is a case study on the proliferation and development of the vernacular FM radio in the country. The objective of the study was to give us some in-depth knowledge on the social dynamics of FM vernacular radio stations and their audiences. Though some lessons learned may be applicable to other types of radio broadcasting and other forms of media, the study findings are limited to FM radio broadcasting. Generalizations to other media forms should be made with caution. Further, this is a case study, which is limited by the size of the sample of the study. The study was carried out in the Ndeiya and Limuru Divisions of Kiambu District, which has access to the Kameme FM signal and has an audience that primarily speaks and understands Kikuyu; consists of rural and urban population (20 kms from Nairobi Central Business District); has a population covering the socio-economic spectrum that a wide variety of advertisers look for in marketing campaigns targeting middle and lower class audiences. The fact that the study was carried out in a geographical area with a majority Kikuyu ethnic language speakers presents some limitations in making generalization when the results have to be generalized to audiences with distinctly different social and cultural characteristics.

Making generalizations or comparisons upon the study's findings in relation to other vernacular stations whose target audiences may have completely

different social values, cultural experiences and media orientations may not be very applicable. The audience targeted by Kameme FM has particular socio-cultural experience and demographic characteristics. In a fast evolving media environment where the media audience is getting more stratified by the day, care should be taken in drawing generalizations across the FM broadcasting context. Nevertheless, this study gives us the perspectives necessary to understand a cross-section of the factors that attract audiences to vernacular radio – be they urban, rural or urban based; or, lower, middle or upper class.

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND GENERATION OF RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of radio dates back to the 1880s when Henrich Hertz discovered the science of wireless communication. Guglielmo Marconi used the knowledge to transmit wireless signals across the Atlantic in 1901, thereby marking the birth of radio transmission. The technology was not extensively used until the onset of the First World War (1914 – 1918). By 1920 there was enough interest in radio broadcasting in the United States to warrant the establishment of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA).

The power of radio at the time, in an environment of little competition in mass media communication was indisputable. The world encyclopedia of indisputable communications notes:

"Radio was the medium transmitting sound through electromagnetic waves.

Evolving during the first quarter of the century amid disputes over its proper use it became during the second quarter of the century the most ubiquitous mass communication medium ever known. It's offerings ranged from entertainment to news, education, advertising and political communication... while radio grew as a news medium it also grew as a dramatic medium. By 1938 Wells and his Murray Theatre Company dramatized H.G. Wells 'the War of the Worlds'. Radio was acknowledged as a powerful social influence"!

International Encyclopedia of Communication, Oxford University Press Vol 3 1989 (p 419)

The availability of inexpensive technology gave it a leap in developing countries as well. The discovery of the transistor by Nobel Laureate, Dr. William Shockley, which made the radio a portable medium, boosted the popularity of the radio. In Kenya, KBC started its own AM broadcast in 1928. In many parts of the world, radio has served as a link with population centers and played a significant role in cultural transmission, social change and development.

Due to its influence in society issues of control, access and benefits have reverberated throughout the history of the radio and to date dictates the agenda of the international telecommunication policy.

FM broadcasting did not appear until 1933 when pioneer Edwin Armstrong made successful tests of FM signals from the Empire State building, New York. In 1941, Armstrong broadcast FM signals from his New Jersey station for up to 300 miles. FM broadcasting has since caught on and passed AM broadcasting in popularity due to its sound quality advantage – stereophonic sound transmission. Unlike the AM signal the FM signal operates free of unwanted static and noise.

"FM has always maintained an advantage over AM in that it would provide multi-channel (stereo) performance. That is how FM grew and it is really how FM maintains its present market position; Stereo broadcasting has grown in popularity. The reproduction of quality music with added dimensions of space and depth similar to having the orchestra in your living room has been the main distinction between stereo FM and AM broadcasting". (Bittner 1980)

In Kenya today, scores of stations are already on air (Table 1). Of these, only six are AM while the rest, including Kameme FM, broadcast on FM-stereo. The only limitation to FM broadcasting is that it covers limited geographical area and requires heavy transmission investment to expand its reach. This however does not make it any less of a medium of mass communication.

3.2 SOME FACTORS AFFECTING DEVELOPMENT OF MASS MEDIA IN KENYA

Various communications and media scholars have studied some of the factors that directly or indirectly affect the development of media in a country like Kenya. When placed in our context these factors also help explain some of the circumstances that influence the development of radio broadcasting in Kenya. Leading Media Scholars Lavine and Wackman (1988) isolate the following factors as some of the most influential ones in determining the performance of a mass medium.

i. Competition

Regulation and entry of players into the industry has a bearing on the opportunities available for a medium to exploit. It also has a bearing on the competition for the advertising revenue available. Profits are critical to the survival and development of any medium and with increased competition media firms must continually seek new ways to earn more money (income streams) and new ways to improve efficiency if they are to maintain high profit levels. Print and electronic media advertising, including vernacular radio

broadcasting has affected the development of Kameme FM and its ability to develop and expand.

ii. Regulation and control

A country like the United States of America has the Federal Communication Commission (FCC), while Kenya has the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK). Every country has its own broadcasting regulatory framework. The operating space that regulatory agencies give media houses has a bearing on the development of mass media. The allocation of broadcast frequencies and licensing of new entrants are both functions of government regulation agencies. In Kenya, the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) plays this vital role. The regulatory framework available for use by the CCK determines the operations of a station like Kameme FM. The effects of industry regulatory agencies such as the Media Regulation board also affect the operations and development of a media channel. Social and legal regulation has affected the operations of Kameme FM some way as more broadcasters have been licensed to eat into the channels niche of Kikuyu vernacular broadcasting.

iii. Technology

Technology advancement in the production, distribution and reception of media products also have an effect on the development of media. Media players who are able to invest in technologically advanced systems have a better reach and superior product to sell. The FM stereo signal is by itself a superior media product compared to the AM signal of yester years. A media firms ability in making capital investments in technology for instance in

transmission hardware components enjoys competitive advantage. How does Kameme FM fare in this respect in relation to other FM stations?

iv. Ownership

Current trends show ownership concentration on single powerful conglomerates. In East Africa, the Nation Media Group is leading the way in Television and radio broadcasting, including internet broadcasting. It boasts of print media ownership in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. This kind of ownership that offers cross-media tie-ins and synergistic support to the big players, leaves single media players in a comparatively disadvantaged position.

v. Economic Environment

The financial performance of a country has a bearing on the ability of the economy to support a given media. The target population must be financially able to purchase the media product being offered by the media organization.

Advertising revenue should also be adequate to meet the fiduciary needs of the organization. If the general economic environment in which a media organization is operating is slack, then the organization is not likely to survive and flourish.

vi. Management

While most communications scholars are in agreement on the important function that the above factors play in influencing development of media,

Bittner (1980) adds social and management dimensions. Discussing media development he says, "All Secondary Organizations affect these institutions and include programme sources, support industries, technical services, audience measurement services and management services" (p22) Programme sources

include networks such as CBC, ABC, BBC while support industries refer to materials providers and advertising agencies. The issue of availability of management services that can enable a media organization to produce professional programmes and operate efficiently is an important factor to explore. In this respect, if the organization is professionally structured and managed, than it is likely to be more successful.

3.3 RADIO USE IN REGION

1

In the developing countries and in Africa in particular, radio has continued to be been used as the principal tool of mass communication. Radio has been used to introduce social change and new innovations and practices in various sectors such as education, agriculture and health. Development communications has relied on radio as an effective medium to reach vast geographical areas with development messages. A variety of communications studies have confirmed the power of mass communication in social and community development. A study by Rogers (1974) shows communication variables to correlate significantly with development variables. Mbindyo (1985) saw mass media as a significant stimulator and accelerator of national development and singled out radio as the most important one:

"To achieve any meaningful, and effective mobilization and participation the rural people must have access to means of communication" (Mbindyo 1985).

Mbindyo found that radio was most accessible then (86%) and that it was the best source of information pertaining to the improvement of welfare. This is because radio covered large geographical areas, was more accessible and overcame the illiteracy barrier. A 1998 PANOS study of community radio in Africa confirmed this finding:

"Radio is the most accessible mass medium of communication in use. It is particularly effective in communities where most people cannot read or write but can speak and listen" (Bonin and Opuku – Mensah 1998).

Radio like other mass media has been noted for carrying messages from the capital centers to the periphery with limited feedback from the communities.

Kenya was one of the pioneering countries with FM stereo broadcasting in the region with the launch of KBCs Metro FM in June 1996. In September 1996, Capital FM followed. Kameme FM was launched in February 2000 as the first vernacular station, joining a field of five other FM stations using the national languages of English and Kiswahili. Kameme FM was a novelty that attracted a following of 68% Kikuyu language speaking listeners and 32% non-Kikuyu speakers. FM broadcast stations may be broadly classified under thematic categories of commercial, public, vernacular and spiritual broadcasting. However, there are over-laps where one finds a station that is serving dual purposes such as vernacular and commercial, public and commercial or

religious and commercial, at the same time. In our case, Kameme FM falls under the category of vernacular –commercial broadcasting.

CURRENT FM BROADCASTING STATUS

1

Following the liberalization of the airwaves for broadcasting about 8 years ago various FM stations have been established and the licensing of new stations is continuing. Previously the national broadcaster, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), was the only local station in operation.

Currently, there are forty-six (46) private FM broadcasters with one hundred and forty five FM stations (145) countrywide. The majority of the private owned broadcasters are commercial oriented, while others are religious or community based.

From 1997 to 2003 the Government had licensed twenty-five (25) FM private broadcasters with eighty-six (86) stations. For the period 2004 to 2005, the Government licensed another twenty-one (21) FM broadcasters with fifty-nine stations. Majority have not as yet set up to start broadcasting. There is evidence of liberalization of airwaves with many broadcasting licenses having been given out in the last two years. (see table 1)

Table 1: Licensed Private Fm Broadcasters

PERIOD	FM BROADCASTERS	FM STATIONS	FM STATIONS ON AIR	FM STATIONS NOT ON AIR
1997-2003	25	86	67	19
2004-2005	21	59	6	53
Current total	46	145	73	72

Source: communications Commission of Kenya

It is however note worthy that the majority of broadcasters being commercial oriented tend to concentrate their services in areas where they consider investment in broadcasting hardware to be commercially viable and return on investment is guaranteed.

The National broadcaster (KBC) has a nationwide coverage with about thirty (30) FM stations majority of them being on air, according to CCK statistics.

Table 2: Frequency Allocations For Private Radio Broadcasters In Kenya

OPERATION AREA	FREQUENCY
Nairobi	26
Mombasa	22
Kisumu	12
Nakuru	16
Nyeri	12
Meru	13
Eldoret	6
Timboroa	10
Webuye /	4
Kapenguria	3
Lodwar	3
Voi	8

Kibwezi	4	
Machakos	5	
Kitui	4	
Kisii	8	
Narok	7	
Maralal	1	
Malindi	8	
Lamu	2	
Garissa	6	
Marsabit	1	
Wajir	4	
Mandera	1	

Source: Communications Commission of Kenya

3.4 KAMEME FM

Launched in February 2000, Kameme FM is operated by Regional Reach, a privately owned and managed media company that specializes in rural media broadcasting. The stations stated mission is "To operate Kenya's most entertaining and dynamic FM radio station with a uniquely Kenyan flavour" with the slogan "The People's Station", and Kikuyu as the primary language of broadcast. The station targets Kikuyu speaking population resident in Nairobi, "greater Nairobi" area and Central and Eastern Provinces of Kenya. 65% of the targeted listeners are Kikuyu speakers totaling to 3.9 million in the Nairobi and greater Nairobi regions while 75% of the Central and Eastern Kenya region account for a target population of 3.8 million. The total reach is estimated at 6.7 million (Kenya media Diaries Quarter 1 2005). Kameme FM signal reports listeners from as far as Garssa in North Eastern and Loitokitok on the Kenya-Tanzania boarder. The station positions itself as the contemporary Kenyan radio station

that speaks to its listeners in their own language. In the words of the Group Media Manager, the station operates on community radio principles but with a commercial orientation. This essentially means that the station programming is designed to address a defined community's interests but also make profits for the proprietors. This is a unique blend from which the strengths of the station springs.

With a broadcasting menu that runs for 24 hours per day, programming is divided into 6 segments which include Kikuyu music (contemporaries and old hits), international hits, talk shows, topical issues (social, political, economic) educational and cultural programmes. In 2003, the station started a rebroadcasting partnership with BBC with respect to popular topical BBC radio productions. The station broadcasts its signal on FM stereo from the center of Nairobi city.

Various media research analysis on Kameme FM shows that the station is receiving stiff competition from other Kikuyu vernacular stations Coro FM and Inooro FM. Inooro FM has taken over prime time listenership on some days in the principal broadcasting areas of Central and Mount Kenya regions. Of the 46% advertising revenue share that radio media claimed in 2004, Kameme FM accounted for 2%. Likewise Inooro FM, the main competitor of Kameme FM look 2%. In the first quarter of 200\$ Inooro FM performed better than Kameme FM, an indicator of changing trends and fortunes that should worry Kameme FM proprietors and management.

Targeting an audience that is primarily middle class (CI) and lower middle class (C2) and lower class (D) the station also attracts about 17% of the upper class (AB) bracket in Nairobi and greater Nairobi region (Steadman Media Monitoring Q3 2003). For a 'community' Station that primarily uses vernacular language this is a remarkable attraction worth some in-depth analysis.

Table 3: Advertisers Media Spend On Radio Media 2004

MEDIA	2004		
VILLE			
KISWAHILI SERVICE	2%		
Rize	0%		
ENGLISH SERVICE	0%		
	0%		
METRO FM	1%		
	0%		
REGIONAL SERVICE	0%		
	0%		
CAPITAL FM	5%		
	0%		
NATION FM	6%		
	0%		
106 EAST FM	6%		
	0%		
	0%		
KAMEME FM	2%		
	0%		
KISS FM	10%		
	0%		
CITIZEN FM	6%		
FAMILY FM	0%		
BARAKA FM	1%		
CORO FM	0%		
SAYARE FM	0%		
PULSE FM	0%		
SOUND ASIA	1%		
PWANI FM	0%		
KIE CHANNEL	0%		
INOORO FM	2%		
SHEKI FM	0%		
Y FM	0%		
RADIO WAUMINI	0%		
RAMOGI FM	2%		
TOTAL RADIO	46%		

Source: Steadman Media Research Services (2004)

Table 4: Main Spend	KAMEME	COR	INOORO	RAMOGI	EAST	SOUND
	FM	O FM	FM	FM	FM	ASIA
Beverages	768	0	4,652	774	289	1,330
Clothing, Fabrics & footware	0	0	5	275	63	174
Foods	1,196	117	1,451	3,796	17,730	3,578
Pharmaceuticals	6,508	0	4,006	9,334	1,029	663
Veterinary & Agric	198	0	2,837	903	526	512
Tobacco	13	0	43	909	0	0
Personal Care	653	0	0	199	440	0
Household	1,861	38	2,174	3,301	11,201	1,094
Office Equip & services	156	0	54	34	2,105	0
Transport	1,153	0	37	1,029	1,799	163
Financial & insurance services	3,141	0	4,182	1,462	8,764	134
Tourism & Entertainment	6,307	0	3,631	3,806	11,809	5,367
Publishing/ education / media	6,458	105	24,479	10,794	3,738	3,626
Corporate & Multibrand	2,650	195	13,053	8,531	8,561	3,144
Shopping places	733	0	1,439	1,568	3,277	2,604
Supplements & Congratulations	144	0	141	35	249	0
Communications	2,255	0	793	882	7,712	758
Totals	34,192	456	62,977	47,631	79,291	23,146
	2%	0%	3%	2%	4%	1%

Source: Steadman Media Research Services (2005)



3.5 AUDIENCE TYPOLOGIES

scholars of Mass Media have classified mass media audiences in various categories or typologies. For commercial mass media such as FM stations, the audience is viewed as "an aggregate of actual or potential consumers of media services and products with a known social, economic profile" (Mc Quail 1983). They view the audience as a market. Most media research studies using this approach describe the audiences in demographic or psychographic terms thereby narrowing our perspective of what factors contribute to the formulation of audiences.

Dennis Mc Quail (ibid) a leading scholar in audience studies evolved the concept of 'the duality of the audience' by exploring the audience types based on their origins. He saw audiences as either emanating from the needs of groups of people and the media responding to them and their media needs, or from what he called 'society as source'. He also discussed the other perspective where the audience is brought into being by "some innovation of technology or some completely new channel" (ibid p 288) or what he called "medium as source". Of the audiences where the society is source, he categorized the audience as either a social group (public); or as individuals with personal needs; or what he called (gratifications set). Where the audience is media based it may be viewed as an audience that likes a particular content (fan clubs) or they may be audience who just like the channel (medium channel audiences). Thus the audience typologies may be summarized as follows:

Table 5: Audience Typologies

1

Society as source	Media as source
1 Pre existing social group (public)	1. Content (fans or taste culture)
2 Personal need (gratification set)	2. Channel or medium audience

Source: Mc Quail 1983: A typology of Mass Media audience formation: different origins give rise to different concepts of audience.

These are audience typologies that communications scholars recognize as the main categories for audience studies. They are typologies that this study recognizes as they aptly apply to the media situation in Kenya especially with regard to radio broadcasting.

One other audience type that is becoming increasingly visible in the mass media today is the 'interactive' audience. This is a new type of audience that is using modern technology and interacting with the media channel in increasing frequency. It is an audience that has taken full use of emerging modern technology to continuously interact with the mass media by use of mobile telephony, short message services (sms) and the internet. This is an audience type that was completely absent in the traditional mass media structure as we have always known it. It is a unique new type of audience that various FM stations including Kameme FM are retaining as audience groups due to their interactivity. For the purpose of this study we have categorized this audience group as the 'interactive audience'

The typologies we will be referring to in this study therefore include:

- i. Social Group Audience
- ii. Gratification Set Audience
- iii. Content (fan group) Audience
- iv. Channel or Medium Audience
- v. Interactive Audience

3.5.1 The Social Group Audience:

Upon its launch Kameme FM targeted a particular group of listeners with specific demographic and psychographic characteristics besides a common language. This was an autonomous social group with a particular social cultural and political experience that made it distinct in identity, consciousness and attitudes. McQuail describes the social group audience as having "some normative ties between audience and media source and between members of the audience mutually". (ibid p 290). Moemeka (1980) who studied audiences in Nigeria and used similar typologies for the study, saw this group as being homogeneous, sharing similar interests, social, economic cultural and political experiences.

McQuail (1997) describes this category as a collectivity that has an independent existence and shares norms, values, social and cultural membership and identity. It is a group with a distinctive membership attachment and "even if a

local medium goes out of business, the local community that forms its audience will persist"

sometimes, this audience type forms around a particular public issue and it is an autonomous group or an active public to which the audience has specific responsibilities. It could for instance be formed by full and fair reporting of politics.

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One of the early realizations of African communications scholars was that mass media in the African context would best succeed in serving the rural communities if combined with interpersonal communications fora, which takes into account the cultural context. Moemeka (1981) arguing for the establishment of rural radio in Nigeria wrote, "Individual listening to programmes is not likely to elicit enthusiastic reaction from the rural man. Reinforcement from his neighbour and/or his village chief is needed to motivate and activate him to action. This is why some sort of group listening followed by discussion is necessary for the success of rural education through broadcasting" (Moemeka, 1980). Discussions with and reinforcement with neighbours on what is broadcast is one of the strengths inherent in the use of community radio. This is especially so when the community shares a common language. Other scholars have noted the need for combining the two modes of communication in the African community context. Radio broadcasting where listening is ideally not an

Dennis McQuail: Audjence Analysis Sage Publications 1997 p 29

individual but a communal affair probably ensures a wide audience for the FM stations.

The issue of proximity and relevance in content and language seems to have a bearing on the popularity of a particular medium. Closely related to proximity is the relevance of the content of the programming. In his study, Mbindyo found that the most sort after subjects were agriculture, health, marketing of local products, family planning and social issues.

The scholars advocating and arguing for the concept of community radio base their arguments on content relevance and proximity. And they are many.

In Africa, scholars view Media consumption as a social function where members share media content with one another. In the rural press study by Mbindyo (1985) it was found that "on average every reader shared the papers with 4 other persons, mostly friends and neighbours. In addition, messages carried by the rural newspaper were constantly transmitted by word of mouth" (Mbindyo, 1985). One observes that Radio is a medium, which is consumed communally at the family level. Listening may also take place in public places such as market places, restaurants and bars. The issues discussed may also be shared widely with other community members thereby transferring the content from the media channel to the interpersonal plane. In this way, radio may become not only a medium of message transmission but also a determinant of what the members

of a group discuss – thereby setting their agenda. This study was interested in determining if Kameme FM has such attributes.

Some communications theories help us understand and explain the audience behaviour with respect to the social group dynamics in media consumption.

The following paradigms help explain the social group category of audiences:

3.4.1.1 Selective Attention Paradigm

This is a theory that falls under the Limited Media Effects school of thought. Until the Katz and Lazersfelds studies of 'Personal Influence' in the 1940s and Joseph Klupper studies of the 1950s on media effects, mass media had been viewed as an awesome, all-powerful influence on people's lives having the 'bullet' effect. However the studies of these communications scholars introduced other social and psychological variables intervening in mass media effects. These studies showed that media operated in a nexus of mediating factors of social relationships and particular social and cultural contexts.

McGuire (1974) argues that people expose themselves to people and information that tends to agree with them on all-important issues. Their beliefs, strength of the belief and values are based on social meaning. Society therefore influences the information one tends to expose themselves to.

De Fleur and Ball Rokeach (1989) noted that social categories that one belongs to influences the media that they expose themselves to. Religious broadcasts,

they found, "hold no interest for secular audiences but are enthusiastically received by the devout". They also found that people who have deeply rooted social ties are more likely to attend to issues and topics that they know are of interest to their friends or families than to unrelated themes. Social relationships can even lead to attention to media content that the individual does not like. "Thus, the principle of selective attention is that cognitive structure, category membership and meaningful social linkages result in patterns of attention to media content linked to those factors," they conclude.

The concept of selective exposure, which postulates that audiences tend to expose themselves to messages that agree with their beliefs and perspectives emanated from these studies. It is a paradigm very closely associated with the concept of cognitive dissonance, which recognizes the tendency of people to avoid information that is at variance with their beliefs. The beliefs and perspectives of people, social scientists generally agree, are largely shaped by their surroundings and social experiences. Those that go against ones beliefs or the social beliefs and norms of a particular community cause dissonance and are therefore actively avoided. It is therefore not beyond reason to expect that there is social discussion and agreement with family, neighbours and other significant associates on what media someone should pay attention to. One also cannot ignore the fact that radio listening in many instances is a communal affair with many people listening to one set. This affects choice of channel.

Nnamdi (1995) in an analysis of media use in Nigeria found that peer listening and viewing was more likely done with people who share demographic and psychographic characteristics. He found that co-listening is a salient factor in listening habits and programme selection.

3.4.1.2 Agenda Setting Theory

This 1960s theory pioneered by Scholars Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw postulates that people desire media assistance to determine the meaning and importance of issues in their lives. They noted: "The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling them what to think about".

This theory is closely related to the concept of social group audience. From its programme presentation the radio channel brings out the issues it deems important for the listeners. From the presentation, style and content choice the medium also takes a position and influences how the audience should think about a particular issue. The agenda that the media sets can be a 'turn-on' or a 'turn-off' for the audience. It is therefore of interest to find out how stratified the audience feels with respect to the issues and relevance of the issues (that the station covers) in the lives of the audience. Further, does the audience think that the channel normally sets the right agenda by producing pertinent programmes for them? One presomes that if the channel meets the expectations of the audience on the issues it considers important, then they would have reason to keep tuning to the channel.

3.4.1.3 Two Step Flow Theory

Katz and Lazersfeld (1955) study that showed the role of informal human relationships in the use of mass communications pioneered this paradigm that showed the limited effects of mass media.

This theory helps to explain the importance of personal influence and informal social relationships and interpersonal communication in media use. The theory helps to explain how information is acquired in a social context and how its power of persuasion is influenced. This theory also explains how other people in our social environment influence our opinions on the media we use and what we think of the content. The concept of opinion leaders influencing our behaviour including our media consumption habits is best explained by this theory.

This study endeavours to find out if use of informal human groups and opinion leaders indeed is a factor that currently influences the proliferation of the vernacular radio in our area of study.

3.5.2 The Gratification Set Audience

Unlike the social group category, which is based on distinct socio-demographic characteristics, the gratifications set is formed based on overlapping audience interests. Though the needs are individual they are homogenous over many people to shape, supply and demand. Some people may attend to particular

media to serve various needs such as getting practical information, diversion, gossip, entertainment, escapism and so on.

A convergence of interests forms a 'taste culture' to which the media responds. Lewis (1981) described this set as "an aggregate of similar content chosen by the same people." Where there is a fairly stable consistent structure of demand of particular media content then we may describe this as gratification set audience.

3.5.2.1 Uses and Gratifications Paradigm:

This is probably one of the most widely used theories in trying to explain the functions of media in our lives. It is based on the structural functionalist paradigm, which states that structures or institutions (such as media) remain useful and relevant in our lives due to the functions they play in our lives. When they have no function to play they cease being relevant and die away. In this way, society maintains its social equilibrium.

Early scholars such as Lazersfeld (Peoples Choice Studies 1944) Herzog (1944), Berelson (1954) and Elihu Katz (1959) were the first communications scholars to bring the human motivations and psychological perspective into the study of mass media use. Before their contributions media was perceived as having hypodermic effects. These scholars saw media as serving particular needs in peoples lives in the area of:-

- a) Cognitive needs: To strengthen knowledge of immediate environment
- b) Affective needs: In pursuit of pleasure and entertainment
- C) Personal integrative needs: Building self confidence status and self esteem
- d) Social integrative needs: To integrate with family friends and community
- e) **Escapist needs:** Escape from the hard realities of life and from social tensions.

Later day scholars have recognized the needs in our lives that the media meets:

McQuail (1984) summarized these as including the following:

- a) Getting information and advise
- b) Reducing personal insecurity
- c) Learning about world and society (surveillance)
- d) Finding support for ones values (reinforcement)
- e) Gaining insight into ones life
- f) Experiencing empathy with others problems
- g) Having a basis for social contact
- h) Having a substitute for social contact
- i) Feeling connected with others
- j) Escaping from worries and problems
- k) Gaining entry into an imaginary world
- I) Filling time
- m) Experiencing emotional release

1

n) Acquiring a structure for daily routine

Other scholars such as McGuire (1974) came up with even longer listings of uses and gratifications of media in people's lives. An empirically derived typology of 'media-person interaction' by McQuail however summarizes the typology of needs as:

- i. Informational needs
- ii. Personal identity needs
- iii. Integration and social interaction needs
- iv. Entertainment needs

This is the typology that this study recognizes due to its empirical applicability.

McQuail also indicated the need for comparison between audience Gratifications Sought (GS) and Gratifications Obtained (GO). He notes that "where GO has a noticeably higher value than GS we are likely to be dealing with situations of high audience satisfaction and high ratings of appreciation and attention. The reverse pattern can also occur, providing clues to falling circulation, sales or ratings and channel switching". (McQuail, 1983).

This expectancy value model shows that where the audience has continuously obtained gratifications they sought from a given channel, then they are likely to keep on to that channel in the belief that their sought gratifications shall be obtained.

1

This study investigated the gratifications sought and gratifications obtained from Kameme FM channel to its audience.

A 1973 analysis by Jeffers also indicated a set of other media users categorized as non-seekers (those who do not seek given media but use what is available to them) and ritualized users (the non-serious users who use it as a habit to pass time). Nnamdi (1995) also found these categories in his study of media in Nigeria. This study did not ignore these categories, which could be significant in their numbers.

Other African scholars also agree on the importance of radio as a tool of surveillance in Africa. Moemeka (1980) noted that "The part which radio plays in transmission of information and culture is beyond question. Radio is the only medium of mass communication, which makes news of events and activities available to the widest possible audience in developing societies. In the performance of this task radio feeds the people with information about what was, what is and what is likely to be, thus making it possible for individuals and communities to re-adjust themselves in ways best suited to their situations".

In a study of the rural press in Kenya Mbindyo (1983) found out that audiences have various reasons for reading rural newspapers. These include: to get local news and events (67%); general information (40%); development education (30%); entertainment and sports (27%) cultural activities (8%).

Clearly, different people have different reasons for attending to particular media. It was of interest in this study to find out the media needs of Kameme FM isteners since this has a bearing on the popularity of the channel.

3.5.3 The Channel or Medium Audience:

This is the audience that identifies with the medium. We may call this audience the Kameme FM audience. These are "regular and attracted users of the medium concerned" (McQuail ibid). This type of audience is close to the idea of the typical mass audience in its classical definition – dispersed, heterogeneous with no social or organizational structures.

This audience is characterized by its subjective affinity and relative frequency or intensity of use of a particular medium. Media have fairly distinctive images. A particular medium can claim to have a particular definable audience especially for purposes of advertising and other campaigns. The audience for a medium is chosen not only on the basis of socio-economic characteristics, but with reference to typical content carried and the socio-cultural associations and context of the media behaviours observed. For instance the Kameme FM medium audience is the adult Kikuyu speaker of 24 – 45 years in either middle or lower social class. Over time, media audiences become stable with their own identity and awareness. Members are typically consumers of the media product and customers for the other products advertised or merchandized over the medium. This study investigates if the Kameme FM media audience goes beyond this target medium audience.

source credibility and media credibility affects how the audience perceives the medium and the message it carries. It could also influence how the audience feel and behave towards the medium. It would be a determinant of whether or not individual listeners identify themselves with the medium.

3.4.3.1 Community Radio Principles

One of the attractions of Kameme FM is that it operates under the principles of community radio. Many scholars have enumerated the advantages of community radio over public or commercial radio channels especially in developing countries. The concept of community radio recognizes that radio should meet not only the social but also the psychological needs of the target audience group. There is proximity in community radio. A PANOS study aptly summarized the concept of community radio:

"in its present form, it is media in which the communities participate as planners, producers and performers and it is the means of expression of the community rather than for the community... community radio can serve as a platform for debate, exchange of ideas and reactions to plans and projects. It can accommodate peoples ideas and satisfy their spiritual and psychological well being much better than any other form of broadcasting" (Bonin and Opuk Mensah, 1998)

Broadcast stations need to meet the spiritual and psychological needs of the audiences for them to retain a medium audience. They need to carry

programmes that the audiences feel meet their media needs and are happy to be associated with. How does a channel respond to this necessity? How does kameme FM determine its orientation, philosophy and programming? Upon launching, the station positioned itself as a station preserving language, culture and responding to the needs of the indigenous Kikuyu listener in the face of proliferation of Western cultures in the Kenyan media scene. How has the station responded to the dynamics of social change since 2000? How has it ensured it remains relevant and attractive to its channel audience?

The different types of radio broadcasting services have been classified into three. These include:

- i. The public broadcaster: a broadcast service provided by a statutory body, publicly owned such as KBC.
- ii. Commercial broadcaster: Privately owned service operated for profit, controlled privately by an independent commercial group.
- iii. Community broadcaster: Not for profit, owned and controlled by community under an association, trust or foundation. Is primarily set up and managed to meet community needs and aspirations.

Community radio is principally different from other broadcasters in that community participation is a prerequisite. Community is involved in policy formulation, station leadership station management and programming (Bonin and Opoku – Mensah 1998).

kameme FM fits into the commercial broadcasting category as it is run to attract advertising and make profits. However, the choice of Kikuyu as the principle language of broadcast, programme selection and the stated interest of the station in the resurgence of African cultural identity is a reflection of a station that embraces community radio principles. In its mission statement, the station vows to "identify with the values and aspirations of the Kenyan people and (shall) strive at all times to instill in ourselves and our listeners a sense of patriotism and guide in our culture and national heritage."

Though a commercial station, the community radio operation principles applied in the station management may be the source of loyalty behind the stations audience. In a study of use of local Radio in Nigeria Moemeka (1981) found that local radio failed because there was no contact between the producers and the listeners: "The social, political, economic and cultural situations of the people were not appreciated. They were in the community, not of the community." As a station operated on community radio principles one expects that Kameme FM is different. Activities that instill a sense of ownership and belongingness on the part of the audience may be important determinants of its acceptance and popularity. Activities such as audience consultation fora, volunteer groups and involvement in community service programmes are some of the activities that may influence this. The relevance of community radio in development is undisputed as it is seen to facilitate popular participation: "Community radio can serve as a platform for debate, exchange of ideas and reactions to plans and projects. It can accommodate peoples ideas and satisfy their spiritual and psychological well-being much better than any other form of broadcasting". (Moemeka ibid). The BBC acknowledges that these conditions are necessary for the successful operation of a local community station: "The strength of the local radio lies in the way it can relate to aspects of local life, for at its best, local radio is the community talking to itself."

Communications scholars in developing countries have advocated for community radio seeing it as a medium of preserving cultural identity in the face of globalization and advent of satellite communication, which propagate western music news and cultures.

The credibility of a station is important for it to retain its audience. Some of the important principles of journalism that need to be adhered to, so as to achieve this, include relevance of choice of subject; topicality; public significance of factualness; clarity; truthfulness; simplicity and logical fluency (Minkor 1980). Fink (1996) mentions these principles as prerequisites for the successful management of mass media organizations. The principles affect the character and image of the station.

requirements so that programme choices; type of music; prominence of news are determined by the audience tastes. For instance, some stations have dropped feature programming and increased output of music due to

BBC Handbook 1976 pg 202

competition from television. Audience research and habit and preference studies are important for successful audience capture. Is Kameme FMs programming all comprehensive to meet all target listeners media needs?

3.5.4 The fan group or taste culture audience:

This audience is based on the interest of the listeners on a particular content or programme or presenter, or even a particular cultural taste. The composition of this audience is known to change over time especially if content changes or the presenter leaves or programme ends.

Fan clubs may be based on programmes or individual presenters. The personality of the individual presenters may be the attraction.

McQuail categorizes this audience as a group of followers or fans for particular genres and types of content. These are similar to the audiences that particular films, books, stars or performers attract and accumulate over time.

Lewis (1992) defined fans as the extremely devoted followers of a media star or performer, performance, or text. Fans exhibit obsessive attachment to their object of attraction and show a strong sense of awareness and fellow feeling with other fans. Pattern of supplementary behaviour that may be observed involves particular dressing, speech and media use. Some media products even develop a cult following.

some scholars have viewed fan-doms as media creations for audience manipulation and exploitation. Fan-doms strengthen ties with the media and performers to help with publicity in order to make extra money from merchandising and other media spin-offs.

How many members of the Kameme FM audience subscribe to any existing fan club of the channel based on either programme or personality attractions?

The presenters and presentation styles affect the attractiveness of the medium.

Even in newspapers Mbindyo (1985) found that design was a major determinant of the use of rural newspapers in Kenya. The FM broadcast is stereophonic and a definite attraction compared to the AM monophonic broadcasts. However, FM radio still has to compete for audiences against other FM stations with similar sound quality and also television, which has the advantage of visuals.

The artistry and creativity of presentation has a lot of bearing on audience capture. Radio production specialist Miles Lee (1986) notes that radio functions at 3 levels of simple communication: conveying news and facts; substitution - making listener participate where they are not as in a soccer match and at the artistic level (artistic and creative aspect). Miles notes that the third level opens Up exciting possibilities for a special kind of artistic fulfillment on the part of the audience. This is how fan groups of programmes and presenters are born.

This study was therefore interested in finding out the popular programmes and presenters on the channel.

Aspinall (1971) noted the strength of personality in attracting radio audiences as including voice, mannerisms, identification with the listener, the things presenters say and how they say them.

"Attractive personalities give the station a personality of its own and help in holding audiences (p 21). Microphone personalities are arguably important factors in attracting audiences".

It is important to find out the genre or type of programmes that audiences identify closely with. Genres range from talk shows to discussions, education, drama, musical and other entertainment.

The analysis of this type of audience is guided by the modeling theory whose postulates are analyzed below.

3.5.4.1 Modelling Theory:

This theory was pioneered by Albert Bandura (1960) to explain how media acts as a socialization agent. He noted that media was a powerful influence to behaviour since audiences observe behaviour portrayed in visual or auditory media and try it out and ultimately adopt the modeled behaviour in a more or

permanent basis. Such behaviour becomes reinforced and habitual if there is some "reward" once that behaviour is performed.

The media becomes a source of social learning and modeling because it provides a ready source of models. Attitudes, emotional responses, new styles of conduct are acquired from media. Performing the behaviour of radio models brings relief, reward or satisfaction. Positive reinforcement from others increases the probability of one performing that behaviour another time.

De Fleur and Rokeach assert that mass media are a major source of learning of patterned social expectations about the social organization of specific groups in modern society. From media people can learn expected roles of various professions and the positive or negative sanctions that accompany each.

Though fan-dom is associated with lack of logical explanation mass culture, mass behaviour and mindlessness, resulting in bizarre behaviour, the phenomenon could still be a force that has a strong bearing on the proliferation of the medium under study. It is not lost to observation that some fan-doms are based sorely on 'salaams clubs' in various channels in this country.

3.5.5 The Interactive audience:

With technological advancement and use of computer-based systems the element of delayed feedback in the typical communication model, has been virtually eliminated.

The use of mobile telephony which is widely available in the geographical areas covered by the station helps in speeding up feedback and interactivity.

The media user can now influence the process of message preparation thereby reducing the power of gatekeeper or the media manager in message construction. The audience has indeed acquired some control of the information environment. As McQuail (1983) points out, "The pattern of flow and use of informational and cultural services is in the process of shifting from 'allocutory' to 'consultative' and 'conversational' types". 1 How true is this of Kameme FM?

This is a new audience type different from the typical audience type of the classical mass media communications model, emanating from the technological advancements of the last few decades.

Where the audience is active and having direct influence on the content of the media, they are incorporated in constructing meanings on the basis of some form of negotiation.

There is therefore negotiated media influence. This paradigm shows that people in audiences construct for themselves their own social reality in interaction with symbolic constructions of the media. The approach allows for both the power

Dennis McQuail; 1983

of media and of the people to choose with a terrain of continuous negotiation between. This approach presumes that a channel that allows popular audience participation is likely to attract and retain interactive audiences.

The BBC (1976) in advocating for local community radio broadcasting notes that previous radio broadcasts were geared towards information while current radio trends are geared towards communication, which denotes sharing, discussing and interactivity.

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while this may not yet be a major factor of influence on Kameme FM, one notes that some channels are already broadcasting on the internet. One also realizes that Kameme FM is expanding its horizons and audience base and is cobroadcasting some current affairs programmes produced by BBC. With such trends there may be reason for Kameme FM to go the internet way. It is a possibility that this study does not ignore due to its potential possibilities. Is there an audience type in Kameme FM formed on the basis of the interactivity of the channel?.

BBC Handbook 1976

4.0 HYPOTHESES

This study was exploratory in many respects. A lot of the literature available is not specific to the mass media of FM radio stations. Most of the studies available on the audiences of radio were carried out in the developed countries. Most studies are not specific to the dynamics of FM radio but on radio in general. However, from the available literature the following hypotheses were formulated to guide this study and for empirical testing. Carrying out empirical testing on them, knowledge on the factors influencing the proliferation of vernacular radio stations come to light.

Hypothesis I: On Social Group Audience:

That: Social groups in the community influence radio listening choices amongst the audience.

Hypothesis II: On Gratification Set Audience

That: The programming of Kameme FM meets the media gratification needs of the Kameme FM audience.

Hypothesis III: On the Channel or Medium Audience

That Kameme FM channel is managed on community radio principles thereby serving the media needs of the audience

Hypothesis IV: On Fan Group / Taste Culture Audience

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That: The programming and presentation styles of Kameme FM forms audience groups with definite membership.

Hypothesis V: On the Interactive Audience

That: The Kameme FM audience uses modern interactive technology to participate in the programming and presentation of the station.

Operational Definition of Terms and concepts used

Vernacular Radio: A radio station that uses a local ethnic language as its primary medium of broadcasting.

Audience: A group of people who are targeted by radio broadcasts who receive the signal.

FM radio: Transmission of sound signals by frequency modulation characterized by clear, noise and static free sound quality, usually stereophonic sound quality.

AM radio: Transmission of sound signals through amplitude modulation technology. Covers long distances, usually monophonic sound quality.

Mass Audience: The total number of people reached by a broadcast signal from a given mass medium.

Audience Reach: The number of people who are reached by the signal of the medium and who actively or passively pay attention to the messages.

Greater Nairobi: Areas adjacent to and surrounding Nairobi city such as Athi River, Ngong and Kiambu District.

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5.0 METHODOLOGY

5.1 Research Design

the study used three approaches to obtain both primary and secondary data for the purpose of analysis and derivations. These methods were literature review, qualitative and quantitative approaches. Various techniques were utilized while carrying out the research with the objective of ensuring non-biasness in the data received.

The literature review was a useful source of information used for conceptual framework and generation of study hypotheses; documentary materials such as books, media monitoring reports and journals were reviewed. These documents were available in libraries, the internet and in media research and monitoring agencies.

The quantitative phase

The quantitative survey method was employed in the study area to collect empirical data from the audiences of Kameme FM. Questionnaires were administered on the sample that was randomly chosen to ensure validity and reliability.

The qualitative phase

The qualitative phase employed the use of Key Informant Interviews (KII) and Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The main aim of these two methods was to

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provide insight and complement any gaps that would emerge from the avantitative survey.

Focus Group Discussions

The FGDs were carried out in the two locations of Ndeiya and Limuru respectively. The discussions were carried out with various groups representing different audience groups on the bases of sex, education levels, age, social group and Kameme Listernership. At the initial stage of the study schedule, training was conducted for the supervisors and recruiters to ensure they understood the objectives of the study in order to get the desired target group respondents.

The Key Informant Interviews

while information from the data collected from both the FGDs and the quantitative phase were expected to show the association or relationships between the various variables, these may not amount to logical explanations. The study therefore went a step further and carried out key informant interviews with a cross section of stakeholders in the broadcasting industry. These included officials with authoritative information and insights from Kameme FM, the CCK regulatory and licensing office and Ramogi FM, another vernacular radio broadcaster. These were used to provide insights into the factors that affect the development of media channels among them revenue generation, technological requirements, competition and so on.

5.2 SAMPLING

while this study was an evaluation of a media channel with a considerably large reach, it was also constrained in its coverage by limited time and financial resources. Every effort however was made to ensure that the study sample was as representative as possible.

Purposive random sampling method was used in the survey. Locations, sub locations and residential localities were randomly sampled using probability proportionate to population size (PPPS) technique. This enabled the survey to capture the heterogeneous nature of respondents and the diverse shades of opinions among the people.

The sampling frame was developed using the Kenya Population and Housing Census, 1999. It formed the core tool for determining the number of interviews per location because of its reliability. A filter question on Kameme listernership was applied to ensure the survey got a wealth of information from the core listeners.

5.2.1 The Universe

Unfortunately, there are no certain audience figures of Kameme FM. All FM radio stations depend on estimates. From their estimates at launch in 2000, the station estimated that it would reach the Kikuyu speaking population resident in Nairobi, greater Nairobi area, central and Eastern provinces of Kenya.

With the population of Nairobi and greater Nairobi being approximately 6 Million, and 65% of these being Kikuyu speakers there is a population of 3.9 Million potential listeners in this area.

An additional 2.8 Million reached in the Central and Eastern provinces gives a potential reach of a total of 6.7 Million. With a relatively strong Kikuyu broadcast competitor in Inooro FM, taking an equal share of advertising revenue in 2004 (2%) and Coro FM in a weaker position (less than 1%), it would be fair to assume that the current share of Kameme FM audience peaks at about 3 Million. This figure will remain our presumed universe for the purpose of this study.

5.2.2 The Sampling Frame

Using the universally accepted fraction of 1 in 5,000, we would have a fairly valid and representative sample if we reach a sample size of 300 respondents.

Kameme FM does not necessarily target only kikuyu speaking audience. It also but targets the middle and low class consumer of either sex of between 25 – 44 years. The social class definitions applied were developed from the conventional socio-economic class definitions used by market research companies in Kenya.

5.2.3 The Sample Area

Considering that the key broadcast regions of Kameme FM are Nairobi, Greater Nairobi, Central and Eastern Provinces, with same spill over into some districts in the Rift Valley and North Eastern Kenya, areas within and around these regions would be most suitable for the study. The study therefore sampled Kiambu district, which is predominantly Kikuyu speaking and has two divisions Ndeiya and Limuru that exhibit rural and urban characteristics respectively. The administrative division of Ndeiya whose economic activities consists of farming and livestock keeping represented the rural cluster while Limuru division represented the more urban populace.

5.2.4 The target respondent

Since Kameme FM broadcasts targets middle and low class consumers commonly defined, as social class C-D E, in choosing the households the study ensured that the socio economic demographics of the respondents are put into consideration. These included;

- CI Middle class: Junior/middle managers/foremen, senior clerks, senior supervisors, qualified technicians (e.g. laboratory/nursing), owners or managers of medium-sized farms, non-graduate (P1, S1) teacher.
- C2 Lower middle class: Skilled manual workers (e.g. mechanics, carpenters), part-time qualified technicians (e.g. laboratory/nursing), nongraduate (P2, P3) or untrained teachers, junior clerks, owners of small farms

- D Lower class: Semi-skilled/partly-trained/manual workers (e.g. apprentice mechanic), house-servants, waiters/stewards, shop assistants, forestry workers, game-scouts, owners of small plots who sell some produce.
- E Loser, lower class: casual workers in the rural areas.

The stratification further took into consideration the income levels of the respondents to ensure both low-income and middle level consumers are represented. Households were therefore stratified between middle strata and low-income strata.

Materials used in construction of buildings were used to determine this (mud and tin houses – low income; brick and timber houses – middle income). This assumption was made upon realization that it was difficult to determine the socio-economic status of respondents since most were not willing to truthfully reveal their incomes.

All households that have an FM radio receiver and has Kameme FM listeners were eligible for selection. Even though Kameme targets the age bracket 25-44 the study undertook to sample respondents inclusive of age limit of 55 years to find out extent and penetration of the station among the target group.

180 respondents were randomly selected and interviewed in Ndeiya and 114 were interviewed in Limuru.

The sample was split proportional to population size in the areas below;

Table 6: Sampling Locations

	Population total	Percentage		Population total	Percentage
imuru Division	37102	%	Ndeiya Division	23708	%
imuru town	3160	9	Ndiuni	2364	10
amirithu	16048		Nderu	7808	33
sibirioni 	17894	48	Thigio Tiekunu	9921 3615	42 15

Considering that the Kenyan Urban/rural split population is about 33:67

Similar weights and other demographics were applied to the study sample. The tables below summaries the detailed actual sample structure.

Table 7: Sample Structures

Area	%	
Urban		39
Rural		61
Total	,	00
Age	%	
24- 25		25
26 -35		41
36-45		22
46 -55	\	12
Total	,	00

Sex	%
Male	50
Female	50
Total	100
Social class	%
BC1	15
C2	37
D	37
E	11
Total	100

Response levels

Since the target sample was being filtered by listernership and given the time limit of the exercise, a non-response rate of 3% was factored in the sample design, however the study managed to achieve a non-response rate of 2%, which is within the expected outcomes.

In total the survey achieved 294 interviews out of the targeted 300 interviews.

5.2.5 Sampling Technique

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The sampling technique used in the quantitative phase was stratified random sampling technique. The sample was distributed randomly proportionate to population density within the designated areas of study (Ndeiya and Limuru). The starting points within the sampling units were determined using grid references and maps and the random route from starting point applying the left hand rule was followed during the random selection of households.

Respondents were contacted at home and interviewed one in every fifth house to attain a random sample. Where a respondent was not available for the interview, a replacement was made on the sixth house, as recalls were not possible owing to the time limits.

5.3 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

In the quantitative phase questionnaires were administered face to face to the target respondents. The interviewers were trained thoroughly on instrument administration, interview techniques, procedures and skills, importance of the survey and research process. Experienced supervisors supervised the data collection exercise. The supervisors worked in turn with each interviewer to make sure that they were collecting accurate and useful information.

In the qualitative phase, experienced moderators were used to elicit information from the respondents. The participants were recruited according to the defined participant quotas mentioned above and the discussions held at a central point. One focus group discussion was held in Nderu market of Ndeiya while the other one was held in Limuru town.

5.4 DATA PROCESSING (Quantitative)

The data entry screen was prepared as early as possible. This was possible since the questionnaire had been finalized and was ready for administration. This saved time and enabled the data entry screen to be pre-tested using data from the dummy survey.

5.4.1 Data editing and entry

The supervisors checked all completed questionnaires and those with mistakes were referred back to the respective households for repeat interviews.

Experienced researchers coded correctly completed and checked data using a code sheet. The lead researcher double-checked 10 % of all coded data to ensure quality control.

Correctly coded questionnaires were entered into the computer using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, data entry module). Experienced data entry clerks entered the data into the computers. About 10 % of the correctly completed questionnaires were validated and consistency test done that ensured quality control.

4:4:2 Data analysis

This stage required dummy tables for implementation. The syntax for the analysis was prepared early before the completion of data capture. This enabled production of tables rapidly after the completion of data cleaning and validation. The data analyst then ran the frequencies and cross-tabulations by demographics in SPSS.

5.5 DATA PROCESSING (Qualitative)

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS (FGDs)

rwo-focus discussion groups were conducted one in each of the two divisions.

Participants were selected from the households within the study area and had the demographic attributes of the audience that Kameme FM radio targets.

Since the audiences needed to be as representative as possible, the two groups had representatives from the age, sex and social status of Kameme FM listeners.

One person was used as a moderator while another one took notes of the proceedings. The moderator guided the discussions with questions that helped give the general populations perceptions about Kameme FM.

Some of the guiding questions for the focus group discussions included:

- i. Why do most Kameme FM listeners tune to the station?
- ii. Does Kameme FM satisfy the needs of the listeners?
- iii. What are the relative strengths and what are the weaknesses of the station?
- iv. Do you think Kameme FM has a future?

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These discussions assisted in the analysis and discussion of the results.

The recorded proceedings of the FGDs were, transcribed and analysed following the steps summarized below:

- Initially the moderator categorised the findings in grid format for the two groups.
- The findings were recorded according to the key areas of interest using the key information areas of interest.
- The findings were then synthesised to identify consistencies in arguments and similarities in the two groups.
- Interpretation then was done based on the findings in a bid to address the study objectives

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS (KIIs)

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Stakeholders in the radio broadcasting industry were interviewed to get insights into the trends and dynamics of current radio broadcasting in the country.

Media managers from vernacular and religious broadcasting sectors representing the wide spectrum of broadcasters were interviewed.

The media manager from Kameme FM was specifically targeted as he held most of the information relating to the station. Some of the issues discussed included:

- The challenges of radio broadcasting in technical, social, cultural and economic terms;
- ii. The strengths and weaknesses of vernacular broadcasting;

iii. Current trends in FM radio broadcasting;

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iv. The future of vernacular broadcasting in Kenya

Others interviewed include the following important stakeholders:

- i. Communications commission of Kenya on policy issues
- ii. Media manager of Sauti ya Rehema (SAYARE) FM on general broadcasting issues.
- iii. Ramogi FM for comparative views on vernacular FM broadcasting.

Their interviews assisted in presentation and discussion of the survey results. The interviews also gave qualitative data on important parameters that affect development of radio broadcasting such as levels of competition, regularion and licensing, technological challenges, the economic environment and critical management issues in vernacular broadcasting. Their insights have been extensively used in the data discussions and interpretation section.

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6.0 PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF

FINDINGS

6.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF AUDIENCE

A total of 294 respondents were interviewed in the field survey. The following are the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the individual respondents.

Table 8: Frequency Distribution of Respondents by Sex

1

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	148	50.3
Female	146	49.7

In its target audience profile, Kameme FM proclaims to target male and female audiences alike. The respondents interviewed had to have listened to Kameme programmes in the previous 7 days and it would seem both men and women listen to the channel in equal frequency, with a slight bias towards male listeners (50.3%).

Interviews and FGDs suggested that the programme content of Kameme FM was not designed for a particular gender but is fit for listening by both male and female listeners.

table 9: Distribution of Respondents by Social Class

Social Class	Frequency	Percentage
B1, C1	43	15
C2	108	37
D	110	37
E	33	11

while the channel targets lower and middle classes, it has also managed to attract a good section of upper class listeners (15%). The station however remains predominantly a lower and middle class station, with these classes accounting for about three quarters of its audience (74%). It would seem the station is living true to its target.

Table 10: Distribution of Respondents by Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
24 – 35	193	65.7
36 – 45	64	21.8
46 – 55	32	10.9
56 and over	4	1.4

The Kameme FM target is the adult male and female from age 24 to 54. It however seems that amongst the age categories the most ardent listeners are in the age bracket of 24 – 35. These are younger adults who are less traditional than the older categories and probably more outward looking. Kameme FM being a vernacular station seems to attract a relatively young audience.

table 11: Distribution of Respondents by Education Level

Level of education	Frequency	Percentage
No formal	9	3
Primary	95	32
Secondary	101	35
High school	25	9
College and over	64	22

of the Kameme listeners have had some primary or secondary education. This is in keeping with the social status of the target Kameme listeners. It is however not lost to the study that 22% of the listeners had over high school education and had attained college or university education. This is a significant percentage that the station can blow its horn about to advertisers. FGDs and KII intelligence suggested that the stations attraction to high social status segments is due to the educational and informational programmes that Kameme carries especially in medicine, business and social fields. Keeping a surveillance of what the general populations (the middle and lower classes). Views are about some issues for the high social class makes them tune to Kameme FM especially for call-in programmes and social and political debate programmes.

Table 12: Distribution of Respondents by Employment status

Туре	Frequency	Percentage
Formal	102	35
Informal	192	65

Kameme FM is a station that attracts a cross-section of listeners who are in formal employment as well as informal employment including trades such as teachers, businessmen, farmers, accountants etc.

In the formal employment cadre, professions range from teachers to nurses and lawyers. This is a pointer to the station being obliged to meet a wide cross-section of listener needs in its programming. It also shows that the channel has managed to attract and retain listeners with not only reasonably high education levels, but also those enjoying a relatively well regarded social status. This is a major strength for the station.

Table 13: Distribution of Respondent by Household Income

Income Level	Frequency	Percentage
0 - 1,000	5	2
1001 – 5,000	114	40
5,001 – 10,000	98	34
10,001 - 20,000	31	11
20,001 - 30,000	15	5
30,001 - 50,000	10	4
50,001 and over	4	1
Don't know	10	3

A significant number of Kameme FM listeners earn between one to ten thousand shillings. The median score for the incomes is six thousand shillings this is an income bracket for the middle and lower middle class bracket.

The majority of respondents (40%) fall on the one to five thousand range which is a lower class income (C2). 34% fall on the five to ten thousand range which is a middle class (C1) income.

A significant percentage of the respondents (20%) also earn a considerably high income especially for a rural audience. Kameme FM therefore has an attractive catchment to sell to potential advertisers as it attracts audiences across the board – from lower class right up to the upper middle class.

Table 14: Audiences of Radio Station Preferences

Stations	Frequency	Percentage
Kameme	190	65
Inooro	26	9
Coro	19	7
Metro	14	5
Citizen	10	3
Kiss FM	10	3
Easy	9	3
KBC	8	3
Capital	3	1
Classic	1	0
Норе	1	0
	N= 294	99

Those interviewed had to be frequent (at least weekly) listeners of Kameme programmes. 65% of those interviewed prefer listening to Kameme as their first priority station, while the other 35% listen to other stations primarily and Kameme FM secondarily. The biggest competitor for these audiences is Inooro FM, another Kikuyu vernacular station (9%) followed by Coro, Kikuyu vernacular too,

(7%). Vernacular stations are the preferred stations accounting for 81% cumulatively.

The threat from the other Kikuyu vernacular stations is real with a significant audience already preferring the new stations inspite of Kameme FM having been the leader till the two stepped into the picture in June 2001 (Coro) and 2003 (Inooro) respectively.

Table 15: Audience Proficiency in Kikuyu language

Language	Frequency	Percentage
Kikuyu	258	88
Other	36	12

Though 98% of those interviewed were of Kikuyu ethnic extraction, some were not proficient in the Kikuyu language. Indeed some were tuning to the station in an effort to improve their Kikuyu language comprehension and proficiency.

Many respondents from the focus group discussions indicated that they use the radio as a language-learning tool. Inspite of the fact that the station primarily targets a Kikuyu speaking audience there is a reasonable (12%) audience segment that does not understand the language yet tunes to the station frequently. They tune in not so much for the information but for the language learning and entertainment; 'I am not a kikuyu but I work here and live here and also understand the language so I listen to Kameme because it has good programmes like. The counseling one', one of the participants commented.

table 16: Ethnicity of Audience

Ethnic Group	Frequency	Percentage
Kikuyu	288	98
Other	6	2

Of those interviewed, only 6% were not Kikuyu and yet were frequent listeners to Kameme FM. This is not surprising bearing in mind that the study was carried out in a predominantly Kikuyu language speaking area.

6.2 KAMEME FM SOCIAL GROUP AUDIENCE

One of the objectives of this study was to establish whether or not Kameme FM has a social group audience in its audience population. The social group audience is principally a collectivity that shares norms, values, social and cultural membership and identity. This is a group that shares much as a social group and is relatively permanent in nature.

In social group audience analysis reinforcement about what one listens to from ones neighbour would be expected of the listener. Indeed Moemeka (1980) found that the African listener preferred to listen to radio in a group setting.

The findings of this study however show that the radio listening habits do not necessarily conform to what one would strictly call 'social group listening'.

table 17: Respondents Radio Listening Habits

Situation	Frequency	Percentage
Own house	258	88
Car	15	5
Neighbours	15	5
Others	6	2
	= 294	

The study indicated that 95% of respondents own their own radios. Of these, 88% listen to the radio in their own houses while another 5% listened to the radio alone in their own vehicles. This gives them control of the station they choose to listen to without any group pressure to conform to a given group station preference.

Only 5% have to depend on other people's radio and may therefore not have any control of the radio station they may choose to listen to. Overall, the choice of station listened to by the audience is largely a personal decision and not a group decision. The largest percentage (93%) of Kameme FM listeners tune to the station of their own free choice as they have full control of the radio set.

Other radio listening places include shopping centers, matatus and places of work or business premises. These accounted for only 2%. Those who use any group listening such as a neighbourhood radio are only 5%.

Reasons advanced for listening toradio with the neighbors (5%) included reasons such as being together most of the time, (44%) and so as to discuss together (2%). Some respondents found it more enjoyable in group listing (11%)

while others found the need for sharing and discussions to enhance understanding (3%).

some respondents indicated that listening is more enjoyable and interesting with neighbours especially when they are peers.

Table 18: Audiences Radio Listening Contexts

Listening context	Frequency	Percentage
Alone	117	38
Family	139	47
Other Group	38	15

Listening habits are largely determined by personal prevailing circumstances and the programming schedule. For those 38% of the respondents who lived alone the radio was primarily used to keep them company. However, the large proportion of the audience listens as a family (47%). Indeed Kameme FM can be described as a family radio station as most respondents felt comfortable with the stations programmes describing them as fit for all ages and for family listening.

It is also interesting to note that even if 95% of the respondents own a radio set, most of them (47%) prefer listening to the radio as a family and 15% in form of other groups such as neighbours/ friends groups. Group listening therefore accounts for 62% in listening contexts.

Of these however, the largest percentage is the family group and not the social group. The social group listening accounts for only 15%. The family hence remains the most significant institution or group that radio media content is shared with first hand.

The other significant listening habit is solo listening accounting for 47%. This is probably, due to high levels of radio sets ownership and a large channel selection. It would seem that affordable technology and a large competition in the offering available in FM radio broadcasting has led to further atomization and stratification of audiences even in rural and peri-urban Kenya.

Discussions Emanating from Social Group Listening.

Table 16 below shows the frequency of various subjects discussed by the audiences after listening to radio broadcasts on the same issues.

Table 19: Issues discussed by respondents in the last one month

Issue	Frequency	Percent
Politics	55	33
Constitutional	52	31
referendum		
Social and cultural issues	20	12
Entertainment	8	5
Miracle babies	7	4
Religious issues	6	4
Humorous presentations	5	3
Economy issues /	4	2
Others	10	6

Of the 53% respondents who listened in group contexts, the most widely discussed topics emanating from the radio were issues to do with topical social issues and politics. At the time of field study, the constitutional review referendum debate occupied the top agenda as the single most discussed agenda by the listeners (31%). General political issues accounted for another 33%. In general political discourse accounted for 64% of all issues discussed.

Other issues emanating from radio programming and which the respondents discussed included socio-cultural issues such as marriage and abortion (12%); entertainment issues (5%); miracle babies (4%); religion (4%); humorous episodes (3%) and the economy (2%).

The station therefore sets much of the social discourse agenda especially in areas of politics and social issues.

Radio listening in social groups ensures more permanent and loyal audiences.

Group members in a social group listening context may be pressured to conform to the groups liking in terms of station or programmes choices.

Formulation of social group for radio listening ensures wide audiences base and retention of the same.

These kinds of group audiences ensure relevance and proximity in programme content and language. It ensures that media use is a social function. A channel that is able to respond to these social group needs is more likely to keep such audience groups tuning to their station and programmes.

High levels of radio ownership (95%) and the atomization of audiences from high competition of radio channels has practically turned radio from a communal mass media (except at the family level) into an individual affair.

Even in cases where the people listen individually few follow this up with any social group discussions. Of the 294 respondents, 126 of them (43%) indicated that they never held any form of discussions with significant others on topical issues that had been discussed on radio.

Theoretical implication

The media consumption behaviour whereby social group listening is reduced considerably and few discussions emanate from the broadcast content is a new occurrence in media consumption patterns. It is a departure from the radio consumption patterns observed by most communications scholars especially from Africa. It is also an indication of reduced influence of radio in determining the community's agenda for social discourse. The agenda setting theory postulates that even if the media does not dictate how society should think, it provides the agenda for social discourse. The findings of this study show limited applicability of this theory in our present media situation.

Reinforcement of media content through social group discussions is felt through the group or community. The fact that a lot of media content does not seem to be transferred to the social plane for interpersonal communication indicates

limited media influence. The applicability of two-step flow paradigm is also limited in this sense. It is a pointer to the radio being of less social influence in this community as it may have been before the onset of the myriad FM stations.

Communications scholars (Mc Guire, De Fleur, Ball Rokeach) agree that people tend to expose themselves to information that agrees with their beliefs and that the social categories that one belongs to influences the media they expose themselves to. The individual radio listening habit that is fast becoming the norm indicates less influence of social and cultural factors in influencing media consumption behaviour. It is a trend for communications scholars to watch and monitor closely as it has a bearing on the much-touted social group audience types for our mass media. This reality seems to be changing in the present times. We can safely conclude that the social structures of peer groups, neighbour-hood groups, opinion leaders and other informal groups do not have much influence on the development and proliferation of Kameme vernacular radio in the area of study. Radio media consumption is not largely a social group phenomenon but also an individual habit.

Listener Programme Preferences

Programming is a very crucial determinant of audience attention and loyalty.

Programmes determine not only the character of the stations but also the satisfaction levels of the audience. A satisfied audience is one that receives the desired programmes. Table 17 indicates the audiences programme

Preferences from the current Kameme FM programme menu.

table 20: Distribution of Audience Programme Preferences

Title of programme	Type of programme	Frequency	Percentage
Arahuka	Entertainment	73	25
News	Information	46	16
Canjamuka	Entertainment	21	7
Kihenjo	Entertainment	18	6
Mix down Reggae	Entertainment	17	6
Gospel count down	Religious	14	5
Mugithi	Entertainment	12	4
Kameme country	Entertainment	13	4
Tibwirika	Entertainment	10	3
Kwigarura Kiroho	Religious	10	3
Therera	Entertainment	7	2
Mila za Kikuyu	Education	7	2
Development hour	Education	6	2
Funeral Announcement	Information	6	2
Kameme debate	Information	5	2
Auntie Tabby	Education	5	2
Githingithia	Entertainment	5	2
Music	Entertainment	5	2
Kameme doctor	Education	3	1
Salaams	Entertainment	3	1
Others	General	6	2
		N=294	100%

Clearly the most preferred or desired kind of programming by the audience is entertainment. Musical entertainment alone accounts for 70% of the preferred type of programmes. The other type of entertainment that the audience prefers is dramatized presentations which accounts for 2% and salaams 1%. Musical presentations are the most preferred programmes. The types of music presentations are also varied and the most popular remains the Kikuyu current hits presentations (including current Kikuyu craze, Mugithi) accounting for 42%. Other types of music namely reggae, soul and country account for 10%. In total entertainment programming is preferred by 63% of listeners.

Other preferences in programming include informational programmes such as news, debates and announcements (20%); educational programmes such as

Mila za Kikuyu, Development hour, Aunty Tabby and Kameme Doctor (7%);

Religious spiritual programmes such as Gospel music and Kwigarura Kiroho (8%).

In summary, the following are the programme types and the sought aratifications they meet in the audience.

Table 21: Distribution of Programme Type and Gratification met

Need Met	Programme Type	Frequency	Percentage
Affective	Entertainment	184	62
Personal integrative	Religious	21	8
Cognitive	Educational	21	8
Social Integrative	Informational	63	20
Escapist diversion orientation	Entertainment	5	2
(Dramatized) presentations			

The gratifications sought by Kameme FM audiences and the gratifications obtained through the Kameme FM programme is clear. Those listeners in need of entertainment have a good share of entertainment programming on Kameme FM. As far as the audience informational needs go 20% feel content. Similarly 8% of the audiences seeking personal integrative needs and personal integrative needs do get it from Kameme FM. Only 2% obtain escapist gratification from Kameme FM. It is a channel that tends to deal mostly with serious, factual programming on top of a variety of entertainment programming.

The study also sought to see if the audiences were satisfied with the type of programming offered by Kameme FM. Table 19 shows the audiences satisfaction with various types of programmes.

Table 22: Audience Preferences by Type of Programme

Туре	Frequency	Percentage
Entertainment	149	66
Medical Education	48	21
Political Information	12	5
Cultural Education	8	4
General Education	4	1
Others	68	3
Don't know	61	

When asked to rate the preferred programme types, entertainment programming was still leading by 66%. The other programming areas that the respondents felt Kameme FM covered well-included medical education (21%), politics (5%), cultural education (4%) and general educational programmes (2%).

Although a significant number of respondents (23%) did not provide data on their preferred programme types, in the general area of entertainment and education, the audience needs are considerably well catered for and the audiences expressed their satisfaction in these areas of programming.

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1able 23: Audience Satisfaction Levels in Kameme programming

Level	Frequency	Percentage	
very satisfied	234	80	
somewhat satisfied	44	15	
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	15	5	
somewhat dissatisfied	1	0	
very dissatisfied	0	0	

The level of satisfaction of Kameme FM audience is considerably high. 80% is quite satisfied with the programming while 15% has some reservations. Only 5% is dissatisfied with the high competition for audiences in this genre of programming. This audience segment is likely to find programming that is more suited to their tastes in other radio stations. The alternatives are available in both vernacular and other language broadcasts. It is an audience that Kameme FM is likely not to retain.

One of the reasons advanced repeatedly for dissatisfaction is more of a technology rather than a programming weakness. In the area of study the Kameme FM signal was relatively weak and unclear compared to other Kikuyu channels and other language channels broadcasting in the area. Though most respondents royally stuck to Kameme FM, they expressed their frustrations of a weak and sometimes disappearing signal.

table 24: Audience Satisfaction Levels by Programme Types

programme type	Very Satisfied – Percentage	Somewhat Satisfied – Percentage	Neither Satisfied nor dissatisfied Percentage	Dissatisfied Percentage	Very Dissatisfied Percentage
Entertainment	80	15	5	0	0
Education	54	35	11	0	0
Agriculture	31	34	32	1	1
Medical	36	29	33	2	1
Political	57	25	16	2	0
Cultural	52	26	20	2	
Religious	60	23	17	2	1
Sports	36	30	29	2	4
Others	77	22	0	0	0

Satisfaction levels in Kameme FM audience is greatest in entertainment (80%). The other programme areas showing a relatively satisfied audience are in the coverage of religious issues (60%), politics (57%), education (54%) and culture (52%).

The satisfaction levels however are not total. A good percentage of listeners feel 'somewhat satisfied' or 'neither satisfied nor dissatisfied'. The significance of this is that it shows an audience that will most likely be tempted to look for more satisfaction in other radio channels. Sports enthusiasts (with only 36% of them satisfied) are more likely to tune to other channels for sports news and updates.

Other programme areas that the station needs to improve on include coverage on educational programming (agriculture and medicine). It would seem that even though the station uses psychographic studies to monitor audience

Programme needs those needs have not been adequately addressed in some

Program areas. Further, community radio programming principles recommend

programmes that are prepared with the audience needs and cultural experiences in mind. Clearly, one channel may not address all the audiences needs satisfactorily as some Kameme FM listeners are not satisfied in some areas. More audience segmentation is required and more focused and responsive programming should be designed for each segments needs.

6.3 KAMEME FM GRATIFICATION SET AUDIENCE

The gratification set audience forms in society because the media responds to the needs of the existing social groups or individual member's interests. The media response to these needs and interest forms the gratification set audience. The satisfaction levels of a group on an aggregate of similar content indicate either a strong or weak gratification set audience. We can thus conclude that Kameme FM channel commands a respectable entertainment gratified audience (80%). We can also say that it has audiences in religious content (60%), political content (57%), education (54%) and cultural content (52%) that is considerably satisfied and may not tune to other channels in search of gratification in these areas of programming.

Overall using Mc Quails categorization of media needs and gratifications we can gauge the channels performance in the following areas:

i. Informational needs: In politics and education programming the station scores slightly above average. However in cognitive needs areas like education and medical information some improvement is required.

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- ii. Personal Identity needs: In the areas of culture and religion, the score is above average. Improvement is required in these areas so as to retain audiences.
- iii. Interaction and social interaction needs: In the area of social surveillance the score is also above average with politics and culture scoring above 50%. Improvement is needed in this area as well.
- iv. Entertainment needs: In the area of entertainment Kameme FM programming scores very highly in ratings and appreciation. The station meets the affective needs of their audiences quite adequately in this regard.

Gratifications obtained are higher than gratifications sought in the programme areas where the station scores more than 50%. In these given areas the station can claim high audience satisfaction and high ratings of appreciation and attention. The expectancy value model which postulates that where the audience continues to obtain gratifications, are likely to keep on to that channel should guide media managers on the retention of gratification set audiences, such as these.

Media managers should continuously try to meet the media needs of audiences. It is in this respect that Kameme FM should continue researching on their audience programming needs and respond to them. This is in line with the community radio concept which the channel has adopted as a principle guide in scheduling its programmes.

Key informant interviews with Ramogi FM media managers confirms that continuous audience needs research and responding to those needs is the key to meeting audience needs and retaining them as audiences. They too have had to adopt this approach to ensure that audiences are not grabbed by the emerging competition.

Table 25: Perceived Strengths in Types of Kameme FM programmes

Programme Type	Very Strong Percentage	Somewhat strong – Percentage	Neither Strong nor Weak – Percentage	Somewhat Weak – percentage	Very Weak - percentage	Total
Entertainment	79	16	5	1	0	100
Education	54	34	12	0	0	100
Agriculture	32	37	32	0	0	100
Medical	35	32	31	2	0	100
Political	55	29	14	2	0	100
Cultural	48	29	21	2	0	100
Religious	53	30	17	0	0	100
Sports	37	30	27	3	2	100
Other	67	22	11	0	0	100

Table 19 emphasizes the results shown in table 18 and underscores the areas that the audience feels Kameme FM is relatively weak on. As McQuail (1983) noted when gratifications sought is higher than gratifications obtained it may result in falling circulation, sales or ratings and channel switching.

The weaknesses in the programming areas of agriculture, medicine, sports and culture could cost Kameme FM audience numbers unless remedial measures are taken urgently. New entrants into the radio broadcasting industry can also

capitalize on these weakness areas and create a niche broadcasting area for themselves thereby taking audiences away from Kameme rather permanently.

some of the audience's suggestions for improved programming included advocacy for more educational programmes especially on agriculture, business and new farming methods, profiles on experts and interviews with 'famous people'.

They also suggested better programme organization where more time is given to educational programmes at the right time of day. While this study was not aimed at evaluating Kameme FM programming per se, there seems to be need for more focused and informative audience needs studies to guide programming. This could be the determining factor between gratification met audience retention, or audience flight.

6.4 KAMEME FM CHANNEL AUDIENCE

Where the audience likes the channel and identifies with it and its programmes, then we may talk of the existence of a channel audience. The target Kameme FM channel audience is the Kikuyu speaking adult of between 24 – 45 years in the middle or lower social class.

The socio-demographic profiles show us that the primary Kameme FM audience is indeed in this socio-economic bracket. However, the channel has attracted

audiences beyond this socio demographic profile with 10% of the sample aged 45 years and above selecting Kameme FM as their first priority radio station Feelings of affinity for and identity with the station is however very low. An audience that feels strongly attached to the station would be actively involved in the affairs of the station. They would be in constant contact with the station, thereby forming the 'channel audience'. Table 23 shows the frequency of interaction of audiences with the station.

Table 26: Audience Interaction rate with station

Duration	Frequency	Percentage	
Daily	2	1	
Weekly	24	8	
Monthly	11	4	
Rarely	18	6	
Never	221	75	
No answer	18	6	
	N= 294	100%	

Clearly the frequency of the audience interaction with the station, and the rate of interaction is very low. Only about 8% of the audience interacted with the station on a weekly basis. Over 75% never ever bothered to interact with the station in any way.

The concept of community radio where the audience is actively involved in the running of the station is the model that Kameme FM has adopted as its operation model. This approach is meant to ensure that the audience perceive themselves as part of the station in ownership and programming. Low level of

interaction between the audience and the station indicates low perception of ownership and programming.

While this may have been the case at the launch of the station in 2000 when the station was the only Kikuyu FM private commercial vernacular broadcaster, the situation seems to be markedly different at present.

Indeed the rate of interaction between the station and its audience is very low with only 19% of the audience bothering to communicate with the station at all.

75% of the audience has never even bothered to communicate with the station.

This suggests very low affinity or identity with the station in an area, which is primarily Kikuyu, which the station targets.

There are reasons for this – one being the mode of communication available to the audiences. Focus Group Discussions indicated that the ultimate dream of many a fan is to have face-to-face interaction with Kameme FM presenters and managers. However, they would be content interacting with the station by telephone (62%), SMS (27%), email (4%) or by letter (2%). Face to face interaction is preferred as it is immediate and also presents possibilities of being on air for the audience.

The participants also felt that there is lack of facilitation of dialogue between the station and the audiences: "I would like to communicate with them but we do

not have their numbers and sometimes they announce the numbers so fast you miss it out" some participants commented.

Yet another reason for the audience not interacting with the station is that it does not make much difference besides being expensive. Telephone calls and SMS being the preferred and most efficient modes of communication are considered expensive. Further of the 19% who bothered to interact with the station, only 66% of them had their contributions used. This was in either sending salaams, suggestions for programme content or making contributions in debate programmes.

This is a very low rate of audience participation that has served as a discouraging factor in listener participation in the face of community radio principles.

This was considered such a disincentive that 45% of the audience did not plan to engage in any form of interaction with the station in future. Some of the reasons given for not bothering include lack of money for telephone expenses; perceived disinterest of the station in audience suggestions; and not knowing how to go about it. To overcome this barrier, the audience suggested more communication channels being opened by the station especially through arrangement of outside broadcasting programmes and opening of Kameme FM offices in key audience towns such as Limuru.

The audiences gave reasons for wanting to interact with the station. These included reasons like – to congratulate them; inform them of emergencies and news; give comments on programmes; make requests so as to feel as part of the station; to be heard on radio and interact with presenters. The audience felt that there were not enough structures for them to interact with the station and the presenters. Table 27 shows the audience membership to Kameme FM fan clubs.

Table 27: Audience Membership to Fan Clubs

Club	Frequency	Percentage
Salaams clubs	13	4
Goat eating club	4	1
Programme Participants	4	1
None	273	94

The few who belong to some fan club and are active participants expressed fulfillment with the membership. Some of the reasons for this include their feeling as part of the station; their ability to discuss issues with station and presenters; and generally feeling useful and influential. The suggested improvements for interaction with the station included opening up of agency offices in the nearest town center. The office would serve as a link between the station and audience where they can go to communicate with the station, buy cards, make suggestions, call the station and arrange for presenters tours to their division. They also suggested appointment of point people in particular villages to serve as regional, geographical links with the station. The respondents felt that with this kind of arrangement they would feel that they truly 'own' the station.

6.5 THE FAN GROUP OR TASTE CULTURE AUDIENCE

Closely related to the channel audience is the fan group or taste culture audience. This audience group is formed on the basis of the interest or affinity of the audience to a given programme or presenter. The composition of this audience is based on the personality of the individual presenter. This audience group is based on the audience accumulation of a star performer over time – the same way a film star or theatre performer accumulates devoted admirers over time. This study set out to find out if Kameme FM presenters have managed to create or build any form of fan-dom. Table 23 shows the affinity and preferences of Kameme FM listeners to the station's presenters.

Table 28: Audience Presenter Preferences

Presenter	Frequency	Percentage
1. Njogu wa Njoroge	73	27
2. Gathoni wa Mucomba	37	14
3. Njoki wa Ndegwa	35	13
4. Wanjiru wa Chege	28	`10
5. Karugu wa Thungwa	11	4
6. Wanyoike	11	4
7. Las Jonas	9	3
8. Mike Ruwa	8	3
9. Muturi wa Mwiri	7	3
10. Githingithia	7	3
11. Waniiku Kibe	6	2
12. Wairimu	5	2
13. Man Saimo	5	2
14. Kiratu Shoe	4	2
15. Aunty Tabby	4	2
16. Others	24	8
17. Don't know Z	20	7

Fan-Doms are known to strengthen ties with a given medium and it helps in publicity in order to attract advertising from media spin-offs. It is for this reason that stations use presenters as star attractions for channel or customer publicity and promotion events. The mere presence of a star presenter can be a crowd puller.

The highest rated presenter is highly rated by 27% of the audience. This is a remarkable affinity considering the heterogeneity of the audience. It is also notable that only three presenters can boast of some form of high audience following of over 10%. One presenter who had already moved to the competition, Gathoni wa Mucomba, was still considered a station star by a record 14% of the audience and was rated as the second best station presenter. This points to a need for the channel to develop and promote other presenters to such star status.

The reasons that audiences like particular presenters leading to the formation of fan-doms include the presentation styles and attractiveness of particular presenters. Those who followed particular programmes such as news or medical or agricultural programmes were fans because they considered the presenters or the station to be credible. Indeed one of the strengths Kameme FM was credited for was fair balanced reporting without biases especially in sociopolitically sensitive issues. Presenters such as Auntie Tabby and the 'Radio Doctor' were considered credible and knowledgeable personalities who commanded a following for this reason. One relatively well educated

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respondent in the high socio-economic status level continued to listen to

Kameme Doctor programme because she got a solution for her mothers long
term ailment from the programme. She considers the programme most credible
and educational.

One criticism that resonated throughout the FGDs was the need for Kameme FM to develop 'lively' presenters. Some of the presenters were considered dull especially when compared to the competition. Listeners develop a level of affinity to certain presenters and when they are poached by other stations they take with them a portion of the audience. "We want our presenters back" some guipped.

Another major complaint about Kameme FM presentation was the stations signal quality. At times, the signal was reported to fade out completely. Other times it seemed to have been 'swallowed' by the stronger signal from the competition - especially Coro FM and Inooro FM which broadcast in Kikuyu.

In FM stereo broadcasting signal clarity is an essential factor in audience pull because of the attractiveness of the signal especially in entertainment or musical programmes.

The artistic fulfillment of audiences in Kameme FM was considered wanting. The respondents suggested improvement in microphone personalities including

voice, mannerisms and identification with listeners. Microphone personalities need to be developed and promoted to audiences.

The audiences also indicated their preference for all broadcasts to be in Kikuyu language. The issue of audience identity with the station was emphasized in the FGDs. While the audiences welcome coverage of issues beyond their ethnic, cultural and geographical borders they insist that the presentations be left to their own Kikuyu speaking presenters whom they can easily identify with.

Besides, the preferences in programme type, the audiences consider presentation to be a major factor in determining their attention to a given channel. And presentation language is a major source of pride and identity for the audiences.

The performance of Kameme FM presenters eventually determines the potential influence of the station as a social modeling tool. The attractiveness of the station, its programmes and presenters determines whether the station remains as a major influencing agent of opinion, attitudes, new styles and other social and cultural values learned from media. The fan group audience is therefore an audience segment that the media managers of any radio channel cannot ignore for its potential, long term effect on channel influence and subsequent affinity to advertisers. It is an audience segment that Kameme FM is not strong in which the station needs to consider with equal weight as other audience attraction factors.

6.6 THE KAMEME INTERACTIVE AUDIENCE

The significance of the interactive audience is its ability to use modern technology making the traditional role of the media person as gatekeeper virtually irrelevant. Modern technology including the internet (e-mail) and mobile telephone technology should ideally empower the audience to be a full participant in the mass media communication process. Under the circumstances one expects that, as McQuail would put it, the pattern of flow of information shifts from allocutory to consultative and conversational types.

This study reveals little interaction between the audience and Kameme FM channel. It is probably too early in the development of interactive media in this country to be able to isolate an interactive audience type as being a major audience for Kameme FM. Table 26 show the audience interaction with Kameme FM presenters

Table 29: Audience interaction with station

Interaction	Frequency	Percent
Yes	48	16
No	240	82
No answer	6	2

Only 16% of the audience had any form of interaction with the station. 16% interaction from an audience that primarily uses mobile telephone technology and where other means of modern technology such as the internet are inaccessible is a reasonable score at any rate.

The mean income of majority of the audience is a lowly KShs. 6,500 per month. The majority of the audience (60%) falls within the lower class socio-economic status bracket.

For such an audience to interact with the station, it takes not only great determination but also some economic sacrifice on their part. Mobile telephone technology, which majority of the audience use for interacting with the stations is not an easily affordable technology by any standards. The internet (e-mail) is mostly available in the urban centres (Limuru town in our case) and many people can not manipulate the technology and use it for communication. Inspite of these handicaps a whole 17% of the audience made an effort to interact with the station. As technology becomes more accessible and affordable many more people may turn out to be 'interactive media audience' types. It could be one major audience type for communications scholars to monitor in future.

Interactive audience would best be built and sustained through internet. Broadcasting. Internet broadcasting for Kameme FM is a possibility – But still a distant possibility. The interactive audience can be built once it is technologically empowered to interact with the station. So far it has not been possible due to economic constraints. The potential however is real though it is subject to economic empowerment. The audience has demonstrated much desire to interact with station and be part of it. It yearns to interact with the station but even the mobile phone and SMS is beyond the reach of most. The station should do all possible to build an interactive audience based on what it can afford in the present economic circumstances. Face to face interaction through presenter-listener get togethers are viable options.

6.7 OTHER PERTINENT FACTORS INFLUENCING THE PROLIFERATION AND

DEVELOPMENT OF KAMEME FM

There are other factors that were not under the direct investigation of this study but which the key informant interviews singled out as some factors that affect the development path of a radio station like Kameme FM. They are relevant variables as they have a bearing on the development of a radio station and could affect the success or failure of a broadcast venture.

1. Broadcast Licensing: In the words of CCK broadcast licensing manager, licensing is still in the hands of the government's Ministry of Information and communications. All applications are passed through the Ministry before being passed to CCK with instructions. Licensing and allocation of frequency remains a government-vetted activity that can be used as a political tool. It can be used to reward those who support a given regime to the disadvantage of other players. A case in point is the case of Royal Media, which is considered supportive of the current regime. It has been allocated frequencies covering most of the country in effect dwarfing other earlier entrants. Kameme FM has suffered from competition offered by Royal Medias, Kikuyu vernacular channel, Inooro FM, which despite being a late entrant into the Kikuyu vernacular broadcast scene has more frequencies and wider coverage than Kameme FM. This is attributed to the political patronage it pays to the current regime. Due to the influence that radio plays in influencing the national thinking and agenda setting, issues of

control and access naturally arise in telecommunications licensing the world over. Kenya is not any different.

2. Technological Investment: Throughout the study respondents complained of the weak signal of Kameme FM in the geographical area of study. CCK confirms that the broadcast site of Kameme FM remains in Nairobi although it should be based in Limuru for clearer signal transmission. However, it takes millions of shillings in investment to acquire broadcast technology that can be placed in the recommended broadcast site of Limuru. The inability of Kameme FM to relocate its broadcast site to Limuru has subsequently affected its signal quality in the area. CCK confirms that a transmitter site currently costs no less than Kshs. 10 million. Cost-effective technological investment has also affected the station's plans to expand to other broadcasting areas that it desires. Ability to invest in transmission equipment is therefore a great determinant of the expansion and development of a radio station. While the government policy on ICT is currently liberal and accommodating, and a station may get the frequencies it requires, it still has to raise the necessary funds for investing in production and transmission equipment. The other way of distributing signals is through VSAT technology which is expensive and also requires licensing. An investor like Regional Reach may not be in a position to invest in this sort of expensive technology and be able to cost-effectively ran its station. Lack of capital for investment in broadcasting technology to cover larger geographical areas has affected the signal quality and reach of Kameme FM

3. **Broadcast Regulations:** Currently there is no broadcasting legislation and there is no code of ethics for the broadcasters to follow. CCK is not legally empowered to sanction the operations of licensed broadcasters. Some politically favoured players may engage in unfair practices that could leave others at a disadvantage. A case where Royal Media jammed the signals of Kiss FM and Classic FM was reported in 2004. A toothless CCK could do nothing to protect the mistreated under dog.

CCK confirms that once a permit has been issued there is no limit on the scope or content of the broadcast permitted. For instance, a channel dealing with meteorology can also decide to go into other areas of programming in any language of their choice. The regulations governing licensing clearly are wanting. A broadcast bill would also regulate media content and geographical spread in broadcasting. For instance, some licenses could condition broadcasters to air some 'social responsibility' programmes that empower listeners rather than entertaining through out. They could also be conditioned to cover some regions that are currently neglected because they do not have commercial value. Such regulations could open up such neglected areas and ensure there is no ethnic superiority feeling between communities. It eliminates the potential danger of using radio for narrow ethnic agenda. A regulatory broadcast bill will clearly affect the performance of a given media.

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- 4. Competition: Competition has had a major impact on the development of Kameme FM. The media Manager confirms that the station has had to cut on staff and open other lines of business such as Kikuyu language teaching to stay afloat. It also had to re-define its core target audience due to competition in the same line of business. The company has also had to re-engineer its approach to advertising so as to keep and attract new clients. The approach currently is to add value to marketing promotions by including interpersonal communications why popular presenters are actively involved in face to face marketing. It is no longer enough to 'sell' airtime to advertisers. The ability of a station to redefine itself and respond to a changing environment and market place will to a large extent determine the development of that medium.
- 5. Ownership: Media organizations that have more than one mass media channel have an advantage over others that depend solely on themselves for marketing and promotion. Nation Media Group is the leading media house with interest in multi media distribution, including television, radio, print and media distribution. Royal media, a direct competitor to Kameme FM, has interests in television, radio and has recently invested in print media (The Leader Weekly). With these kind of structures a competitor like Inooro FM has the advantage of cross-media tie-ins and synergistic support. Inooro is actively promoted on Citizen radio, Citizen television, the Leader Weekly and in other sister vernacular radio channels like Ramogi FM. This clearly places it at an advantage when it has to compete for audiences and

advertisers. Ownership of media in our current society where media ownership is continuously becoming multi-owned has a bearing on the performance and development of a given channel.

These are pertinent factors that came to the fore during this study. They are factors that warrant further examination in future studies.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was principally an exploratory study geared at providing insights into the dynamic development of FM vernacular radio broadcasting in Kenya. It was guided by five hypotheses on audience behaviour. These hypotheses underwent empirical testing through a survey that was supported by FGDs and KIIs. Finally the following conclusions can be drawn with respect to the objectives of the study.

7.1 CONCLUSIONS:

- 1.Socio –economic status of Kameme FM audience: The socio-economic status of Kameme FM listeners spreads from upper, through middle class to lower class individuals and families. The majority of Kameme FM listeners are however within the middle and lower class categories. The catchment of the channel goes beyond its primary target making it a channel listened to by all social classes.
- 2. The socio-demographic profile of Kameme Audience: The channels audience is primarily of Kikuyu ethnic extraction and language. However, the channel also attracts an audience that is not of Kikuyu ethnicity or language. This is testimony to the stations efforts to reach listeners beyond Kikuyu geographical and language borders. It also justifies the stations strategic plan to use more than just Kikuyu as the principal language of broadcast. This essentially gives the channel a larger audience catchment

than was originally envisioned at launch. It also cushions the station from competition and loss of Kikuyu language speaking audience by incorporating and targeting other language speaking groups. Swahili, English, Kamba, Kimeru, Kiembu are some of the other languages used for broadcasts to attract other secondary audiences.

- 3. Radio listening habits: Radio listening groups are rare and only seem strong at the family institution level. Other forms of social group listening are rare and few discussions emanating from topical radio broadcast issues are held. With radio ownership getting to as high as 94% in the adult population radio listening has increasingly become an individual affair. This is seen as reducing the mediums influence on social discourse in the community. Social group influence is not a primary factor in influencing the station that majority of adult audiences pay attention to.
- 4. Programme content of Kameme FM: Kameme FM programming meets most of the media needs of audiences in the areas of entertainment and education. It suffers some weakness in some programme areas such as education, information and sports. This is a weakness that, if not addressed could cost the station in audience attention and audience loyalty. Broadcasting in stereophonic sound the FM sound quality is of high fidelity. This may explain why entertainment is the most sought after type of programming while entertainment is the key sought after gratification the other needs of audiences should not be ignored as it can lead to audience and advertisers flight. In future, however, media channels may need to be more focused on niche broadcasting to satisfy their particular audiences.

- 5. Audience satisfaction levels on Kameme FM programmes: The audience of Kameme FM is satisfied in the specific areas of entertainment, religious broadcasting, political and cultural issues coverage. Educational programming in the area of agriculture, medicine, and informational programming in sports is however wanting. These weaknesses could cost the station in terms of audience members thereby affecting its attractiveness to audiences and advertisers. Addressing the particular media needs of the audiences is of paramount importance.
- 6. Radio Broadcasts gratifications sought and gratifications obtained: Some of the gratifications sought by the audiences have been largely obtained especially in the area of entertainment. The station meets most of the informational needs of majority of the audiences. Above average scores were noted in meeting personal identity and social interaction needs. The programme areas of cognitive needs and social interaction however need strengthening. Kameme FM has adopted community radio programming principles. This has contributed to the stations continued appeal inspite of growing competition. However, one notes that audience needs are wide and varied. There is no total gratification in any form of programming. As the case of Kameme has proved audience needs are dynamic and keep shifting. There is need for constant programme evaluation and designing of programmes that address the desired programmes. In future, it seems media channels will need to be more focussed on niche programming or broadcasting so that a channel specializes in either educational, informational or entertainment broadcasting. As it is, it is not possible to fully

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meet the media needs of all audiences through one channel even though they share some language, social or cultural backgrounds. The ability of a channel to meet the media needs of an audience clearly does affect its popularity and ability to retain audiences and advertisers.

- 7.**On channel or medium audience:** Kameme FM has increasingly tried to serve the target community's media needs. However due to the dynamism and changes in the social, political and cultural spheres the station $h_{\mbox{as}}$ continued to expand its audience population by broadcasting programmes that appeal to a wider audience. This has paid off with an $\operatorname{audien}_{\operatorname{Ce}}$ catchment transcending the originally targeted audience at the time of launch. It has also necessitated including non-Kikuyu programmes and creating time slots for a few hours of broadcasts in other languages such as Kimeru and Kikamba. It has also meant starting partnerships and sourcing programmes from other broadcasters such as BBC. The primary $audien_{Ce}$ welcomes the wider programme coverage but feel the Kikuyu language identity needs to be preserved in all programme presentations. There is still value in the audience being able to identify with and feel as part of the This is a tricky scenario that needs careful balancing as the station faces future competition and the need to encompass other $audien_{Ce}$ groups.
- 8.On presentation strengths: The presenters of Kameme FM are relatively good. However, listeners fealt that the station needs to re-engineer some presenters and improve on their presentation skills as some were considered dull. This would be expected to improve on the stations image and improve

its audience catchment through fan-dom, which assure audience loyalty. The station needs to start cultivating audiences based on programmes and presentation loyalties. Currently the station can not claim much of an audience based on this important audience type. It is an area that needs some concerted effort. As they say, a chain is as strong as its weakest link. A weakness in one area affects the performance of the whole station.

9. On audience - Station Interaction: There is little interaction between the station and its audience. The audience yearns for it and the channel needs to provide structures to facilitate interaction. Lack of economic means and access to technology to enable interaction has been the primary hindrance of interaction. Interaction between the station and its audience seems one sure way of holding the audiences due to the value placed on loyalty and identity. To date, inspite of the heavy competition that Kameme has faced, audiences continue to be loyal due to the cultural pioneering place that the station holds in their hearts. Some respondents viewed the recent entrants into Kikuyu vernacular broadcasting scene as 'copy cats'. However, inspite of this loyalty, the station must use all ways to retain its audience. With more people accessing mobile telephones, SMS, and the internet, interaction between the station and its target audience may be one sure way of wooing and retaining audiences. As it currently stands however, an interactive audience has not yet become a major audience type in vernacular radio broadcasting.

7.2: SOME AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study was principally an exploratory one. It has given insights into some emerging trends in FM Radio broadcasting. It has also left many unanswered and unexplored areas that future studies should try and answer. Some of the areas in need of more study include the following:

- i. Socio-demographic characteristics of vernacular radio listeners: This study showed that 66% of the listeners of Kameme FM are between the ages of 24 35. This is a considerably young age for a vernacular channel audience. What factors may be attracting such a young audience to this genre of broadcasting? How popular is radio as a medium to various age groups? These are areas that were not exhaustively examined by this study warranting further investigation.
- ii. Group Audiences: Traditional Radio listening trends, especially in Africa, have shown group listening as the most ideal and most popular form of media consumption. This study shows a shift in this media habit. What are the causes and effects of this in media as a force in social influence and social change. How widespread is this new trend and what does it point to with respect to the future of mass media? This is a change with a bearing on media effects studies that communications scholars need to explore further.
- iii. Audience media needs are becoming wide and satisfying the array of audience needs through one media channel seems a difficult task. What

should the ideal media use categorizations be in a situation where there is continuous fragmentation of audiences?

iv. Where audience needs are varied in terms of needs and gratifications it is not clear what type of media programming is most ideal for different audiences. For instance which are the best times for entertainment programmes, informational programmes, educational programmes, social debates etc? The times when various types of programmes are broadcast have a bearing on the popularity of those programmes amongst the various 'programme type' audiences.

While many other questions arise from this study, these are some that come out glaring and clearly warrant more investigation in future audience studies in this country and region.

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Map of Area of Study

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBLE EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION



Prepared by CBS: 1999 Population Census

This map is not an authority over administarive boundaries

Survey Questionnaire

STUDY: AUDIENCE ANALYSIS OF KAMEME FM RADIO QUESTIONNAIRE NO: ____ DIVISION: SUB LOCATION: ____ LOCATION: INTRODUCTION To potential respondent This is an academic survey being conducted by a student of School of Journalism, University of Nairobi. It's aim is to identify factors that influence use of Kameme FM in this division. The findings are for academic purposes only. All information gathered will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Your participation and cooperation is appreciated. Eligible Criteria Be 24 years and above i) ii) Should have listened to Kameme FM programmes in the last one week SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS 1. Sex Female -Male ! 2. Age bracket 36 – 45 56 and above Below 25 26 – 35 3. Education level attained University Tertiary ____ None Primary | Secondary 4. Religion Traditionalist Catholic [Atheist [Protestant 5. Employment status Non formal Formal [6. What is your occupation? 7. What is your approximate total monthly income? 0 - 10,00010,001 - 20,00020,001 - 30,00030.001 - 40.000 F 40.001 - 50.000 $\boxed{}$ 50.001 - 60.000 $\boxed{}$ 60,001 – 70,000 70,001 - 80,000

80,00	1 – 90,000 90,001 – 100,000	100,001 and over
	Ethnic group Cikuyu	Other (specify)
	inguage proficiency Kikuyu	Other (specify)
B. 1. Do	RADIO LISTENING BEHAVIOUR o you have a personal radio set?	

1	4,	
Yes 🔄		No 🗀

2.	2. Where do you normally listen to radio programmes?			
Ои	Own house Car Neighbours		Other (specify)	
3.	3. Which stations do you normally listen to in order of pri	ority?		
i)	i) iii)		V)	
ii)			vi)	
4.	4. How frequently do you listen to Kameme FM?			
Al	Always Everyday Onc	e per weel		Rarely -
5.	5. With whom do you normally listen to the radio?			
	Alone . Family	Othe	r group (specify)	
6.	6. Explain your reason for your listening habit.			
	•			
7.	7. Do you normally discuss issues raised on radio with a	nyone?	No 🔲	
	If yes, with whom?			
Fai	Family Neighbour	Socia	al group member	
ıaı	Taniny Neighbour	3001	ar group member	
8.	8. Which issues do you recall discussing in the last one r	nonth?		
C.	C. RADIO PROGRAMME PREFERENCES			
1.	1. In order of priority, which are your favourite program channel?	mes by tit	le on Kameme FM	
	i) iii)		(v)	
	ii) iv)		vi)	
2.	2. Which types of programmes do you prefer listening to of priority? (to be alternated with every respondent)	on Kame	me FM, in order	
	Programme type Ra	nking	Reason	
	i) Entertainment			
	ii) Educative			
	iii) Agricultural			
	iv) Medical			
	v) Political			
	vi) Cultural			
	vii) Religious			
	viii) Sports			
	ix)Other			

Why do you listen to the programmes mentioned above?
H. Control of the con

4. Are you satisfied with the programming of Kameme FM in the following types of programmes?

Type of programme	Very satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
i) Entertainment .					
ii) Educative					
iii) Agricultural					
iv) Medical					
v) Political					
vi) Cultural					
vii) Religious					
viii) Sports					
ix)Other					

D. ON GRATIFICATION SOUGHT/ GRATIFICATION MET

1. In which areas of programming do you feel Kameme FM is strong? (to explore)

Programme type	Very strong	Somewhat Strong	Neither strong nor weak	Somewhat Weak	Very weak
i) Entertainment					
ii) Education					
iii) Agriculture					
iv) Medical					
v) Political					
vi) Cultural					
vii) Religious					
viii) Sports					
ix)Other					

2. How satisfied are you on Kameme FM programming in the following programming areas?

Programme type	· Very satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Most dissatisfied
i) Entertainment	lo lo				
ii) Education					
iii) Agriculture					
iv) Medical					
v) Political					
vi) Cultural	2.4				
vii) Religious					<u> </u>
viii) Sports	4				
ix)Other /	16.				

3.	What kind of program	nmes would you like im	proved on the ch	nannel in order of prio	rity?
	i)		iii)	v)	
	ii)		iv)	vi)	
4.	Give reasons for you	r answer.			
		<u> </u>			
E.	PRESENTATI	ON TASTES / FAN CI	LUB GROUPS		
1.	Who is your favourit	e presenter on Kameme	FM in order of p	priority?	
			iii)		
	ii)		iv)		
	What do you like abo				
	i) ii)				
	iii)				
3.	Have you had any fo	rm of interaction with th	ne presenter?		
	Yes			No	
If ye	s, how	L			
Face	to face	Telephone	SMS =	e-mail	Other (specify)
4.	Do you belong to an	y fan club?			
	Yes			No 🗀	
	s, which fan club? ams club	Goat eating club	programme	participant	
5.	Do you find the fan o	lub satisfying?			
Very	fulfilling	Fulfilling	Not fulfillir	<u>u</u>	
5 a)	Give your reasons				
F.	LISTNER ANI	CHANNEL INTERA	CTION		
1.	How often do you co	mmunicate with the Kar	meme FM station	1?	
Dail	y Weekly	Mor	nthly	Rarely	
2.	What is your preferre	ed mode of communicat	ion?		
Lette	er e-mail	Telephone	□ SN	1S Other	(specify)

4. Wha	t was your subj	ect of communication?	
Salaams	Contri	bute on programme conter	Suggest on programme content
5. Have	e your contribut	tions been considered and	used by the station?
	Yes 🗀		No 🗀
If yes, Always		Many times	Rarely Never
6. Do y Yes	ou plan to start	or continue interacting wi	ith the station? No
Please gi	ve your reason		