

Magisterarbeit

“Determination of national identity in ambivalence of traditional means of communication and the medium radio in the case study of Kenya”

Nationale Identitätsfindung im Spannungsfeld von traditionellen Kommunikationsformen
und dem Medium Radio am Fallbeispiel Kenia.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Assembly of paper

The first section of this paper provides an overview of Kenya's general country data and gives focus to historical details such as precedent, or common law, that have formed the country's traditional political system.

Subsequently the paper examines the Kenyan government throughout the pre-colonial period, the colonial term up to 1945 and the post-war period. Political participation is also examined in this section. The paper then discusses principles of society, the national psyche and both class and social structure in Kenya. A coincidental review of the influence of religion; the Kenyan language, giving detail to national communication and second language knowledge; Swahili speakers; and the percentage of English speakers within certain ethnic groups is also provided. Additionally this section positions the educational environment of Kenya as the basis of society.

The second section highlights the issue of identity construction. The definition of how identity is defined and what role it plays within a global society is brought into question. Furthermore the paper examines the meaning of a national, cultural and a collective identity, namely; 'How is language related to a cultural identity and what is the value of identity from the academic communication studies viewpoint?' Resultantly, African cultural identity, Africanity and African identity development policy are specifically addressed in the paper. Moreover the contribution of the media for the identity construction is outlined.

The third section examines the relation between media, identity and the contribution of media to identity construction.

A discourse of democracy is found in the fourth section of the paper, focusing on the conditions of democracy throughout Europe and Third World nations. Typical underdevelopment in African countries and its relation to established levels of participatory democracy is also detailed in this section. The relationship between democracy and the media; communication in modern societies and democracy; communication and multilingualism; and

democracy and the public are also discussed in this section, along with an attempt to illustrate African Socialism and traditions.

The fifth section of this paper highlights traditional media and communication in Africa and Kenya along with the oral literature of both countries and its connection to the creation of a national identity.

The sixth section of this paper exhibits the new mass media environment along with the state controlled and independent media systems in Africa. The main focus is on radio broadcasting in the colonial and post-independence period, including its beginning, technology progresses and a summary of both radio and press use in Kenya. This section also refers to colloquial language use and cultural programming in radio media, analysing rural radio and its audience in particular. Furthermore, this section explores general television broadcasting and its history; colonial and post-colonial press in East Africa; and rural journalism, giving detail to its origins, structure, circulation, format, personnel and financing. Additionally it provides a Kenyan media list and multiple resources used for training in rural journalism. Broadcasting and political reform; as well as anti-colonial broadcasting, colonial legacies and the so-called 'Clandestine Radio' are additional topics in this chapter. The privatization of media is also addressed in this section. The phenomena of alternative small media and its establishment in Africa, together with African public spaces in cyberspace are analysed. Following this analysis, the issue of press freedom in Kenya is addressed. The relationship between broadcasting and culture, as well as the relationship between media and lingual minorities serve to conclude the sixth section.

The closing section contains a summary, in which concluding outline of the research conducted in this paper is drawn. It highlights the problem, approach, structure and outcomes of the paper.

1.2 Claim of paper

The claim of this paper is to illuminate the question of whether traditional and modern means of communication can enhance the formation of a national African identity. Special attention is given to the case study of Kenya, with the first section engaging in the historic outline of Kenya. General national facts according to World Bank statistics are given. Furthermore,

traditional political systems and societies found in Kenya are detailed, which affords a historical profile of Kenyan governmental systems from the pre-colonial to the post war era. An overview of Kenyan societal principles and social and class structures of both Kenyan tribes and societies succeed. Moreover, a give a brief summary of religions, languages and education in Kenya is given. The following section concerns identity and its diverse definitions from various perspectives, such as that of communication studies, giving particular focus to African identity. Subsequently the issue of the media's contribution to the construction of identity is addressed, which is followed by a disquisition of democracy as the basis of a participatory medial society and its conditions in both the first and third world. Democracy, media/communications and the traditions of press freedom are subsequently discussed. Furthermore, the traditional means of communications are examined, followed by an analysis of Kenya's modern mass media system; including radio, television, print media and the internet. In closing, the paper's content is interpreted and the main questions are again addressed.

1.3 Sources and method of research

Qualitative analysis is largely used when the object of research is either new or the researcher wishes to comprehend the field of research well enough in order to develop a hypothesis. In social science, qualitative social research involves understanding texts; the use of interpretative scientific methods when collecting data and the adaption of socially relevant information. Qualitative methods are thereby geared to the reconstruction of meaning. Qualitative social science is characterized by a highly inductive approach and empirically based theorisation. Therefore, in order to suitably address the subject presented in this paper, it was deemed appropriate to adopt a qualitative approach, as the topic concerns an overriding interpretative and comprehensive access to a social reality.

This thesis illustrates a qualitative analysis based on literature research and the investigation of scientific archival data such as papers of African and Western authors.

The following steps frame the composition:

1. A description of Kenya's history, society, religion, language and media.

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2. For the paper I chose Mayring's recapitulatory analysis of literature.
3. In regards to the interpretation of content: In this step of evaluation, leading questions are analyzed on a basis of literature and an abstract of basic matters is constructed (refer to section 8).

1.3.1 Quality factors of qualitative methods of research

Qualitative methods of research are, due to their admissive character, termed subjective. The examination of validity and reliability, after common patterns of empiric social science, are presumed to be complex or even impossible. The intentions of quantifying comparability and standardisation are qualitative research. For this reason qualitative research defeats a transformation or reduction of information to statistic aims and analysis (Stangl-Taller n.d.).

When performing empiric research Lienert (1989) distinguishes between three quality factors: objectivity, reliability and validity.

1.3.2 Objectivity

Objectivity is the degree in which research results can not be impaired by the researcher, and whether a duplicate would reach similar results. Research objectivity can be impaired during either the data collection, analysis or interpretation stages. Truly objective research should not exhibit any discrepancies at any stage of the research process when compared to a duplicate objective study. Objectivity, in the quantitative research approach, refers to the independence of research from the researcher's subjective influences. The qualitative approach seeks to effectively capture all relevant contextual factors, which in the quantitative approach, through standardisation, should remain constant. The aim of qualitative research is therefore, to explore and analyse each and every problematic dimension relevant to the research topic. Objectivity in qualitative research can also be classified as the degree of comprehension with which relevant contents are evaluated whilst considering situational factors of context.

1.3.3 Reliability

A repetition of the research under similar circumstances with similar objects results in comparable findings. The continuity of qualitative research renders the reproduction of the

investigation activity impossible. Therefore, the examination of reliability plays a minor role in Qualitative research. Rather, there is a claim for sufficient research transparency, so that the conditions of research structure and composition are disclosed.

1.3.4 Validity

Validity specifies the degree of accuracy with which a method detects what it claims to measure. In qualitative research validity of research is termed “communicative validation” (Lechler 1982). This refers to the realisation of the dialogue-consensus-abstract criterion of truth:

Only the object of perception can decide if the comprehensive description of the researcher constitutes an adequate understanding of its inner perspective. Therefore the researcher betakes him/herself into a dialogue with the object of research to ensure that his/her understanding is adequate to the perceptive of the object of research. This is reached when the object of perception agrees with the descriptions of the subject of perception and a consensus is achieved.

Since, in scientific description and evaluation there is also the necessity of specification and elaboration of everyday thinking (of the object of perception), this adequacy of understanding refers to the adequacy of reconstruction. Communicative validation consists of comprehensive description in which adequacy of reconstruction is detected in a dialogue through the consensus of the object of perception.

The frame for ideal conditions of self-advice provides the dialogue-consensus criterion of truth which results in the idea of the “ideal record-situation (“ideale Sprechsituation) (Habermas 1968).

The first task of the researcher is to create transparency whilst disclosing goals and meaning to his/her research test object.

Through the emphasis of the fact that the test object is used as an expert of himself as a person, there should always be the equality of researcher and his partner.

1.4 Issues of research

This paper aims to address the following questions:

- What is the concept of identity and is there a common African identity?
- How do media contribute to the construction of identity?
- Does language and national communication influence the development of a common African identity?
- What are the principles of democracy (press freedom) and how important is participatory democracy in Africa for national unity?
- What is the role of communication and media in a democracy?
- How did communication in traditional African societies influence national identity?
- What are the modern media environment, development, contents and structure in Africa/Kenya like?

2 Historic overview

2.1. Country data

Kenya is located in Eastern Africa, bordering the Indian Ocean between Somalia and Tanzania, with a total of 536 km of coastline. With a total of 582,650 sq km of land and water, Kenya shares borders with Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. This is slightly larger than more than the size of Nevada in the USA.

The climate varies from moist and sultry along the coast to arid in the centre of the country. Concerning topography, Kenya consists of low plains, which rise to a central high ground divided by the Great Rift Valley and arable plateaus in the west. Kenya's lowest point is the Indian Ocean (0m) and its highest point is Mount Kenya (5,199m).

Kenya is rich in natural resources such as gold, limestone, salt barites, soda ash, fluorspar, garnets and wildlife. The land use consists of 7% arable land, 1% permanent crops, 37%

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permanent pastures, 30% forests and woodland and 25% other (1993 EST.). Natural dangers include drought in the northern and eastern regions along with flooding during wet seasons. 75% of the country's population live in urban regions (Handbook of the Nations 1999, 261).

Some general country information according to the World Bank statistics:

Data Profile			
	2000	2005	2006
World view			
Population, total (millions)	6,076.65	6,461.66	6,538.08
Population growth (annual %)	1.3	1.2	1.2
Surface area (sq. km) (thousands)	133,945.2	133,945.8	133,945.8
Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line (% of population)	..	..	..
GNI, Atlas method (current US\$) (billions)	31,917.15	45,305.64	48,694.08
GNI per capita, Atlas method (current US\$)	5,252	7,011	7,448
GNI, PPP (current international \$) (billions)	41,556.69	55,541.22	60,209.86
GNI per capita, PPP (current international \$)	6,839	8,596	9,209
People			
Income share held by lowest 20%	..	..	..
Life expectancy at birth, total (years)	67	68	68
Fertility rate, total (births per woman)	2.7	2.6	2.5
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women ages 15-19)	63	55	52
Contraceptive prevalence (% of women ages 15-49)	..	..	60
Births attended by skilled health staff (% of total)	..	..	65
Mortality rate, under-5 (per 1,000)	84	74	73
Malnutrition prevalence, weight for age (% of children under 5)	..	..	24
Immunization, measles (% of children ages 12-23 months)	73	78	80
Primary completion rate, total (% of relevant age group)	83	86	..
Ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education (%)	92	95	..
Prevalence of HIV, total (% of population ages 15-49)	..	1	..
Environment			
Forest area (sq. km) (thousands)	397,922.1	39,426.4	..
Agricultural land (% of land area)	37.5	37.5	..
Annual freshwater withdrawals, total (% of internal resources)	..	..	..
Improved water source (% of population with access)	81	..	..
Improved sanitation facilities, urban (% of urban population with access)	79	..	..
Energy use (kg of oil equivalent per capita)	1,672	1,796	..
CO2 emissions (metric tons per capita)	4	..	..
Electric power consumption (kWh per capita)	2,389	2,678	..
Economy			
GDP (current US\$) (billions)	31,876.18	44,983.46	48,461.85
GDP growth (annual %)	4.1	3.5	3.8
Inflation, GDP deflator (annual %)	4.8	5.4	5.7
Agriculture, value added (% of GDP)	4	3	..
Industry, value added (% of GDP)	29	28	..
Services, etc., value added (% of GDP)	67	69	..
Export of goods and services (% of GDP)	55	55	..

(World Bank 2008)

2.2 The traditional political system of Africa

The social structure in Africa is divided into the kinship system and the lineage system. Both systems influence societal order in political and cultural terms, allocating power and authority and also determining the relationship between governmental structures and citizens. This classification defines a society that has a centralized or a decentralized system (Goody 1973, 17).

The centralised system is based on a hierarchy that features a leader who is elected by traditional methods. The leader is supported by a cabinet consisting of members of representatives from all regions and pressure groups of the political territory (Asiwaju 1982, 41-48).

Democracy in traditional African societies stipulates that every member of society has the right of co-determination. The decentralised political system in Africa appears in societies in which “authority is dispersed through a number of counter balancing segments, instead of being concentrated in a single central authority” (Elias 1961, 13).

These societies are classified as stateless societies and have the following characteristics:

“In a stateless society, there is little concentration of authority. It is difficult to point to any individual or limited group of men as the ruler or rulers of the society; The wielding of authority as a specialized full-time occupation is virtually unknown; the unit within which people feel an obligation to settle their disputes according to agreed rules and without resort to force tends to be relatively small” (Horton 1971, 72).

In traditional African politics, there is a council of neighbouring, equal elders. There is no central authority and no institutional differentiation between administration, juridical and religious institutions. Each member of society is considered as politically equal and is directly or indirectly involved in the decision making process (Fortes and Pritchard 1940, 4)

There are three types of stateless societies:

1. The segmentary lineage system
2. The dispersed, territorially defined community
3. The large compact village (see Horton 1971, 78).

Age also plays an important role as in some societies authority lays with the oldest member of society. The lineage system in decentralized societies determines the relation between smaller, independent groups found in the same political territory.

Brown (1970) classifies West African societies into four categories:

1. Societies in which authority is only performed in and by kinship groups.
2. Societies in which authority is performed by kinship groups and associations.
3. Societies in which authority is performed by kinship groups, associations and public institutions such as judicature, religious groups, etc.
4. Societies in which authority is performed by public institutions and kinship groups without the involvement of associations (Brown 1970, 60).

2.3 Governmental System of Kenya

2.3.1. Government in Pre-Colonial Kenya

At the time of writing, pre-colonial Kenyan societies have been characterized as stateless, with the Wanga chiefdom being the only exception, as it exhibited a centralized political structure. Nonetheless, one must acknowledge that governmental power structures were more complex than assumed. Herein, social, economic and environmental factors have to be considered. To illustrate; the Kambi tribe hosted several secret societies, of which some had higher initiation fees (which were paid to senior members) so that they were only accessible to the wealthy. In the Kambi society, two members per clan were appointed to the Vaya on account of their seniority, esoteric understanding, and aptitude in witchcraft and exorcism. The appointed performed judicial duties and inherited political functions. From amongst the

Kiraho cha fisi (the hyena oath) one member per clan was appointed to the Enye-tsi (owners of the land). Enye-tsi members were chosen for their wisdom and represented the Kambi's administration from the inner circle of the Vaya. They were in effect executives, who participated in council decision making.

Conversely, the Kalenjin ethnic group governed themselves in small territorial units. These units were both regimental military and territorial political units in which economic, political and social matters were regulated, laws imposed and decisions on the protection of the clan discussed. These units were comprised of several sites such as homesteads, with councils delegated to oversee agricultural and crop activities along with dispute management. This structure exhibited a clear vertical distribution of power. The larger and more influential councils tended to have more formal events. The chairmanship of each council was elective and the governmental system was essentially democratic.

Like in most other societies found in the highlands and plains of Kenya, the institution of chiefs and the conception of aristocracy did not exist. Some would claim that a governmental system which excluded women can not be described as democratic. However, the fact that in the early stages of the evolution of Western democracies, women were excluded not because of their sex and age but because of criteria such as the possession of wealth and knowledge must be considered. In the appointment of elders to the council, knowledge of tradition, judgment and substance, coupled with wealth, were the basic criteria. Aside from the absence of office-holders of authority, as we are familiar with today, the Kalenjin governmental organization was not overseen by a clan, sub-clan or family system; which played an important social but a politically irrelevant role. Their societies were not only leaderless, they were also highly intermixed between several Kalenjin sub-ethnic communities. Moreover, lineages were not developed and land was not inherited by descend groups of clans. Essentially, the Kalenjin held a highly complex governmental system which ensured automatic continuity through re-cycling age-sets. The typical age-set took about twenty years to form and consisted of several groups and sub-sets. When complete, it comprised youths of fifteen years and mature men in their thirties. Although decisions were made within a council of elders, it was the younger men who performed the daily tasks. Within this chiefless form of government there were also ritual experts. Their focus laid in their ability to heal, give worthy advice and foretell the future. In times of crisis these men exerted influence outside their immediate localities. These powerful experts advised on when to plant crops (as they could

induce rain and also cease it), would sanction cattle-raids against other communities, influence decisions and determine when or how to engage in war. Such systems were criticised during the European conquest at the turn of the last century.

2.3.2 Government in Colonial Kenya up to 1945

Formal British administration of the British East Africa Protectorate (present day Kenya) began on the first of July 1895 with the termination of what has been described as “the interregnum” of the Imperial British East Africa Company, which was chartered in 1888 to administer the territory that fell under the “British sphere of influence” following the Anglo-German Agreement of 1886. This resulted in various ethnic groups and their respective governments being placed under the jurisdiction of one central administration. The Earl of Kimberley initiated a meeting of the Committee on the Administration of East Africa in 1894 under the chairmanship of Sir Percy Anderson. Consul-General in Zanzibar Arthur Hardinge was requested to create the position of sub-commissioner and also formulated the proposals which were to become the base for the administrative and judicial organization of Britain’s new East African acquisition. Hardinge implored Her Majesty’s government to establish a functional administration throughout the territory and to separate the territory into three provinces – Ukambani, Jubaland and Tanaland – as a basis for the vertical distribution of governmental authority. The administration of each province was placed under a chief commissioner responsible to a British officer at Zanzibar. For most of the period before the Second World War, the Provincial Administration in Kenya was comparatively easier to govern than the centralized authority in Kenya. Commissioner Charles Eliot laid the foundations for a white settlement in Kenya and could be regarded as the father of modern politics in Kenya, as it was he who was the first to officially support the establishment of a Legislative Council in Kenya. He envisioned instating a local government consisting of a council of unofficial members that could take the initiative in providing roads and services to intending settlers.

Sir Donald Stewart succeeded Charles Eliot in 1904 with instructions to attend to relations between white settlers and Africans as he was briefed that the primary duty of Great Britain in East Africa should be the welfare of native races.

He was replaced in 1905 when the Colonist Association (union of settlers) sent a petition to the Colonial Office demanding that no forts should be built and white police, troops and militia should be made responsible for law and order. A new constitution was established by the new Labour Government and the commissioner became governor. Winston Churchill visited Nairobi in 1907 and told the Colonists Association that never before in colonial practice had a Legislative Council has been granted where the settler population had been so small. The Legislative Council first met in summer 1907 and initially discussed the demarcation of the boundaries of the white highlands, the condition of cheap African labour and retracting the exclusion Indians from the Council.

Finally A.M Jeevanjee was nominated to represent Indian interests in the Council. Sir Percy Girouard took over chairmanship of the Council in 1909 and demanded a strong colonial secretary to lead the weak and underrepresented Council. He expected the settlers to become self-governed, encouraged their common voice and therefore spurred the development of several white associations under the rubric of the Convention of Associations, chaired by Steward Grogan.

Already dubbed the 'Settlers Parliament', the Convention first met in February 1911, with the initial goal to create a proposal concerning the protectorate's representation. Eliot was nominated for this role at the Imperial Conference. The convention's meeting in 1913 resulted in a number of outcomes. Firstly, it was decided that black people would not take part in elections for many more years. Secondly, the substantial proportion of Indians in Kenya should not be allowed to vote due to the Convention's fear they could control the elections and thirdly, whites were said to be the basis of the government of the future. If Indians wanted to participate in government, it was ruled that an unofficial European should be appointed to represent Eastern interests in parliament.

The Indians response to this decision was the creation of the East African Indian Nation Congress. The First World War granted the wishes of the Convention of Associations. Grogan demanded the establishment of a war council with unofficial members for the settlers to be organized. The administration yielded to the demand and established a War Council under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Browning, two military representatives and three settlers including Grogan. This Council was supposed to be only advisory but soon gained decision-making power and influence. The main political gain for the settlers was the ability to elect

members of the War Council. In 1917 the settlers called for elective representation to the Legislative Council. Resultingly, the government appointed a committee, which reported that they had received other requests for representation from the East African Women's League, formed in March as a suffrage organization and the Indian Association of Nairobi and Mombassa. The representation of these two groups was however not taken into consideration, since Asiatics and natives outnumbered the white inhabitants and the Council only wanted British males of European origin who held proof of twelve months continuous residency in Kenya to be able to vote.

In February 1919 Sir Edward Northey became governor of Kenya and gave his approval to the representation of Indians, Arabs and Natives (through a missionary) in parliament. At this point, the government was consulting elected members before introducing bills, consequently giving them the opportunity to suggest adjustments. In order to reassure the settlers, Northey allowed officials to buy land and allowed them a free vote in the Legislative Council.

Since 1920, when Kenya became a colony, the settlers had begun to seriously consider the control over the formation of government in Kenya as their main political goal. In 1925, Governor Edward Grigg focused on the creation of a local government system and the question of an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council. His attempts were unfortunately squandered when the Second World War broke out. The Legislative Council fell into abeyance and the Executive Council took over control through Defence Regulations.

But although Europeans had increased their authority in government, the Kenyan government remained under the administration of London. Kenya was intended to become a source of raw materials and also a market for British manufactured goods, however as Governors were seldom qualified in areas such as agriculture and economic management, there was a need for knowledgeable individuals to manage development.

However, there was one area in which the Governor had unrestricted control over human administration and yet still failed to make positive changes. It was rare for the Colonial Office to release guidelines on how to manage native races. This was apparent as many officials of the time in Downing Street remained ignorant about Africa, while white settlers often exhibited little to no understanding of the African political and social systems. There was never a special department or staff in the Colonial Office dedicated to dealing with issues of

administration in the colonies and guiding principles. Before the Second World War broke out it was the governor and his officials who made decisions in Kenya. By 1939 the basic arms of modern government- the Executive, the Judiciary and Legislature- were administered by the government headquarters in Nairobi.

In 1946 the colony was divided into four provinces and three extra-provincial districts with administrative control taken by a provincial commissioner. Subordinate control was given to district commissioners and in each district there were also several native administrators, Councils of Elders and Native Courts. It was here where the district commissioner came in contact with the colonized natives.

2.3.3 Government in Kenya during the Post-War period and beyond

During the last century colonists made considerable efforts to replace indigenous government institutions in Kenya with one centralized administration in Nairobi. After the Second World War and later after independence, Africans question this effort and have struggled to establish a national identity, whilst developing political means and institutions without the prejudices which characterized their colonial past. Thus the understanding of the political and governmental activity in the post-colonial period must be seen in terms of the heritage left behind by the colonial period. The most important feature of this heritage was the nature of the nationalist movement and the governmental structure of the colonial domination. The nationalist movement has its roots in the grief about the exclusion of Africans from the colonial economic development of Kenya.

After the Second World War there were no signs that this criticism would be addressed by the government. For this reason there was a rise in militancy, which resulted in the Mau Mau Movement and the outburst of violence in 1952. This crippled the influence of the European community and forced the government to grant constitutional reform. A big step was taken with the Lyttelton Constitution of 1954, which supported a multi-racial form of government in Kenya. Six years later the biggest constitutional change happened at the Lancaster House Conference, where the British government accepted the imposition of majority rule once denied by the Lyttelton Constitution. This agreement signified Kenya's independence as an African nation.

Early political organizations such as the Nationalist Movement and the East African Association drew most of their membership from the Kikuyu. The Kikuyu people formed the Kikuyu Central Association was to affect African representation and land reform. The Luo and the Luyia in western Kenya and the Swahili at the coast formed similar associations. These organizations sought change not only at national, but also local levels. This fragmentation continued until after the Second World War, when the Kikuyu again played a leading role with the formation of the Kenya African Union (KAU) in 1944, in order to progress land reform.

Even before being banned in 1953, the KAU failed to realise its plans because it could not establish a national electorate. Furthermore, its focus on the Central Province's economic misery and the use of an oath to link the Kikuyu with other estranged Kenyan communities proved troublesome. The government's apathy to African miseries led to a state of emergency which spurred the growth of the Nationalist Movement. The state of emergency signalled the beginning of the rise of new styles of political organization, which combusted the path in the battle for the critical constitutional concession of 1960. This new leadership was non-Kikuyu, constituted of the growing African Federation of Registered Trade Unions which filled the political emptiness created by KAU's prohibition in 1953.

The trade unionist Tom Mboya was a pivotal character at this stage of Kenya's development. At the district level other leaders such as Ajuma Oginga Odinga (with similar demands as Tom Mboya) appeared who by the mid 1950s was seen as the greatest critic of the colonial administration in his home district of Central Nyanza. Ronald Ngala spoke for the coastal regions. In October 1955 Odinga publicly challenged B.A. Ohanga, the Legislative Council member for Nyanza, over the African support of multi-racialism in government. He rejected the premise of a multi-racial government and in particular, opposed the notion that Asians should play an executive part in Kenyan government. He requested an entirely Nationalist Movement intended to eliminate immigrants. These men played a leading role in winning the first direct elections of Africans to Legislative Council in March 1957. In Nyanza, Odinga besieged Ohanga; with Mboya and Ngala being elected in Nairobi and on the coast respectively. These elections formed the second breaking point in the Kenyan Nationalist Movement, which took place at a time when there were still severe restrictions on African political activity. This offered Africans the chance to fight for majority rule; something which

the Lyttelton constitution did not provide. At this point in time the African people could no longer be ignored by colonial authorities in Nairobi and London. The African public could therefore articulate their African-specific problems, which started to shape public opinions.

However, African elected members still had to face the Executive, which had the Legislative Council as an alternative to attend to their people's grievances and fight for majority rule. African members of the Legislature who formed the opposition in the Legislative Council were not able to win because power lay with the Executive. The Executive whom they wished to overrule was powerful and the government which they fought was centralized and controlling. By the end of the war governor Philip Mitchell introduced a ministerial system where all branches of the government were in the hands of the Colonial Secretary. Therefore under Mitchell, government departments were assembled under the responsibility of affiliates of the Executive Council.

In 1954, eight years before independence and five years before political parties were allowed to function; the Lyttelton Constitution replaced the member system with a full ministerial system in a multi-racial government. A result of the expansion of a ministerial system was the development of parliamentary control over finances and the extension of civil service. The State of Emergency necessitated the enlargement of greater governmental authority and the entrenchment of the power of the Executive. Armed forces were deployed to secure government control and the police and provincial administration bodies were also expanded. The General Service Unit, a strong police force, was created. Aside from security, Mitchell, like his successor Sir Evelyn Baring, saw the role of administration in agricultural and overall development as the prime means to fight the Mau Mau threat.

In the late 1950's the ministerial administration seized supplementary functions such as responsibility for African courts, collection of local taxes and the performance of elections. Therefore the administration grew in boldness. In 1955 political parties were allowed and in 1957 eight constituencies, including more than one district, that were not particularly tribal units, were established. Between 1957 and 1960 the African members were forced to establish District Associations and in the absence of national party organization the onus laid on local leadership and organizations, which in turn emphasized the tribal unit. Districts were provided with a spokesperson and this became the basis for political support of tribal interests. Consequently members attended the Legislative Council as individuals committed to political

reform which was not articulated by any common policy, but rather within a local system of tribal support. The districts consciousness was multifaceted by social and economic differences among tribal groups particularly between the economically developed Kikuyu and the less developed pastoral people. Moreover, the Kikuyu tribe had settled in most parts of Kenya before 1952 and resident groups who declared their claim to the European highlands bordering their tribal territories feared that the Kikuyu may override their claim. Land therefore became a dividing factor between groups of people. When the white highlands became available to Africans the question about who should own and settle in Rift Valley areas caused Kalenjin people to aggress the Kikuyu. Furthermore, the coastal Africans also feared economic domination by the *watu wa bara* (up-country people) who in the 1950's formed the majority of the coastal labour force. These shared fears caused the Kalenjin and the coastal people to band against the dominant tribes. In urban areas the Luo and the Kikuyu cooperated politically because the Luo did not consider the Kikuyu as a threat to their land. This alliance of tribal and economic interests was probably the most important factor leading to the division of the Nationalist Movement into the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) in 1960. Additionally, there was further segmentation within most tribes concerning traditional clan loyalties alongside conflicts between chiefs and politicians over the pace of political change and property ownership. KADU demanded a quasi-federal division of power between KANU and KADU that would render any African majority government less capable than its colonial forerunner. The result of this was a coalition; resulting in the delegation of power upon newly created regional assemblies; the control of traditional African land to be vested in the countries and the establishment of a bicameral legislature in which the Senate was the representative of district interests. The KANU accepted this as the price of independence and the KANU governments eliminated it as soon as they were politically able to a year after independence. However, KANU was bedevilled by rivals such as the moderate groups ruled by Kenyatta and Mboya as well as radical groups led by Odinga and others. This led to the emergence of a legislature that became an established institution with a tradition of lively, critical debate. From the 1920's Africans have demanded representation in the Legislative Council but governmental refusal have led Africans to air their sorrows outside the Council. Although Africans had been appointed to the Council since 1944, African nationalist leadership was left outside.

But when this leadership was first elected to the Council in 1957, the Council became not only the channel of communication between Nairobi and the members of rural areas but also a

platform for these members to attack the Colonial Executive. The use of the Legislative Council between 1957 and 1960 as a substitute for a party platform meant the establishment of an important model for the period after independence. Thus between 1964 and 1978 when KANU failed to establish a strong party apparatus, parliament members quickly used the House of Representatives and later the National Assembly as a platform from which to make demands upon the government. The government opposition within KANU tried to capture control of the Parliamentary Party in this process. Thus the Legislature remained an important organ where sectional and party interest was debated. Consequently, the KANU Executive found itself faced with the same attack it had itself once imposed on the colonial government. Two conclusions can be drawn from this. Firstly, on the eve of independence there was the call by nationalist leaders to Kenyan people to ally and help in building the nation, based on a strong institutional base, in order to control those forces that were part of a colonial inheritance. The success of this base between 1964 and 1978 owed much to the inheritance of a weak party structure and a strong government machine. When in opposition, the KANU leaders found it appropriate to question the dominant authority of the Civil Service and demanded the elimination of the provincial administration. But they changed their stance once in power and faced with difficult conditions. In this period they were faced with a series of difficult situations which they could not solve through the dispersed party authority. Personal rivalries continued even after Odinga's departure and the situation worsened when Mboya was assassinated in 1969. Two Parliamentarians, Martin Shikuku and Jean Marie Seroney, claimed in 1975 that the party was dead. The well-established Civil Service came to rescue as the agent of the Independence Executive. Since October 1978, questions such as "What is to be the role of the party in independent Kenya?" and "How should his relationship between the government, the party and the Civil Service be?" have been prominent in Kenya. The revitalization process started in the same year as the election of President Kenyatta and there are still those within the party hierarchy who advocate for party supremacy (Ochieng 1990, 92-116).

2.3.4 Political participation in Kenya

Since Kenya's independence there have been periodic parliamentary elections and in 1978 the presidential chair was constitutionally committed. The success of Kenya's democracy implies a relatively large turnout of voters. The traditional and contemporary social and political

structure of Kenya is regarded as the basis for the creation of democratic participation in a modern society.

The broad Kenyan constituency elects the parliament democratically. Elected members are a connecting link between the voters and the government. This relation involves sitting members according material benefits (such as employment, development projects, financial benefits and so on) for received political support. Family and ethnic associations also play an important role. The approach of electing members as a method of notification of interests is stated by the people as truly efficient.

Although access to information is limited, there are numerous active democrats and others in rural areas. Factors such as age, gender and political culture have, for most ethnic groups, a greater importance than modern education when electing parliamentary members. This affirms Aristotle's statement that a broad middle class provides the necessary support for a stable democratic system. The political participation in the cities is lower than in rural areas because a great part of Kenyans living in cities have simply not been living there long enough (Berg-Schlosser 1999, 79-100).

2.4 Principles of society

2.4.1 The national psyche

There does not seem to be a great sense of national unity and consciousness in Kenya, as many people are more aware of their tribal membership than their status as a Kenyan national. Kenyans have a cheerful attitude towards life which means that only rarely do tribal rivalries result in acts of violence. Education is compulsory and highly regarded in Kenya, with the literacy rate lying around 85%. Such as in the rest of Africa, urbanisation is occurring rapidly, resulting in poverty, urban congestion and alienation. The extended family is most dominant in Kenya and children live with aunts, uncles or grandparents in urban areas while their parents work in the city or in a resort. Kenya is nowadays a low-income country, with the living standard gradually depreciating. In its Human Development Report in 2005, the UN

ranked Kenya at 154 of 177 countries in the Human Development Index (Parkinson 2006, 35).

2.4.2 The people

There are over 70 tribal groups in Kenya (Parkinson, Phillips and Gourlay 2006, 37), however, only the largest fractions will be addressed in this report. They read:

- Kikuyu 22%
- Luhya 14%
- Luo 13%
- Kalenjin 12% include the Nandi, Kipsigis, Eleyo, Marakwet, Pokot and Tugen (Parkinson, Phillips and Gourlay 2006, 37)
- Kamba 11%
- Kisii 6%
- Meru 6%
- Other Africans sum up to 15% (such as the Akamba, Borana, El-Molo, Gabbra, Gusii, Maasai, Rendille, Samburu, Somali, Swahili people and Turkana...etc.)
- Non-Africans (Asians, Europeans, Arabs) 1% (Handbook of The Nations 1999, 259).

2.4.3 The remaining cultures of the ancient inhabitants

1. The Kikuyu (also called Gikuyu or Akikuyu) are Bantu speaking people and are the largest group in Kenya. The Kikuyu are mostly responsible for the achievement of Kenya's independence. This group has the most influence in business, government and other areas of life. Traditionally, they have occupied a region in the central highlands from Mount Kenya in the north towards what is now Nairobi in the south and from the Kikuyu Escarpment and the Aberdare Mountains in the west towards Ukamba in the east. During colonialism the Kikuyu settled in three administrative districts: Kiambu, Muranga and Nyeri and remained as independent and self-sufficient small units/clans.

The social structure of the Kikuyu is controlled as each person is a member of a family group (mbari or nyomba). Next, he/she belongs to a larger group - a clan which consists of several mbari units which share a common descent and a common name. Furthermore, there is a system of age grades, the mariika. Young men became warriors as older men sit on the council of elders to discuss legal, religious and political issues. In economic life, their work ethic and struggle for economic productivity was the most significant factor in the evolution to their present status. Having settled in a good agricultural environment, the Kikuyu produced more food than required for self-sufficiency. In the 19th century they catered for Swahili caravans or European expeditions. They also carried on trade with their neighbours, the Kamba and Maasai. In the traditional culture of the Kikuyu, one can detect two characteristics that Kenya exhibits today: a basically egalitarian, democratic political system (with influence and respect according to age) and a productive, expanding free market system of economy.

2. The Luhya are also Bantu-speaking people and their history reaches back to the 14th century in the northern part of Buluhya (next to Uganda), which was inhabited by Kalenjin people. There have been several migrations of Bantu speaking people in the 16th until the 18th century from Uganda and the state of Buganda, who populated Buluhya with the ancestors of many Luhya groups. Many of those people were forced out of Uganda by Luo-speakers. In the mid-16th century, there was also the migration of the Maasai people, who became Bantuised. The Teso expansion in Uganda pushed many Bantu-speakers out of Uganda and into Buluhya. Therefore, the Luhya, although they lived in manner distinct from their neighbours (the Luo-speakers in the south, the Kalenjin in the east and north and the Teso in the west), are not homogenous at all, but are rather a mixture of various ethnic and cultural influences. The reputation of a homogenous group might have occurred because the Luhya have many different dialects, rituals, economic pursuits and other cultural attributes from group to group and from locality to locality. But all Luhya share a common language and some other significant cultural factors. In Kenya there are about fifteen different Luhya groups. A group is an accumulation of various clans, including one or two major clans and several minor clans. Colonial officials relocated the groups and their clans in locations that suited the colonial power. Therefore, the clan names that were once identical with the land they occupied became mixed-up. Presently the Luhya groups live in the western province consisting of three districts: Bugoma, Busia and Kakamega. More

recently the fundamental family unit- husband wife and single child- has formed the basic social group situated within its own fields and individual homestead. Their general economic activities include the cultivation of crops and animals.

The custom of traditional crafts has almost disappeared. Iron and leather work has been replaced by industrial products. However, woodworking, pottery and basketry continue to be practised.

3. The Luo are Nilotic-speaking people. With a presence of 1500 members until the 17th century, many different groups such as the Joka-Jok, the Jok Owiny, the Jok Omolo and later the Abasuba (non-Luo people) from Ganda, Tanzania and Lake Victoria entered Kenya and settled in south Nyanza. They adopted Luo speech and integrated into the emerging Luo culture of Nyanza. By 1900, disparity became unity and a common culture. The Luo traditionally depended on cattle but shifted to the cultivation of crops, however Rich Luo people still cultivated stock. There are around forty Luo groups and most are associated with an area, with each group forming an independent political unit. This autonomy was eased by common clanship or by the membership of the dominant clan, meaning a segmentary lineage system was the basis of Luo social organization. Land was owned by the lineage within which people owned extended family homesteads. Today the Luo are known for the creation of independent Christian sects incorporating many traditional beliefs. Nowadays the Luo continue to fish, farm and herd, but have also adopted many aspects of modern Kenyan life and politics.
4. The Kisii (or Gusii) were once the fifth largest population group in the country and entered western Kenya from Uganda, then moved from Mt Elgon and Lake Victoria towards their present lands the Kisii Highlands, which is fifty kilometres from Lake Victoria. Basic, small family units practised cattle farming. They also cultivated yams, millets, pumpkin, collected roots and berries and went hunting and fishing. Later, clans were established and sub-groups appeared. The clan leader was the most senior member of the most influential family. Group founders were identified by animal totems and therefore kinship and membership in the same totem group became identical. Nowadays the Kisii cultivate cash crops such as tea, millet, maize, cassava, bananas and others. Major trade did take place between the Luo and the Kisii. The

Kisii still keep livestock, their children are initiated into tribe and crafts such as; basketry, pottery and building musical instruments are still practised by the Kisii.

5. The Kamba migrated from Mt Kilimanjaro, Tanzania to their present homeland in Ukamba. They were semi-nomadic, pastoralists, cattle herders and trap-hunters. They also collected plants and roots but crop-cultivation was not practised. When they arrived in Ukamba they started to exercise more agricultural than pastoral practices. Herding and hunting continued to be of major importance. In the 18th century iron was extracted from riverbed soils. Riverside reeds were used as arrow shafts, the poison found in the bark of certain trees was used to tip the arrow and medical plants were discovered. Successful long-distance trade, mainly with ivory (initially the largest trade was with the Kikuyu for food in return) was starting to take place and clans emerged. The establishment of the British East Africa Company and the colonial rule caused major changes, but the Kamba adapted to these changes and assumed a dominant role in modern Kenya as the fifth largest population group. Nowadays mixed agriculture, trade and cattle husbandry remain major economic quests. Although large settlements have occurred, the traditional model of the family homestead continues. Hunting and pastoralism have decreased, but trade and agriculture have since expanded and there is a steady flow of Kamba people into towns (1979, 93-117).
6. The term Kalenjin was coined in the 1950's to describe a group of people previously called the Nandi by the British. The Kalenjin comprise the Nandi, Kipsigis, Eleyo, Marakwet, Pokot and Tugen (former president Moi's people) and live in the western part of the central Rift Valley area. 2000 years ago they migrated to the western part of lake Turkana from southern Sudan, but then migrated further south. Although originally pastoralists, the Kalenjin took up agriculture and beekeeping. The Kipsigis held cattle whilst the Nandi (the second largest of the Kalenjin society) settled in the Nandi hills between the 16th and the 17th century and had a great military reputation, managing to delay the construction of the Uganda railway in the 19th century for more than a decade. The Kalenjin have age positions at which a man is initiated. Polygamy was common in the past. Organization of the law is performed at the kok (a court led by the clan of elders). Kalenjin doctors are mostly women who still use herbal medication.

7. The Meru settled in the area northeast of Mt Kenya around the 14th century, following attacks by Somalis. A chief led the group until 1974 when the last member converted to Christianity. Justice was carried out by a group of tribal elders along with the chief and a witchdoctor. The Meru now live in a very fruitful area and mostly grow cash crops. Subgroups of the Meru include the Chuka, Igembe, Igoji, Tharaka, Muthambi, Tigania and Imenti (Parkinson, Phillips and Gourlay 2006, 43-50).

2.4.4 Class structure in Kenya

Conflicts between social groups have mainly economic reasons. Farmers and consumers debate over prices of goods, whilst owners of capital equipment and wagedworkers negotiate salaries and conditions of employment.

The social and political development of Kenya is influenced by the rise of a strong agrarian bourgeoisie and the development of an urban sub-proletariat. The growing upper class today almost only consists of Africans, unlike in the colonial era of Europeans and Asians. Foreign investments do however remain high.

There are increasingly more conflicts between national and multi-national representatives of concerns. The difference of income and life styles between poor and rich classes varies so greatly that any intensification of contrasts should be feared.

The non-agrarian middle and upper classes are very well organised and their similar economic interests could intensify conflicts. Members of the capitalists, state class and managers are comparable with their counterparts in industrial states. The middle class and all other classes in Kenya are far behind the industrialised world.

Class consciousness in Kenya is in its initial phase and common activities (in regards to unions- they are dependent on the political institutions and therefore restricted in many ways) depend on how organised the particular group is. Large gaps of interest lay between the non-agrarian middle and upper class.

Different concerns lay also between the upper class and the non-agrarian petite bourgeoisie. Both of these groups, nonetheless, agree with the current political and economic system, whereby, there are internal, ethnic disagreements. Parts of the non-agrarian middle class take active part in medial and political events, however, they express dissatisfaction with their personal economic situation with themes such as low salaries, missing upper level of estate, the lack of 'Kenyanisation' and the one party system. This class has a great potential to cause change.

The non-agrarian proletariat in Kenya has existed for a few decades. It remains in contact with rural areas and their families (because of social coverage) and has lesser participation in the media and the political scene than other classes. They also tend not to actively criticize the system.

The Minister of Labour today has the power to declare labour strikes as illegal and, at appeal of the unions, can delay the following trial at the Industrial Court until the opponents capitulate (Bigsten 1984; Lall 1986; Chege 1987).

2.4.5 Analysis of social structures in Kenya

In 1950, during the anthesis of colonialism and before the efforts of liberation and the Mau Mau movement took place, Kenya had a quite stable social structure. The higher classes were led by European settlers. Traders and craftsmen, mostly of Asian origin, constituted the middle classes. Members of different African ethnic groups constituted the non-agrarian and agrarian proletariat (mostly working on European plantations or self-sufficient with traditional rights of use). In 1970, seven years after independence, there were already changes occurring. The upper classes were, to a large extent, Africanised and also the middle classes featured a considerable percentage of Africans. Also the African contingent within the proletariat became larger. The highest internal difference lies within the largest Kenyan ethnic group, the Kikuyu (who were highly involved in the Mau Mau movement and considerably affected by the European land seizure). The percentage of Luyia and Luo, who were mostly migrant workers and the urban proletariat, within non-agrarian groups was also relatively high. Unlike the pastoral people of the Maasai and Somali, they are little sophisticated. The restructuring of

ethnic compositions leaves an expectation of a higher potential of conflict (Berg-Schlosser 1999, 19-29).

2.5 Religions

- *Protestant* 38%
- *Roman Catholic* 28%: A result of missionary activity from colonial times to the present day.
- *Indigenous beliefs - sum up to 26%*: Most people who follow the traditional beliefs are animists and their ideas and rituals are closely connected to the rains. God is manifested in the sun, moon, stars, thunder, lightning and fig trees. Animists also believe in spirit beings who reside in powerful places that can be impulsive and cruel. Witchdoctors and seers are middlemen to the spirit world. Most tribes practice rites of passage for men and women who cross the boundary between childhood and maturity (Parkinson, Phillips and Gourlay 2006, 38-39).
- *Muslim* 7%: Mostly on the coastline and in the east of Kenya. Most Muslims belong to the Sunni branch that practice a moderate version of Islam.
- *Other* 1% (Parkinson, Phillips and Gourlay 2006, 38).

2.6 Languages

Despite several indigenous languages, English and Swahili are the official languages in Kenya. There are over 70 tribal groups in Kenya determinable by the finer characteristics of the language. The majority falls into two major groups: the Bantu and the Nilotic. Members of these two language groups form 90% of Kenya's African population. The Bantu people migrated to East Africa from West Africa after 500BC and include the Kikuyu, Meru, Gusii, Embu, Akamba, Luyha and Mijikenda tribes, who preceded the Swahili on the coastline. Nilotic speakers migrated to Kenya from the Nile Valley some time later. This group includes the Maasai, Turkana, Pokot, Samuru, Luo and Kalenjin people. The Luo and Kalenjin are the largest groups, holding most positions of command and influence. A third group who speak Cushitic reside in the northeast of Kenya and include tribes such as the El-Molo, Somali,

Rendille and Galla. On the coast the people are called Swahili for having intermarried with Arab settlers over the centuries and now have an Arabic culture (Parkinson, Phillips and Gourlay 2006, 37).

2.6.1 Language and national communication

As the people of Kenya are divided in roughly thirty different speech communities how can effective national communication be achieved? According to a survey carried out between 1968 and 1970, the average Kenyan person can speak a second language, but there are still people who can only speak their mother tongue (Parkinson, Phillips and Gourlay 2006, 38-39).

2.6.2 The patterns of second language knowledge are as follows:

Second language known	Percentage of Kenyans
(1) None	33.7
(2) Vernacular	0.5
(3) Swahili	42
(4) English	0.3
(5) Swahili + vernacular	7.7
(6) English + vernacular	0.2
(7) English+ Swahili	10.3
(8) English + Swahili + vernacular	5.3
Total:	100

(Heine and Möhlig 1980, 59-69)

According to these figures, about one third of the population are monolingual. However, the largest segment is comprised of those that know Swahili as their only second language. The table below illustrates the importance of Swahili as a national language. From this table we can assume that Kenyans who know English can also speak Swahili but not vice versa.

Second language known	Percentage of Kenyans
Swahili	65.3
English	16.1
Vernacular second languages	13.7

(Heine and Möhlig 1980, 59-69)

Therefore, we can assume that two thirds of all Kenyans can make use of Swahili as opposed to less than one sixth of the population who are able to speak English. 13.7% know one or more vernacular languages other than their mother tongue. The table below shows the relative importance of these vernacular languages:

Second language	Percentage of Kenyans
Luo	2,7
Gikuyu	1,9
Luhya	1,8
Kalenjin	1
Gusii	0,8
Luganda	0,7
Maasai	0,6
Kamba	0,5
Turkana	0,4
Arabic	0,4
Teso	0,3
Kuria	0,3
Pokot	0,2
Other languages	2,1

(Heine and Möhlig 1980, 59-69)

The main regions of second language knowledge are (a) urban centres; (b) Kenya Highlands; (c) high population density areas; (d) Semi-arid areas and; (e) the coast.

English is the official language of Kenya and the predominant medium of communication in education, government and administration, however only every sixth citizen can make use of

it. Unlike Swahili and other African second languages, English is a result of formal education in Kenya and is learnt only in school. Therefore Kenyans with secondary education are able to speak English, but individuals who have not received formal education are unable to. One cannot assume that Kenyans with a completed primary education are able to speak English adequately however. In rural areas many people lose their speaking competence due to a lack of practice.

2.6.3 The percentage of English speakers within ethnic groups

<i>Ethnic group</i>	<i>Percentage of English speakers</i>
Gikuyu	28,8
Embu	25,2
Kamba	23,4
Luo	20,0
Gusii	19,3
Luhya	19,2
Teso	18,8
Sabaot	16,9
Kipsigis	13,3
Terik	11,8
Elgeyo and Marakweta	7,9
Tugen	3,0
Pokot	2,0
Maasai	2,0
Turkana	1,1

(Heine and Möhlig 1980, 59-69)

Consequently, the highest percentages of English speakers live around Mount Kenya belonging to the Central Kenya Bantu group. Percentages above average are also found amongst the people of western Kenya. The number of male English speakers is twice as high as female English speakers and due to the expansion of education since independence, the knowledge of English has become more widespread among the younger generation than older

generations. Moreover, the better the socio-economic status found in a region, the higher the percentage of English speakers.

2.6.4 Swahili speakers

Swahili is Kenya's national language and almost two thirds of the population are able to speak it. According to age and sex, the following percentages of Swahili speakers were estimated.

Age	Male	Female	Total
Under 20 years	69.0	54.6	62.5
20 – 39 years	84.7	66.7	76.6

(Heine and Möhlig 1980, 59-69)

Variances in the knowledge of Swahili also exist between ethnic groups:

Ethnic group	Percentage of Swahili speakers
Terik	81.7
Nandi	76.9
Kipsigis	76.6
Elgeyo	75.1
Marakweta	71.8
Teso	62
Kamba	61
Luhya	58
Luo	57.2
Gusii	53.4
Embu	53.3
Gikuyu	49.2
Tugen	45.5

Camus	39.6
Pokot	30.6

(Heine and Möhlig 1980, 59-69)

2.6.5 Labor migrations affect language attitudes

Ethnic group	Percentage of Swahili speakers	
	within tribal areas	outside tribal areas
Gikuyu	49,2	87,4
Kamba	61	76,8
Luhya	58	79,8
Luo	57,2	75,8
Teso	62	88,7
Sabaot	80,4	87,3
Nandi	76,9	81,8
Kipsigis	76,6	81,6

(Heine and Möhlig 1980, 59-69)

2.7 Education

Language education at both primary and secondary level is still (since the colonial period) based on the assumption that English is the most effective medium of instruction. The use of African languages during education is minimal and is used only in case English cannot be used effectively, for example, in primary education. According to a survey by Tom Gorman (1974, 492-494), aside from English both the mother tongue and Swahili are introduced in the first years of primary school. But while English is introduced in more than three quarters of all schools, the ethnic mother tongue is introduced in less than two fifths of the primary schools. Assuming that English is the predominant medium of communication whereas Swahili and the mother tongue are introduced only in a small number of schools, there are areas of exceptional language use such as (a) districts where English is introduced only in less than 80% of schools such as Rift Valley; Bungoma, Kakamega, Siaya and Kisumu in Western Kenya and the whole North-Eastern province as well as the Kilifi District of the Coast

Province; (b) districts where the mother tongue is introduced in more than 40% of the schools such as the whole Western and Nyanza Province as well as Nandi, Narok and Baringo Districts of Rift Valley Province and; (c) districts where Swahili is introduced in more than 40% of the schools, such as in northern Kenya districts (Turkana, Marsabit, Isiolo as well as North-Eastern Province), in Kwale District of Coast Province, as well as in Uasin Gishu, Trans Nzoia, West Pokot and Elgeyo-Marakwet districts (Heine and Möhlig 1980, 59-69)

3 The construction of identity

3.1 What is identity?

The origin of the word identity lays in the Latin perception of “idem” which means “the same”. Today, the characterization of identity describes “... den komplexen Prozess der Selbstverortung von Menschen in ihrer sozialen Welt“ (see Kimminich 2006, 26).

In all the humanities there are several concepts of identity but generally it can be differentiated between psychoanalytic and sociologic approaches. In this thesis though, the main focus lays on the communicative approaches. Initially, human identity in traditional societies was viewed as stable and inflexible, connected to transfixed social roles and imparted through myth system that provided people with orientation and religious sanctions. This system also controlled the thinking and the actions of society.

Today the critique of identity has changed. There is now the belief that identity is a product of constant processes of identification and attributions of individuals and groups endowed by others:

“Identitäten sind nie singular, sondern immer vielfältig, und wirken entlang und über verschiedene, einander überschneidende und miteinander in Wechselwirkung und in Widerspruch stehende Diskurse, Praktiken und Positionen (Lutter and Reisenleitner 2002, 83).

Identity is interplay of collective and individual identity shares. As a member of different social communities every individual carries certain social guises. Every individual attempts to exhibit their own personal features. However, only if individuals exude certain conformity with an associated group to the outside world and at the same time points out that one, as an individual, moves within a social graticule. With this one creates the conditions for acceptance (Schuster 2004, 19).

Kimminich describes the identification process as a

„Brennpunkt einer Vielzahl von unterschiedlichen Prozessen, die sich an der Nahtstelle zwischen Subjekt bzw. Individuum, sozialer, ethnischer Gruppe, nationaler oder kultureller Gemeinschaft und politischer Führungsspitze vollziehen (Kimminich 2003, VIII).

3.2 Identity within a global society

3.2.1 National identity

The largest unit of collective communities is a nation state which, as a result of the process of nationalization, formed in Europe in the end of the 19th century:

“Die nationale Identität macht das willkürliche Territorium einer Nation schließlich zur Grundlage ethnischer, kultureller, wirtschaftlicher und rechtlich-politischer Elemente von Zugehörigkeit und schreibt den Bewohnern dieses Territoriums entsprechende „nationale“ Eigenschaften zu.“ (Pollmann 2005, 11).

It must be remonstrated however, that we are not born with national identities, as they only emerge from representations. Nations therefore are not only a political construct but also a system of cultural representations. In this matter Hall (1994) illustrates that:

“Eine nationale Kultur ist ein Diskurs – eine Weise, Bedeutungen zu konstruieren, die sowohl unsere Handlungen als auch unsere Auffassungen von uns selbst beeinflusst

und organisiert. Nationale Kulturen konstruieren Identitäten, indem sie Bedeutungen der Nation herstellen, mit denen wir uns identifizieren können: sie sind in den Geschichten enthalten, die über die Nation erzählt werden, in den Erinnerungen, die ihre Gegenwart mit der Vergangenheit verbinden und in den Vorstellungen, die über sie konstruiert werden.“ (Hall 2002, 201).

Heinz & Neumann (1996) affirm that national identity, in the sense of language, culture and religion create an ideological construct. They also point out that national identity is not static nor is it constitutional. (Heinz and Neumann 1996, 31).

Ang illustrates the artificiality of nation and national identity:

“The defence and preservation of national identity as a privileged foundation for cultural identity is far from a general, self-evidently legitimate political option. After all, nations are themselves artificial, historically constituted politico-cultural units; they are not the natural destiny of privileged cultures, rather their existence is based upon the construction of a standardized ‘national culture’ that is a prerequisite to the functioning of a modern industrial state” (Ang 1996, 144).

De Cillia conceives national identity as:

“Ein im Zuge der Sozialisation interiorisierter Komplex von gemeinsamen und ähnlichen emotionalen Vorstellungen bzw. Wahrnehmungsschemata, von gemeinsamen und ähnlichen emotionalen Einstellungen, Haltungen und Verhaltensdispositionen“ (de Cillia 1998, 116).

The common views about national identity not only refer to the idea of a collective culture; history; present and future; a national territory; but also to the beliefs of other national communities, their culture and history.

Therefore, the factors that create national identity often cause conflicts between numerous cultural communities and interests. Consequently, national identity is basically a very instable, conflictual, dynamic and blurred phenomenon. Nevertheless, the categories of

national identity and culture are formally and discursively authorised and consulted for the foundation of cultural and medial politics (Ang 1999, 324).

It is even more difficult to characterize national identity by means of language, as even though it seems to be one of the most obvious criteria in defining a national identity, it is actually an ostensible criterion. What seems to be one's own language, nonetheless, is often only the outcome of a random nationalistic power of definition. On the one hand regional languages and dialects are actively held under pressure, whereas other languages are ennobled to be one's own language and declared as the defining attribute of a nation. Language marks and reproduces cultural and national identity and therefore appears to be,

“...das deutlichste und mächtigste Symbolsystem, dass Gruppenzugehörigkeit nach außen anzeigt und nach innen schafft” (de Cillia 1998, 65).

A common national culture with an exclusive national identity is questioned by the migration of people with different national, cultural, linguistic and religious origins, along with the global circulation of symbols, goods and information. Globalisation and migration have displayed to both locals and immigrants around the world the changing character of nation and national affiliation. Therefore an awareness of relativity and changeability of national and cultural attachment has been created (Eickelpasch and Rademacher 2004, 76-77).

In times of globalisation and global migration, Hall states that one should refer to mixed identities instead of fixed national identities, in which differing cultural and collective partial identities express themselves (Hall 2002, 218).

Nevertheless, the belonging to a national culture is still the most important source of a collective identity. To have a nationality is quasi natural to us and part of our essential personality.

3.2.2 Cultural identity

National identity is neither an essential nor an adequate assumption for cultural identity, but nonetheless it is an important part of every concept of cultural identity. Cultural identity

constitutes two oppositional phenomena: on the inside it forms the identification with a culture or subculture and on the outside the comparison with others to detect differences and commonness (Luger 1994, 37).

The awareness of cultural differences is also basis of cultural identity. Some aspects of lifestyle are considered special for this specific group; such as language, common religion or history, which are used to create differentiation from another group. Socially, cultural identity works as a mechanism of containment and exclusion, contributing to homogenisation of contradictions (Appadurai 1998, 13).

Cultural identity can be classified as:

„... identification with and perceived acceptance into a group that has shared systems of symbols and meanings as well as norms/rules for conduct. Cultural identity is created through symbolic and normative competence. In other words, when individuals identify with cultural groups they are able to manipulate and understand systems of symbols and beliefs and are able to enact culturally appropriate and effective behaviour with members of that group. Identity is a combination of ideas about ‘being’ and norms for ‘acting’”(Collier and Milt 1988, 113).

3.2.3 Collective identity

Collective identity is the awareness of belonging to a certain group and identifying oneself with its members and their characteristics:

“Die kollektive Identität stellt die Summe der der Gruppe eigenen Werte, Normen und Einstellungen dar, aus denen sich für die Gruppenmitglieder ein Rahmen für Weltanschauungen und Wirklichkeitsdeutungen ergibt. Kollektive und individuelle Identität einer Person sind durch den Sozialisationsprozess innerhalb einer oder mehrerer Gruppen eng miteinander verknüpft“ (Mintzel 1997, 118).

As a constructivist approach Max Weber states, concerning the importance of how one is perceived by others, that essential ethnic identification are always carried out by others:

"Kollektive Identität einer ethnischen Gruppe entwickelt sich nur bei Menschen, die sich selbst aufgrund wirklicher oder vorgestellter gemeinsamer Herkunft als ähnlich betrachten und auch von anderen so gesehen werden" (Leggewie 1996, 50).

Collective identity is also an important constituent to guarantee the coherence of a community. Through regular communication, collective experiences and memories people constantly satisfy themselves as a member of a community. The image of a construed society is also supported by agendas such as collective values and a shared culture. This phenomena also serves a dual purpose, where members of one society disconfirm their membership to other societies by "being different",

"die die so genannten Codes kultureller, historischer, religiöser Zugehörigkeit angeblich nicht teilen" (Pollmann 2005, 11).

Aleida Assmann argues that historic forms of collective identity must be reflexive and articulated, if it aims to fulfil an integrative function in a world of stronger cultural contact. Assmann defines two key elements of collective identity: firstly, the factors that are considered as excluding by others should be signalled as the individual component and secondly, the separated other must be harshly excluded to be constantly remembered and outlined:

"Es muss also zur Aufrechterhaltung kollektiver Identität die Grenze zu den Anderen, das Trennende stets präsent bleiben, das Selbstbild besteht zu einem erheblichen Teil aus Verneinung dessen, was man nicht ist. Integration nach innen und Distinktion nach außen sind die beiden Eckpfeiler kollektiver Identität"(Gingrich 2001, 42).

The characteristics which lead to the formation of collective identity can be of various constitutions so that every individual, depending on the accentuated similarity, can see him- or herself belonging to several collective groups (Schuster 2004, 21).

3.3 What is culture?

Cultural Studies have intensively dealt with the phenomenon of culture and refer to it as the lifestyle of a certain group of people. Cultural Studies extract certain characteristics such as social customs, linguistic patterns or cultural regularities of a defined lifestyle. This implies that a society has no common culture, but that the substance referred to as culture of a society is actually,

“...ein Feld divergierender kultureller Praktiken darstellt, die in spezifischen Machtverhältnissen stehen” (Hepp 1998, 14).

The idea of culture, referring to the Cultural Studies point of view, is the differentiation of social collectives classified by common codes, standards, attitudes and everyday life behaviour. These are expressed in the use of certain symbols and objects. Cultures are seen as systems which have to constantly reproduce themselves and go through perpetual structural change (Bruck 1994, 345).

From the understanding of Cultural Studies, cultures are not, as Herder argued, autonomous, enclosed islands. Today's cultures and societies imply plural identities, are multicultural and contain cross-border outlines (Kretzschmar 2002, 129).

3.4 *Cultural identity in a globalised society*

Cultural identities that were created to clearly associate individuals with societies will undergo change in the age of globalisation. Many individuals express themselves through several identities which partly overlap and serve to complicate classification.

First and foremost, globalisation should be evidently defined, as done by Eickelpasch and Rademacher in 2004. They interpret globalisation by means of five items such as

- economic globalisation (globalisation of production, trade, markets and worldwide cash flow),
- political globalisation (internationalisation of political decision-making processes, weakening of the nation state),

- information technological globalisation (worldwide data exchange through computers, the internet, etc.),
- cultural globalisation (worldwide unification of symbols and patterns of consumption and identity, as well as reactivation of local cultures and identities, creation of mixed cultures) and
- social globalisation (opening of the world's horizon for everyday life actions) (Eickelpasch and Rademacher 2004, 57-58)

Luger (1994) opts for another fragmentation of the various guises of globalisation. He appoints five categories in which one can detect globalisation, all of which are an activator of cultural change and worldwide dependency:

- *Ethnoscapes* (the ethnic level) created by streams of refugees and tourists, guest workers and immigrants;
- *Technoscapes* (the technical level) through transfer of technology whereby forms of labour and occupational images change;
- *Financescapes* (the financial level) through worldwide economic conglomerates, money transactions and stock trading;
- *Mediascapes* (the media level) through worldwide distribution of TV, film and print media;
- *Ideoscapes* (the ideological level) through the publication of different ways of life, changed ideas of values and norms, religion, consumption, diverse concepts of freedom, democracy and political ideologies (Luger 1994, 39).

Referring to cultural identity, Eickelpasch/Rademacher (2004) identifies the appearance of new space-time alliances as an important aspect of globalisation. It leads to a compression of chronological and spacious worlds, which make the world a global village with more and more economic and cultural interdependency. As a result, national borders are eliminated and local communities, organisations and life forms come into correlation (Eickelpasch and Rademacher 2004, 58).

In the course of globalisation, newly emerged transport and communication networks have created a new global field of culture and identity. This has in turn delivered new resources available for the creation of identity:

“Die heutige Weltkultur ist demnach ein Fundus and Symbolen, Ideen, Stilelementen, Konzepten und Erzählungen, aus dem sich die Bewohner des globalen Dorfes bedienen können, um sich ihre eigensinnigen, lokalen Identitäten zu konstruieren.”
(Ang 1999, 324).

The above excerpt questions if identity has reached a new brisance through the development of global medial, cultural industries and the worldwide distribution of symbols, ideas and lifestyles. With the development of a new westernised, homogeneous world culture, this pluralisation and delimitation of cultural coherence and lifestyles must be reconsidered. Globalisation does not relate to a process of cultural harmonization in which all local characteristics are eliminated, but rather simultaneity of global and local dynamics (see Eickelpasch and Rademacher 2004, 61).

Globalisation leads to the destabilization and limitation of the creation of identity, caused by a global circulation of goods, pictures, symbols, ideas, lifestyles and the worldwide mobilisation of people. Immigration flows in the age of capitalism have reached new dimensions through the creation of a worldwide job market and better transport and communication technologies. As a result of globalisation, political changes, poverty and hunger, violence and eviction have caused worldwide streams of work migrants, refugees and displaced people. This global migration can lead to deracination, the elimination of traditional lifestyles, destabilisation of individual and cultural identity and the creation of Diasporas (Eickelpasch and Rademacher 2004, 9).

3.5 *Language and cultural identity*

Language distributes cultural identity. It is essential for the development of cultural identity that the family unit is aware of and proficient in their own language. However this is only possible if the unit is able to use and propagate their own language (Frühwald 2002, 15-16).

Language is essential for self-identification and as language and thinking are closely connected, language is the medium that enables individuals to communicate and express their feelings:

“Als ein System der geistigen Ordnung und Aneignung der Welt legt sie fest, welche Einzelheiten der Welt es verdienen, sprachlich ausgedrückt zu werden, und somit auch, welchen ihrer Eigenschaften und wechselseitigen Beziehungen man Aufmerksamkeit schenken soll, welche Typisierungen, Begriffsbildungen, Abstraktionen, Verallgemeinerungen und Idealisierungen von Belang sind“ (Kraas 1997, 43).

Minorities most frequently express themselves through bilingualism. However this does not only address the possession of two languages, but also of two different systems of communication, which become operative in different contexts of interaction. The native language of the minority is often restricted to the private sector of everyday life, whereas the language of the majority is used in the public sector (Heinz and Neumann 1996, 194-195).

Since for members of a minority, their native language is the essential symbol of their identity, a great effort must be made to preventing and preserving minority languages (de Cillia 1998, 192).

3.6 Identity from the perception of communication studies

This section exhibits the relation between culture and communication to more visibly define the relevancy of medial communication for cultural identity.

Friedrich Krotz views communication not only as an exchange of information, but also as a multifaceted process which generates; adjusts; maintains and enhances reality. Culture and communication are related because culture is the orderly system of meanings and symbols via which social interaction takes place. Communication avails itself of culturally embedded symbols. Conversely the meaning of a message is developed through the social interaction between sender and receiver. Without recourse to cultural knowledge, communication would be impossible and without communication culture could neither exist, nor develop. Therefore,

culture provides the framework in which communication takes place and in turn culture develops through communication (Krotz 1999, 120-121).

On one hand, reality (between individuals and also between an individual and a medium) is built during the communication process. On the other hand the image of people as social beings, who must adjust to a predetermined society and conditions, comes to the fore. The adaptation consists of learning specified symbols and their meanings:

“Interpretation und Bedeutungskonstruktion gründen deshalb einerseits in Wissen, Erfahrung und Identität des konkreten Individuums, in seinen Situationsdefinitionen und handlungsrelevanten Perspektiven, aber andererseits auch in übersituativ gültigen und wirksamen kulturellen Kontexten und gesellschaftlichen Diskursen, auf die sich das Individuum in seinem Handeln und Erleben stützt, bezieht und durch die es sich ausdrückt.” (Krotz 1999, 121).

The spectators of medial content interpret symbols and meanings in terms of their social position, economic situation and other basic life circumstances such as gender, generation, interests and social relations.

3.7 Collective memory as a foundation for the creation of identity

Without social context the individual is unable to develop remembrance, because the individual always remembers before the background of the remembrance of the group. Each group has a certain stock of collective memories about their past and these are essential for the development of social conditions under which relationships emerge. This gives collective memory continuance and is therefore critical for the maintenance of collective memory (Christmann 2003, 4).

Jan and Aleida Assmann make a distinction between communicative and cultural memory. The former is based on everyday life actions, is socially imparted, unstructured, chronologically limited and bound to individuals. The latter is culturally manifested in buildings, cities, texts, books, myths and rites. Assmann and Assmann say that individuals can only refer to communicative memory to their create identities (Christmann 2003, 4).

Hubert Knoblauch highlights the communicational aspect of collective memory through his claims that memories can be objectified by communicative actions. Aside from individual memories, the individual attains numerous memories that are formed through communication. Memories that are objectified through communication are made accessible to others. Media plays an important role in the mediation of memories and also builds various forms of mediation of its own. Content is transferred to the communicative memory through communicative procedures, whereby memory is understood as a communicative construction (Christmann 2003, 5). Memory is a prerequisite of culture because without memory it wouldn't be possible to attribute meaning to tradition.

Culture is thus formed through memory passed through generations, however it also influences what is memorised. The passing on of content occurs in school, family, museums, mass media and so on. In the communication process, receivers determine which messages are worth remembering and which are not. The communicative memory filters and reduces the great diversity of contents. Cultures, via the interpersonal and communicative processes of socialisation, play an essential role in this process. They affect their members who attempt to create sense of the shared past with which they can associate themselves (Christmann 2003, 6).

3.8 African cultural identity

Mazrui argues that the African past, which is a mixture of western, Arabic and African roots, can be synthesized to create a new cultural identity (Mazrui 1986, 239).

Larrain says

”Damit die Identität zum Thema wird, scheint eine Zeit der Instabilität und der Krise, eine Bedrohung der etablierten Wege nötig zu sein, besonders wenn dies mit anderen kulturellen Entwicklungen zusammenfällt oder in Bezug zu solchen steht.[...]Wenn wir also von Identität sprechen, implizieren wir eine gewisse Kontinuität, eine allgemeine Einheit und ein allgemeines Selbstbewusstsein, besonders dann, wenn eine

spürbare Bedrohung einer etablierten Lebensweise besteht“ (Akinyemi in Larrain 1996, 91).

In Africa the search for identity represents several epochs of suppression such as slavery, Islam, Christianity and colonialism. These epochs are the reason that Africans today have little sense of heritage or what they will become in the future (Akinyemi 1996, 91).

For many, the African past begins with pre-colonialism, however, it actually begins with the pre-Islamic period in Africa. It is at this point in history that one should start the search for identity. Since the end of colonialism, African leaders have initialised projects against colonialism to create a new, common, picture of Africa. This is what African Socialism should manage (Akinyemi 1996, 90-91).

One part of the identity debate refers to African Socialism, which emerged in the postcolonial era, along with African leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta, Léopold Sédar, Julius Nyerere, etc. and its traditional cultural values (Kumpfmüller 2000, 90-91).

A reconditioning of common African concepts such as Negritude, authenticity, African personality, black consciousness, African myths and so forth could well be the basis for unification, solidarity and independence. Development politics should support and confirm aspects of African culture so that Africans can identify with it. If this were to be achieved, the African public may actually want to participate in development projects. Unfortunately, African decision makers failed to utilize preferred western development initiatives as a basis to create their own development projects (Mestre 1995, 101-115).

New African leaders who, in their political actions, administer African norms, values, culture and tradition become more significant in recent times. Such leaders should see themselves as representatives of their native people and not as those of the outside world (Ake 1985, 1212-1215).

Furthermore, strong family and social group bonds act as strong social institutions, which can become important factors in development policy. Culture and tradition remain the basis of social interaction between members in a society that has similar interests and a common understanding of their surroundings (Adjibolosoo 1995, 4-5).

3.8.1 The controversial meaning of identity for Africans

In English, the word identity implies a unique person with obvious ego boundaries. In African languages there is no word for identity. If someone asks an African person who he or she is, that person will use communal terms that indicate their ethnic belonging or clan origins (Omoregbe 1999, 6).

African administration uses forms (e.g. for passport and driving license applications) that require the applicant to specify their tribe. For many Africans the term identity has a controversial nature as it implies tyranny and resistance. They recall unpleasant colonial burdens that dictated to them who they were: a race of natives, Negroes and Negresses. Mama Amina states that there is no all-surrounding concept of identity in Africa. The insistence of tribal and racial markers, new anthems and flags, stadiums and churches in post-colonial Kenya can not be compared to the imperial administrative and ideological machinery that lies behind the construction of English culture and its political face - the British identity. In Nigeria, for example, there is no single language that each citizen is required to learn (see also Appiah & Gates 1999 where one approximation states that there are at least 250 language groups in Nigeria). The only one unifying language is broken English delivered through the colonial missions and schools. 'Englishness' seems to be the most basic and identifiable aspect of the African identity, as it is a simplification of selfhood, a denial of the complexity and multiplicity at the roots of most African communities. African people have a clear image about who the English are and what their culture entails, so 'Englishness' flows effortlessly as a cultural currency, holding on to values that have survived the loss of Britain's colonial possessions.

The history of the African identity reaches far beyond the academic theories surrounding identity. At present, there are contemporary concepts of identity created by political economists to describe mobilisation. However aside from this, there have been new theories that seek to define elemental characters by making reference to old books, holy scrolls and mythical histories also described by Benedict Anderson in his discussions about nationalism (Anderson 1983). Western institutions have assembled training workshops in multiculturalism and diversity management to assist in the necessary socio-cultural adjustment.

But what should Africans adjust to in times of globalisation? It may be true that existing theories about identity have little ability in clarifying African circumstances. But does that mean that Africans should simply familiarize themselves with the North American procedures of diversity management?

Amina Mama states that many themes in identity politics are simply about popular struggles for material redeployments, justice and the underlying desires for existential truth and security. The worst threat to integrity and security is probably poverty. Africans, as non-American people, are subjected to highly technological financial, political and informational attack originating from the epicentre of universal authority, reinforced by TV. When we approach what seems to be an identity-based conflict, we have to remind ourselves that a substantial part of African history lies outside the established instances of war and slavery, displaying a diversity that includes centuries of peaceful coexistence and migration long before the national barriers were introduced and the word globalisation was on everybody's lips. One can observe that as Europe, America and Australia are currently recalcitrating about refugees and migrants, thousands of people have been absorbed by African communities, accepted and given land for their own use (Mama 2001, 9-18).

3.8.2 What is Africanity?

Jean-Paul Sartre, in *Black Orpheus* published in 1948, raises the following question:

“Can Africanity write itself in a European language: or in other words, isn't Africanity condemned to be missed when it looks for itself in a non-African language? [...] “African nationalism is unique when compared to other examples of nationalism because it has to express itself in the very language against which it defines itself in some way.” [...] “to be Irish it is also necessary to *think* Irish, which means, *in* Irish, while Africanity appears as a broken and scattered reality unified by the colonial language” (Diagne 2001, 20).

The Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiongo states that authentic self-writing means that to be Kikuyu, one has to think Kikuyu and that means to think in Kikuyu. He also says that identity

is a dynamic construction. He refuses to write any more fiction except in his mother tongue Kikuyu or Swahili because he assumes that writing literature is also the construction of a moving identity. He has created a completely diverse African theatre which does not perform in the closed space of the Kenyan National Theatre but only in the open spaces of a village in the native tongue of the people who occupy that particular village (Thiongo 1986).

In his play *Ngaahika Ndeenda*, about the meaning of Africanity written in Kikuyu, Thiongo states that it is important not to speak to the villagers about their tradition or what they are, but about what they are becoming and to put a mirror in front of them while they perform, dance and sing, to help them realise what society and economical evolution of peasantry they belong to. Thiongo conducts this theatre to help villagers develop a new self-consciousness. Berthold Brecht originally devised this function of theatre to help societies develop solidarity and to educate them of the possible actions they could take. The play was censored after a while and Thiongo was arrested by Kenyan authorities then sent to jail. Thiongo accepted this as proof that he was right. By shifting his work from English to Kikuyu he had transformed the literary act into a socio-cultural and political action.

The francophone Senegalese poet and novelist Cheikh Aliou Ndao, holds the same view and the most prominent writer of the young generation, Boubacar Boris Diop, has announced that his next book will be written in Wolof in order to execute Africanity. The two authors claim that the true meaning of African literature only shines through when published in an African language. Diagne, Souleymane Bachir asks which African language should be chosen. The novel of Boris Diop in Wolof is going to be nourished by his experience of writing in French and writing in Wolof will in return nourish other novels when he returns to writing in French. Diagne states that Africanity is the transition of languages. (Diagne 2001, 19-24).

Nyamnjoh claims that if one takes the reality of people and groups as the melting pot of diverse identities, that are able to have a foot on each side of different identity boundaries in often original ways, one has to wonder if identity can be anything other than a process of identification. So isn't the continuous search for identity and the consistent strive to negotiate itself above the egoism of singularities that conservative views of identity have tried to force on its people what Africans should be praised for? Most Africans refuse to be limited by certain identity markers and rather choose to benefit from the different influences and diversities in their lives. Nyamnjoh refers to Mama's papers when he claims that the everyday

usage of identity appears as an unpleasant oversimplification of personhood. Like Mama, he also refers to gender as an important key in progress, by moving away from the singularity and masculinity that the ordinary notions of identity oblige. This involves constructing identity by means of femininity to reach more pluralistic results than are presently possible with existing identity concepts.

This paper also addresses the question of what is it to be African? In Nyamnjoh's opinion, Africanity is a process, rather than what some are born into, that is transmitted through the "life essence of a black African father" (Nyamnjoh 2001, 27). Furthermore, there is no such thing as a homogenous African identity, "a solid rock...has withstood all the storms of history except colonialism" (Masolo 1997, 285).

But on the contrary, history proves that "there is no group...with a given, monolithic, traditional identity, but rather only simple, unpredictable forces which compose and recompose themselves all the time in history" (Masolo 1997, 288).

African or other identities "are complex and multiple and grow out of history of changing responses to economic, political and cultural forces." They are "almost always in opposition to other identities" and therefore, "have to be constantly fought for and rethought" (Appiah 1992, 177-178).

Any African identity must be seen as "a dynamic reality...that moves forward daily but knows no end" (Mveng 1985, 68).

Identity is therefore not "innate in consciousness at birth", but rather "something formed though unconscious processes over time" (Hall 1994, 122).

Jan Servaes argues that cultural identity refers to two phenomena that complement each other; "an inward sense of association or identification with a specific culture or subculture" on one hand, and "an outward tendency within a specific culture to share a sense of what is has in common with other cultures" on the other (Servaes 1997, 81).

Being exposed to several influences such as slavery, colonialism and interaction with other cultures has affected the African identity and this is something that cannot be disregarded (Appiah 1992; Masolo 1997).

Aside from the African detestation of western colonialism, Africans can not afford to dismiss those among them who have found attraction in the western consumer culture for reasons of power and status, as many of these Africans with strong western influences supervise the destinies of African people and have creatively domesticated their consumption of western identity markers. Nor should Africans of European and Asian descent born and raised in Africa be dismissed. Africans have also domesticated Western languages as old words take on new meanings and new words are added. In this way, and also through music, theatre and radio, Africans have created something new out of the conflicting influences from the western world. Furthermore, studies have shown that even in pre-colonial Africa, the idea of a permanent cultural identity is more romantic than real (Appiah 1992).

Appiah warns against an African identity or unity founded on racial or tribal differences. He states that Africans should resist the temptation “to celebrate and endorse those identities that seem at the moment to offer the best hope of advancing our other goals and to keep silence about the lies and the myths”. Such an “inscription of difference” would fail “empower us” and “play into the hands of race and tribe and nation”, to stay committed to the truth about identities in Africa. For, although “we cannot change the world simply by evidence and reasoning... we surely cannot change it without them either” (1992, 173-80).

In this respect, the distinction of Mamdani between citizen and subject is appreciative but Nyamnjoh states that Africans are not only enthusiastic about their rights as individuals, but also on their rights as communal and cultural unities. It is a survival strategy having “no fixed divide between self and other [...] to assert and elaborate particular identities” and “to create broader, more universalistic alliances” for strategic purposes (Werbner 1997a, 248-9).

Going beyond identity should not mean that people must cease identifying themselves with beliefs and holding pride in them. On the contrary, it calls for us not to censor the rich variety of identity markers to which individuals are exposed through various experiences. The creation of artificial fences could result in demonstrations of obsession with primitive concepts of identity. Culture and tradition are sources of identification that bring individuals

to see themselves in relation to each other and their environment. Only through this process can they reshape culture in their daily lives. In order to provide orientation throughout times of change, culture must integrate change. Old customs are replaced by new, but there will always be something old in the new. Identity is not only what we assign to ourselves, but also how others categorize or reject us. Nowadays, it can be at times difficult for Africans to negotiate interconnectedness without the participation of the rest of the global community. If people continue to label Africans, it may be possible that African individuals resort to primitive notions of identity even for the most cosmopolitan citizens. Thus, only through a universally shared political action can we reach a world beyond identities. There is a necessity for a democracy that not only guarantees the rights of individuals and minority groups, but also communities, majorities and minorities alike (Nyamnjoh 2001, 25-33).

3.8.3 The African Socialism

For the post-colonial African leaders, the replacement of the western social and economic system by an African one was the only real concern. The general opinion was that all Africans were victims of the same circumstances, therefore the poor and their needs should be met by a new distribution of resources and a new order of production and property should be set. Many also thought that African history had to be redone to reconstitute the lost African consciousness and traditional identity. Colonialism was for the new visionary leaders an interruption of history and a barrier for the development of Africa. There were several options available to solve these problems, for example, to follow the Western democratic model which includes capitalism and the free market. The socialist way of economic production, with a central, political structure was also a valid and appreciated option.

The differences between scientific and African socialism must however be addressed. Both strive for the creation of a class-free, socially and economically sound society with a stable identity and national consciousness, whereas African socialism has roots in traditional African values, lifestyles and views. African socialism argues for a return to these traditions, and calls for equal rights and access to the means of production. Furthermore, African socialism incorporates deculturalization from the hands of the former colonial occupiers. Capitalism is rejected as a concept and method for implementation in society.

According to Julius Nyerere, African socialism roots itself in traditional communities, with an inherent sense of fraternity, which guarantees a peaceful lifestyle. It provides citizens with an equal right to work, an equal share in the yield of this work and democratic election of representatives whilst considering men and women as equal. As it was in pre-colonial times, under African Socialism the land is treated as communal property. Traditional communities in Africa were foreign to class warfare. The initiation of class warfare in Africa arose from foreign influences which dramatically changed the social fabric. To end this current state of disarray, one would have to reconsider adopting traditional African lifestyles and methods of production.

Kwame Nkrumah also championed a class-free society. He realized, however, that there are indeed classes and social discrepancies. African socialism ought to propagate the creation of a common, national consciousness and a common identity rooted in old values.

Akinyemi claims that the conflicts of contemporary Africa are based on ethnic differences and therefore a strong tendency exists for the establishment of identities such as Yoruba, Zulu, Shona or Idbo, but not for an identity as an inhabitant of Nigeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe or Uganda.

It would be wrong to define nations on the belief that they contain a society with common politics, destiny and language. Additionally, different colonial state structures existed in the various nations. As a result, African socialism is unable to offer an optimal solution for an ideal African structure, as it has already accepted the colonial identity of Africa by tolerating the new borders and names of nations issued to it. African Socialism has taken the path of a one-party system, with a party representing the state. The identity of the population should match that of the party and the state. He who refuses to be a member of society becomes an opponent of traditional values and culture. The one-party system poses a danger as it could become authoritarian and use force to prevail. For this reason, African socialism could not succeed, it could not create an African identity and therefore will remain visionary.

Although capitalism is rejected by African socialism, there are nevertheless capitalist concepts like private landownership. Land was inherited in Africa, with the exception of some societies where females were only given access to the use of land after the birth of her first son. The concept of communal property resulted in land available for everybody, as no

individual amassed unused land as property. Capitalist ways of production were a colonialist body of thought and introduced the hoarding of wealth and power to traditional African societies. The exploitation of people was new a new concept to the Africans, as the individual only existed within, not outside the community, as all citizens were interdependent. With a one-party system and the state, a nation should be created with a uniform identity and a homogenous society.

Due to the history of the African people, slave trade, capitalism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, it was attempted to push a European way of life into Africa (terms like Franco-, Anglo-, Lusophon originate from this), which suggested an incomplete sense of belonging. A solution to this problem was seen (from the West and Africa) as a search for identity, which implied Africans as inferior. The resulting complex produced slogans like “Black is Beautiful” and “Black Power/Consciousness”, while, and as according to individuals such as Rasheed Akinyemi, there should be nothing special about being black.

The African people have therefore tried to rid their continent of the colonial Western heritage and have been searching for alternatives. One approach was found in Karl Marx's debate with the Western left. The creation of labour unions and worker parties was seen as impressive and African intellectuals like Léopold Sédar Senghor based the rebuilding of Africa on these teachings and models. Senghor realized that European workers also had to suffer under colonial exploitation and the idea for new African socialism emerged. The original traditions and religion of Africa should constitute the basis for a new African socialism. The past was glorified and enriched with modern values, which, according to Mohamed Babu, lead to stereotyping the African. Critics compared this glorification of their own history with the attempt of the colonial rulers to justify colonialism.

Ali Mazrui is afraid that such a deceptive glorification and representation of Africa as an island of innocence, non-violence and peace is being romantic and this should not be promoted as a claim that Africa can solve its own problems with an independent African socialism. The attempt to establish an equalized and harmonious society failed as class-differences became larger and the African citizens strived for a Western lifestyle as demonstrated by their colonial masters. There was no severe class warfare, rather conflicts about religious and ethnic identity were prominent.

Nonetheless, African socialism failed because it did not integrate modern African reality and simplified the social and economic reality of pre-colonial Africa. It failed to acknowledge the different identities and nations of Africa. The problems of today did not arise from a lack of tradition, but from an unequal distribution of resources. There isn't, and there never was, a uniform African identity, and there was no attempt in pre-colonial times to create a uniform identity, because the individual groups always fulfilled the requirements of their members. As soon as outer influences interfered with this working system, problems arose and the identity crisis surfaced (Akinyemi 1996, 87-107).

3.8.4 African identity development policy

Mazrui argues that the African past, which is a mixture of western, Arabic and African roots, can be synthesized (Mazrui 1986, 239).

A reconditioning of common, African similar concepts such as Negritude, authenticity, African personality, black consciousness, African myths and so forth could be the basis for unification, solidarity and independence. Development politics should support and recondition aspects of African culture so that Africans can identify with it so they want to participate in development projects. Unfortunately the western development initiatives were often not used by African decision makers to create an own African way of development (Mestre 1995, 101-115).

New African leaders who, in their political actions, administer African norms, values, culture and tradition become increasingly important. Such leaders should see themselves as representatives of their people and not as those of the outside world (Ake 1985, 1212-1215).

Furthermore, strong family and social group bonds act as strong social institutions which can be an important factor in development policy. Culture and tradition remain the basis of social interactions between members of a society who have similar interests and a common understanding of their surroundings (Adjibolosoo 1995, 4-5).

4 The contribution of media for the construction of identity

Media can influence the way of communication and the therein included message because they influence the way in which we view ourselves and the way others view us. The media can also influence the relation between thinking and acting. Public actions change through medial influence. Furthermore, the media plays a part in the public construction of the personal identity and other individuals can be affiliated with them. They influence through their content. Media can offer content used for the creation of identity, such as the judgement of hairstyle or clothes. They offer instruments so we are able to communicate with others on first meeting.

Media also creates an identification with media protagonists and their actions, such as; role models; handling of conflicts; role and action examples, which affect the creation of identity. The question is how we can justify the collective identity? Naturally, there are social groups which have the same ancestry, tradition and cultural values, but can we take this as a basis for a collective identity? Is there a collective identity between bus drivers, soccer fans or men? No one wants to be reduced to only one aspect of his or her personality because the many fine individual characteristics that define us as human beings must be expressed.

Basic fragments of identity such as ethnic group, language, culture, gender, social positioning can certainly affect individual actions. Our communication, self-construction and ascription given by others advert to these basics. These basics must nonetheless be known when communicating with another to correctly.

Ascription may lead to an individual determining a communication partner to be a bus driver and nothing more. Shallowly identify someone as a bus driver, allows orientation but doesn't permit the permanent foundation of a personal identity. Sherry Turkle argues that manifold media multiplies the aspects of identity and this can result in a cancellation of identity. On the contrary the personal self could become multifaceted, with the adoption of new structures and the ability to communicate could expand through more media means (Krotz 2003, 38-9).

With the rise of electronic mass media, which greatly replaced traditional identity agencies, the communicative infrastructure was formed by media programs. The remaining face-to-face

communication of today also utilizes materials which we acquire through media (Dörner 2000, 158-9).

Mass media gives orientation and serves for presentation and attribution. Electronic media is greatly involved in the modern construction of identity and therefore, identities must be products of communication. Moreover, the media culture of the modern leisure society constitutes an important resource for the creation of identity (Dörner 2000, 159-60).

The significance of media in the process of construction of identity poses another question. Kevin Robins and David Morley argue that due to the transnational function of electronic communication technologies, it is possible to make a new definition between space and location. This is demonstrated through media's ability to transmit identity resources across traditional borders of territories and nations (Winter, Thomas and Hepp 2003, 12-3).

Winter, Thomas and Hepp argue that one must be careful not to over-accentuate the trans-border abilities of the media. Firstly, in the present day there is an increasing amount of complex media offers available and the recipient must, on this enormous identity market, must choose their own identity. Secondly, one should not assume that just because media contents are transmitted transnationally, that cultural identities are instantly homogenised. Additionally, media such as radio, TV, telephone, and the Internet have altered our concept of space. The individual's ability to navigate through the world of media has become easier than physically visiting a neighbour (2003, 13-4).

People identify themselves with a medial communicated range of identities, as they are able recognize or distinguish themselves with promoted identities. Such identity ranges refer to different social positions, values and cultural meanings, but also to affiliation of certain groups (Busch 2001, 7).

Charlton and Neumann view communication as essential for the development and conservation of identity. Indeed every subject's identity is unique but the individual must nonetheless employ common social and lingual rules. For the development of a subjective structure within an individual, real life experiences with others is more important than the experience with media stories. Media absorption is always also a form of action, out of which several possibilities for moral estimation and ethnic acceptance can result. In medial

communication there is no pressure of action and excuse. At the same time the fear of self-portrayal in front of others is eliminated. While identifying with medial characters, individuals can test their own forms of self-portrayal and its effect on others. Medial communication, in comparison with face-to-face interaction, naturally has constricted possibilities of social interactions, but does not completely eliminate the social embedding of communication. Parts of the identity donating elements of real dialogues can, though in a different form, be found in medial communication as well. The spectator finds offers for self-development, which expands the access to ones own identity (Charlton and Neumann 1990, 196-7).

4.1 Broadcasting and National Integration

To use Ghana as a comparative example, after independence, broadcasting in Ghana developed from an Empire Service to an Africanised Ghanaian service and adapted broadcasting to national needs for integration and development.

After independence most African countries faced an identity crisis and people living within geographical boundaries saw themselves as belonging to ethnic group rather than to a nation. To create a sense of nationhood one needs national symbols with which all can identify. People in neighbouring countries have much in common with those within the nation of Ghana, and like Kenya, there are a multitude of languages used in the country. So how can we ensure a common feeling of Ghanian-ness in these circumstances?

The solution in many African countries that faced the same situation has been to create elements and symbols which people can identify with in pride. A national airline becomes necessary, a national University, a national anthem and naturally also a national radio broadcast. Radio may even be the most important of these factors, as without it people would not even be aware of the other national achievements. National symbols are created and the medium of radio is needed to project them so people can recognize and identify with them. Radio and television are the best media for this purpose because they overcome the barriers of illiteracy and distance to bring people together. Radio is highly credited as a medium of opinion formation and politicians see it as a tool for nation-building. In Africa, for the most

part, broadcasting is considered a private preserve of the political elite to communicate with each other and to issue instructions to citizens. But to serve the needs of national integration, broadcasting must provide a forum for open discussion of national issues and the presentation of opposing views. National integration should create a common sense of belonging and involvement in the nation's business and this can only be achieved where there is active participation and partnership rather than manipulation.

Broadcasting as a one-way communication medium for the government undermines its own trustworthiness and professional integrity. In the development of national integration, radio should only play a supportive role. If symbols and messages are spread to promote national integration while the government takes actions which weaken national unity, the opposition will only create cynicism in the public's mind. In Africa, national integration is often mistaken for homogenisation. Political leaders of the past wanted citizens to support the same political party and, if there was no political party, support a common political ideology. During this period broadcasting played the role expected of it by the government. Unfortunately, this can still be observed today (Ansah 1988, 19-36).

5 Democracy

5.1 Terms of democracy

Since the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, democracy was ennobled to a universal norm. The Unesco aimed to set up a common, universal definition of democracy (Unesco 1951). Since 1947 there have been three models of democracy which C.B. McPherson calls the three worlds of democracy, which are:

1. the western, capitalist, competitive society-democracy;
2. the communist version of a non-liberal democracy for the vanguard transformation of class societies; and
3. the national homogenised development-democracy, which stands against foreign leadership and the exploitation of developing countries in the Third World.

So far, in Third World countries it seems that poverty, rural economy, economic dependency in external trade, socio-cultural traditionalism and deficient national integration have hindered the development of democracy. Since the 1960's the concept of the paternalistic presidential- or one-party system has dominated the developmental policies of Third World countries. As a result, the terms of democracy have been researched in a more exact manner (Schiller 1997, 28-50).

5.2 Principles and implementation of democracy

Regarding democracy, Hadenius claims:

„Public policy is to be governed by the freely expressed will of the people whereby all individuals are to be treated as equals “(Schiller 1997, 32).

Other than him, Robert A. Dahl defines democracy through seven polyarchy-criteria:

- 1-4. Free and fair elections of public representatives with the common right to vote;
5. Freedom of expression of political opinion and criticism for all citizens;
6. The availability of alternative sources of information and;
7. The freedom to constitute organisations.

Beside the several definitions of democracy set by Dahl, there is one common frame of principles which stipulates five principles:

1. Guaranteed human-rights and the right to freedom of all people, as well as the protection of minorities and limitation of state capacity;
2. Political equality;
3. Openness of power structures, political competition and restriction of power;
4. Transparency and rationality of decision making processes and;
5. Political effectiveness, freedom of decision and action (Schiller 1997, 32).

Dahl, Huntington and Eisenstadt state that there are five conditions which promote the development of democracy:

1. The dispersion or neutralisation of the governmental executive;
2. A modern, dynamic, pluralist society;
3. A differentiated, pluralist social structure;
4. A political culture adapted to polyarchy and;
5. An international attitude which is beneficial for democracy and a democracy compatible dependency respectively (Schiller 1995, 293).

Several pathways can be taken for the crossover from an authoritarian to a democratic system (Schiller 1997, 45):

„Neben der (1) externen (Wieder) Einführung von Demokratie (z.B. durch Besatzungsmächte nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, vgl. aber neuerdings Haiti 1995], geht es (2) um Reforminitiativen von Teilgruppen des alten Regimes, (3) um Reformaushandlung mit der Opposition (Südafrika, Bolivien, Polen) und (4) um den Zusammenbruch („ruptura“, see also Juan Linz) und Machtübernahme der Opposition.“

For the development of democracy one also needs imperishable political actors. Some authors consider urban, middle-class actors in Africa and Asia as such. (Schubert, Tetzlaff and Vennewald 1994, 6-7). Such groups however, must first have to disassociate themselves from privileged groups and found new coalitions, possibly with the assistance of unions.

5.3 Terms and conditions of democracy in the Third World

Marx and Weber are the founding fathers of modern social sciences. Marx developed the dependency theories in Latin America and claims that underdevelopment equals dependency. Whereas Weber states in his Anglo-Saxon modernization theories that underdevelopment equals tradition.

In the quest for a complex definition of democracy, issues such as democratic personality (Sniderman 1975; Berg-Schlosser 1982), rational action and a culture's ability to tolerate the political handling of conflicts (Forum of PVS 1980-81) must be considered.

Fundamentally, social structure and methods of production and economic distribution of goods are mainly considered. Medial plurality (Dahl 1982), a balanced party system and social movements are also aspects that must be considered when defining democracy. Political questions such as the division of power, the right to vote, constitutional legality, independence of the media and judiciary are ostensible. Further attributes of democracy include the will to make political compromises, respect for the opposition, the verifiability of decisions and the avoidance of corruption. Alongside these factors, the ability to obtain chronological dynamics of development and adaptation are also of importance. Aside from this, one must consider external influences such as military occupation, immigration, economic dependencies and global impacts (Thompson 1983).

Moreover, there are additional, central questions such as which political system is in place and an acknowledgement of rights and freedom of all people (Berg-Schlosser 1999, 38-78).

5.4 Democracy from Europe to the Third World

The object of investigation of democracy research developed in stages. These stages are as follows, in chronological order:

- Modern Times and the revolutions in France and America.
- The end of World War II, the collapse of the Ottoman, Habsburg and the Russian Empires brought a second impulse for Europe.
- The third stage was the decolonialisation after World War II in Asia and Africa. Several states became independent, such as India, Botswana and Mauritius. Further impulses came from the collapse of regimes in Spain, Portugal and Greece after 1974 and the end of some military regimes in Latin America in the 1980's.
- The final stage involves the changes that occurred in Eastern- and Central Europe in 1989, which had great influence on parts of Africa and Asia. The Freedom House reports that worldwide only 117 out of 191 (61.3%) independent states have democratic governments, in which some are still instable. A certain degree of democratisation as the basis for discussion has great importance for the implementation of universal goals, values and human rights. Consequently, dialogue

between different nations and cultures is possible. Democracy cannot foster where criticism is suppressed by authoritarian regimes.

Since its independence, Kenya has retained its political structure and theoretically a freedom of information and the press (Berg-Schlosser 1999, 19-29).

5.5 The necessity for participatory democracy in Africa

Due to crisis's and instability in many African countries, democracy is often seen a waste of time. There is also the argument that African democracy is expensive and in times of war central control is seen as the most efficient and cost-effective of governing a nation. Therefore, in decades past, control has won over active popular participation in numerous African nations.

Goulbourne states:

“In other words, the widespread concern over the generalisation of democratic participation of people who fought for independence against the various colonial powers who carved up Africa before and after the Congress of Berlin in 1883, have had little effect on the new political institutions and forms of political practices which have emerged since independence” (Goulbourne 1987, 27).

When Africa was re-established after independence, little concern was given to the reinforcement of active citizen involvement in local and national concerns, especially in matters of urgent distress. Methods of control and anti-democratic political practice have rather been given precedence. Most post-colonial African states have moved in an interventionist direction. It is often assumed that states which have advanced liberal capitalism do not result from the strict regulation of the economy and a proper relationship between groups and individuals in civil society and economy.

Capitalist states have been first to establish the basic rules for peaceful market relations, such as labour representation, as well as the creation of the material infrastructure required for capital growth. In the early stages of capitalism, the state was the main protector of the

emerging bourgeoisie and as the state developed a complex social partition of labour along with an integrated social and economic system, politics became a more integral part of society. This form of capitalism, as seen in countries such as Britain, has long been viewed as the ideal form of a capitalist state. However, Africa is a far from being seen as unique.

On the other hand we could expect to witness similar phenomena in socialist states. In such systems the state is expected to be greatly centralized due to the organized and centralized planning performed, such as performed in the Soviet Union. Interventionism is also axiomatic in socialist states.

In Africa however, these questions are yet to be faced as the central political problem revolves around the traditional rights of common civilians. The post-colonial Africa is centralized, imperious and restrictive in its actions. It concentrates state power in only a few institutions. This often equates to one man few assistants. The interventionist state attempts to restrict the citizen's social life and in the economic field the states strive for total control over all economic actions. Conversely, the state claims to nationalize enterprises of all sectors or it assists private ventures to function in a more resourceful manner. In politics, the state simply eliminates all critical and oppositional voices and denies political discussions amongst its citizens.

This highlights Africa's difference from interventionist socialist and capitalist states. In almost all African countries there is no proper technological foundation for the professional participation in the economic and social life of society and administrators lack the know-how and motivation to realize sound policies. Democratic institutions and practices can not be assumed because people had to struggle for them and had to continually defend and restate their rights. In some states the right of citizens to express themselves freely often is a right issued by the state which can be revoked at any time. In some African nations, democratic rights must be defended, but in many others they still have to be established.

The first post-colonial leaders of Africa have failed to establish democratic institutions and methods of addressing public affairs. In achieving this, the initial years after independence would have been the ideal, as the public was highly enthusiastic about creating a new social order. At the time, the newly instated political leaders enjoyed a unique, charismatic authority which could have formed the path to political independence.

The current question however, is if these new states are to be accepted as classic 'capitalist' or 'socialist' states, or do they represent new structures which analysts must now define. Almost all post-colonial leaders have declared themselves to be socialist, although this term has not been truly descriptive, because such leaders felt that they should respond to the popular demands for democratic involvement and a fairer supply of national resources. Such states cherish their underdeveloped capitalist features and the undemocratic structures inherited from colonialism.

An interesting institutional feature of African states is the occurrence of 'presidentialism', which involves the centralisation of state power in the hands of a president and his office. The president supposedly represents his people in all national matters, but many of these leaders do not receive their authority through election by citizens. In some countries the only existing political party nominates one candidate to become president. But if there is only one candidate there is no need for an election and he is considered to be unopposed.

At present, there are a variety of regimes in Africa, which include the multi-party parliament (such as in Zimbabwe and Senegal), restricted parliament, along with despotic and military government. The latter two forms are often considered as the most efficient way to control society, but are unable to change the country and establish democratic structures. In this case, the party is supreme over all other state institutions and areas of civil society. The Single-party political system is the most stable regime type used by leaders. Within this system, democratic organisations are allowed limited participation in public affairs, however the philosophy however involves restriction of democratic participation. This has led to disintegrated authority in the cases of South Africa and Namibia.

A major issue in African society is the public is notified of political decisions after they have been made behind closed doors. These outcomes are then presented as democratic decisions. Thus, it is difficult to analyse African politics since they are not clearly exposed to the public. Furthermore, instead of utilizing their position to build a democratic system, post-colonial leaders built systems that repressed the public. National unity, which was forced by the state, was pitched against open politics. This unity was then justified as socialism and therefore those who stood against unity were illustrated as being against the ideals of socialism.

Another strong argument of the post-colonial leaders was that the accepted beliefs and institutions of democracy are of colonial character and was therefore unacceptable. However, Africa was never able to enjoy the democratic practices of the imperialist countries and therefore could not be described as colonial. Moreover, democracy is not simply created by the imperialist class, it is rather the result of class struggles within the imperialist centres themselves. A basic delusion in this matter is what we refer to as democracy or bourgeois freedoms such as freedom of assembly, worship, freedom to publish and freedom speech, are entirely created by the bourgeois class. The socialist vision however sees democracy of the bourgeois period being transformed, separating them from their origins, thus making it hard for them to realise their full potential.

Many post-colonial countries have had to face many re-occurring problems such as national integration and the creation of a new political institution, which other states have faced in different historic periods, and were thus able to deal with them in a more linear fashion. In addition, many African states had to face intrusions by the fascist government of South Africa and the might of the last colonial power of Portugal, supported by NATO.

Another view is that democracy and development are contradictory: a poor country can not afford any luxuries when the task of development is the main national project, over which independence was fought. This implies that the democratic structures instated in the countries which were once colonies fell short of true democracy.

Another aspect is that democracy is not necessary for development. In some societies these events went hand in hand and in some cases one preceded the other. In some countries, democratic participation was present long before any economic development. In the African case, the specific experiences of people from several countries who fought for independence all share once common characteristic, being that during the struggle a high level of democratic participation occurred. It is argued that at this stage could have been used as the turning point at which democracy in Africa could have truly emerged (Goulbourne 1987, 26-47).

5.6 Underdevelopment and participation

The underdevelopment of social classes in Africa is large contributor to the country's underdevelopment. Before political independence, there was an absence of a leading social class aware of their social and economic position, which fought for independence and political power. The class which was put in a position of power was economically fragile and split between ethnic, racial and provincial identities. Their one claim was to avoid foreigner rule of the country, outside the economic sphere. Nationalism gave control to the first generation of African leaders. Nationalist emotions such as unity against the colonialists took precedence over alternative voices and arguments. Numerous problems such as civil war, coups, the silencing of contradictory voices and the like are justified by the argument for national unity. Particularly after independence, the new leading classes had no firm economic base and the country did not take the expected course towards development.

Whatever the course of development in the various African countries might be, the political structures look very similar: socialism instated in some countries and capitalism in others, but the issues of class development and the questionable appropriate use of the instruments by the state are common throughout. While struggling to create growth, the small bourgeoisie in African countries used a dictatorial government with the governor as their central figure.

In parts of the ex-colonial world people did not have the opportunity to refer to their political history for alternative political forms, such as the Anglophone Caribbean, while in Africa this has not been the case. It is therefore interesting to observe that leaders in Africa have regressed to the example led by former colonial administrative arrangements as a model from which to establish their new political order. At the centre of the new model was a governor whose personal will was highly influential within a frame established by the colonial powers. Some of the framework formed in the former colony, in the political and military sense was also maintained. In former times the colonial governor had been the leading figure of the political order, but after independence this position was taken by the president and his national and international experts.

The main distinction between the colonial and the independent political order is that the independent order has a basis of political legitimacy. The extent of this legitimacy however is continuously questioned as it has led to civil wars and other major developmental disruptions which have hindered the African people from creating a reasonable order that was so desperately needed.

The working classes in Africa were unable to voice themselves against the ruling class. This is interesting if we consider the expression of class interest in Europe at a time when there was no model to refer to. The working classes ensured that democracy, participation and ideology did not emerge without their own interests being taken into consideration. In Africa, the small bourgeoisie has gained greater political independence, whilst workers and peasants who had been used as cannon fodder in their struggle for representation gained very little.

Due to the late development of social classes in the African continent and also the opportunities available to leaders of the ruling classes, people with leadership qualities were deceived by the nationalist vision of a new, however uncertain Africa, and became integral in the mission to build a new leading class within the underdevelopment left as a result of imperialism.

Furthermore, the continent's large dependency on external powers and the low rate of return on investment projects make it difficult for serious leaders to efficiently foster development of infrastructure and productive forces. The most obvious option after independence was to develop the export of agriculture and to increase the production of goods not available in industrial countries. The money earned through these initiatives should have been invested in the technical development African nations, but sadly this did not come to fruition. Many academics, such as Julius Nyerere illustrate that the costs of imported manufactured products continued to increase whilst increased agriculture output for export markets only served to lower the selling price of produce. [see, for example, Fidel Castro, 'How Latin America's and Third World's Unplayable Foreign Debt Can and Should be Cancelled and the Pressing Needs for the New International Economic Order' interview granted to the Mexican daily *Excelsior* (Editoria Politica 1985).

These countries are capable of setting the cost of manufactured as well as imported goods through rule of the market and support of their governments. Another option implemented by some African countries has been the development of local industry through import-substitution. The most promising opportunity would be to become a producer of heavy industrial goods. Companies should move from industrial countries to developing nations where labour is cheaper. A factor that negatively influences this concerns the exploitation of cheap labour by foreign investors. But nevertheless, poor state control in Africa results in the

country being unable to accommodate foreign companies in Africa. Moreover, international political interference in the continent's affairs have had a negative impact on Africa as superpowers such as the USA and USSR once competed for political influence in certain African provinces. These powers have made clear that African leaders decide for one or the other super blocks; Soviet/Eastern or US/NATO. (Nyong'o 1987, 37-43)

5.7 Democracy and Media

There is no democracy without media. In Latin the word medium means middle/midway or mediator. Talcott Parsons, the founder of the systems theory, argues that the various forms of media are generalized means of interchange to clarify certain intentions (Parsons 1976).

Niklas Luhmann speaks of media as a system-environment-differentiation of at least nine different media including power, love, truth, property/money, law, art, belief, influence and attachment to value (Künzler 1987).

The most appropriate definition of the media comes from Gerhard Maletzkes, who understands "media as agents of circulation in the process of communication" (Maletzke 1963).

Hans J. Kleinsteuber argues that media describes the technical instruments of circulation which, with its assertions, addresses a broad public, which is either basically unlimited or personally defined. This definition, which implies the transmission of content between people over great distances, includes media such as posters, flyers, books, magazines, newspapers, telephone, television, radio and internet (Kleinsteuber 1989).

Democracy in the Greek sense refers to the people (Demos) that ruled (Kratein), however it does address how the people ruled. For Abraham Lincoln, democracy was "government of the people, by the people and for the people" (Sartori 1992).

In ancient Greece, the origin of democracy, Aristotle described politics as "a way of leadership of the people with considerateness of the poor". (Aristoteles 1279b). Aristoteles definition of democracy, which appoints the abolishment of the subordination and partnership

of governance, has remained unchallenged. The transformation process in the middle of the second century led to an extension of political fiefdom and finally to the development of an internally segregated mass society. Therefore, the democratic claim that citizens rule themselves must be dropped. The great regional distances made it impossible for people to congregate in order to make decisions. Consequently, the idea of representation became popular, which lead to one particular part of society as the leader of the rest of society.

Modern democracies are representative democracies and are as such dependent on a communication infrastructure. The use of media has the precondition that people must be competent enough to understand broadcast messages, as this the main method of communication between parliamentary representatives and the public. The perception of sovereignty is a very communicative action and can only be achieved through a technical infrastructure (Pfetsch 1991).

5.8 Communication and press freedom in Kenya

In Africa, modern communication systems were introduced to integrate the economy and the public with the international market. Aside from the obvious benefits, this has often served the interests of international business better than national development for many African countries including Kenya. The role of the press in Kenya was divided into three different spheres; the liberal/commercial; the authoritarian; and protest traditions interpreted from those developed in Western Europe.

5.8.1 The liberal/commercial tradition

The liberal tradition is the oldest sector, privately owned and thus competitive. Its task is to inform the population to their support decision making regarding public affairs and consumption.

The commercial press also acts as a platform for public debates. In one sense, the liberal tradition used to be conservative. In another, the modern tradition requires enormous distribution networks and a large budget for labour, telecommunication and wire services. It is

mostly financed by advertisements and enterprises. By definition, it “is pro-business and supportive of a stable political environment” (Altschull 1988). The liberal press tries to address an audience that appeal to advertisers and where possible, avoid stories that could possibly instigate class conflicts. (Heath 1997, 31):

“In a developing nation like Kenya, this means urban populations with cash incomes: civil servants, employees of commercial establishments, and factory workers as well as salaried bureaucrats and independent business persons.”

The commercial press was established during colonialism and several newspapers such as the East African Standard (founded as the African Standard in 1909) supported European and Asian political, commercial and social interests:

“From 1928 until 1958 international telecommunication companies provided radio services in exchange for a monopoly on providing external telecommunication services in the colony and 90 percent of the revenues from annual receiver fees.” (Heath 1997, 31).

The target audience of media services such as Kenya radio were European civil servants, missionaries and settlers. Light entertainment, music, drama and BBC-news linked Europeans to their home continent. The Asian market for radio and goods advertised on it grew fast and programs in Asian languages were also broadcasted. Programs for African citizens were provided by the state of Kenya. In 1962 all broadcasting was taken over by British, North American and Kenyan media companies and the introduction of television was agreed upon. The Colonial Office, with the support of foreign films, news and advertisement, wanted to ensure the continuing British economic, political and cultural influence in Kenya. The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), however, soon was in debt to the government and was nationalized in 1964, but continued to broadcast foreign news and entertainment programs.

At present, there are three commercial newspaper groups in Kenya: *The Standard*, *The Nation* and the *Kenya Times*. There is also the *Kenya Television Network* (KTN) and numerous periodicals such as *The Weekly Review*, *Daily Nation*, *Sunday Nation*, *Kenya Times* and *Nairobi Law Monthly*.

Foreign interests are still very well advocated, but well educated Kenyans have managed the papers for many years. The commercial media is still mainly sponsored by multinational companies. Standard, Ltd., a subsidiary of Lonrho, which publishes *The Standard* and *The Standard on Sunday*, is a London-based company with investments in major areas of Kenya's economy (beginning with the purchase of the East African Standard in 1967) and South and Central Africa.

“Alliances with the ruling class were cemented by appointing prominent Kenyans to boards and managerial positions in local subsidiaries” (Heath 1997, 33).

“*The Standard* was used to project a climate of opinion favourable to international business and to attack Kenyan nationalists who opposed Lonrho's takeovers.” (Heath 1997)

Editorial control was given to those who supported the government of the day and valued international business relations (see Heath 1997, 32). Both Editors-in-Chief Kenneth Bolton (who held the position at the time of the Lonrho takeover) and George Githii (who held the office from 1980 until 1982) had close relations with the ruling party through their friendship with the anglophile Attorney General Charles Njonjo. When Henry Gathigira held the position from 1975 – 1980, Foreign Minister Njoroge Mungai protected the Standard. Both *The Standard* and *The Standard on Sunday* publish more European stories and business news than African articles.

National publishers publish four papers, which were founded in 1960: *Daily Nation*, *Sunday Nation* and Kiswahili counter-parts, *Taifa Leo* and *Taifa Jumapili*, which are mostly joint-stock companies with over 60% of shares on the Nairobi Stock Exchange.

Control is held by the *The Daily Nation's* owner Aga Khan, who is also the spiritual leader of the Ismaili Muslims. Aga Khan also owns the largest private development organization in the Third World, the Aga Khan Network, whose projects range from rural health care to tourism (Christian Science Monitor 1988, 8):

“The network emphasizes self-sufficiency, sound management, a good knowledge of local conditions, and the most appropriate technology... [it also] stresses the

promotion of private enterprise and venture capital and seeks to expand hard-currency revenue by using local resources that are renewable and geared to export.” (see Heath 1997, 33).

”The Nation is the leading paper with daily and weekly circulations of 200 000 and 252,940 respectively, more than double the combined circulations of its two rivals (Daily Nation 1990, 11).”

The Daily Nation has the most dealings with the government. With the return of the multi-party system The Daily Nation started to support the opposition.

The Kenya Times, The Sunday Times, Kenya Leo and *Kenya Lumapili* were founded by the ruling party, Kenya African Union (KANU) in 1983. (Heath 1997, 34):

“Since 1988 it has been owned by the Kenya Times Media Trust (KTMT), a joint-venture between KANU Investments and Maxwell Communications.”

The Kenya Times has been more courageous in reporting governmental and private corruption issues than most privately owned newspapers. It also has a party section on Sundays with articles about all current political parties.

In March 1990, the Kenya Times Television Network was founded in Nairobi as part of the Kenya Times Media Trust. Although the public did not associate the Kenya Times Television Network with KANU because the news service had an independent appearance, as it reported governmental issues that the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation-Television (KBC-TV) often ignored. In 1993, viewers were informed that the local news service provided by the Kenya Television Network (KTN) would be discontinued, despite its good performance. It was cited that the KTN was inadequate for the commercial networks and the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, together with the newspapers, would be sufficient for the Kenyan news market.

From the numerous periodicals published in Kenya is the magazine *The Weekly Review*. Published by Stella graphics and edited by Hilary Ng’weno, it mainly reports on political and business issues. It has avoided being banned due to its care to present all positions and opinions alike and give constructive criticism.

5.8.2 Authoritarian/Development Tradition

“The authoritarian/development tradition is rooted in the ancient notion that certain people: philosopher kings, priests and male house-holders are, by virtue of their heritage, education, gender, or race, wiser and more capable of understanding the complexity of public affairs than are other people. It is, therefore, their duty to look after, uplift, and make decisions for others in their household, plantation, or nation” (Heath 1997, 35).

This sector embodies the philosophy of public broadcasting and is also called development journalism. Radio, as the only real mass medium in Kenya, could be very important for national development and integration, but has so far been misused by the state to serve the interest of the ruling elites.

The authoritarian/development tradition was initiated by the European belief that mass media is powerful enough to strongly persuade, educate and administer the population. This theory was adopted from the American development theory, which assumed that development and modernization could be supported with the help of mass media. The press was controlled by the state, which was justified by the argument that Kenya was fighting a war against poverty and disease and thus could not risk an open debate about politics and leaders.

During World War II, broadcasting was used by the colonial government as an instrument of social control. The African Information Service (AIS) leased cable, wireless and air facilities to broadcast in African and Asian languages in order to gain support for the war. In the 1950's, the colonial AIS increased broadcasts time and the amount of languages broadcast. 'Loyal' Africans were hired to persuade rebels to surrender and stay loyal to the British colonial government. After the rebellion was quelled, radio was utilized to encourage the population to stay in favour of the British culture.

By the time of independence, Achieng Oneko, then Minister of information, Broadcasting and Tourism, gave the official reading of the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Bill in the House of Representatives;

“Our primary objective is not profit-making but rather that these powerful weapons should become instruments for the constructive development of our country.” (Heath 1997, 37).

Between 1964 and 1989, broadcasting was controlled by the state and run by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (MIB), named the Voice of Kenya (VOK). Since 1989, however, it was privatized and financed by advertisements, receiver fees and government subsidies. The Kenya News Agency (KNA) is still operated by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and the training centre at the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication. It is supported by the Unesco and publishes several Kiswahili regional papers.

There are three radio services in Kenya, and the Kiswahili broadcast, which avoids broadcasting in other languages, has the most powerful transmitters in the nation and thus can be received throughout almost the entire nation. The main channel highly integrates economical and political issues into its broadcasts, also reaches people with little education. Its reports cover national ceremonies and news, parliamentary events, development news and it advertises affordable goods produced in Kenya. Broadcasts include Kenyan music and it is by far the most popular channel in Kenya, effectively earning the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation a large amount of commercial income.

The KBC, however, was criticised for giving too much broadcast time to the ruling party and even refused to broadcast paid advertisements from opposing parties leading up to the 1992 elections. Additionally, the KBC financially supported the Presidential Press Unit as well as the Vice-presidential unit. Moreover, the Vernacular Services only covered translations of national news and vernacular music. Rural areas are not covered by the program since there are no mobile units, funding or equipment allocated for these purposes. Grass roots communications, which communication scientists like Paul Ansah believe are essential for development (Ansah 1992, 53-56; Alot 1982) have not been given enough attention in Kenya. The only initiative in this regard was an FM community radio station sponsored by the Unesco in Homa Bay. This project was aborted in 1984 after 30 months of operation due to the fear that it could possibly spur a critical attitude towards the ruling elite. Kenya radio reports in English and its audience used to include foreigners and business people. Nowadays programming on Kenya radio has more of an educational orientation. Television is still an

urban upper class luxury in Kenya. In 1992, there were only 320 000 licensed TV sets (Kenya Times 1992, 16), many of these in hotels. KBC-TV broadcasts can only be received in Mombassa, Nairobi, Nakuru and Kisumu.

5.8.3 The Advocacy/Protest Tradition

Traditionally the public's ability to criticize the political system, economic policies or social structure is empowered through the press. The press in this sense includes posters, newssheets and audio cassettes of protest songs and periodicals. It stands for a free marketplace of ideas, like the liberal tradition.

With European education and familiarity with how a modern state should work, nationalistic people began publishing newspapers in African languages aimed at educate Africans in European traditions, so they would be able to challenge enterprises and support independence. After independence the advocacy press remained, but the issues of protest changed focus to Kenya's new elite and the neo-colonial state rather than settlers and the colonial state. There are numerous publications supported by respected institutions like the National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCK) and the Law Society of Kenya (LSK), which are unable to be silenced by the government.

In the 1920's advocacy magazines such as BEYOND, Society, Finance and the Nairobi Law Monthly combined education, nationalism and protest to create a well informed population to form a democratic society.

The magazine society reported on human rights, gave criticism to KANU, praised Amnesty International and Africa Watch for exposing human rights abuses and called for the end of the one-party rule in a populist language. The Nairobi Law Monthly started as a legal news magazine and from 1990 it promoted public education, freedom of expression, independent judiciary, elections, customary law and awareness of labour rights. It is published in English, which denies access to those without English reading skills.

5.8.4 Degrees of Freedom

To be a modern, liberal state, Kenya must have a media environment only restricted by the professional journalist code, rather than the current restrictions imposed by legislation, which were instated in former colonial times. Freedom of expression is limited by the constitution. The rights to assemble, publish and speak freely may be restricted in matters of defence, public safety, wellbeing, order and principles. Preventive detention, as used by the colonialists, is constitutionally, but not communally authorized. All publications must be registered:

“In the interest of public order, health or morals, the security of Kenya, the administration of justice or the maintenance of the authority and impartiality of the judiciary the Attorney General may ban the importation, printing, possession, and distribution of particular publications” (Heath 1997, 43).

Media is also restricted by laws of defamation, agitation (roughly defined as provoking sedition, disrespecting the President or state institutions, or inciting the downfall of the government or laws), or disloyalty. There are, although, hearings for the publisher to defend their actions. In 1988, for example, the magazine BEYOND was banned and accused of sedition for criticizing KANU's system. The most strictly supervised media are the state media such as the Kenya News Agency, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting services and the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. Most bans concern the media using vernacular languages and addressing the masses with vernacular newssheets, community plays, radio and audio cassettes and protest publications.

Society, Finance and the Nairobi Law Monthly have often been observed by the police. The Nairobi Law Monthly was banned in October 1990 after publishing a critical article on the multi-party discussion.

Prominent editors and publishers are regularly questioned by the Criminal Investigations Division and forced to resign when Parliament members have political clashes with the media (Heath 1997, 45):

“For the most part, the commercial press is controlled by self-imposed restraints that are the product of economic concerns, journalistic values and practices, and ideological consensus.”

The media and the state are interdependent as the press depends on politicians and members of the government for stories as well as on the Kenya News Agency for local reports. Foreign owned press is grateful to the state for its survival as it is economically dependent. The commercial press only ever challenges the government when the solidity of the state is jeopardised, such as in the 1980's, high national debt, inflation, corruption, unprofessional conduct, human rights abuses were met with demands for political, social and economic reorganization. In the 1990's the commercial press joined the advocacy press in publishing articles concerning corruption and the abuse of human rights. In 1991, as the multi-party system was re-introduced, the commercial press became an important forum for political debate. The message of all commercial press was then to support economic and governmental transparency, value human rights and the law in order to end violence.

Although the state broadcasting system has a monopoly on official news in isolated areas of Kenya, in cities it must compete with the Kenya Television Network, newspapers and advocacy periodicals, which all have greater influence than radio, as the public associates radio with the voice of the President or KANU. Government officials and politicians read the commercial papers daily, simply because the state benefits from the competitive press and Kenya resultingly appears as a democratic and open minded country on the international stage. The state also needs the employment uptake, technical knowledge, capital and promotion of policies provided by the private media corporations.

In October 1992, a group of journalists led by Hilary Ng'weno published a code of ethics for journalists to establish a self-regulating Kenyan press. These codes assert editorial responsibility for every article, including advertisements and the protection of confidential sources of information. The codes also call for objective, just, correct and unprejudiced reporting on subjects of communal interest. The community's access to a published reply is also stipulated in the code.

This has given summary to the three press traditions in Kenya. This could give a feeling of pluralism, but this pluralism is limited to people who are aware of English or Swahili

dependence. The commercial press is committed to the people of the modern economic sector. The state media uses the press to project the president and enlarge his authority, rather than promote social development. The advocacy press believes that elite Kenyans and foreigners are more able to achieve change than the ordinary public (Heath 1997, 29-51).

5.9 Communication in modern societies

Over time, the use of media support has become more important for large societies, where direct communication no longer proves sufficient. At the end of the 15th century, direct communication was still common but press printing and the introduction of the post soon led to the abolishment of the need for physical presence in communication exchange.

It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that communication was extended by new technologies such as telephone, radio and newspapers (see Luhmann 1975, 17-8).

Analysis of the media focuses on societies and their connection with language. Provided that a society is based on communication, in modern day communication is a medially transmitted one. Each analysis that has media as its object of investigation has to envision the fact that the analysis is actually about communication. The media's task is to transmit communication and as a result make a contribution to integration (Oberreuter 1980, 71).

5.10 Democracy and communication

Juan Linz defines a system as democratic:

“when it allows the free formulation of political preferences, through the use of basic freedoms of associations, information, and communication, for the purpose of free competition between leaders to validate at regular intervals by non-violent means their claim to rule.” (Linz 1975).

With the development of the bourgeoisie, the demand for information about political processes grew. Until the end of 1791, English parliamentarians were not permitted to discuss

political matters as they feared that the perception of different opinions led to public unrest (Jäger 1992).

The Parliament is however an important arena of communication (Fraenkel 1991).

Karl Marx argues:

„Das parlamentarische Regime lebt von der Diskussion, wie soll es die Diskussion verbieten? [...] Der Rednerkampf auf der Tribüne ruft den Kampf der Preßbengel hervor, der debattierende Klub im Parlament ergänzt sich notwendig durch debattierende Klubs in Salons und in den Kneipen, die Repräsentanten, die beständig an die Volksmassen appellieren, berechtigen die Volksmeinung, in Petitionen ihre wirkliche Meinung zu sagen“. (Marx 1960).

Platon addressed the nature of democracy when he referenced the “boundlessness in speaking” (Platon 1988, 331)

In representative democracy the meaning of conversation was limited and only rarely is there direct input from the public.

Karl Deutsch argues that democratic systems should be seen as communication systems which depend on the exchange of information (Deutsch 1970).

The battle for freedom of speech and therefore a free press is strongly connected to the theory of democracy. Therewith arose the suppression of free speech as an attribute of totalitarian and authoritarian systems. This has led to the slackening of the public's intellect. But the interplay of individuals with different knowledge and opinions is the very factor that creates the intellectual life within a democracy (Hayek 1976, 171).

Heinrich Oberreuter argues that democratic communication is the cement that stabilizes a democratic society (Oberreuter 1986, 47).

5.11 Democracy and the public

Modern societies and an increasing number of totalitarian societies depend on communication additives. Adolf Arndt gives summary:

“...in der industriellen Großgesellschaft ohne Massenmedien kann es keine Demokratie geben [...], weil es ohne sie an der Breite und Intensität der Kommunikation fehlt, durch die sich eine Demokratie konstituiert“ (Arndt 1966, 17).

5.12 Multilingualism and democracy

India and Switzerland for example, are multilingual states and the establishment of a democratic society and a national identity was possible without a common language (Beierwaltes 1999, 236).

Andreas Ernst argues that the common identity found in these states resulted from a common experience and says:

“Die Vielsprachigkeit ist kein grundsätzliches Problem für die gemeinsame Identität einer staatlichen Körperschaft, sofern der Gebrauch der eigenen Sprache bewahrt bleibt und die Geltung der Sprache territorial definiert wird. Wer auf fremdsprachigem Territorium lebt, muss folglich die dort abgestammte Sprache als Zweitsprache lernen“. (Ernst 1998, 55-56).

Moreover, Kielmansegg, Grimm and Scharpf articulate that the more linguistically split a political society is, the smaller the likelihood that it will form on democratic principles. The aforementioned examples permit another hypothesis, which states the more tolerant that a political system is of its nations regional characteristics, the sooner it is able to bear linguistical heterogeneity (Beierwaltes 1999, 237).

5.13 African Socialism and traditions

The word African in African Nationalism does not correlate to a continent in which a foreign policy was forced upon its people, but rather a means to express the African origin of a

characteristically African system. African Socialism describes a positive African economic and political system not imported from a foreign country, but capable of integrating useful methods from available sources. The main conditions that the system must assure include the adoption of African traditions; the ability to adapt to new and changing circumstances; and the willingness to forge beneficial relations with foreign nations.

The two essential traditions which form the basis of African Socialism are political democracy and social responsibility. Each member of society must be politically equal. The state should never support special interests of individuals, but rather serve the need of the majority without prejudice. It is critical that disproportional political power held by economic power groups does not exist. The voice of a man should be heard and respected regardless of his economic wealth. Even in traditional clans, where the chief seemed to possess more wealth and political influence, there were traditional balances including sanctions against any possible abuse of power. Traditional leaders were seen as trustees and political rights did not rely on economic wealth or status, rather the individual's maturity was deemed critical when granting him permission to participate in political affairs.

If these ideals were to be transferred to our modern state, citizens would only have to prove their age and citizenship to participate in political matters and party actions. Every member of society can therefore belong to a political party without restriction or discrimination and the party would accept different opinions. Consequently, African Socialism differs from communism because it ensures every mature member of society has equal political rights. It also differs from capitalism because it prevents the uneven political influence of economic power groups.

Another important aspect of African life is religion, as it provides the people with a firm moral system. Common social responsibility to the nation, as an extension of the African family spirit, encourages the public to treat each other in a respected manner, as they know that society cannot flourish without the co-operation of its members. The state should therefore ensure equal opportunities, prevent discrimination and provide social services such as education, medical care and social security. Every member of traditional societies had an individual duty to work, which was acknowledged by all members of society. African society also had the power to sanction those who refused to contribute their share of work to the community. Therefore, African society expects its members to contribute to the development

of the nation. Society will, in return, reward these efforts and take measures against those who refuse to contribute to the nation; such as in the case of the misuse of resources, obvious over-consumption and sending needed capital abroad. Moreover, the public must be regularly informed about what society expects of them and how it will promote the welfare of all (Republic of Kenya 1965, 1-5).

6 Traditional Media

6.1 Communication in traditional African societies

Traditional societies, even before the development of the mass media, had an efficient communication system which was seen as a part of the public administration. The importance of communication was never a new development, but had always been a natural element of society (Mead 1979, 22).

The goal of the communication process is;

“...that the common goal of communicators is mutual understanding, and that communication is a process in which two or more individuals or groups share information, in order to reach a mutual understanding of each other and of the world in which they live. The goal of mutual understanding subsumes divergence at certain points and can be approached in a cyclical manner, through mutual information-sharing or feedback” (Unoh 1968, 5).

Communication in Africa can be divided into two forms;

1. Oral or informal communication
2. Systematic or formal communication

Informal communication involves face-to-face communication. It is mostly used to exchange information between family members or neighbouring villages and serves to strengthen the relations between relatives (Omu 1978, 2).

Communication enables the exchange of information between parties who are able to perceive the social and cultural contents a message. The function of face-to-face communication is to socialize, entertain and educate, as well as to support the finding of consciousness and fulfil individual socio-cultural needs. The use of indigenous languages makes it easier to distribute a message in ways unlike communication problem faced by modern media (Simpson 1985, 132-152).

Systematic or formal communication is mostly used in the political field between the government and the people. The contents of the political information given are concerning to Omu (1978):

1. The desire for information about local people and events;
2. the satisfaction of news hunger stimulated by war or rumours of war;
3. the necessity to speed information about political and religious decisions as well as threads to security;
4. the need to stimulate and strengthen the sense of identification with values and objectives of society;
5. The need to strengthen awareness of the authority structure and to generate and to identify loyalty to those in power. (Omu 1978, 1).

In the past, a Bell-man propagated information with a gong as he walked around town in official uniform. Messages from the king or his representatives were also propagated through rural areas in the indigenous language. The messenger was therefore regarded as the gatekeeper in the communication process (Duyile 1979, 281).

Further communication instruments such as drums and even smoke signs in the case of a national threat were also used (Omu 1978, 4).

The entertainment function of the media, as Wright describes it, was highly supported, particularly in rural regions where underdeveloped infrastructure hindered mass media. This is still the case in the present, be it of illiteracy, bad infrastructure or communication problems.

6.2 African oral literature

Oral literature refers not only to domestic entertainment, but also as a means of articulating authority networks in society and the fostering of societal knowledge. The use of descriptions, metonymy and satire assists people name, entitle and objectify others who establish the terms of dialogue (Parkin 1984, 359).

Establishing these terms of discourse may involve contestation, which forces different people and groups to join debates over supposed and developed roles and even challenge established identities. Folklore studies, particularly in the United States, drew their focus on the artful use of language within social spheres such as politics, economy, religion and kinship, observing such performances as socially efficient (Baumann and Briggs 1990).

As a result of the social action involved in telling a story, singing a song, or delivering a speech, former boundaries that delimited a text have been replaced by a concept of textuality (Hanks 1989a) and a voice is placed in relation to several other voices.

This thesis will therefore focus on oral literature, rather than objects that are samples of oral literature. The performance, the people and the text should also be seen in their political framework and the performance of speech as a social act.

The development of speech as an act goes back to Austin (1962) and has been further developed since then (Searle 1969; Searle 1979; Baumann and Sherzer 1989). There are numerous intentions of speech, such as to amuse, to satirise, to teach, to warn and so forth. These speech acts and the text that flows from them create a picture of social groups, individuals and the relationships of power between them. Those who produce such speeches and texts are often also involved in relationships of power themselves, in terms of sabotaging or supporting those in power. The words said have the ability to provoke, to move, to direct, to prevent and to recast communal reality. Not only may such events have a relation with peripheral social forces, but all those involved have their own positions in and attitudes towards the surrounding social order.

Orality also can raise matters which might be unwelcome to the state, corporate organisations or social groups. Issues address both how control is set up and maintained, and how

expressions of resistance or alternative views are expressed. Oral forms also represent, supportively or not, active power relations in society in the sense that they constitute debates that feature two opposing parties, whether it is the old versus the young; husbands and wives; mothers and daughters; fathers and sons; one generation and the next; elites and commoners; or one ethnic group against another ethnic group.

Debate is an expression of ideas and symbolic images rather than social realities. For example, kinship is an idea in Igbo debate rather than an immediate reality in Igbo society. At the level of personal or small group interaction, oral performances can transform and represent existing power relations. On a more general level, such as the development of class structure in societies, discourse is embedded in complex political, social and economic forces. Another issue highlighted by Durán is the surfacing of powerful female singers in Mali who shifted power within the music business but also influenced the discourse on gender.

Oral traditions such as songs or poetry in Africa are not discrete and limited, but form a sphere in which the dynamics of political practice and the daily demonstration of social life are fundamental. Those performances are an important part of the way African people observe and comment upon current affairs.

A further aspect would be the unequal status of written and oral texts. The power of oral texts is often undervalued in the official discourse of the state (Furniss and Gunner 1995, 1-5).

The African people have always been creators, performers and verbal artists and orally passed down numerous songs, poems, narratives, riddles and many other oral literary forms over centuries. Although parts of Africa were amongst the earliest places to use the written word as a medium of communication, it has only been a relatively short period since this tradition replaced the dominant oral civilization. The written culture mainly came to Africa with European colonization and Eurocentric education, which defined literature in terms of European novels, plays and written poems.

Nowadays, Africa is rediscovering itself after this experience and appreciates age-old oral forms yet again. Recent years have shown the integration of oral literature in schools, colleges and universities and it is now studied in its own right. Oral literature naturally becomes less

important as society becomes more literate but Africans believe that it should be used in a modern form of African novel, poem and play.

Above all, any study of Africa's literary history must begin with the study of its oral aesthetics. When oral literature was first introduced as a subject in schools and universities, sceptics saw it as an over-romantic imbecility, however today they acknowledge it as not sentimental but rather a renaissance. The vocabulary stock of oral literature will grow with its study.

6.2.1 Audience in oral literature

Many oral performances require an audience, such as weddings, political meetings and parties. However some forms of poetry are private and the necessity of an audience is worthless. Such instances may involve a lover singing on her way to the waterway or a woman grinding corn. This kind of singing is only meant to keep the performer emotionally occupied. In other oral literature scenarios, such as tongue twisters or riddles, two parties must be present; one to give a task and another one to solve it by proposing an answer to the puzzle. The participants often swap roles between each riddle. Therefore it is inappropriate to specify an audience in every oral performance. The participation is so comprehensive that there is no monopoly of the performance by any one group whilst the other listens. In this case it is better to speak with a convincing group of participants. Proverbs are even more intriguing when it comes to the question of audience and performance since they spread through everyday communication. It is even difficult to talk of them as a performance because it assumes a certain formality. The audience of a proverb must therefore be the people the speech is directed to. For instance, proverbs are performed in the case of Gicandi among the Agikuyu. Two men meet and sing their praises using proverbs and idioms until one can no longer decode what the other is saying and is therefore defeated. Above all, there is not an audience in every oral performance.

6.2.2 Classification of oral forms

The performing community has rarely been bothered by classifying different forms of oral literature. They sing a song and dance to it, tell and listen to a tale. Scholars however, want to

divide these into classes and discover relationships. This is difficult since there is a high variance in forms and therefore classification would result in countless classes. Moreover, even if there would be categories, there would always be communities with sub-forms. An alternative to this would be to draw a conclusion on every single oral text. An image is a mental impression of abstract notions such as colour, smell, size, etc. Images used in a literary piece are imaginary. Imagery is the overall pictorial effect of images in a song, story or poem. The main purpose of imagery is to give intensity and immediacy to an idea that would otherwise be hard to observe. For example, when Africa is described as Mother Africa, it is endowed with human qualities (Sunkuli 1990, 101-121).

6.2.3 Myth and Legend

The difference between Myth and Legend is that myths are set in an earlier time than legends. Myths concentrate on the beginning of life and the destiny of man. They also explain the origins of natural phenomena such as lakes and mountains as well as addressing how and why certain socio-cultural characteristics came to be. Myths are the claim of literature, religion and philosophy and their value lies in the fantasy that covers them and the imagination behind their construction. Africans search for the answer to the question of their own origin, confused by the certainty of death, in mythology. Supernatural forces are seen to play a part events and outcomes.

Legends are set in a much earlier time and the background is more familiar than those presented in myths. The main subjects of legends are wars, migration, natural disasters and epidemics, without a necessary search for answers to these events. They reside more on the effect of such occurrences on society and society's response to them. Mostly legends record the history of a community. The events mentioned above create heroes and heroines out of the victim communes and these figures with extraordinary abilities rise above the rest. While the same myth may reappear in different communities in varying versions, legends are usually community specific. With the passing of time, legends are endangered to recede into mythology, but the greater likelihood is that lesser myths may be erased from a community's memory (Sunkuli 1990, 101-121).

6.2.4 Setting

Settings are places on which a work of art is based. The most common setting of any art form is the social and geographical setting, as art forms are the products of peoples and cultures. The historical setting often proves more difficult, as documentation of the dates is a relatively new idea. Some ancient tales may be traced to a special historical period because they are connected to persons or events. Moreover the setting can change regularly, especially geographically, within one tale. The actual subject of the performance is the social setting and establishes its meaning and relevance (Sunkuli 1990, 101-121).

6.3 Oral art and national identity

All artistic forms orally presented to spectators may exhort people to demonstrate strength, while it may also direct others into silence and humility before. An example would be some Africans orally embracing the colonial power whilst others were joining anti-colonial struggles. Oral art is an important tool to criticize rulers and for pedagogues to teach community values. This was often quelled during colonial times (Thiongo 1986; Fanon 1967).

After independence the situation changed little, even though there were oral art appearances at state events. National cultural unison or identity suggests the defeat of some of opposing groups in the process of abandoning colonial powers. The declaration of national identities called for political, economic and cultural self-determination, and national cultural identity became an important part of nationalism.

In the 1950's and 1960's there were many attempts to promote cultural identity, such as the establishment of national artist groups who initiated the teaching of local languages in school curricula and even the return of traditional African dress. In the post-independence period it was considered necessary to replace traditional ethnic systems with new national political, economic and social structures in order to ensure national unity. A national cultural identity was supposed to give the population a sense of belonging and cultural institutions and artistic activities were promoted (Mbughuni 1974). The creation of a national cultural identity was also seen as essential to fight the attack on African culture by foreign cultural influences, including mass media.

Many African nations find it considerably difficult to establish their national cultural identities (Mlama 1991; Thiongo 1986). As a cultural tool, oral art has received attention in the growth of cultural nationalism. Ethnic dances, poetry, stories, labour songs, ritual songs, funeral hymns and readings form the repertoire of many state-supported artistic groups are examples of such oral traditions.

Universities and other state institutions make enquiries into African oral art and conduct numerous oral art performances. This shows a more significant recognition of the art than found in the colonial era. There are however some problems which serve to disrupt attempts to promote oral literature in Africa. The largest problem is a seeming lack of direction. The oral reflection of the Africans' economic and political confusion is hardly understood by African governments (Asante and Asante 1985) and over 20 years of independence have not created clear cultural policies for most African governments.

A lack of resources, an over-influence on foreign art and the manipulation of oral art for the benefit of the ruling classes constitute the other problems faced by African oral art. In the past, there were numerous attempts to bring oral art under control when the elite recognized its potential to influence the thinking of the population. Art has the power to educate, inform, encourage or convince an audience for or against a matter or person. Ruling powers are ever alert of art's power and often react with censorship laws, imprisonments and the patronising of artists, forcing them to sing or dance praise of those in power. Only court artists had a certain freedom to criticize rulers, as denied to others citizens.

In 1948, the British Colonial Office encouraged colonies to frequently present indigenous art performances of colonial themes for entertainment. Governments though, restricted the art performances to a level where they control and manipulation was possible, so it would not work against the intentions and interests of the ruling classes. Although governments have claimed to support oral performances, they have in fact domesticated artists to the political benefit of the ruling classes (Penina 23-25: Oral art contemporary cultural nationalism by Mlama, Penina).

6.4 Oral literature and fiction in Kenya

Indigenous Kenyan literatures were and are close to actual life and people initiate themselves into oral art through the riddle. Oral art includes legends, myths, narratives and proverbs. Life itself is a riddle and its mysteries are untangled through the diverse art forms. The mythology, proverbs, narratives and riddles of different ethnic groups have to be analyzed in their own rights. When all the similarities and dissimilarities in the multiplicities of literatures have been collected, we can then define national literature. The Gikuyu myth of origin, for example, is filled with religious associations representing cosmic forces essential in the creation and evolution of the human kind. The myth therefore also inherits a historical aspect.

Mumbi and Gikuyu humanize a world that would otherwise be dominated by abstract objects. The Gikuyu founding couple is closely associated with Mount Kenya, the resting place of their creator. The unifying role of the belief is passed on from generation to generation, improving communal unity and Mount Kenya concretizes it with a permanent presence that resists time. The mountain therefore represents the life of the people and its continuity. All genres weaving around Mount Kenya are part of the everlasting search for an enduring moral centre.

Gikuyu oral narratives provide more illustration. Story-telling is provides people with entertainment and identification as well as a dramatization of social clashes. Social morality is idealistic and is kept in circulation by the eternal drama of the narrative. Morality exists because society believes it does and persistent conflict acts a shock-treatment for the preservation of the moral system. The desired moral achievement usually comes in the form of individual good or evil. In the case of the latter, more theatrical quests continue. But nevertheless, self-questioning continues in narratives, proverbs, songs and conversations. The song is equivalent of what the English refer to as poetry.

People on the coast of Kenya have a strong oral and written literary tradition. Most of the literature was sung poetry and could also be recorded in the Arabic script. A noteworthy poet was a man called Muyaka, whose works were later translated by the British. He sang in Swahili, which grew out of a mixture between Arabic, Bantu and some elements of other Indo-European languages. There were no attempts to intertwine English with local Kenyan languages to produce something similar to Swahili, because it seems that the English were more interested in shaping Black Englishmen rather than a hybrid language.

Quite the opposite, the agglutinative nature of Swahili supported the integration of many diverse languages going as far abroad as Portugal. Moreover, music is essential to oral art in Kenya since there is rarely a piece of oral art without an accompanying song, musical or rhythmical elements. Tonal and verbal interplays make the performance memorable. Songs also act as the fillers of intervals in ritual performances. Prose and poetry are the same in the Kenyan tradition and art forms are generally interdependent (Amuka 1990, 243-6).

7 New Media

7.1 Mass Media in Africa

Mass media are instruments of modern social structures, as traditional communication systems are unable to accommodate difficulties in the developmental world (Rogers 1969, 99-100).

Mass media in Africa is directly connected with and dependent on the development of political institutions. Since the colonial period there has not been an africanization of the mass media in Africa. One of the problems concerning communication is that the numerous indigenous languages in the different African countries hindered development of local media. The most widespread media language in Africa is the language of the colonial powers. Media still addresses the higher social classes which has, due to its better education, had easier access to media (Habte 1983, 95).

In the 1960's Rogers summarized the attributes of the mass media in Third World countries as follows:

1. Mass media in less developed countries reach much smaller audiences than those in more developed countries;
2. Certain elite audiences in the Third World have mass media exposure levels which are as high as those for similar elites in more developed nations. Mass media exposure is low in rural areas;

3. Audiences for the electronic mass media, especially radio and film, are larger than for print mass media such as newspapers and magazines in less developed countries;
4. Mass media messages in less developed countries are of low interest and relevance to villagers because of the urban orientation of the mass media;
5. There is a greater degree of government control over the mass media, especially the electronic media, in less developed countries than in more developed countries. (see Rogers, 1969, S98) (Rogers, 1969, S. 98-100).

In African countries with often instable political systems, the media systems experience several different forms of censorship and are therefore still very distant from the concept of free press. (Habte 1983, 99).

During the first years of independence in Africa, the living standard and population grew. As the traditional means of communication were oral, the emerging consumer market consisted of a large proportion of illiterate people. This fact had great influence on the choice of advertising media. Due to high illiteracy rates, the impact of radio and television advertising and programming was significantly higher than that of newspaper advertising.

Consequently, radio and television are the most important media used in the African economy. Furthermore, national governments use these media to propagate political information and public relations. Non-African businesses as well as African people wish to inform and be informed about the goods available on the market (German Africa Society 1970).

7.1.1 The state controlled media system in Africa

The role of the political party is arbitral since it affects the press as a political organ of the party. Liberty of press, as in the liberal western understanding, is eliminated. State institutions are centralized to control the people and to present the party as the only arena of 'democratic' discussion. This is a common characteristic of one-party political systems. Liberty of press is defined by the political party and the mass media operates within this system. Nyerere describes it as;

“...where there is one party, and that party is identified with the nation as a whole, the foundations of democracy are firmer than they can ever be where you have two or more parties, each representing only a section of the community. After all, we do have it on very reliable authority that a house divided amongst itself can not stand” (Habte 1983, 100).

In most African countries the government controls broadcasting. Media is used as a medium to control the state. State monopolies of the media continue in several African nations. Such countries strive to prevent people from getting licences for commercial radio stations, or raise licensing fees for those with established broadcast stations, such as in Cameroon. In Cameroon, only the Catholic Church is allowed to broadcast privately. In Equatorial Guinea national TV and radio are controlled by the ruling party. One private station “Radio Asonga” was given an operating licence, but only because the owner is the president Theodoro Mbazogo’s son (U.S. Department of State 1999). Before the rebellion in 1998 in Guinea Bissau, there were three private radio stations which were shut down.

The Kenyan government fears private broadcasting, which led to the current strict broadcast regulations. The few private radio stations broadcast only music. The main private TV station is owned by the Kenya Times Media Trust, the majority shareholder being KANU. The National Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) was given a warning by the National Election Monitoring Unit in 1992 for unfairness in favour of KANU during national elections. The Monitoring Unit found that national radio and TV in Kenya should not report on the KANU campaign (Maja-Pearce 1995) because that would have been a disadvantage to the opposition parties.

In Swaziland, government ministers and the police entered the state-run radio and TV stations and suppressed news relating to clashes between striking teachers and the police. Initiatives to legalize competitive communications were made by Angola, Congo, Benin, Cote-d’Ivoire, Ghana, Gabon, Madagascar, Guinea, Malawi, Mozambique, Niger, Namibia, Tanzania, South Africa, Togo, Zambia and Uganda. States such as South Africa and Tanzania even relied on old laws which allowed governmental control over program contents.

In Angola, the government still upholds a near monopoly on broadcasting. However, Radio Nacional de Angola, which exists alongside four private radio stations, dominates the

airwaves. In 1991 Cote-d'Ivoire completed a broadcasting law that put anyone into prison who operated a private radio or TV station. In 1993 however, the government granted licences to several private radio stations but not to members of opponent political parties. These radio channels however had unrestricted control over the content (U.S. Department of State 1999). The government also permitted 43 community radio stations, four of which are managed by the Catholic Church, but none by Muslims because the government wanted all Muslims to a single frequency).

In Malawi, the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Act of 1993 gave the minister of information complete discretion over all content, and as a result, opinions that challenged the government were silenced. Although four private radio stations have since been approved, the content is strictly limited to music, entertainment and religious programs by the government.

In Mozambique, the ban on private media ended in 1991, but there was an absence of private radio stations until 1996. The rebel party RENAMO operated the radio "Vos da Renamo" which has since been turned into a local FM station supported by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation of Germany (Lauriciano 1995, 33-39).

As Namibia gained independence in 1990, the government granted sovereignty to the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) and approved private radio and TV stations. Most African nations have realized the political importance of the media and particularly reports on the ruling party, but have omitted opposing political opinions. When international criticism grew stronger, many African leaders promised to grant a fair coverage of opposing political opinions.

7.1.2 Independent media systems in Africa

Few African countries have a free, independent and unsuppressed media system. Although many African nations call themselves liberal and democratic, the true state of free speech and opinion in these nations is far from the terms defined in their Constitutions. States where the media is partially free most often has a multi-party system that adheres to democratic traditions. Even if the public is aware and fond of democracy it is guarantee of an existing independent media system.

7.2 Vernacular language programs

A few ethnically homogenous African countries such as Rwanda, Burundi and Gambia only need to broadcast in one language to be understood by the majority of its population. Nonetheless, the majority of African media must use a range of vernaculars to be understood by their audiences, as the number of transmitters grew during the 1970's and 1980's, supported by the UNESCO and criticised by African elites who traditionally ran broadcasting.

In 1950, there were 252 transmitters in Africa, 370 in 1964, in 1976 58 transmitters were added and in 1987 the number of transmitters had increased to 1,059 (Martin 1991, 185). In Kenya, the UNESCO provided FM transmitters designed to promote rural based community education (Mills and Kangawa 1983, 20; Amakyi 1988, 16-17; Bofo 1991, 119). By the end of the 1970's, several states, such as Kenya, Gabon, Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan and Nigeria had achieved full radio coverage of the country.

But for many states complete radio coverage competes with two communication media: external radio services and television. Tied to the general expansion of government-owned radio in the 1970's and 1980's, the number of broadcasts destined to serve rural areas increased. This development was however tied to the multiplication of translated news broadcasts provided from the capital cities because the government feared that regional stations might serve as a forum for ethnic loyalties that could rival national loyalty and increased security risks.

7.3 Cultural programs

This section refers to programs that broadcast traditional African festivities and folklore. This type of broadcasting represents less than 15% of total broadcasting in Africa (UNESCO figures).

Tunstall argues that a lot of traditional culture is too violent and undemocratic to be relevant in the modern world (1977, 115). Additionally, there is some proof that the natural grace of

traditional culture could be further explored and adapted to radio. The opposition to traditional cultural broadcasts lays in the historically exclusive and centric nature of radio. Elites who broadcast are mostly unfamiliar with traditional culture and were not educated to value it. Broadcasting based in major cities gave also little room for profound research and the collection of cultural material. Often the new importance of creating a twentieth-century population aligned with the goals of the nation-state, has excluded the celebration of traditional cultures.

Many national leaders, such as President Houphouet-Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire, were open to the western capitalist world and governmental information policies often placed tradition culture behind the creation of a "new Ivorian man" (Land 1991, 19).

Julius Nyerere of Tanzania always believed in the importance of traditional culture and introduced policies for broadcasting designed to fill this gap. The Tanzanian Radio Television Department established up a collection of traditional music (as had Zambia at Radio Lusaka) in cooperation with musical groups arranged by the Tanzanian African National Union youth league, the police and the National Service. It also promoted new music, which was a mixture of traditional styles.

Nevertheless, broadcasting held on to its urban focus, making commercially recorded music the most available radio fare (Mytton 1983, 112-13). The dissimilarity between the desire to promote rural culture for an urban audience and the pressure to serve the interests of the nation-state therefore collide. Radio Gambia in this matter provides some hope, as it broadcasts numerous cultural programs, including oral history programs. A cast of professional entertainers or bards called 'Griots' heavily contribute to Radio Gambia. The Griots specialize in oral history, as the troubadours in the European middle ages did, which is well suited for radio broadcasting. The cast adapts traditional stories to modern times. They have fashioned their narrations to promote national unity, public health and new agricultural methods (Conateh 1974, 101). They have also been featured on Radio Senegal and Radio Mali.

Radio Mali produced a program called 'Regards sur le Sénégal d'autrefois' (a look at the Senegal of the past), narrated by Chief Fall and promoted the ancient art of story telling through the work of griot el Hadji Djibi Thiam Coki in French and Wolof.

In the 1970's, Radio Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) broadcast similar types of vernacular programs that praised traditional values, including respect for authority and traditional chiefs, elders and husbands through the use of traditional music and tales.

In Zambia, Julius Chongo narrated stories in the Nynaja language every week during the 1970's and similar programs have also appeared within the vernacular services of Togo and Ghana (Tudesq 1983, 196). Over the years other broadcast services have provided programs of historical nature, such as 'Histoires et legends du Congo et de l'Afrique' (Stories and Legends of the Congo and of Africa), broadcast by Radio Zaire and listened to mainly by educated urban males. Radio Gabon has transmitted '*Une date dans l'histoire*' (A Date in History), '*La Tribune de l'histoire*' (The Tribune of History), and '*Culture de notre temps*' (Culture in Our Times). Cote d'Ivoire has produced '*L'Histoire de la Core d'Ivoire*' (History of Cote D'Ivoire) and '*Connais-tu mon beau pays?*' (Do You Know My Beautiful Country? Furthermore, Senegal produced '*La tribune d'histoire*' (The Tribune of History), '*La tradition d'hier a demain*' (Tradition of Yesterday to Today), and '*Afrique Histoire*' (Tudesq 1983, 189).

7.4 Radio Broadcasting

7.4.1 The beginning of radio technology in Africa

In 1941, the official in charge of colonial radio broadcasting, Harry Franklin from the colonial Information Department, established the first radio station that broadcasted to indigenous people in their own languages in Northern Rhodesia. The aim was to inform people, particularly the families of Africans fighting in the Northern Rhodesian Regiment, about the war progress against Somaliland. Although some chiefs were supplied with radio sets powered by batteries, only a few homes had electricity and therefore no radio at all, as wireless receivers were expensive. Franklin ordered manufacturers to produce a small battery powered radio set and started to market it with great success, but with major opposition from European settlers.

As the transistor radio was invented, its relatively low price made it accessible to almost all Africans, even in very poor areas and radio use grew rapidly. It was a coincidence that the arrival of transistor radios occurred as most African countries became independent from Europe. The transistor was further developed and spurred the development of technical television and radio broadcasting capacities throughout Africa. Unfortunately there is a lack of the skilled labour and even infrastructure needed to implement and maintain these advanced broadcasting technologies in Africa. Additionally, the newer technologies were created in the developed nations, to minimise the amount of technicians required to operate a broadcast. Thus, adoption of these technologies works against the creation of jobs throughout the continent.

Regarding infrastructure requirements for hosting the latest broadcasting technologies, Mangwende, Zimbabwe's Minister of Information, Post and Telecommunication stated at an International Telecommunications Union conference in 1989 (Mytton 1989, 27):

“Although we are aware of other technological developments such as HDTV, fibre optics, etc. – and the possible immense advantages to be derived there from – these are if no immediate significance to the developing countries who are currently grappling with the problems of establishing basic electronic media infrastructures.”

But to reach national radio coverage, countries would have to use FM radio using VHF signals, which are difficult and expensive to establish, or AM radio. In this case the same problems of finance and infrastructure remain. Additionally, this medium has a relatively short range and can interfere with other transmission. A common strategy for national radio is to use shortwave transmission with transmitters located where electricity, studios and engineers are available. There are some difficulties with shortwave technology however, such as solar storms, which disturb the ionosphere used to send signals. The interference from other transmitters which use the same frequency is also a documented problem.

Transmission by satellite (DAB) opens new possibilities for the Third World, which would also be cheaper than establishing a FM network, since one satellite transmitter would cover the entire country. This technology would offer greater broadcast capacity, better sound quality, interactive services and educational information. Digital shortwave technology could

be Africa's next step which would improve reception whilst also allowing analogue and digital systems to coexist.

7.4.2 The colonial period

Radio was introduced in Africa during the colonial period to provide links for emigrants to the metropolitan areas. In 1927, the British East Africa Company began BBC relay services for settlers in Nairobi. This was the second radio service on the continent, the first founded in 1920 in independent South Africa.

In 1932, the Empire Service was introduced by the British to serve their colonies in Canada, Australia, India and Anglophone Africa. In 1931, attempts were made to produce radio programs in Madagascar serving French colonists; however these broadcasts sincerely started with the establishment of Radio Dakar in 1939.

In the Belgian Congo (now Zaire), Jesuit priests established small scale French radio programs in 1937. In both French and English colonies, radio was seen as an arm of colonial policies.

The English however, were interested in establishing an African audience and therefore promoted the use of African vernaculars early in the process. For example, the Nairobi service was broadcast in both Kikamba and Kikuyu languages. By the mid-1930's, a radio service in Ghana was established and African personnel were introduced to the service in 1936-37. Indigenous languages such as Eve, Twi and Hausa were added in 1939. In the late 1940's, the British established a Central African broadcast station in Lusaka, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), and broadcasting in six different African languages. Fraenkel described the service as the first “fully fledged station broadcasting exclusively to Africans” (1959, 17).

In Anglophone West Africa, efforts to indigenize broadcasting continued rapidly during the 1950's. The BBC began to train African broadcasters at the BBC staff training department in 1951. By 1956, there were 163 African managers and 445 technicians in Ghana radio. Radio in Anglophone Africa was designed to provide services to native peoples even though this was opposed by settlers in East and Southern Africa (Tudesq 1983, 19). By 1949 broadcasting

in Nigeria was flourishing and was installed into that government under the Nigeria Broadcasting System (Kolade 1974, 87). In most British colonies broadcasting services were installed after the Public Corporation model of the BBC. In Sudan, in Kenya and in Nigeria, some of the early broadcasters were those who cried for independence (Tudesq 1983, 29). There are seven countries with a so-called public corporation status which are Ghana, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Martin 1991, 183).

In the French colonies radio was designed to turn listeners into Black Frenchmen and was seen as a useful means of opposing “the discussions of educated Africans turning rapidly to subversive and anti-governmental ideas” (Tudesq 1983, 15). Indigenization of francophone broadcasting finally started during the late colonial period. At independence most Anglophone countries had broadcasting systems based on the BBC’s model of public corporation and public service broadcasting. Most of the French colonies had had radio services highly influenced and political intentions by the French model. The Belgians had a mixed model which included the participation of the government (which included locally trained indigenous broadcasters producing indigenous language programs for rural audiences) of the Belgian Congo, the Catholic Church and private industry (Tudesq 1983, 35).

7.4.3 Post-independence

During the 1960’s the first generation of Anglophone politicians of the independence period reorganized the influence of radio. Many had experience as journalists including Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kwame N’Krumah of Ghana, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Hastings Banda of Malawi.

By the 1970’s most Anglophone countries have put their radio broadcasting facilities in the hands of their governments. Being aware of the important role of radio several countries in the post-independent period distributed cheap radio sets. UNESCO also promoted the expansion of broadcasting services in Africa to support development. So long as the audience possesses an appropriate level of literacy, mass media should be used to encourage the public to seek new opportunities for economic growth and progress. The media would also encourage the creation of compassionate personalities competent of seeing themselves in different social and economic positions (Lerner 1958). A UNESCO report stated that for

every 100 people in the population there should be ten daily newspapers, five radio receivers, two cinema seats and two television receivers (UNESCO 1961). Educational radio was initiated in the 1960's and rural radio education projects were launched. However, these were not without elements of propaganda to politically sensitise the rural population. Nonetheless, the number of efficiently trained broadcasters remains low, which is a result of poor technological development in Africa. Moreover, positions in broadcasting, as in civil service, have also been given as rewards to political supporters and followers.

Until the 1990's, most African countries have maintained an average of one to four national broadcast services, usually transmitting from the capital, with repeater stations used to extend the signals to rural areas. Only a small number of countries have offered regional stations, which typically offer a small amount of local programming, chiefly passing on daily news announcements fed from their capital affiliate. Very few countries have established regional stations with considerable independence.

7.4.4 The audience

Audience research by broadcasters in order to adapt their program to the expectations of the listener has been infrequently performed due to a lack of resources. Therefore, broadcasters often base their programs on their own preferences, with little to no idea of what their audience would like to listen to.

Moreover, not everyone has access to radio in rural areas and most radio channels are a state monopoly. These centralized state channels often do not fulfil the educational and communicational needs of the population. Radio professionals have often been trained in the West and their methods are not entirely suitable for application in rural areas. When rural radio in Africa was established, it was mostly financed by external aid and programs were broadcasted in French or English, regardless of the fact that most people in rural areas did not speak these languages. When foreign funding halted, rural broadcasters reported on issues that were not of interest to the people. In 1990, the World Bank began subsidizing educational, informational and foreign affairs sectors of African countries and some radio stations submitted proposals for funding in order to broadcast programs concerning such issues (Ilboudo 2000, 42-71).

7.5 Broadcasting and Political Reform

In Africa, where the illiteracy rate is around 50%, much of the print media is still published in colonial languages and newspapers have remained a medium for a small educated urban upper class. It is radio that reaches the majority of people in rural areas. This medium is also known as;

“The people’s medium: crossing the vast territories which divided people, linking people cut off from the rest of the world, expanding peoples understanding and extending knowledge, bridging the gaps created by illiteracy, bringing economic prosperity to the poor, preserving cultural artefacts and providing an outlet for expression.” (Van der Veur 2000, 81).

It must be noted that 80% of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa live in rural areas with limited media access.

7.5.1 Colonial legacies

Colonialists did not impose a model for media freedom throughout Africa or any African nation. A Belgian colonialist gave an explanation as to why this was the case;

“If the draftsmen of the Charter Coloniale have not guaranteed the freedom of the press to the inhabitants of the colony, it is because they feared the abuses that such a freedom could engender in a country whose primitive populations constitute an easy prey for the subversive activities of elements intent on disturbing established order. He draftsmen’s concern was therefore to apply an adequate regime to the situation of a country that had not yet reached sufficient maturity to enjoy the freedoms that are the hallmark of civilized peoples gained for the course of order, after a slow and long evolution.” (Van der Veur 1995, 82)

Broadcasting systems were established by colonists to maintain order and support European settlers. Kenya was the first British colony to establish private regular broadcasts in 1928 (Wilkinson 1972, 177).

In 1936, Africa broadcasting was officially regarded as;

“An instrument of advanced administration, an instrument not only and perhaps not even primarily for the entertainment but rather for the enlightenment and education of the more backward sections of the population” (van der Veur 2000, 83).

Radio was used as a propaganda medium for administrative purposes and the ability to listen to the radio was portrayed as a privilege held by the state.

The South African radio SABC broadcasted news in African languages for nine years before an extension of such services was questioned. In 1960, Radio Bantu of South Africa broadcasted in four different African languages six hours per day (Government of South Africa 1991). In 1962, a nationwide FM radio network was established and Radio Bantu was regionalized to cater for various ethnic groups (UNESCO 1975, 111). There were only a few FM transmitters in Africa for people of various languages divided by national borders. Low cost receivers and stronger FM signals, together with broadcasts in local languages provided by the SABC helped to solve such problems. Broadcasts during World War II that specifically addressed the African population were used as the basis for a post-war public broadcasting network (Great Britain Colonial Office 1936).

After the war, Great Britain provided funds, engineers and technicians to develop African broadcast facilities. Around 40 broadcast systems were initiated in 27 colonial countries (Briggs 1979, 470), which at the time, mostly rebroadcast BBC programs. Radio broadcasting was seen as the main medium to propagate government policy, Christianity and the English language (Armour 1984, 365-369). Colonial administrators it was also adopted the medium as a fight against communism (Head 1979, 43). The training of African Broadcasters (also through the BBC training program) was performed by both the British and the French, with the BBC training program initiatives being of particular significance.

7.5.2 Anti-Colonial Broadcasting

Throughout the 1950's and 60's, Britain and France took an active part in the development of colonial radio stations (Wilkinson 1972). Throughout the period of MauMau rebellion between 1952 and 1954, Kenya experienced a 500% broadcasting staff increase caused by significant increases in various radio budgets. Licence fees were concurrently lowered, which attracted more African listeners. President Gamal Abdal Nasser of Egypt nationalized the media in 1952, which promoted the end of colonial domination worldwide. By 1955, Nasser's "Voice of Free Africa" could be received throughout the entire continent (Browne, 1982). It could also be received in several different African languages. Broadcasting became an important link used by former colonists to maintain colonial relations with new independent governments (Mansell 1982, 182). Newly independent states had media systems established by colonists; however pro-African leaders such as Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Nnamdi Azikiwe (Nigeria) and Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) used the media to mobilize Africans into a struggle for liberation from colonialist rule (Kumbula 1994, 45). The state controlled broadcasting in most African states and new nationalist leaders relied on radio to strengthen their power and influence on the people.

7.5.3 Clandestine radio

Clandestine radio played an important role in the process of liberation from colonial rule. There were a small number of radio broadcast stations, which African transformed societies in the liberation process. The prominent clandestine broadcast in Algeria was "the Voice of Fighting Algeria"; in Mozambique the Liberation Front (Fremilo) broadcasted via "Radio Tanzania" and "Radio Zambia"; the ANC's (der Afrikanische Nationalkongress in Südafrika), "Radio Freedom"; SWAPO's (South-West Africa People's Organisation) "Voice of Namibia" and Radio Muhabura in South Africa. The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) started broadcasting on "Radio Damascus" in Syria come 1966 and by 1976 operated its own station named "the Voice of the Eritrean Revolution". In 1980 the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) allied with the radio station "Voice of the Broad Masses in Eritrea". The Tigre People's Liberation Front's "Voice of the Tigre Revolution" was transmitted throughout Ethiopia by relay from Sudan. Ethiopia was one of the first African countries that utilized clandestine radio to stage attacks on its neighbours. As of 1960, Ethiopia broadcasts were

broadcasted in Somali-language throughout Somalia. Then come 1980, rebels from Sudan began broadcasting from a large transmitter in Addis Ababa (World Press Review 1988, 44) and in return, Sudan allowed exiled Ethiopians to use a national radio to attack launch attacks on Ethiopia. The number of clandestine radio stations grew fast as began Eritrea providing broadcasting facilities for the Sudanese National Democratic Alliance's channel "Today the Voice of Sudan"; while the Eritrean was opposed by the Iraqi broadcast dubbed "Voice of Eritrea" (Kuhl 1996). Ethiopia was targeted by Sudan's "Voice of Oromo Liberation". In Nigeria, "Radio Democratic International" began broadcasting from South Africa in 1996 to protest against the military regime in Nigeria. Burundi's "Radio Democracy" supported the continuation of ethnic conflicts. In 1998, Burundian Hutu rebels broadcasted out of the neighbour country Democratic Republic of Congo (Maja-Pearce 1995, 33-39; U.S. Department of State 1999). UNITA's (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola /Nationale Union für die völlige Unabhängigkeit Angolas) "Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel" competed against the government's "Radio Nacional de Angola" despite the loss of South African broadcast facilities. Polisario's (Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro/Volksfront zur Befreiung von Saguia el Hamra und Río de Oro) "Voice of Free Sahara" and the "National Radio of the Saharan Democratic Republic" in the Western Sahara broadcasted into the Western Sahara and Morocco from stations in Algeria. In Somalia, clandestine radio replaced national radio programs when Ali Mahdi Mohammed's "Radio Mogadishu" competed against Hussein Aideed's "Radio Mogadishu-Voice of the Masses of the Somali Republic" and Othman Ali Ato's "Radio Mogadishu-Somali Pacification" (Kuhl 1996).

Radio was used to propagate certain political causes and grew to become the prime medium for promoting political programs. Some, such as those in Nigeria, broadcast in the name of democracy, whereas others, such as Angola, Burundi and Rwanda have a parochial and narrow system.

7.6 Broadcasting and culture

In many African countries, it is more accurate to speak of local or tribal cultures rather than of a national culture. A national culture takes considerable time to develop and the role of broadcasting in culturalization is to bring the cultural products, such as dances, music,

folklore and traditional practices of ethnic groups to the attention of others, with the aim of distilling these local cultures into a common national culture. This process can be promoted through the constant transmission of radio and television broadcasts depicting tribally grounded music and dance practise.

For example dances such as *agbadza*, *adowa*, *kpanlogo* and *osoode* became part of the integrated national heritage in Gwana, rather than being associated with specific ethnic groups. In this light, it must be noted that what we now talk of as British, French, Italian, German or Austrian cultures are a synthesis of various tribal cultures that were distilled into national cultures over time. When people are exposed to the culture of others, they also learn to appreciate their own values, customs, folklore, art, dances and music. This exposure serves to create sympathy and understanding amongst various ethnic groups. The main role of broadcasting should therefore be the integration of the aspects of various tribal cultures into a national culture.

The creation of a sense of unity will take generations and broadcasting can only accelerate this, but a conscientious effort would show rewards. Radio broadcasting also plays an important role in the promotion of the arts and the preservation of culture. It is also the most appropriate medium for supporting local and national artists. The extended audience provided by the new media may save traditional art forms from extinction (Ansah 1988, 19-36).

7.7 Television Broadcasting

7.7.1 History

The television age began in Africa with the introduction of WNTV in Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1959. A second station was initiated shortly after in Enugu, Nigeria. Both stations were established before independence from Great Britain in 1960. Television was also introduced before independence in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Southern Rhodesia (now Zambia), where it served mainly the expatriate community. In most other African countries TV was established shortly after independence in the early-to-mid 1960's.

Investment in radio was sacrificed for the new, more prestigious medium of television. Most of the television services found in the 1960's and 1970's were broadcast in monochrome and colorized within eight to fifteen years, despite full territorial coverage by radio signals. Even today a community radio station could be established in every town of 10,000 people for what it costs to build and operate single a national television station (McLellan 1986, 151). The fact that more efforts have not proceeded in the direction of rural radio shows that through television, government priorities aim to fulfil the urban elite desires, whilst neglecting those who live in rural areas.

7.7.2 General information

Africa is poorly served with television transmitters and receiving sets, although most African nations have a TV broadcast. In 1988 there were 160 television transmitters as compared to 21,800 in Europe and there were 3.7 million receiving sets for 365 million people in 1988. The number of television receivers has expanded from 600,000 in 1965 to 15 million and the rate of TV sets per 1,000 inhabitants has risen from 1.9 to 28.2.

Yet only 1.1% of Africans own a TV set. This is attributed to both the absence of electricity in rural areas and the high price of television sets. Politicians used the promise of education via TV to justify its launch and UNESCO, together with other organizations assisted in the media's development. Early educational TV series proved to be inefficient and were soon cancelled.

Due to its high cost of producing and broadcasting, TV quickly became commercialized and by the 1970's, TV was serving the president's personal address system and it provided cheap entertainment which went coincided with influx of content imports from Europe and the United States. Most television broadcasts in Africa begin at about 5 or 6pm and continue until 11pm or midnight. Many countries only have one or two poorly equipped TV studios with three cameras and only a few countries such as Zaire, Gabon, Nigeria and Zimbabwe have film laboratories. Local programs normally consist of news, public affairs, children's programs, women's programs, such as cooking, housecleaning and child care, cultural programs and quiz programs.

7.7.3 Case study of television in Kenya

Television officially began just before independence in Kenya in 1963. At this time, it operated under contract by a private association of East African, British, Canadian and American entrepreneurs. The following year the government nationalized the Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation, including its radio and television services. The KBC was put under the authority of the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism. Initially, 90% of the programs, mainly entertainment came from foreign countries such as the United States, Great Britain and West Germany. It was only in the 1970's that Kenya announced that it would produce all of its own programming. By 1983, the percentage of imports has dropped to 59% (Martin 1988, 194-95).

Early in television history, efforts were made to locally produce and transmit educational programs about health and agriculture in Swahili and in rural areas. Moreover, community listening centres were established by USAID and the Ford Foundation (Tudesq 1992, 33).

There was only one TV broadcaster in Kenya when it declared itself a one-party state under the lead of the Kenya African Union. 65% of its transmissions were in English and 35% in Swahili. In 1989, Kenya transferred responsibility for its electronic media system to the KBC, a semiautonomous commercial organization. This liberated the KBC from limitations of the Kenyan national budget, allowing it to negotiate loans from foreign equipment investors and aid organisations (Heath 1992, p. 42). The arrangement ended the government's control of the KBC, which weakened the link between the public and the media.

To date, the KBC is governed by a board appointed by president Moi (Heath 1992, p. 43). Television in Kenya has been commercial since its initiation and regulations order that commercials must be produced in Kenya making use of Kenyan aptitude. Advertisers are mostly foreign corporations and their production is mostly controlled by foreign firms. While advertisements meet most of the expenses of radio, they cover only about 25% incurred in television broadcasting (Martin 1988, 192).

In 1989, Kenya's per capita income stood at US\$380 Dollars per year. TV set distribution stood at 4.5 sets per 1,000 inhabitants, whilst TV signals were still limited within a 100-mile radius of Nairobi and Mombassa. About 30% of Kenya received a television signal.

Television programs on KBC's single channel start at 5:30 p.m on weekdays and 4:30 p.m on weekends. Sign-off is usually 11:15 p.m and later on weekends.

Kenyan television broadcasts an entertainment program in Swahili, called 'Tushauraine' (Let us discuss), and a soap opera about daily life in Kenya to promote sound family planning. As has been the trend since the 1970's, Kenya's local programming content includes a large amount of information about the president and is favours entertainment over news programming (Tudesq 1992, 68).

In 1989 KTN 26, a pay television channel belonging to the Kenya Times Media Trust, which also operates the Kenya Times, was introduced. Kenya Times is owned by KANU and the Maxwell newspaper conglomerate based in London (Tudesq 1992, 100). KTN broadcasts 24 hours within a 40-mile radius of Nairobi. The channel offers CNN International, CNN talk shows, sports, documentaries, MTV Europe together with local programs and news. It is interesting to report that news broadcast by KTN 26 is regularly in disagreement with that reported on the KBC (Heath 1992, 48).

The KBC (formerly the Voice of Kenya) operates a mass communication school named the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication (KIMC) where KBC staffs, journalists, technicians and information officers are trained. The School of Journalism at the University of Nairobi also offers a two year degree in broadcast journalism, funded by UNESCO and the governments of Norway, Denmark and Austria (Martin 1988, 190). Nairobi is also the headquarter of the Union of National Radio and Television Organizations in Africa (URTNA) established in 1962. It maintains a catalogue of broadcasts available for exchange and in 1990 there were 44 members listed. Nairobi also accommodates the African Council on Communication Education (ACCE) which performs research, holds seminars and promotes the development of communication in Africa. The Institute of Communication Development and Research in Nairobi publishes the Africa Media Review, which includes articles on media from the Anglophone countries of Africa. Numerous Western correspondents also live in Nairobi covering African news for organizations such as CNN.

7.8 The Press in East Africa

7.8.1 The press in the colonial period in East Africa

The press in East Africa, just as in South and Central Africa, was initially developed for the European settlers. The first paper was published in Mombassa in 1902 by a member of the Asian community, A.M. Jeevanjee. In 1910 it moved north to Nairobi and became known as the East African Standard, a voice for settler demands to the British government.

In 1930, Jeevanjee established a paper in Tanzania called the Tanganyika Standard and later in 1953 launched the Uganda Argus in Kampala. After World War II, the Standards Group's paper prepared for independence by appealing to non-white readers, but nonetheless remained a paper for white settlers. The Standard continued to ignore the changes in Kenya in the 1950's; however its orientation changed rapidly in 1963.

African news occupied the large majority of news space after independence. The newly established Kenya News Agency began to provide news directly to the paper and the entire organization was staffed by black Africans. The rival of the Standard papers was the Nation Group, or the East African Newspaper Ltd., who was financed by an Islamic sect. The Daily Nation and the Sunday Nation began publishing in 1960 and in 1962 the group launched the Taifa Leo in Swahili.

Contrasting South Africa, the East Africans did not have the economic strength to support newspapers and were also different from their West African counterparts, who envisioned the emergence of an active African trading class within their region. The colonial government in East Africa discouraged indigenous newspaper production and demanded £500 to issue a newspaper licence (Wilcox 1975, 8). Most papers targeted to African readers were supported by missionaries or the colonial government.

In Tanganyika, the government supported 20 local papers, with three of the Swahili papers were completely African-run. At this time an anti-colonialist attitude started to gather. The most noteworthy indigenous paper was entitled Muigwithania (Work and Play), founded in 1925 by Johnstone Kamau and was the first African-owned paper in East Africa. Later the editor changed his name to Jomo Kenyatta and established the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Kenyatta supported several newspapers, mainly in the Kikuyu language. The

Colonial government established the Kenyan Vernacular Press in 1952, strictly staffed with European settlers.

In Uganda, missionaries had spread literacy and created a vernacular missionary press. Out of this resulted the Uganda Eyogera, a newspaper that advocated for the political rights of African people and was to become the voice of the Uganda National Congress (Ainslie, 1966, p. 109).

The Tanganyika's African National Union (TANU) in Tanzania formed in Sauti ya Tanu in 1957, as a paper which made claims for independence. TANU set up the National Times to combat foreign domination from the Standard Group, but the effort unfortunately failed (Ainslie, 1966, p. 111). After independence, African people wanted to launch a locally owned newspaper able to compete with the Standard. The Tanganyika government (TANU) was the first to do so and turned Uhuru into a daily and published an English-language companion paper, the Nationalist, in 1964. In the mid-1960's, the Standard was the best edited newspaper amongst the African-controlled print media.

In Uganda, the People newspaper appeared, which was supported by outside foundations. Kenya did not establish a party newspaper in the early post-colonial era, but was the first East African country to put its broadcasting services under state control and to achieve the establishment a national news agency. There was no government paper until KANU launched the Kenya Times in 1983 in partnership with the Robert Maxwell Group (New African 1988, 40).

During the early independent period, East Africa was blessed with two large externally controlled newspaper groups that cautiously reported on the internal politics of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, whilst treating leaders with respect. With well-trained reporters and editors, including many European settlers, they set a high journalistic and technical standard of newspaper writing. These papers, some of which were written in English and some in Swahili, circulated freely in East Africa. Competition for advertisers and readership soon proved tough, especially in Kenya.

7.8.2 The press in the post-colonial period

Shortly after independence, there was a flurry of journalistic training and international organisations that supported Africa with local and overseas journalist training courses promoting Western press concepts. Early American concepts introduced the ideology that mass media should be related to social and economic development. However, developmental journalism generally avoids politics, rather giving focus on health, agriculture and educational issues. But this was rarely the case. Development journalism instead presented a view of development without difficulty and pain, clashes, compromise and corruption.

7.9 African public areas in Cyberspace

The existence of the World Wide Web and affordable computers has established new methods of communication, networking, and the creation of community and the maintenance of diasporic identities (Jones 1995; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1996; Turkle 1995). It has allowed the entire world to give opinion on and discuss Africa.

But as it is difficult to conduct cyberspace research, it is often difficult to see the boundaries of private and public communication. So is the question if it is ethical to publish intellectual property on so called listservs without first consulting the author (Spitulnik 2002, 177-205).

7.10 Rural journalism in Africa

The promotion of rural journalism was greatly supported by the UNESCO and was tied to the promotion of literacy, usually in vernacular languages. In 1963 and 1964, there were rural newspaper initiatives begun in Liberia. In 1972, Mali launched a Bambara language in Kibaru.

Usually rural newspapers are published monthly and their circulation is in the 1,000 – 3,000 range. It is often written in simple language and gives focus to development issues such as hygiene, agriculture, health and social, cultural and economic development in conjunction with UNESCO. Ochs reported that there were 53 rural newspapers in Africa in 1986 (1986,

49) and according to Bofo, rural press newspapers were circulating in 12 countries at the beginning of this decade (1991, 109).

In the 1960's and 70's, the UNESCO sponsored rural radio campaigns to popularize government policies. Zambia had the widest network of rural newspapers including six monthly releases, which covered seven different languages. These publications unfortunately ceased due to poor cash flows and inappropriate distribution (Moore 1992, 47). Rural journalism is less prestigious than urban journalism and those who work in rural media organisations tend to be undereducated and poorly trained. With multiparty democracy, rural journalism may be getting a new lease of life (Bourgault 1995, 68-174).

7.10.1 An overview of African rural newspaper

The publication of rural newspapers in Africa started in Liberia in 1963 and in Nigera in 1964 (Rural Mimeo Newspapers, Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, No.46.Paris, Unesco, 1965). They were one-page news sheets with about 2,000 pieces in circulation, which were often linked to literacy projects. For mass production, the mimeograph technique opened a simple and cheap way to publish rural newspapers. The disadvantage however, was restricted reproduction and the inability to reproduce photographs. New copying machines helped overcome the problem of limited reproduction but they came with higher operating costs and the more complicated technology meant higher maintenance requirements were needed. In the 1970's, a new method was established. Simple editing and layout services were supplied and reporters and editors in villages were trained in the production of rural press projects. Contracts were made with supporting governments and commercial printing companies. The circulation of these papers however remained modest and few of the rural journalists received proper training at any of the research and journalism training institutions developed since 1965. It must be noted that none of these institutions offered courses that specifically addressed rural journalism.

African rural newspapers are usually found in rural communes and their content is oriented towards the special education and information needs of the community. Most newspapers were launched to help the public retain and develop their literary ability. Nevertheless, the

growth of such rural papers has to be seen in a context without proper infrastructure such as roads and electricity.

7.10.2 The origins of rural newspaper

As detailed earlier, the first rural newspaper before started in Liberia and Niger in the 60's. In 1971, eleven African countries highlighted the importance of a rural press where printing facilities and basic journalism skills together with where ongoing development and literacy programs were found. Such countries included Mali, Togo, Congo, Benin, Gabon, Upper Volta and Senegal. Essential necessities were outlined, such as the recognition of rural journalists, the choice of language spoken and used by the majority of people, the accessibility of a printing press, raw materials, distribution infrastructure and the existence of a rural development office.

The first country to launch a paper in accordance to these guidelines was Mali in March 1972. It was called Kibaru, written in Bambara language and was under the direction of the Mali National Agency of Information (ANIM) and the daily newspaper l'Essor. Its annual circulation rapidly rose from 5,000 to 10,000. Six months later in September 1972, Togo published Game Su sponsored by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Information with assistance from the UNESCO. In late 1972, Congo published a paper called Sengo supported by the Ministry of Education and the Mission d'Áide et de Coopération française (MAC).

Currently, the choice of language is still an important issue as many different languages are spoken in some African countries. Should the newspapers choose a narrow local language to reach people more efficiently or a more widely used language to gain wider reach? According to an enquiry in 1974, there were two rural newspapers in Kenya. The first one was named Kisomo, launched in November 1975 and was written in Kikuyu-Swahili language, with a circulation of 5,000. The second newspaper was called Bumanyati, which was launched in June 1976 and written in Swahili, with a circulation of 4,000 (Ansah, Fall, Chindji and Mwaura 1981, 1-15).

7.10.3 Structure, circulation, format, personnel and printing facilities and financing of rural newspaper

In almost all African countries, rural newspapers are government or public office publications. Clear definition of the various roles of a rural newspaper reads;

- To promote literacy through the provision of reading material.
- Ensure education.
- Keep the rural population informed to improve health, economy and social state.
- To encourage newspaper reading.
- To help rural people to express themselves in the press.
- To make sure the rural population participates in the process of economic and social development.
- To provide a platform of dialogue between administration and rural population.

Most rural newspapers are published monthly and circulation ranges from 1,000 to 10,000 copies. Most of them use a tabloid format and the simple writing style and content are suited to the unpractised reader. There are only a few items on each page for a better overview with illustrations. An editor is commonly supported by one or two full time reporters, who are generally untrained development officers with ethnic ties with the region who are able to covert development contents into local languages. Generally there are three manufacturing methods; mimeograph; the use of an offset press owned by a third party; and the use of an owned offset press.

Most rural newspapers are financed by the government. The goal of becoming financially autonomous is relevant when the buying power and literacy levels of the reader are low and also where no habit of newspaper reading has yet to evolve. However, sponsored papers often only last as long as they receive financial support. To lower costs, the papers would have to achieve greater circulation, but this goal is often restricted the sheer multitude of languages in use, distribution over difficult territory (Ansah, Fall, Chindji and Mwaura 1981, 1-15).

7.10.4 Rural Radio in Africa

Radio should not only allow audiences to listen, but it should also give the audience a chance to speak as well, allowing them to participate in democracy and give criticism the powerful

elite. Community radio on the one hand allows non-professionals to create programmes by using local sources of information and to take an active part in decision making on program and policy. Conversely, rural radio has little recognition of its audience and lacks skilled professionals and equipment.

Historically, rural radio stations were established between 1968 and 1969 as a result of two conferences about the development of rural radio, the Rwanda for Francophone Africa and the Anglophone Africa in Tanzania in 1966.

Programs need to reflect the local culture, address globalisation, along with other cultures and their values. Some agricultural programs were sponsored by the UNESCO and FAO. Communities should maintain their own radio stations, in order to identify with the community that they are serving and participate in the process of planning the program, production and broadcasting (Ilboudo 2000, 42-71).

7.11 Alternative Small Media and Communicative Spaces

Political content is often propagated throughout African nation's country by small media because the mass media is still restricted.

However, some academics such as Habermas (1989) and Harbeson et al. (1994) state, that directness and openness are basic criteria for communicational institutions to be considered as public phenomena, but it is an issue that small media is often not in direct, but rather in diffused dialog as the state and their counterparts are rarely accessible to most of the public.

Debra Spitulnik (Spitulnik 2000, 179) states that:

“Overall the new communicative spaces created by small media can be best understood as vital and pervasive undercurrents and reservoirs of political commentary, critique, and potential mobilization.”

Small media are although a forum for the public to discuss state matters, political liability and image. Small media is often located in not only one place as they manoeuvre in cyberspace,

sometimes even outside their nation and as such their sources and authors are not always locatable.

7.11.1 Situating Small Media in Theory

New mass media has three main characteristics;

- a. Communication is produced for mass publics.
- b. Communication is distributed for mass publics.
- c. Communication is consumed by mass publics. (Spitulnik 2002, 179-80)

For traditional interpersonal communication there are also three contrasting characteristics;

- a. Communication is produced for interpersonal or individual consumption.
- b. Communication is distributed in limited interpersonal channels.
- c. Communication is consumed by limited publics, usually on interpersonal basis (Spitulnik 2002, 180).

Small, personal, popular and community media such as independent newspapers, community and private radio, political graffiti, brochures, cartoons, subversive cassettes, web pages and other verbal genres of critique and commentary do not precisely fit into these categorical schemes. They function as an alternative to state-run media systems and have a political and emancipatory function.

Sreberny-Mohammadi and Mohammadi state;

“What has been crucial is a notion of these media as participatory, public phenomena, controlled neither by big states nor big corporations.” (Hyden, Leslie and Ogundimu 2002, 180)

Producers of small media are often also its consumers. Receivers often act as distributors and there are many facets of production and distribution, which involve a wide community.

Moreover, the fact that small media does not use the same advanced communication technologies as the mass media, such as satellite and digital technologies, gives differentiation. However this does not necessarily result in a smaller scale or impact of the media.

Small media seems to be most effective when they utilize established communication genres and networks such as neighbourhoods, workplaces or religious structures. Small media holds a position between new (mass media) and old (interpersonal communications) media. Small media draws from both national and international sources and combines the themes of tradition, modernity and identity.

Small media plays an important role in establishing communicative platforms and function as expressive instruments in the development of group identity, cultural unity and community (Spitulnik 1996, 161-178).

Small Media has the ability to criticize state power and can incite political revolutions. It facilitates open dialogue and is more or less invisible whilst trying to achieve political goals. Habermas for example defines the bourgeois public sphere as an “Öffentlichkeit” - or 'openness' - to political discussion that is a necessity for the ideal democratic society with popular involvement. Authoritarian states, for example, restrain such bourgeois public spheres.

Since the development of small media technologies, people are able to produce media that engages, confronts and challenges the messages of the dominant media.

7.11.2 Small Media and Political Communication in Africa

In the 1990's there was a democratic revival and a resultant loosening of mass media content restrictions in some African states. This led to an increase in independent media, such as privately owned radio and TV stations. However, as these independent media required a large amount of investment money to establish and maintain broadcast, their contents were still influenced by decision making instances and popular interest. Opposing voices did still exist,

often in foreign nations and audiences began to challenge and resist messages broadcast on TV and radio (Spitulnik 1996, 161-178).

7.12 Media of lingual minorities

The main condition that restricts minorities' access to mass media are the enormous costs involved in establishing newspapers, magazines or even radio and TV channels. Trappel concerns himself with the characteristics of ethnic media and notes five basic features, those being; marginal market size; a greatly segmented target audience; absence of medial completeness; lack of personnel; and technical resources and an asymmetric communication between majority and minority.

7.12.1 Marginal market size

Due to low print runs, it is rare for medial products for intended for minorities to be distributed profitably. Moreover, most minority spectators are not market relevant and are therefore hard to identify as a target group for advertising purposes. High fixed costs and expense disadvantages also make it difficult for minorities to enter the media sector and create minority media (Trappel 1991, 26-7).

7.12.2 A greatly segmented target audience

Minority groups are not often homogenous, as each individual is part of several social groups. Therefore, minorities cannot only be reduced in terms of language and ethnic group. This results minority media audiences being highly segmented and heterogeneous, as their interests, attitudes and lifestyles differ from one another (Trappel 1991, 27).

7.12.3 Absence of medial completeness

Most language-defined minority groups do not have a complete set of media, ranging from special interest magazines to comics and films, to cover all medial needs. Media for

minorities most often limits itself to union papers and letters in which folklore and the maintenance of tradition dominate. This media format often restricts a critical examination of one's own identity. The folklore of a traditional society is not therefore unquestioned but reflected without critic. Therefore, not every group within a minority society can be reached by such media.

7.12.4 Lack of personnel and technical resources

One of the greatest problems is the recruiting of linguistically and journalistically capable employees (Trappel 1991, 27-8).

7.12.5 Asymmetric communication between majority and minority

Minorities are most often reported as objects in mainstream mass media in Africa. The news value of these reports is the minority's distinctiveness. Minority media is rarely integrated into mainstream mass media, whereas the minority groups sometimes have no choice but to consume mainstream media content. Adverse information flow between the two groups is regarded as insignificant. Daily information, in the case of an absence of an appropriate daily newspaper, radio or TV program, is most frequently consumed in the majority language (Kogoj 1997, 293).

7.13 Resources for training in rural journalism

Most rural papers were founded without the assistance offered by most journalism training facilities established since 1954. Church affiliated institutes such as the African Literature Centre in Kitwe, Zambia and the Institute of Journalism in Accra were amongst the first centres to offer journalism training. In 1961 the Jackson College of Journalism (now the Department of Mass Communication at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka) began offering university level journalism courses until the civil war in 1967. This institute has since grown and offers specialized training in broadcasting public information, research and journalism.

In 1973, the School of Journalism and Communication Studies at the University of Ghana was founded. At the time it only offered a Master's degree in journalism in Sub-Saharan Africa. Courses in technical journalism were developed in the mid 1960's. The International Press Institute supported by the Ford Foundation held nine sets of six-month courses in technical journalism in Nairobi from 1963 to 1968 for East and Central Africa and another set in Lagos from 1964 to 1966. These efforts were fundamental for the establishment of the School of Journalism at the University of Nairobi in 1970 and the Nigerian Institute of Journalism in the same year.

Occasionally, internationally sponsored scholarships gave African journalists the opportunity to partake in international study programs in Germany, France, England, the United States and the USSR. However, the number of regional training centres for journalism remains very small. The École supérieure internationale de journalism de Yaoundé (E.S.I.J.Y) in Cameroon, the Centre d'études des sciences et techniques de l'information (CESTI) in Dakar/Senegal and the Institute of Mass Communication in Nigeria can be identified as regions that serve regional needs. There are two regional associations at the institutional level. The Association des réalisateurs de journaux ruraux en Afrique (ARJORA) strives to unite editors of rural newspapers to exchange views, knowledge and discuss problems common to rural African newspapers. Whereas the African Council of Communication Education was established to help form journalist bodies and journalism departments at universities.

The ACCE aims to;

- Consider the training needs of African communication institutions and find common solutions.
- Assist in curriculum and course design within training institutions.
- Develop a system of official approval among African communication training institutions.
- Find ways of student and staff exchange among communication training institutions.
- Promote regional workshops and training programs for communication trainers,
- Coordinate with international research organisations for information exchange and support.

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Promote consciousness in the African governments of the central role of mass media as an instrument for national development.

(UNESCO 1977; Ansah, Fall, Chindji and Mwaura 1981, 1-15).

7.14 Privatization

In the 1980's, there were almost no private radio stations in Africa south of the Sahara, but by 1995, 137 broadcasters in 27 countries existed (Thomas 1996, 104-475).

There was economic pressure by the World Bank and western governments to privatize and liberalize the media (Okunna 1995, 165-627). Even states with high literacy rates, printed media had poor accessibility and were too expensive for audiences (Coles 1998, 38-39). Although the liberalization in broadcasting policy was moving forward, some countries, such as Zimbabwe and Benin, were slow to act on promises of change.

At present, Benin's Office of Radio and Television supports community broadcasts in local languages. Ghana annulled its restrictive licensing law in 1991 and promised the freedom of speech and expression (Takirambudde 1995, 37). In 1995, 36 companies were given radio and TV licences (International Press Institute 1995).

In Accra, 7 private radio stations were recently established and in 1995 Uganda approved licences for 7 private radio and 2 private TV stations (Onyango-Obbo 1996, 69-74).

UNESCO reported in 1995 that there were 15 private radio stations broadcasting in Mali (UNESCO 1996). By 1977, this number had grown to 30 (Peter 1998, 38-39).

There are two types of private stations: Those that are commercially driven and those that are sponsored by Non-Profit organisations. While partly funded by listener subscriptions, many of these community stations are funded by international aid organisations such as Oxfam, Panos and the Near East Foundation (Hornik 1992, 1-4).

In Senegal all six of the private radio stations broadcast state news and critical statements were not sanctioned (U.S. Department of State 1999). Community stations normally serve

rural areas in local vernacular languages or small religious, ethnic or geographic communities (Veur 2002, 81-105).

7.15 Media list of Kenya (see addendum)

8. Résumé

Mayring states that after having analysed a topic profoundly, it is essential to explicate the relevant parts to answer the research questions that were initially posed. These questions will be listed again with a summary of observations.

What concepts of identity are there and is there a common African identity?

There are several concepts of identity, but generally it can be said that identity is a product of constant processes of identification and attributions of individuals and groups endowed by others. National identity refers to common criteria such as language, culture and religion, that constitute an ideological construct and therefore it is not static or constitutional.

Moreover, common views about national identity refer to the idea of a collective culture, history, present and future, a national territory, as well as belief in foreign national communities, culture and history. The factors that contribute to national identity often cause conflicts between numerous cultural communities and interests. Consequently, national identity is essentially a very instable, conflictual and dynamic phenomenon.

It is even more difficult to characterize national identity with language, despite language being one of the most observable cultural criteria of a nation. What seems to be one's own language, nonetheless, is often only the outcome of a random nationalistic power of definition. Whilst regional languages and dialects are actively held under pressure, other languages are ennobled as one's own language and declared to be the attribute of difference of an individual nation. Nevertheless, belonging to a national culture remains the most important source for a collective identity. To have a nationality is quasi natural to us and part of our essential personality.

In Africa there is no word for identity. If someone asks an African person who he or she is, that person will use communal terms to indicate their ethnic or clan origins. There is no all-encompassing concept of identity in Africa. The post-colonial official insistence on tribal and racial markers, new anthems and flags, stadiums and churches still cannot be compared to the imperial administrative and ideological machinery that lay behind the construction of English culture and its political face, British identity.

In Africa the search for identity represents several epochs of suppression, which explains why Africans find it difficult to define themselves in terms of their past, their pride, and their future ambitions. A reconditioning of common African concepts such as Negritude, authenticity, African personality, black consciousness and African myths could well be the basis for unification, commonality and independence.

At present, it is sometimes difficult for Africans to negotiate interconnectedness without the participation of the rest of the global community. If people continue to label Africans, there may be the possibility that even the most cosmopolitan Africans regress to primitive notions of identity. Thus only through a cooperative political action can we establish a world beyond identities. There is a necessity for a type of democracy that not only guarantees rights for individuals and minority groups, but also for communities; majorities and minorities alike.

Scientific and African socialism both strive for the creation of a class-free, socially and economically sound society with a stable identity and national consciousness. Nevertheless, there never has and there never will be a uniform African identity. No initiatives were taken in pre-colonial times to create a uniform identity, because smaller groups would meet their member's need of fulfilment. As soon as foreign influences corrupted this system, problems arose and the African identity crisis ensued.

What is the contribution of the media to the construction of identity?

With the rise of electronic mass media, which greatly replaced traditional identity agencies, the communicative infrastructure was formed by media programming. Mass media brings orientation, provides new experiences and serves for presentation and attribution. Electronic media is greatly involved in the modern construction of identity and therefore identities are

products of communication. Thus it can be said that the media culture constitutes an important resource for the creation of identity for the modern leisure society.

In the media, identity resources are transmitted across traditional borders of nation states which are neither limited to territories nor nations. However, one must be careful not to overestimate the transnational capacity of media. We are experiencing an increasingly more complex choice of media offers available and the recipient must identify themselves within this huge identity market. Furthermore, one should not assume that a homogenisation of cultures around the world will occur simply because media content is transmitted trans-nationally.

For the development of a subjective structure, personal interaction with others still remains more important than the consumption of media messages. Media absorption is an action, out of which several possibilities for moral estimation and ethnic acceptance can result. In medial communication, there is no pressure of action and excuse. Concurrently, the fear of self-portrayal before others is eliminated. While identifying with medial characters, individuals can test their own forms of self-portrayal and its effect on others without real consequence.

Does language and national communication influence the development of a common culture and African identity?

Language is one factor that constitutes cultural identity. It is essential for the development of a cultural identity that a family unit is aware of and proficient in their own language. This is however only possible if they are able to continue using and propagating their own language. Communication is however not only an exchange of information, but also a complex process which generates, adjusts, maintains and enhances reality. Culture and communication are connected because culture is the orderly system of meanings and symbols via which social interaction takes place, whilst communication avails itself of culturally embedded symbols. Conversely the meaning of symbols develops through social interaction. Without recourse to cultural knowledge, communication would be impossible and without communication culture could neither exist, nor develop. Therefore, culture provides the framework in which communication takes place and in turn culture develops through communication.

Language is essential for self-identification as it is closely connected to thought. Language is also a medium that enables people to communicate and express their feelings. Minorities most frequently express themselves through bilingualism. However this does not only address the possession of two languages, but also of two different systems of communication, which become operative in different contexts of interaction. The native language of the minority is often restricted to the private sector of everyday life, whereas the language of the majority is used in the public sector.

What are principles of democracy and how important is participatory democracy in Africa for national unity?

Since the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, democracy was ennobled to a universal norm. The UNESCO aimed to set up a common, universal definition of democracy.

So far, in Third World countries it seems that poverty, rural economy, economic dependency in external trade, socio-cultural traditionalism and deficient national integration have hindered the development of democracy. Since the 1960's the concept of the paternalistic presidential- or one-party system has dominated the developmental policies of Third World countries. As a result, the terms of democracy have been researched in a more exact manner.

Due to crisis's and instability in many African countries, democracy is often seen a waste of time. There is also the argument that African democracy is expensive and in times of war central control is seen as the most efficient and cost-effective of governing a nation.

In Africa however, these questions are yet to be faced as the central political problem revolves around the traditional rights of common civilians. The post-colonial Africa is centralized, imperious and restrictive in its actions. It concentrates state power in only a few institutions. This often equates to one man few assistants. The interventionist state attempts to restrict the citizen's social life and in the economic field the states strive for total control over all economic actions. Conversely, the state claims to nationalize enterprises of all sectors or it assists private ventures to function in a more resourceful manner. In politics, the state simply eliminates all critical and oppositional voices and denies political discussions amongst its citizens.

In almost all African countries sound democratic institutions and practices can not be assumed because people had to struggle for them and had to continually defend and restate their rights. In some states the right of citizens to express themselves freely is often a right issued by the state which can be revoked at any time.

Almost all post-colonial leaders have declared themselves to be socialist, although this term has not been truly descriptive, because such leaders felt that they should respond to the popular demands for democratic involvement and a fairer supply of national resources. Such states cherish their underdeveloped capitalist features and the undemocratic structures inherited from colonialism.

In some countries the only existing political party nominates one candidate to become president. But if there is only one candidate there is no need for an election and he is considered to be unopposed. At present, there are a variety of regimes in Africa, which include the multi-party parliament (such as in Zimbabwe and Senegal), restricted parliament, along with despotic and military government.

A major issue in African society is the public is notified of political decisions after they have been made behind closed doors. These outcomes are then presented as democratic decisions. Thus, it is difficult to analyse African politics since they are not clearly exposed to the public. It has been the case that the post-colonial countries had to face many problems simultaneously, such as national integration and the creation of new political institutions, which other states faced in different historic periods and were thus able to deal with them one at a time.

What is the role of communication and media in democracies?

“There is no democracy without media” (Parsons 1976).

The battle for freedom of speech and therefore a free press is strongly connected to the theory of democracy. Therewith arose the suppression of free speech as an attribute of totalitarian and authoritarian systems. This has led to the slackening of the public's intellect. But the interplay of individuals with different knowledge and opinions is the very factor that creates

the intellectual life within a democracy. Heinrich Oberreuter argues that democratic communication is the cement that stabilizes a democratic society (1986, 47).

How did and does traditional communication in Africa influence national identity?

The African people have always been creators, performers and verbal artists and orally passed down numerous songs, poems, narratives, riddles and many other oral literary forms over centuries. Although parts of Africa were amongst the earliest places to use the written word as a medium of communication, it has only been a relatively short period since this tradition replaced the dominant oral civilization. The written culture mainly came to Africa with European colonization and Eurocentric education, which defined literature in terms of European novels, plays and written poems.

Traditional societies, even before the development of the mass media, had an efficient communication system which was seen as a part of the public administration. Informal communication involves face-to-face communication. It is mostly used to exchange information between family members or neighbouring villages and serves to strengthen the relations between relatives (Omu 1978, 2). The function of face-to-face communication is to socialize, entertain and educate, as well as to support the finding of consciousness and fulfil individual socio-cultural needs. The use of indigenous languages makes it easier to distribute a message in ways unlike communication problem faced by modern media (Simpson 1985, 132-152).

In the past, a Bell-man propagated information with a gong as he walked around town in official uniform. Messages from the king or his representatives were also propagated through rural areas in the indigenous language. The messenger was therefore regarded as the gatekeeper in the communication process (Duyile 1979, 281).

Further communication instruments such as drums and even smoke signs in the case of a national threat were also used (Omu 1978). The entertainment function of the media, as Wright describes it, was highly supported, particularly in rural regions where underdeveloped infrastructure hindered mass media.

Oral literature refers not only to domestic entertainment, but also as a means of articulating authority networks in society and the fostering of societal knowledge. The use of descriptions, metonymy and satire assists people name, entitle and objectify others who establish the terms of dialogue (Parkin 1984, 359). Establishing these terms of discourse may involve contestation, which forces different people and groups to join debates over supposed and developed roles and even challenge established identities.

Oral art is an important tool to criticize rulers and for pedagogues to teach community values. This was often quelled during colonial times (Thiongo 1986; Fanon 1967). After independence the situation changed little, even though there were oral art appearances at state events.

As a cultural tool, oral art has received attention in the growth of cultural nationalism. Ethnic dances, poetry, stories, labour songs, ritual songs, funeral hymns, readings form the repertoire of many state-supported artistic groups. Universities and other state institutions make enquiries about African oral art and try out numerous oral art performances and therefore it has a more recognized significance today than in the colonial era. Art has the power to educate, inform, encourage or convince an audience for or against a matter or person and ruling powers are always alert of artistic power and react with censorship laws, imprisonments and patronising artists making them sing or dance praises of rulers. In 1948 the British Colonial Office encouraged the colonies to frequently present indigenous art performances of colonial topics for entertainment. Governments though, kept the art performances at a level where they could simply control and manipulate them so it would not work against the intentions and interests of the ruling classes. Although governments have claimed to support oral performances, they have in fact domesticated artists to the political benefit of the ruling classes.

How do the modern media environment, its development, contents and structure in Africa/Kenya look like?

Mass media in Africa is directly connected with and dependent on the development of political institutions. Since the colonial period there has not been an africanization of the mass media in Africa. One of the problems concerning communication is that the numerous indigenous languages in the different African countries hindered development of local media. The most widespread media language in Africa is the language of the colonial powers. Media still addresses the higher social classes which has, due to its better education, had easier access to media (Habte 1983, 95). radio and television are the most important media used in the African economy. Furthermore, national governments use these media to propagate political information and public relations. Non-African businesses as well as African people wish to inform and be informed about the goods available on the market (German Africa Society 1970). Few African countries have a free, independent and unsuppressed media system. Although many African nations call themselves liberal and democratic, the true state of free speech and opinion in these nations is far from the terms defined in their Constitutions.

Radio was introduced in Africa during the colonial period to provide links for emigrants to the metropolitan areas. In 1927, the British East Africa Company began BBC relay services for settlers in Nairobi. This was the second radio service on the continent, the first founded in 1920 in independent South Africa. The English however, were interested in establishing an African audience and therefore promoted the use of African vernaculars early in the process. In most British colonies broadcasting services were based on the Public Corporation model of the BBC.

During the 1960's the first generation of Anglophone politicians of the independence period reorganized the influence of radio. By the 1970's most Anglophone countries have put their radio broadcasting facilities in the hands of their governments. A few ethnically homogenous African countries such as Rwanda, Burundi and Gambia only need to broadcast in one language to be understood by the majority of its population. Nonetheless, the majority of African media must use a range of vernaculars to be understood by their audiences, as the number of transmitters grew during the 1970's and 1980's. The easiest method to provide more rural services seemed to be the increase of different languages in which news was broadcast.

Broadcasts that feature traditional African festivities and folklore represent less than 15% total broadcasting in Africa. Additionally, there is some proof that the natural grace of

traditional culture could be further explored and adapted to radio. The opposition to traditional cultural broadcasts lays in the historically exclusive and centric nature of radio. Elites who broadcast are mostly unfamiliar with traditional culture and were not educated to value it. Broadcasting based in major cities gave also little room for profound research and the collection of cultural material.

Radio should not only allow audiences to listen, but it should also give the audience a chance to speak as well, allowing them to participate in democracy and give criticism the powerful elite. Community radio on the one hand allows non-professionals to create programmes by using local sources of information and to take an active part in decision making on program and policy. Conversely, rural radio has little recognition of its audience and lacks skilled professionals and equipment.

Moreover, not everyone has access to radio in rural areas and most radio channels are a state monopoly. These centralized state channels often do not fulfil the educational and communicational needs of the population. Radio professionals have often been trained in the West and their methods are not entirely suitable for application in rural areas. When rural radio in Africa was established, it was mostly financed by external aid and programs were broadcasted in French or English, regardless of the fact that most people in rural areas did not speak these languages.

The television age began in Africa with the introduction of WNTV in Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1959. A second station was initiated shortly after in Enugu, Nigeria. Both stations were established before independence from Great Britain in 1960. Television was also introduced before independence in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Southern Rhodesia (now Zambia), where it served mainly the expatriate community. In most other African countries TV was established shortly after independence in the early-to-mid 1960's. Investment in radio was sacrificed for the new, more prestigious medium of television.

Television officially began just before independence in Kenya in 1963. At this time, it operated under contract by a private association of East African, British, Canadian and American entrepreneurs. The following year the government nationalized the Kenyan

Broadcasting Corporation, including its radio and television services. The KBC was put under the authority of the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism. Initially, 90% of the programs, mainly entertainment came from foreign countries such as the United States, Great Britain and West Germany. It was only in the 1970's that Kenya announced that it would produce all of its own programming. By 1983, the percentage of imports has dropped to 59%. Early in television history, efforts were made to locally produce and transmit educational programs about health and agriculture in Swahili and in rural areas. Moreover, community listening centres were established by USAID and the Ford Foundation.

There was only one TV broadcaster in Kenya when it declared itself a one-party state under the lead of the Kenya African Union. 65% of its transmissions were in English and 35% in Swahili.

The press in East Africa, just as in South and Central Africa, was initially developed for the European settlers. The first paper was published in Mombassa in 1902 by a member of the Asian community, A.M. Jeevanjee. In 1910 it moved north to Nairobi and became known as the East African Standard, a voice for settler demands to the British government. After World War II, the Standards Group's paper prepared for independence by appealing to non-white readers, but nonetheless remained a paper for white settlers.

African news occupied the large majority of news space after independence. The newly established Kenya News Agency began to provide news directly to the paper and the entire organization was staffed by black Africans. The rival of the Standard papers was the Nation Group, or the East African Newspaper Ltd., who was Financed by an Islamic sect. The Daily Nation and the Sunday Nation began publishing in 1960 and in 1962 the group launched the Taifa Leo in Swahili. The colonial government in East Africa discouraged indigenous newspaper production and most papers targeted to African readers were supported by missionaries or the colonial government.

The most noteworthy indigenous paper was entitled Muigwithania (Work and Play), founded in 1925 by Johnstone Kamau and was the first African-owned paper in East Africa. Later the editor changed his name to Jomo Kenyatta and established the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Kenyatta supported several newspapers, mainly in the Kikuyu language. The

Colonial government established the Kenyan Vernacular Press in 1952, strictly staffed with European settlers.

There was no government paper until KANU launched the Kenya Times in 1983 in partnership with the Robert Maxwell Group (New African 1988, 40). During the early independent period, East Africa was blessed with two large externally controlled newspaper groups that cautiously reported on the internal politics of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, whilst treating leaders with respect. Shortly after independence, there was a flurry of journalistic training and international organisations that supported Africa with local and overseas journalist training courses promoting Western press concepts. Development journalism however presented a view of development without difficulty and pain, clashes, compromise and corruption.

Most journalism training facilities established since 1954. Church affiliated institutes such as the African Literature Centre in Kitwe, Zambia and the Institute of Journalism in Accra were amongst the first centres to offer journalism training. In 1961 the Jackson College of Journalism (now the Department of Mass Communication at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka) began offering university level journalism courses until the civil war in 1967.

In 1973, the School of Journalism and Communication Studies at the University of Ghana was founded. At the time it only offered a Master's degree in journalism in Sub-Saharan Africa. Courses in technical journalism were developed in the mid 1960's. The International Press Institute supported by the Ford Foundation held nine sets of six-month courses in technical journalism in Nairobi from 1963 to 1968 for East and Central Africa and another set in Lagos from 1964 to 1966. These efforts were fundamental for the establishment of the School of Journalism at the University of Nairobi in 1970 and the Nigerian Institute of Journalism in the same year.

The École supérieure internationale de journalism de Yaoundé (E.S.I.J.Y) in Cameroon, the Centre d'études des sciences et techniques de l'information (CESTI) in Dakar/ Senegal and the Institute of Mass Communication in Nigeria can be identified as regions that serve regional needs. There are two regional associations at the institutional level. The Association des réalisateurs de journaux ruraux en Afrique (ARJORA) strives to unite editors of rural newspapers to exchange views, knowledge and discuss problems common to rural African

newspapers. Whereas the African Council of Communication Education was established to help form of journalist bodies and journalism departments at universities.

Small media seems to be most effective when they utilize established communication genres and networks such as neighbourhoods, workplaces or religious structures. Small media holds a position between new (mass media) and old (interpersonal communications) media. Small media draws from both national and international sources and combines the themes of tradition, modernity and identity. It also has the ability to criticize state power and can incite political revolutions. It facilitates open dialogue and is more or less invisible whilst trying to achieve political goals.

The existence of the World Wide Web and affordable computers has established new methods of communication, networking, and the creation of community and the maintenance of diasporic identities (Jones 1995; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1996; Turkle 1995). It has allowed the entire world to give opinion on and discuss Africa.

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10. Addendum:

11. Data in Media Use

Data on radio, TV and VCR ownership in Kenya in 1995/96

Kenya 1996...74% radio...11%TV...2%VCR

Nairobi 1995...88%radio...47%TV...11%VCR

Kenya rural 1995...72%radio...7%TV...1%VCR

Data on weekly use of radio, TV and press in Kenya in 1995/96

Kenya 1996...79%radio...33%TV...newspapers/data unavailable

Nairobi 1995...92%radio...95%TV...newspapers/data unavailable

Kenya rural 1995...90%radio...75%TV... newspapers/data unavailable

Weekly use of radio and TV in Kenya in 1995/96

Kenya 1996: TV...33%

1996: Radio...80%

(Mytton and Graham 2000, 21-42).

Medialist Kenya

Media	TypeMedia	FocusLanguage
BC-Broadcast	BU-Business	ARA-Arabic
IN-Internet	GI-General	InterestENG-English
MG-Magazine	SH-Shopper	FRA-French
NP-Newspaper		POR-Portuguese
PA-Press Agency		

Kenya - Broadcast News Media

National	KBC	BC GI ENG Radio TV Also SWA
National	KTN	BC GI ENG TV Also SWA

(<http://www.kbc.co.ke/story.asp?ID=52019>)

Kenya - Internet News Media

National	Media	AfricaIN GI ENG
National	Virtual	KenyaIN GI ENG
Foreign	Afrik	IN GI FRA
Foreign	Afrol	IN GI ENG
Foreign	All	AfricaIN GI ENG
Foreign	All	AfricaIN GI FRA
Foreign	Big News	NetworkIN GI ENG
Foreign	EIN	NewsIN GI ENG
Foreign	Index	MundiIN GI ENG
Foreign	Inside	AfricaIN GI ENG
Foreign	IRIN	IN GI ENG
Foreign	Kenya	DailyIN GI ENG
Foreign	Moreover	IN GI ENG
Foreign	News	NowIN GI ENG
Foreign	One	WorldIN GI ENG
Foreign	Topix	IN GI ENG
Foreign	Yahoo	IN GI ENG

Kenya - Magazine News Media

Foreign	Jeune Afrique	MGGI FRA
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Kenya - Newspaper News Media

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National	Daily	Nation	NP	GI	ENG
National	East	African	NP	GI	ENG
National	East African Standard		NP	GI	ENG

Kenya - Press Agency News Media

Foreign	APA		PA	GI	ENG
Foreign	APA		PA	GI	FRA
Foreign	Panapress		PA	GI	ARA
Foreign	Panapress		PA	GI	ENG
Foreign	Panapress		PA	GI	FRA
Foreign	Panapress		PA	GI	POR

Kenya Newspapers and News Media - Local

Coast

Mombasa	Coastweek		NP	GI	ENG
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Nairobi

Nairobi	Capital		FMBC	GI	ENG Radio
Nairobi	Daily		Nation	NP	GI ENG
Nairobi	East		African	NP	GI ENG
Nairobi	East	African	Standard	NP	GI ENG
Nairobi	Financial		Standard	NP	BU ENG
Nairobi	Kiss		FMBC	GI	ENG Radio
Nairobi	Nairobi		IN	GI	ENG
Nairobi	Weekly Advertiser		NP	SH	ENG

Kenya news media

Title	Medium	Language
Coastweek +	Newspaper	en
East African +	Newspaper	en
East African Standard +	Newspaper	en
Karengata Chronicle	Newspaper	en
Kenya Times +	Newspaper	en
Nation +	Newspaper	en
Weekly Review	Magazine	en

Kenya business media

Title	Medium	Lang
Analyst	newspaper	en
East African Hotelier & Catering (travel)	magazine	en
Harbour Watch (transportation)	newspaper	en

Kenya entertainment media

Title	Medium	Lang
KBC TV Channel 1 +	TV	en
KBC TV Channel 2	TV	en
Kenya Television Network +	TV	en
Kiss FM 100 (music) +	Radio	en
Maneno (lifestyle: kids)	magazine	en

science media

Title	Medium	Lang
Kenya Engineer (engineering)	magazine	en

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(<http://www.mondotimes.com/1/world/ke>)

12. CURRICULUM VITAE

Julia Anna Prinz

Personal data:

Name: Julia Anna Prinz
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Birthplace: Linz /Austria

School education:

1987-1991 Primary school in Leonding
1991-1995 Secondary school in Leonding
1996-2000 High School in Linz - A-levels
2000-2009 Studies of communications and cultural and social anthropology at the University of Vienna (language studies abroad in Australia)

Employment:

2001-2003 TV presenter and Journalist LT1
2003-2005 Sales assistant Oysteins clothing Austria/Norway
2005-2009 Flight attendant Austrian Airlines, Fly Niki and Jet Alliance

Additional practical training

- 1) Internship at the Austrian brewing company-PR department
- 2) Internship as office manager at the press association in Vienna (Presseclub Concordia)