Community Radio as Promoters of Youth Culture

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Abstract
Community media are usually understood as media that serve and belong to a community that produce content with a specific community in mind (Alumuku 2006; Carpentier, Lie and Servaes 2003; Downing 2001; Rennie 2006). Since 2006, three community radio stations have begun broadcasting in the slums of Nairobi that to a large extent both focus on and are produced by young people. Their content mixes entertainment with an educational focus in order to raise awareness about crucial topics. Involving young people in media production is believed to give youth a voice and an opportunity to gain professional skills and experience. In order to discuss the genuine potential for community radio stations to empower youth, it is necessary to engage with youth both as producers and consumers. Based on interviews and participant observations with youth working at these community radio stations, as well as group discussions with the young local audience, this chapter discusses: the benefits and drawbacks of working for the community radio stations; whether the young audience feels that the stations serve their needs; and if the focus on youth prevents the stations from properly catering for the needs of the entire community.

Keywords: radio, community media, youth culture, empowerment

Introduction
Sub-Saharan Africa is the ‘youngest’ region in the world: 28 percent of the population is aged between 12 and 24 years old (Fares and Garcia 2008: xvii). The political, economic, cultural and social changes of recent decades have challenged the traditional rite of passage from youth to adult (Diouf 2003: 2). Moreover, increased unemployment and a political culture that often excludes the youth force young people to find alternatives outside the establishment. Jobs in the informal economy or idleness are therefore common and, along with the
church and the street, popular culture has become a popular platform for young people to confront the reality that surrounds them. Kenyan hip hop addresses many of the social problems that affect young people, such as corruption, HIV/AIDS, unemployment, tribalism, poverty and ghetto life in general (Mwangi 2004; Barkley 2007).

The community radio stations that have operated in the slums of Nairobi since 2006 aim to provide residents, especially the youth, with a platform for debate, news and useful social information. Moreover, they aim to challenge the stigmatized image of the slum by providing non-stereotypical and more positive stories about life there, and to provide media training and job opportunities for young people in the neighbourhood.

This chapter describes the main aims of the community radio stations, focusing on the experiences of the youth who work for them; and explores the views of their audience on how they benefit from these stations. Finally, the chapter analyses whether these media projects serve the youth or whether they serve the entire community.

The study of community media and youth

In 2006, Koch FM started broadcasting in the Korogocho slum. The local youth initiated the project to improve the situation in Korogocho. The following year two more community radio stations started in the slums of Nairobi, Pamoja FM in Kibera and Ghetto FM in Majengo. The three radio stations share the same frequency, 99.9 FM, which is possible because of their restricted reach.

The empirical data presented in this chapter are based on a larger study conducted between 2007 and 2010, which consists of over 50 interviews with producers of community media and eight group interviews with youth aged 16 to 21 in secondary schools in Korogocho, the area in which Koch FM is based.

Kenyan youth and youth culture

Colonialism, capitalism, urbanization and the struggle for independence have all altered and contested the relationship between youth and elders and therefore changed what it means to be young in African societies (Argenti 2002; Burgess 2005). Paid work within the colonial bureaucracy became a way for young men to ascend the social hierarchy and attain social mobility and autonomy from their seniors (Burgess 2005: xii). The maturity process for men changed in colonial times from 'child; single man/warrior; labourer/married man/self-supporting adult; elder’ to ‘child; school; employment’ with a possible intermediate stage of higher education (de Waal 2002: 15). However, increased levels of unemployment, structural adjustment programmes and population growth have made the economic situation increasingly bleak for young people (Argenti 2002: 127).
In Kenya today, the average transition period between school and work is five years (Fares and Garcia 2008: xxviii). Youth are therefore dependent on themselves to create opportunities such as self-employment or entrepreneurial ventures (Fares and Garcia 2008: xxix) and are the major players in the growing informal economy (Boeck and Honwana 2005:1), which in Kenya is referred to as Jua Kali (Kagwanja 2005). Difficulties gaining steady employment, in either the formal or the informal economy, mean that progression from school to employment is once again challenged. Today, the reality for most young people in Africa is ‘school; ‘youth’; unknown’. Youth is therefore for many a time that is characterized by uncertainty, insecurity and idleness.

In order to combat youth unemployment the Kenyan government has initiated a number of programmes, such as the Youth Enterprise Development Fund (YEDF) and, most recently, the Kazi Kwa Vijana programme. Kazi Kwa Vijana was launched in 2009 and aimed to employ 200,000-300,000 Kenyans, mainly young people, by offering them job opportunities in their local community (Republic of Kenya 2010). The Kenyan government has been criticized for mismanaging Kazi Kwa Vijana funds and programmes such as these have had meager results.

Popular culture is often perceived as an arena where young people can confront and deal with issues relevant to them (Hall and Jefferson 1977). Youth in Kenya have limited access to political institutions and public spaces. The increasing number of media channels and cheaper media production technologies have boosted the production of popular culture in East Africa, making it increasingly accessible to underprivileged groups such as the poor urban youth (Englert 2008). Popular culture is therefore becoming an increasingly attractive public sphere for many young Kenyans as it offers a space where traditional values such as family constellations and gender roles can be negotiated, challenged, reaffirmed and reimagined (Frederiksen 2000).

Hip hop music and discussion programmes on FM stations, for example, have become platforms where controversial issues such as sexuality, gender roles, corruption and tribal tensions can be publicly discussed (Mwangi 2004; Barkley 2007). Popular culture and media content are therefore becoming important mechanisms for negotiating norms and values, and can be understood as a ‘force for the democratization of everyday life’ (Frederiksen 2000: 210) and as ‘breaking the culture of silence’ (Odhiambo 2007) as well as an increasingly important component of the identity project of Kenyan youth.

Community media

Community media are normally understood as media that produce content with a specific community in mind. What is meant when talking about a community depends on the specific context. There are at least two ways to understand community in relation to the media. Community can be conceptualized either in a spatial sense, such as a neighbourhood or a village, or in terms of an identity or
shared interest, such as the black community or the gay community (Downing 2001). Since the community radio stations that this chapter discusses operate in slums and are run by the people living there, a spatial definition is used. The spatial definition is also connected to their legal conditions, as their reach is restricted to a few kilometres. Moreover, media that target a community in the sense of a shared interest and identity; for example, the different ethnic groups spread over a wide area, are in the Kenyan context normally referred to as vernacular media.

The most common medium when discussing community media is radio, mainly due to its low cost of operation. Radio is therefore also considered the best vehicle for promoting democratic communication (Vatikiotis 2004). Community radio stations are often small, non-profit, low-budget stations that are mainly run by volunteers and owned by associations, trusts, foundations or NGOs. Community media are often distinguishable from commercial media and state media by their provision of vital, accessible and participatory alternatives (Vatikiotis 2004). The idea of serving the community stresses the close relationship with the community, a relationship that should be characterized by community involvement and participation.

Community media can also be understood as an alternative to the mainstream media, since they cover stories that are normally neglected elsewhere, and are organized and operated in a way that enhances participation. (Atton 2002; Bailey, Cammaerts and Carpentier 2008; Rennie 2006: 36) Community media projects are often initiated because of a need for communication platforms within civil society, and community media are therefore often considered to be the third voice – between the state and commercial media (Bailey, Cammaerts and Carpentier 2008: 23). However, despite their depiction as an alternative to or something between the state and the market, some stress the rhizomic character of community media, meaning that they are able to cut across and link existing groups within the civil society but also that their relations with other institutions in society might not be as antagonistic as is often portrayed. Therefore, these types of media are sometimes better understood as trans-hegemonic rather than counter-hegemonic, since different forms of relationship often exist with both the state and the market in order to ensure survival (Bailey, Cammaerts and Carpentier 2008).

Community radio in the slums of Nairobi

The community radio stations in this study aim to create a platform to discuss issues that are relevant to and beneficial for the entire community, that is, old and young, male and female, and regardless of tribal belonging. The programming is very similar across the three radio stations and consists of three types of programme: news, topic-oriented shows and music shows. They all offer morning shows where current political issues are discussed and health shows where doctors inform and advise the listeners on air. Moreover, all three radio
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stations broadcast youth-oriented shows that deal with the issues and obstacles that the youth encounter, for example, drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, domestic violence and idleness, as well as the importance of leading a positive lifestyle.

The presenters and invited guests share their experience with the audience, who can phone or text (SMS) the studio to participate in the discussions. By openly discussing their own experiences the presenters openly discuss their own experience of the issues encourages the young audience to do the same, even if the topics are usually taboo. The fact that the presenters and the audience share the same socio-economic background and experiences of living in the slum, and that the audience can participate anonymously on air makes this dialogue possible.

Another aspect of these discussions is that the presenters provide information to the audience about governmental programmes and organizations that they can go to if they need assistance. This not only potentially leads to individuals gaining financial and other support, but also works in part to keep those in power accountable. Koch FM, for example, has for several years worked to empower the community by raising awareness of Constituency Development Funds and, together with the community, monitored the use of the funds to ensure that they are spent correctly. Mismanagement of funds and corruption have led to widespread distrust in the authorities, especially among people living in the slums (UN-Habitat 2008). The radio stations therefore encourage the community to participate in and actively influence these projects instead of dismissing them. Recently, Koch FM has worked with the slum upgrading project in Korogocho to promote the interests of the residents.

Music is an important component of the content. The discussions are mixed with music and a large proportion of the programmes could be categorized as music shows, in the sense that they are labelled on the basis of the kind of music that is played. There are at least two possible reasons for this practice: first, music is an important component of radio production in general; and, second, it is a good way of targeting different age groups in the community. Reggae and Bongo music, for example, are popular among the youth, whereas Lingala, Taraab and Zilizopendwa music are more popular among older segments of the audience. The music shows also include interactive discussions, but the topic is decided spontaneously in interaction with the audience and often reflects current events relevant to the community.

Another important aspect of the community radio stations is the absence of tribal content. Their aim to bring about unity rather than disruption is reflected in both the news bulletins and the programmes. Despite the fact that the news coverage at the community radio stations to a large extent draws on news collected from the mainstream media, there is a major difference in news values as community media journalists sometimes consciously choose to leave out certain aspects of a new story:

There are some things that I cannot talk about, even if they happen I can do it the other way out, not to create disunity among the communities. In Kibera
we have different communities, and they live differently and tribalism is a bit high, so when we get stories we don’t always mention from which particular group it happened, we generalize it. […] Some cases we don’t even mention where it happened, because some regions are connected to a particular group (Allan, news reporter, Pamoja FM).

It is clear that news value is regarded differently in order to properly cater for the interests of the community. To reveal all the details of what has happened is not considered important, since some details might be harmful – creating disunity within the community. This is something which became even more evident during the post-election violence in early 2008.

The programmes are also designed with this ideal in mind. The radio stations do not target their audience as Luos, Kambas or Kikuyus but as Kenyans belonging to different age groups. Moreover, they proactively encourage the audience to perceive themselves as Kenyans, instead of clinging to old identities based on tribal belonging. In their quest to tackle the stereotypical image of the slums, the community radio stations highlight positive news and stories from the communities, and celebrate and promote a sense of pride in the slums. It could therefore be argued that the radio stations help promote a ‘slum identity’ as an alternative to the old identities based on ethnicity.

Community radio as youth centres and training grounds

Another aim of the community radio stations is to provide job and training opportunities for young people in the slums, as unemployment is high and many lack the financial means to enter higher education, and it is also believed to be a way to engage young people in community development. Consequently, the community radio stations are to a large extent run by local youth, some educated but the majority lacking in both journalistic education and previous experience of producing media content. For all of them, working at the community radio station is an opportunity to gain experience and to learn skills for a future career in the media. They all receive basic training, but most of the skills are learned step by step, on the job. Most explicitly state that they are driven by a passion to help develop and improve the situation of the community. By working at the radio station they achieve slum celebrity status and become role models for other youth in the community. However, financial constraints mean they all work as unpaid volunteers. This has negative effects on both the running of the radio stations and the lives of the volunteers. One of the biggest threats to the longevity of the projects is the high turnover of staff and the irregular attendance of the volunteers:

People are not consistent in working. Today they are there tomorrow they are not. You can’t ask them because they are volunteers. You know I can’t work alone, go to the field, edit, present. It has to be a team and the team can’t be of one person. It has to be different people with the same goal. If today someone doesn’t come it means you are disabled in one way or another as the news department (Shiko, News editor, Pamoja FM).
Shiko highlights the negative impact of volunteerism on the daily running of a community radio station – that it is impossible to force volunteers to turn up every day as they work without pay. Yet, it is difficult to run a news department when people are absent since its success is dependent on good teamwork and everyone taking responsibility. If one component is missing or weakened by being understaffed, the output of the whole news department suffers.

The reason volunteers fail to turn up is often money – or rather the lack of it. Everyone needs somewhere to live and something to eat. Working for free makes it difficult to secure even basic needs, and not everyone has friends and relatives they can rely on – at least not for long periods. The only remaining option is to get a part-time job:

The first challenge is how to go about your own life. Sometimes you are forced to stay home like you can’t go to a show when you are hungry, you have to go and work somewhere else to get some cash (Sarah, Presenter, Koch FM).

Yet, as is mentioned above, jobs are hard to come by and the stress of hustling for and then keeping two jobs consumes time, energy and concentration.

Moreover, volunteerism contradicts the initial aim of the projects: combating youth unemployment. The problem is that volunteerism is associated with altruistic motives. Some therefore believe that compensating volunteers is against the core ideal. One the other hand, it is both naive and cynical to demand that poor people work without compensation (Moleni and Gallegger 2007; Wilson 2007). It appears that that being driven by passion and being paid are perceived as contradictory. If that were the case, leaving a position at a community media project for a paid job would be evidence that people were not genuinely interested in serving the community.

Yet, I do not believe that this is necessarily the case. Instead, most people leave because they simply cannot afford to stay. It is the passion to help change the community, and the opportunity to obtain skills and connections and gain exposure that motivate the youth, but it is the lack of payment and securing paid employment elsewhere that make them leave.

So these media projects often lose their trained and passionate members of staff when they can no longer afford to stay, who are replaced by untrained but passionate youth who also dream of changing the community and want to learn media production. Consequently, the community radio stations run the risk of being reduced to a training ground for youth – a space which they can occupy while other opportunities are beyond reach. Almost like youth centres, they offer local youth meaningful activity – something to do and somewhere to go to away from destructive behaviour – and something to belong to.

Community radio as identity and youth culture

Koch FM, the first of the three community radio stations to start operating, was initiated by local youth in Korogocho. This section is based on group interviews with local youth in Korogocho about the benefits of having a community radio station in the neighbourhood.
When the youth talk about Korogocho they describe a place with many difficulties. They mention general problems such as poor sanitation and the lack of security, but also issues that affect them as youth such as peer-pressure, drugs, HIV and the lack of role models.

Like HIV/Aids. You know in slums that’s where the disease is spreading most. Some people are not aware of it: youth in particular, their lives, how they should take care of themselves (Christa, 18, Form 4).

Many people take drugs. Teenagers, for example, some of them are elders who take drugs and we see it as a fashion, try, copy and do the same (Edwin, 17, Form 3).

Christa identifies a knowledge gap by stating that many youth do not know how to look after themselves, which is problematic in a setting where HIV and Aids are widespread. Edwin emphasizes how drug abuse is a problem facing the youth as it becomes fashionable among younger individuals who copy older ones in order to gain status in the social hierarchy. Yet these are not the only problems the youth in Korogocho have to face. They also have to tackle society’s negative perception of Korogocho.

People in these big estates they see people living in Korogocho are like chororas and eat garbage (Rose, 16, Form 1). When you go to high places like Hurlingham they see people from Korogocho as not capable of doing anything like other human beings. About laziness I see everyone saying life is hard yet he is capable of doing something – being employed and getting wages which helps you earn a living. The government also seems not to be concerned about the slums. We see this through education and infrastructure (Malik, 18, Form 3).

Expressions such as ‘the big estate’ and ‘high places like Hurlingham’ suggest that the youth make a clear distinction between the place they come from and places where the rich live. It is inaccurate to argue that they have adopted society’s view of Korogocho as a ‘low place’, but the stigmatized picture of the slums is something they have to relate to and negotiate because they cannot escape it. Both Malik and Rose express that they feel dehumanized and forgotten by the rest of society. The youth in Korogocho have arguably been betrayed by society on two different levels: first, they are denied basic needs and decent living standards; and, second, they are dehumanized by being associated with the social problems of their surroundings. Moreover, no matter how disgraceful and inhuman one perceives Korogocho to be, it is home to approximately 150,000 people. To them it is also everything that a home is or as one boy put it:

I can say Korogocho is a better place and as they say east or west home is best. Korogocho is a better place to be (Benjamin, 17, Form 2).

*Koch FM* has played a significant role in the process of negotiating and contesting the stereotypical image of Korogocho and gaining more pride for youth in who they are and where they come from. The mere fact that Korogocho has its own
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Radio station is a big step in that process, as media outlets are normally associated with the rich and powerful and located in the city centre – not in the slums.

People were happy and excited because they knew the slum has started to develop. Like they can have access to the radio station so they can pass their problems and hear the other people going through the community radio and also boost those people who have talent (Timothy 19, Form 4).

Timothy's description of people's reaction to Koch FM when it first started suggests that the establishment of the radio station was perceived as evidence that someone cared about them and valued their opinions, as well as a symbol of development and hope for a brighter future.

When discussing Koch FM with the youth, it becomes apparent that the radio station's most important role is to encourage them, believe in them and urge them to believe in themselves. According to the youth, older people in the community do not listen to Koch FM as much as the youth, as they prefer to listen to vernacular radio. They do this out of habit or linguistic preferences – they understand their vernacular language better than Kiswahili, the language that Koch FM broadcasts in. Koch FM also uses a slang called Sheng, which is a mixture of Kiswahili, English and vernacular languages mainly used by urban youth in Kenya (Mwangi 2004).

The vernacular radio stations, on the other hand, are not as popular among the youth as they perceive them to be irrelevant and incapable of teaching them anything useful in today’s modern life. Language is again a relevant factor but in reverse – the youth identify themselves with the new generation and modern life where knowledge of English and Swahili are valuable. As one youth commented: ‘where will you go to talk vernacular?’. This suggests a generation gap when it comes to media use. Moreover, the idea that English is the language to master can be understood in relation to aspirations to progress and leave their current situation, since they connect English with higher education. For many, education is perceived as the only available ticket to a better life, and this is reflected in their desire for educational content.

Even though the youth are very proud of Koch FM and say how the radio station has helped them, a majority of them listen to other radio stations too. Comments like ‘I switch to the radio station with the programmes appealing to me’ illustrate that they are conscious and active media users. The youth know what kind of content they prefer and what they consider useful. To satisfy these needs is more important than being loyal to a specific radio station. Furthermore, it seems that they prefer to listen to a variety of radio stations, as this minimizes the risk of missing out on something. Media usage is thus to a large extent motivated by the desire to stay a jour and to have access to a wide range of information.

One major reason why youth sometimes tune to other radio stations is Koch FM’s programme schedule, which they state is not adjusted to the timetable of their everyday lives. Consequently, they will switch to another radio station if Koch FM broadcasts a show that is irrelevant to them. This highlights the dif-
difficulty of being a community radio station, which must serve the needs of the entire community – needs that can vary a great deal between different groups.

Overall, Koch FM focuses a great deal on the youth, perhaps because the youth are the biggest and most vulnerable group in the community, and when it tries to reach other segments of the community it risks losing the youth as they switch to other FM stations. However, the focus on youth might also benefit other groups in the community:

Parents find it easier to use Koch FM to advise their sons and daughters. Some of the issues, for example, a mother can’t sit down with her son to talk some issues...even a father can’t sit with his daughter to solve some issues. It makes it easier (Grace, 18, Form 4).

According to Grace, Koch FM helps parents or guardians with their relationships with their children by handling issues that they themselves are uncomfortable with. Even though Grace does not agree that Koch FM is directed towards the youth, her point strongly suggests the opposite. Nonetheless, it also touches on something very interesting – the whole community benefits if the situation for the local youth is improved.

Summary and conclusions

Three questions were posed in the introduction above: What are the benefits and drawbacks of working for the community radio stations? How does the young audience feel that the community radio stations serve their needs? Does the focus on youth prevent the community radio stations from catering properly for the needs of the entire community?

In addition to the more universal aims of community radio, such as serving the community and offering alternatives to the mainstream media, it aims to offer job and training opportunities to marginalized youth, because unemployment and idleness are common problems facing the youth in the slums. Nonetheless there is a major obstacle – youth do not get paid or compensated for their work but must work as volunteers. Consequently, the economic situation of the youth is not improved by enrolling in a community media project. Moreover, the youth are only able to participate for as long as their economic situation allows, and many have to hustle for jobs in the informal economy to pay for food and rent.

Despite these economic drawbacks, it is evident that joining a community radio station is a positive experience for many of the young people. Through their participation they attain skills, and the ability to reflect on and communicate their own experience. Moreover, they have meaningful activity, and somewhere to go and belong to. They also become something by getting a professional identity as a community radio practitioner and often become well-known within the community as a local celebrity. Furthermore, the prospects of securing paid employment later on are believed to improve due to their improved skill levels, experience and connections.
Yet, naturally, not everyone can volunteer with a community radio station, so
a majority of the youth only get the opportunity to consume the content and
participate as part of the audience.

Slums receive unfairly negative publicity in the Kenyan mainstream media,
which consequently stigmatizes the slums and their residents (Hesbom 2003).
The youth in these areas are therefore caught in a conflict between their own
experiences of the slums and society’s perception of the slums. One of the most
positive benefits of having a community radio station in an area like Korogocho
therefore is to support the youth by reinforcing and strengthening a sense of
pride in the struggle to redress some of the stigmatizing stereotypes. Compared to
other media, *Koch FM* is producing images of its immediate surroundings that the
youth can relate to, and by providing the youth with positive role models it has
helped them feel proud of who they are and where they come from. However,
the community radio stations’ restricted reach make it difficult for such stations
to alter society’s perception of the slums.

Through the radio station, youth also receive useful knowledge, advice and
encouragement to change their lives for the better and avoid destructive behav-
iour, whether through drugs, crime or peer-pressure. Moreover, the radio sta-
tions encourage discussion of topics which were previously taboo, and allows
the audience to do so anonymously. In this sense, it is arguable that the radio
station is challenging the norms of what is private and public by introducing
new subjects into the public debate, and thereby also challenging the culture of
silence (Odhiambo 2007) and being part of a process of democratizing everyday
life (Frederiksen 2000).

The strong focus on youth can also partly be explained by the stations’
constrained financial situation, which makes them dependent on volunteers.
In addition, young people naturally feel more comfortable talking about youth
issues with other youth. The high level of volunteers can be explained by two
factors: the poor financial situation of the community media projects and the
widespread acceptance that people who work to assist others do not need to be
paid as they are motivated by altruistic motives. Volunteerism forms part of the
ideals and politics of the international aid system, which is beyond the scope of
this study. However, it is clear that the use of volunteers affects the ability of the
projects to achieve their long-term goal – to be a progressive force in societal
development.

Instead, they mainly become youth centres where local youth can come to
learn basic media production skills while trying to find something else to do. In
that sense, the goal of assisting the youth risks preventing them from assisting
the community in a larger context, as the journalistic output is affected nega-
tively due to high levels of staff turnover. Moreover, the use of unpaid volunteers
makes it harder for older people to work for the stations since they often have
a family to provide for. However, all three community radio stations broadcast
programmes that specifically target older segments of the community and are
presented by older people.
It is possible that if the economic situation of the radio stations improved and they could pay their staff, the content would become more diverse, as the radio stations would be able to attract older staff. According to the young audience in Korogocho, the older generation does not listen to Koch FM as they prefer vernacular radio stations. The youth-oriented content might be another explanation.

However, the youth underlined that older people in the community are still positive about Koch FM as it helps them in their relations with their children or grandchildren by advising the youth on issues that the older generation feels uncomfortable talking about. The radio station can therefore help relationships between different groups in the community. Moreover, the entire community benefits if the situation of the youth improves as the youth do not exist in isolation. If young people are kept away from destructive behaviour, for example, security in the neighbourhood is likely to increase.

The radio stations also do their utmost to unite the community and combat tribalism. Moreover, by working hard to challenge the stigmatized image of the slum and ascribe it with more positive connotations they promote a ‘slum identity’ as an alternative to identities based on ethnicity. When discussing the benefits of Koch FM with the local youth, it became clear that self-esteem and pride in who they are and where they come from have increased among both the practitioners and the audience. In other words, community radio seems to play an important role in their identity construction. Since the situation facing the youth is similar in most of the slums in Nairobi, these radio stations can be seen as promoters of youth culture that transcend not only the slums as a residential area but also ethnic belonging.

References


Webpage

Kenyan government homepage:

Notes
1 Jua Kali means fierce sun in Swahili and is the common name for the informal economy.
2 Kazi Kwa Vijana means Jobs for the Youth in Swahili.
3 The mainstream media is defined here as established, corporate-owned media that operate commercially.
4 Chokoras means street children in Swahili
5 These broadcast in one of the 43 vernacular languages and often promote that specific tribe's culture and customs.

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