

# **Creating Citizens for Democracy: Civic Education and the Use of Radio in Kenya**

**Candidate: Anna Hirschfeld  
Candidate No. 807230  
MSc Poverty Reduction and Project Management**

**Supervisor: Dr. Heather Marquette**

**Word Count: 10,999**



# Acknowledgments

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to all those who contributed to this study, both in the UK, USA and Kenya. I would particularly like to thank the staff of First Voice Africa, the Association of Local Government Authorities in Kenya (ALGAK), the Municipal Authority of Machakos, MDP-ESA, IntermediaNCG, CIDA, and the World Bank Institute. I would like to express my gratitude to all those who attended the Participatory Budgeting session at Machakos town hall for allowing me to observe their class. I would also like to thank Katra Sambili and her wonderful family for their hospitality and kindness during my stay with them.

To my friends and family, your support has been so important over the last year and I am so grateful to be surrounded by so many good people.

Finally I wish to thank my supervisor, Dr. Heather Marquette, who has been a great source of encouragement, constructive criticism and welcome advice.

# Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	3
Table of Contents.....	4
List of Boxes.....	5
Chapter 1 – Introduction.....	6
1.1 Introduction.....	6
1.2 Focus of the Study.....	7
1.3 Research Question.....	7
1.4 Background.....	8
1.4.1 Good Governance on the Radio Waves.....	8
1.4.2 National Civic Education Programme (NCEP).....	9
1.5 Methodology.....	10
1.6 Outline of Dissertation.....	11
Chapter 2 – Literature Review.....	13
2.1 Introduction.....	13
2.2 Civic Education.....	13
2.2.1 History.....	13
2.2.2 Defining Civic Education.....	13
2.2.3 Teaching Civic Education.....	14
2.2.4 Service Learning.....	17
2.3 Civic Education and Development.....	18
2.4 Civic Education and Using Radio as a Tool.....	21
2.5 Civic Education in Kenya.....	22
2.5.1 Political Background.....	22
2.5.3 National Civic Education Programme.....	23
2.5.4 Africa Good Governance on the Radio Waves.....	24
2.6 Conclusion.....	24
Chapter 3 – Results and Discussion.....	26
3.1. Introduction.....	26
3.2 Curriculum.....	26
3.2.1 Good Governance on the Radio Waves.....	26
3.3.2 The National Civic Education Programme.....	31
3.3 Using Radio as a Medium.....	35
3.3.1 Good Governance on the Radio Waves (GGRW).....	35
3.3.2 National Civic Education Programme (NCEP II).....	38
3.4 Discussion.....	40
Chapter 4 – Conclusion.....	45
Bibliography.....	49
Appendices.....	53
Appendix 1 – List of Interviewed Persons.....	53
Appendix 2 – Interview Schedule.....	54
Appendix 3 – Semi-Structured Interview Questions.....	55
Appendix 4 – Non-Participant Observations.....	57

# List of Boxes

<b>Box 1 - <i>Governing Municipalities without Corruption</i> Example.....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Box 2 - Example of Radio Script from <i>Municipal Finance</i>.....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Box 3 - <i>Governing Municipalities without Corruption</i> Module Programme Eight - You Ask We Answer.....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Box 4 - Teaching Approaches.....</b>	<b>37</b>

# Chapter 1 – Introduction

## **1.1 Introduction**

“It is a general truth that societies that neither understand nor practice their own principles are liable to find their institutions in decay or overthrown.”

(Centre for Civic Education 1991)

Over the last decade good governance has become the watchword of the international development community and therefore most governments in the developing world. It is seen as “imperative” for poverty reduction and development in general (Grindle 2004, p.525). For a more transparent, fair, accountable and responsive government which promotes participation by the whole of society you not only need to change the institutions of government but the attitudes of the general public. Civic education aims to teach people about their rights and responsibilities as part of a democratic society and in developing countries this is vital for more accountable government to be kept that way.

In Kenya, a place which has been rife with corruption, there is seen to be a need for people to be able to understand how the democratic government they elected should be acting and how as citizens they themselves should be involved in both national and local affairs. This dissertation looks at two civic education projects which are trying to do this at national and local authority levels. Both programmes are using radio as a tool in their attempt to reach as many people as possible and deliver a strong curriculum which will have a deep impact on its participants.

## ***1.2 Focus of the Study***

In this study I will be focussing on two programmes: the Africa Good Governance on the Radio Waves (GGRW) and the National Civic Education Programme (NCEP). These two programmes are quite different in their content, while still being concerned with civic education. NCEP is a national programme which aims to foster a “mature political culture” in Kenya by increasing the population’s awareness of their rights and responsibilities as citizens (Uraia 2006, p.6). GGRW is a programme being broadcast simultaneously to five countries across Africa (Kenya, Ghana, Zambia, Tanzania, and Uganda) and is aimed at local authorities helping them and their citizens create more transparent and efficient municipal governments. Both programmes are using radio as a way of connecting with a much larger audience in a country where many may never have otherwise received such civic education. The aim of this study is to see how both programmes are using radio and how well this tool is being used. However you cannot simply look at how radio is being used without also exploring the curriculum being used in conjunction which has a major impact on who is being reached and with what affect.

## ***1.3 Research Question***

From the above focus of study two research questions for this study can be identified:

- Using Finkel’s criteria for best practice in adult civic education in developing countries (Finkel 2000) are the Good Governance on the Radio Waves and the National Civic Education Programme’s having a positive impact on all possible participants through the use of radio and their syllabuses?

## **1.4 Background**

### **1.4.1 Good Governance on the Radio Waves**

The Africa Good Governance Programme on the Radio Waves (GGRW) jointly coordinated by the Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa (MDP-ESA) and the World Bank Institute (WBI) is facilitated in five countries (Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Ghana and Tanzania) by local government associations. The programme is based on a pilot project which took place in Malawi in 2003 (WBI 2007). The programme seeks to educate local government officials and local citizens about a number of aspects of good governance at the municipal level. The three components of the course that this dissertation is looking at are *Governing Municipalities without Corruption*, *Civic Participation* and *Municipal Finance and Participatory Budgeting*. The fourth component which we will not be considering is the *Africa Municipal News Magazine* which is not radio based.

The ideal behind the whole programme is that it is supposed to be “designed and produced in Africa by Africans” so as to make it more relevant to participants (WBI 2007, p.76). The programme uses satellite radio to broadcast classes across all five countries simultaneously, thus enabling the programme to share best practice, experiences and create a greater bank of knowledge across all five countries. In Kenya this programme works with four municipal councils working with the Association of Local Government Authorities in Kenya (ALGAK) (Nyambura, interview). The satellite technology is being arranged through an NGO, First Voice Africa. They have a donation of five percent of channel capacity from the satellite broadcasting corporation World Space, which is broadcasting GGRW (First Voice 2007). The programme has a dual



purpose, firstly to increase civic participation and make both the local government and its citizens more aware of their rights and responsibilities. Secondly it is a capacity building instrument to help local authorities learn new tools to increase community participation and create a more transparent and efficient local authority.

#### **1.4.2 National Civic Education Programme (NCEP)**

The National Civic Education Programme (NCEP) was established to ‘equip...citizens with relevant knowledge to contribute to and participate actively and meaningfully in the [country’s] socio-economic, political and development process’” (Finkel 2003, p.1). The first phase of the programme (NCEP I), which ran from August 2000 to September 2002, included workshops and other activities such as theatre, drama presentations, public lectures, puppet shows and community forums. NCEP I joined up CSOs from across the country, worked with international donors such as DFID and USAID, and created a common curriculum (Kanyinga and Wesselink 2002).

Finkel’s evaluation of NCEP I found that workshops and other activities did have a positive effect on the level of civic knowledge and awareness of those who took part in NCEP I compared to those who did not. The study also showed that the programme had an impact on the individuals’ sense of civic competence and their engagement in the political system (Finkel 2003, p.34).

The second phase of NCEP, which we will be looking at in this study was branded “Uraia” which is Swahili for citizenship (Uraia 2007, p.6). It began in April 2006 and is being implemented by 47 CSOs who are organised into four consortia: the Consortium

for Empowerment and Development of Marginalised Communities (CEDMAC): the Constitution and Reform Education Consortium (CRECO), the Ecumenical Civic Education Programme (ECEP), and the National Muslim Civic Education Consortium (NAMCEC). The programme is organised around five themes: nation-building, democracy, good governance, constitutionalism and human rights. The aim of the programme is to foster a “mature political culture in Kenya: a culture in which citizens are able to exercise their rights and responsibilities – and to participate effectively in the broadening of democracy in the country” (Uraia 2006, p.6). NCEP II makes use of a number of different media including radio, TV and the internet to broaden the reachable audience.

## ***1.5 Methodology***

This dissertation is based on a qualitative study using the case study approach. A number of methods of data collection were used so as to gain a broad picture of the two programmes. Textual analysis of secondary data was used, including educational materials used. Semi-structured interviews of those involved in both programmes were conducted to gain an understanding of how people believe the programmes are working. Non-participant observation was used at the GGRW class which took place at Machakos Town Hall. Machakos is a major rural centre 64 kilometres southeast of Nairobi. Non-participant observations enabled me to see how in reality the programme works and to observe how participants reacted to the issues being raised and the teaching methods being used<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Please see appendix 1 for a list of interviewees; appendix 2 for the dates and schedule of these interviews; appendix 4 for the interview questions used as part of the semi-structured interviews; appendix 4 for a description of the non-participant observations taken at Machakos Town Hall.

The limitations of these methods should be noted so as to give a rounded picture of the research. Semi-structured interviews, while extremely useful for gaining qualitative data and providing useful insights, lack structure which may help to obtain information in a more systematic way as conversations can wander off the point (Bell 1993, p.92-94). Non-participant observation also has its faults as participants may act differently because they are being observed, the observer may be biased, it is based heavily on personal interpretation, can only be truly reliable for that sample and is unsystematic (Summerhill and Taylor 1992, p.3). However, by acknowledging these limitations they can be dealt with in the field: in semi-structured interviews a set of pre-prepared questions can help to prevent interviews wandering off the point and in non-participant observations the data being recorded must be done in as objective way as possible (Bell 1993, p.111). Therefore, these methods are still able to give us a useful and critical view of civic education and radio in Kenya.

## ***1.6 Outline of Dissertation***

Following this chapter is the literature review which is split into four subsections. The first section looking at civic education in general; its historical background, how it is defined and what are the main ways it has been taught. The second subsection considers civic education in the context of developing countries. Thirdly we look at the use of radio within civic education and how this technology has impacted the discipline. Finally the political environment of Kenya will be considered and where GGRW and NCEP fit into that context.

The subsequent chapter discusses the results of the research done in Kenya and textual analysis of programme materials. The first section will consider the curriculums being used and the second will look at the use of radio in both programmes. The third section is a discussion of the two programmes successes and failures in the context of the research question.

Finally the conclusion will sum up the results and conclusions reached through looking at the data collected. A bibliography and appendices are provided with details of those who were interviewed and when, the questions used and a description of the non-participant observations taken.

# **Chapter 2 – Literature Review**

## **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter looks at the literature surrounding civic education. It starts by giving an overview of the general thinking concerning civic education before looking more specifically at civic education in the developing world. We also consider how civic education can be achieved through the use of radio. Finally this chapter aims to tie all of this information into the current political situation in Kenya.

## **2.2 Civic Education**

### **2.2.1 History**

Citizenship education emerged in Greece during the Archaic Age (776-479BC) and flourished as a discipline during the Classical Age. Plato and Aristotle both felt that civic education was necessary to help improve the “decay of social and political standards” in fourth century Athens (Heater 2004, p.12). Throughout the centuries civic education’s perceived importance has waxed and waned but currently it is a widely discussed and debated issue. This current interest has been stimulated by concerns over political apathy growing among the youth of America (Galston 2001). Due to this recent interest in preventing a degradation of political engagement there has been considerable debate on what we mean by civic education and how it should be implemented.

### **2.2.2 Defining Civic Education**

To be able to use civic education we should be able to define what it is and what it attempts to do. The US Centre for Civic Education calls it “education in self-government” meaning that “the ideals of democracy are most completely fulfilled when every member of the political community actively shares in government” (Centre for

Civic Education 1991). Galston believes for democracy to function it requires “democratic citizens whose specific knowledge, competences and character would not be as well suited to non-democratic politics” Galston 2001, p.217). For citizens to acquire the knowledge and characteristics which are essential for democracy to keep going, and not be undermined by those who preach authoritarianism, they must be educated. As Galston says, good citizens are made not born (Galston 2001, p.217). Aristotle made this point in 340BC in *Politics*: “If liberty and equality...are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost” (Branson and Quigley 1998, p.4). So it appears that to create a good citizen you need a form of education which instils knowledge and a character which promotes active participation and is against non-democratic forms of government. These issues are important in developing countries, many of which have only recently come out of dictatorial regimes. Therefore the structures and frameworks by which civic education is taught are extremely important in making sure that any obstacles to an active citizenry are overcome.

### **2.2.3 Teaching Civic Education**

One of the most widely referenced frameworks comes from the Centre for Civic Education; their CIVITAS framework aims to set out a curriculum for teaching citizenship education in the US. They focus on three main areas: civic virtue, civic participation and civic knowledge (Centre for Civic Education 1991). This framework is explained further by Branson and Quigley who label the three components slightly differently.

Firstly, the civic knowledge component instructs participants in how their political system works and how as a citizen they fit in. Civic skills, the second component (civic participation in the CIVITAS framework), distinguishes between intellectual skills, such as critical thinking, and participatory skills, such as petitioning, joining an interest group and speaking at a public meeting. Civic disposition (civic virtue) is the final component which refers to the qualities of a citizen and how they must be aimed at the improvement and preservation of democracy. Personal traits would include selflessness, moral responsibility, respect for the lives and opinions of others. Public traits would include, respect for the rule of law, civility, critical thinking, “public spiritedness” and a willingness to compromise (Branson and Quigley 1998, p11-12). These are the characteristics, skills and attitudes which CIVITAS argues should be included in any civic education programme to create a democratic citizen who is engaged, critical and believes in democracy over other non-democratic forms of government.

However, simply saying that these are the traits which need to be instilled in civic education participants is only half the battle, these ideals must be taught in a way which has a lasting impact. Formal classroom based civic education has been widely criticised over the last three decades. People see it as civic education by rote, with little participation and that ideals are not being put into practice. However there are recent studies which argue that this is too much of a generalisation. Galston (2001) looks at the results of a number of studies on a nationwide civic education programme in the US and found that it had a positive effect in improving the civic knowledge of students at elementary, middle and high school levels.

The classroom can be a useful place to teach civic education but its value can be increased by using alternative methods. The idea of teaching civic ideals through “the medium of a foreign language” is one such alternative method in which ideals can be discussed in relation to intercultural learning (Osler and Starkey 2004, p.16). The IEA (Institute of Economic Affairs) believes that civic education should be “cross-disciplinary, participative, interactive, related to life, conducted in a non-authoritarian environment...” (Osler and Starker 2004, p.17). These qualities can be incorporated into classroom teaching, especially the idea of using a democratic form of learning, further instilling the ideals which civic education is trying to promote. However there are more innovative methods which break out from the classroom based lesson. The use of theatre has been one area in which people have been moving civic education into communities. For example in Afghanistan during the run up to elections the Mobile Theatre Project implemented 400 productions across the country. The Asia Foundation believes that theatre is a useful tool for civic education as it “tends to influence a wide audience as it draws crowds and prompts discussion and storytelling once the production has ended” (The Asia Foundation 2005, p.2).

With the use of community theatre we are moving away from school based civic education to looking at adult civic education. To maintain and improve public involvement in politics adult civic education has a vital role to play. Gastil considers the most widely adopted means of adult civic education to be the public forum. These discussion groups are a democratic way of considering issues in a face-to-face situation. For example the National Issues Forums (NIF) in the US, used an issue book to inform



the participants who would then discuss the pro's and con's of each issue. The results of Gastil's study into the NIF found that through "face-to-face deliberation" participants were more likely to engage in democratic discussions (Gastil 2004, p.325-26).

#### **2.2.4 Service Learning**

While there is evidence to suggest that classroom based civic education is effective there has been a push for a more dynamic style of civic education. Service learning, as defined by the US National Centre for Educational Statistics is "curriculum-based community service that integrates classroom instruction with community service activities" (Galston 2001, p.229). Community service's role in civic education is seen as a way of engendering "personal efficacy, empathy and a sense of responsibility" (Clark et al 1997, p.164). By linking classroom teaching with hands on practical application students are able to understand the link between what they learn in the classroom and the real world which enhances and strengthens the impact of civic education. Thomas Ehrlich (1999) implemented such a programme at California State University in San Francisco. Students engaged with civic leaders and worked on community projects in the poorer areas of San Francisco. Ehrlich found that the majority of participants now expected to remain engaged in local politics and volunteer more (Ehrlich 1999). The Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF) put together a framework of service learning. The framework consisted of five components: community assessment; policy-making; policy analysis; citizen options; and citizen action (Clark et al 1997).

Teaching civic education must take into account the historical background it is set in. Aristotle and Plato were just as concerned about political apathy and what they said is

still relevant for creating active and knowledgeable citizens. The notions of civic knowledge, participation and virtue are vital for creating well rounded citizens who understand how their governments work and how to be involved in that process. For such characteristics to be introduced teaching methods are important and it seems clear that more than just class based lessons are needed. In developing countries this can be seen to be even more important where it is not just school children who need to be taught such ideals but entire populations.

### ***2.3 Civic Education and Development***

Much of the literature on civic education is concerned with civic education within schools and universities; they are looking at building up these civic values in the next generation. In a “mature” democratic state people will have absorbed the virtues of what makes a good democratic citizen over a lifetime (Blair 2003, p.53). However in developing countries where they have just come out of long periods of authoritarian rule that preparatory knowledge is not there. So it is essential for the adult population to catch up, therefore adult civic education is extremely necessary. This argument has been powerful and many donors are pouring money into civic education programmes. USAID is probably one of the biggest promoters of civic education. By the end of the 1990’s USAID was spending approximately \$30 million a year on civic education (USAID 2002).

Yet, although there has been massive investment in the field there have been relatively few studies on the actual impact of such investment (Blair 2003). What work there is can be considered limited and much of it focuses on one set of data. The main impact studies

done looked at USAID funded projects in the Dominican Republic, South Africa and Poland. USAID (2002), Blair (2003), Finkel (2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b) and Finkel and Sabatini (2000) have all done studies, each highlighting a number of issues around what civic education actually has a positive impact on and how civic education should be taught.

Looking first at what civic education has positively affected, in all three countries civic education had a positive effect on civic knowledge and civic participation, yet its effect on civic values was less strong (Finkel 2003a). On the issue of trust in democratic institutions, South Africa and Poland showed a positive effect, while in the Dominican Republic there was significantly less trust in political institutions (Finkel 2003a). Finkel and Sabatini argued that in the Dominican Republic civic education had a negative effect on institutional trust because citizens had a better idea of how institutions were not “living up to the ideals of democratic governance” (Finkel and Sabatini 2000, p.1854). This is not necessarily a bad thing and a healthy level of scepticism is good in a citizen as it makes them question authority.

One condition which impacts on the effectiveness of civic education is the participant’s level of education. Those with more education (secondary school level or higher) displayed greater local participation after civic education across all countries. However there was a greater improvement for those with less education in the Dominican Republic and South Africa, showing that civic education can help close the distance between the elite and non-elite’s participation in the political process (Blair 2003). Another factor is

revealed in South Africa where taking part in civic education programmes had no effect on the level of local participation for those who were not connected to any civil society organisation, but the effect increased slightly for those who were a member of one CSO and doubled for more “socially integrated” participants (Finkel 2003).

Though these are important effects Finkel makes the point that “course design and quality of instruction are more important than civic education training in and of itself...” (USAID 2002, p.12). In other words if the teaching is poor, the effect on participants will be poor. Three key issues were identified as being important for programme impact: frequency of sessions – one or two had little impact, three or more showed a greater effect across all democratic indicators; participatory teaching methods – breakout groups, role play, problem solving activities, mock ups of political or judicial scenarios, meetings with civic leaders; and the quality of instructors (Blair 2003, p.60).

The few other studies looking at the impact of civic education in developing countries show several points. As mentioned earlier, education levels had an impact on how well people responded to civic education. In Zambia, for example, those who had progressed further through the education system benefited significantly more than those who had less education (Bratton et al 1999). However Evans and Rose studied civic education in Malawi and found that even some primary school education made a positive difference (Evans and Rose 2006, p.4). Yet in many developing countries there is no universal education, this has an effect on the level of impact civic education is able to have, both at the school level and for adults. Marquette makes the point that the success of civic

education in the US and Hong Kong is not necessarily replicable in poorer countries where they only have a “tiny fraction” of the budgets possessed by more affluent countries. Furthermore they are “characterised by weak institutions, widespread illiteracy, crumbling or non-existent schools and inadequate training for teachers” (Marquette 2007, p.247). Therefore it is going to be much more of an uphill struggle to impart civic values and knowledge.

One of the issues in developing countries is often how to disseminate civic education to the population, especially concerning adult education. Large sections of the population may be living in remote areas or out of reach of many services. For those groups there need to be ways of reaching out to them and making sure that the maximum numbers of people are impacted.

## ***2.4 Civic Education and Using Radio as a Tool***

We have already discussed how the tools of civic education are important in creating a lasting impact on participants and the media is a valuable tool. Information and communication technology has been on the development agenda recently with much of the debate focussing on the internet, but radio is seen as a viable way of communicating with the poor (ID21 2005). Radio call in shows are an example of how the public through the radio can get involved in policy discussions, learn how to debate, take into account the ideas of others and question the governments authority – all traits of a good democratic citizen. In Ghana, call-in radio discussions were demanded by the public and helped Ghanaians gain confidence in participating in political debate (Heath 1999).

In this dissertation one of the issues I am looking at are the benefits of using radio in civic education. At the most basic level radio can be seen as a good way of distributing information far and wide; anyone with a cheap radio set can pick up a news broadcast. In development it has been used for educational purposes since the 1950s, for example in India with the Farm Radio Forum project. These forums discussed agriculture, rural education, literacy and self-government (Nwaerodu and Thompson 1987). Nwaerodu and Thompson did a study of educational radio programmes in developing countries and found that it was often extremely good at motivating listeners to “take action, modify behaviour, and undertake activities” (Nwaerodu and Thompson 1987).

One example is a civic education programme in Botswana; information was provided to villagers on citizens’ rights and responsibilities. They listened to the programme and then discussed the issues brought up. The participants were surveyed before and after the course and found a significant increase in people’s knowledge and awareness of government. It was noted that radio education was beneficial but its impact was improved considerably when other tools were used in conjunction such as group discussions, handbooks or literature on the subject and field visits (Nwaerodu and Thompson 1987).

## ***2.5 Civic Education in Kenya***

### **2.5.1 Political Background**

Kenya has experienced much political change over the last decade and a half. After years of authoritarian rule under President Daniel arap Moi multi-party elections were forced

on the government in 1991<sup>2</sup>. However the introduction of multi-party elections did not lead to a free and fair democracy. Moi still had a great deal of control and won the 1991 and 1997 elections in the midst of police crack downs on protestors and civil society activists (Amnesty International 1999). Things began to change around the 2002 elections; Moi stood down as President, the National Rainbow Coalition Party (NARC) came to power and Mwai Kibaki took over as President. A wave of public euphoria greeted the new government, with a hope that the corruption and human rights abuses which had been a feature of Kenyan life for so long were over.

The centre piece of NARC's election campaign was reform of the Kenyan Constitution. The draft contained a strong bill of rights and devolution of power by creating a strong Prime Ministerial position, weakening the President's power. Human Rights Watch consider it to be "the most widely consultative document that Kenya has ever seen and contains better human rights guarantees than the current constitution" (Human Rights Watch 2005). The draft constitution was put to a public referendum with the "yes" and "no" camps represented by the symbols of a banana and an orange respectively (BBC 2005). Throughout the referendum the public's knowledge of the draft constitution and what it could mean to their lives was questioned.

### **2.5.3 National Civic Education Programme**

Into this political background came the National Civic Education Programme (NCEP).

The Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) was carrying out public

---

<sup>2</sup> In 1990 one hundred people were killed during a peaceful demonstration supporting multi-party elections. After this event international donors froze all aid to Kenya and Moi was forced into announcing multi-party elections to be held in 1991 (Kanyinga and Wesselink 2002).

consultations and NCEP was used to assist in preparing the public to make informed presentations to the Commission. Furthermore the Commission leaned on NCEP to provide civic education materials (Kanyinga and Wesselink 2002). So NCEP I was very much involved in national politics and helping to inform the public. Discussions on the constitution were also incorporated into NCEP II in the section “why do we have a constitution?” (NCEP 2006, p.39). Furthermore according to Kanyinga and Wesselink (2002) civil society groups during the pre-election period in 2002 believed that there had been an improvement in the quality of debate in rural and urban Kenya. It is hard to say that this is due solely to NCEP but it undoubtedly had an effect on civic knowledge and awareness across the country.

#### **2.5.4 Africa Good Governance on the Radio Waves**

The GGRW was more concerned with local government and decentralisation. As mentioned, GGRW can be considered as both a civic education programme and as a capacity building course for both citizens and local authority officials to improve the capacity of municipalities, therefore improving the ability of local authorities to cope with decentralisation (Nyambura 2007).

### **2.6 Conclusion**

Throughout the section we have seen a number of factors come through, firstly that civic education is a viable tool for changing citizens’ attitudes, knowledge base and interest in participating in the political process. We have also seen that the way civic education is taught matters; participatory methods are vital if participants are to gain a sense of how what they are learning affects their lives. Civic education in Kenya is quite a well established subject and is a national concern. From this study of the literature surrounding



the main concerns of this paper we will now apply the frameworks and theories considered to GGRW and NCEP.

# **Chapter 3 – Results and Discussion**

## **3.1. Introduction**

In this section we will be looking at the data collected through interviews, non-participant observation and the textual analysis of secondary data. As already noted this dissertation aims to find out the answer to this studies research question in relation to the use of radio in civic education and the curriculum's which are being used. This will be done through interviewee and personal observations, and analysis of the materials connected to the two programmes.

## **3.2 Curriculum**

### **3.2.1 Good Governance on the Radio Waves**

One of the main aims of the Good Governance on the Radio Waves programme was to promote best practice across Africa. Sharing experiences from the five countries involved was described as being connected to the “great oral tradition of knowledge exchange in Africa—learning through active listening and sharing” (GGRW Leaflet 2005). This is an important part of the curriculum because by using examples of both problems and solutions which other communities are facing citizens can more easily relate the lessons being learned to their own experiences, therefore giving them more meaning. One example is from an interview with a town clerk who explained how corruption has affected his municipality (see Box 1). Instead of a teacher explaining the effects of corruption, someone who comes from a similar background to the listeners explains how corruption effects the motivation of workers. The *Civic Participation* component of the programme also uses real examples of how communities become involved in municipal projects, such as in Tanzania where a local community in Dar es Salaam contributed

labour for an infrastructure improvement programme (MDP and WBI 2005, p.32). What these show is an interest in spreading good ideas, such as community involvement in government programmes, to communities who might not otherwise have heard about them and also putting the ideas and issues being discussed in a more relevant context for participants. Case studies of problems and solutions help to ground the ideals of preventing corruption or including community participation in the real world.

**Box 1. *Governing Municipalities without Corruption Example***

“...Corruption affects the municipality operations in different ways. First, from revenue collection points- instead of the council getting its share of the revenue, some of the revenue does not reach the office because it is shared out. Second, is on tenders. For example, if a member of the public is given a tender not because he was the most beneficial supplier, but because he has influenced officials who are awarding tenders, you end up paying more and public revenue is wasted. Furthermore, corruption also erodes the confidence of the officers that are not being bribed. You get people who are not motivated to work, because they come to work in the morning they work the whole day and at the end of the month they get the same pay as the person who is getting corruption money. So these are the effects of corruption that you see in public offices...” **Interview from *Governing Municipalities without Corruption* workbook with Mr. Richard Gikuhi, Town Clerk, Nyeri Municipal Council, Kenya, June 2004**

Source: WBI 2004, p.31

However, according to Joyce Nyambura of ALGAK found that participants had been less receptive to those examples and quotes coming from outside their country. She believed that when the content was not local enough to the people participating they did not see it as relevant. For example, Kofi Annan introduces one of the modules but this was seen as irrelevant to the participants as they did not know who he was. This put off many participants and did not help attendance (Nyambura, interview). This does make the case for making the content more locally relevant but this would mean the loss of a number of

useful examples and interviews. As noted by Aaron Sundsmo of First Voice Africa most people would like the content of the programming to be 70% local and 30% international but if they are to broadcast to four countries simultaneously that is not possible (Sundsmo, interview).

Through non-participant observation I was able to see how the programme was taking place in the municipality of Machakos. What was immediately noticed was the low level of participation by members of the class. The participants read through the workbook as they listened to the same words being read out on the radio. There was no discussion, nor did anyone remark on anything being said in the radio show<sup>3</sup>. The simple reading of a workbook without any follow up or discussion to reinforce the ideals of civic education does not help the ideals being discussed to become a part of participants thinking. This kind of programme is what John Fox of IntermediaNCG referred to as the “Baraza” style of teaching (see the next section for a full explanation): even without the teacher at the front of the class the radio serves the same purpose, the students sit and listen to a lesson without interacting with the teacher or each other. This form of teaching may well have been a factor in the drop out rate for community members as it has been noted that those community members who started the course tended to drop out as they did not see the relevance to their lives or why it was worth shutting their business for an hour each week (Nyambura, interview). There is little to keep participants interested and they may have thought that they could take home the workbook and not waste an hour every week listening to the same information.

---

<sup>3</sup> As noted in Appendix 4 this was the last class of the course and there was no organised discussion as part of the lesson.

*Governing Municipalities without Corruption* describes the methodology of the GGRW programme as being made up of five elements, “preparation – listening – homework – testing – evaluation” (WBI 2004, p.16). The workbooks for each component of the course attempt to work with this methodology but there are undeniable differences in style and content. Firstly while the two workbooks for the *Governing Municipalities without Corruption* and *Civic Participation* only include the scripts from the radio show, the self-test questions and the homework, the two workbooks on *Municipal Finance* include large sections of extra reading on each week’s unit. This is helpful as it gives the participants valuable material to study between lessons. However it should be noted that in my observation of the class at Machakos the workbooks were handed out to the participants when they got to the class. This leads me to infer that as they may not have had the workbooks at any other time than during the radio show they could not make use of the extra material so as to gain a better understanding of the issues. This is also a problem for completing homework. Each workbook contains homework which often includes activities so that participants can see how to make what they are learning work in the real world. For example, in the *Civic Participation* workbook one homework activity asks participants to work out how a local project they are aware of can use Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation (PME) (WBI 2005, p.188). However if they are not, at least in this group, taking home the workbooks then they may well not be doing the homework. Without this extra work simply reading through the materials as the radio show is on is not enough to truly embed the ideas and concepts being discussed. Furthermore, only in the *Civic Participation* workbook are questions for discussion placed in the materials (though not for every session) therefore creating a better chance that participants will take

part in a discussion instead of leaving as soon as the radio show is finished (WBI 2005, p.145).

A problem which appears to affect all the workbooks though to different degrees is the language being used and how easy that is to understand for participants. It has been noted by those implementing the project that the language was often too technical or complicated and that this had an effect on who participated (Nyambura, interview). Looking firstly at the *Governing Municipalities without Corruption* workbook it can be seen that phrases have been placed within the workbooks and therefore the radio shows which are not common to most people; for example they talk about “political pervasive incentives”, a phrase that possibly those within government may know but the average citizen would not be familiar with, especially in English which in rural areas is not their first language. There is very little time taken in most of the workbooks for explaining what phrases mean, except in the *Municipal Finance* workbook where at the end of each radio script there is a glossary of terms. However, even with such glossaries the language is still very complex and would be above the level of education of the average citizen in Kenya. An example of the radio script for the *Municipal Finance* component shows us that even though they are trying to explain the terms being used it is still a very technical style (see Box 2). There is nothing wrong with using a complex language to describe a complex topic and raising the level of knowledge of participants. However as there is no teacher in the class and no two way contact as part of the lesson there is less opportunity for participants to ask questions and take time to consider the ideas and concepts being

discussed. There is the opportunity to email the MDP-ESA but that is not the same as interaction with a teacher or facilitator who is knowledgeable in these areas.

**Box 2. Example of Radio Script from *Municipal Finance***

“M2: Yes classification may be a problem; let me explain. We all know that, in principle, interest on debt should be budgeted as recurrent expenditures, rather than capital expenditures. On the other hand, payment to principal, or amortizations, should be budgeted according to the source of funds, which may be either a recurrent revenue source a capital revenue source, or a combination of these two sources. If these sources are not classified properly we may run into a problem.”

Source: WBI (2007) – *Municipal Finance*, p.104

### **3.3.2 The National Civic Education Programme**

The National Civic Education Programme (NCEP) is a very different type of civic education programme; it is dealing with national issues not those connected to local authorities, and it is using a variety of tools to disseminate civic education, including radio. Its approach to teaching is based around the fact that they are working with adults and so it is not a simple teacher-student relationship: “The rationale behind the design of this file is that it encourages a participatory approach. Your ‘students’ will be adults. So whatever their level of education, whatever their experience, they will learn more from you if you try to ‘teach’ them a little less” (NCEP 2007, p.12). Participation is therefore key to the entire curriculum and the lesson structure is built around a belief in discussion and not classroom based teaching. As has already been mentioned, NCEP II (otherwise known as “Uraia”) uses a number of tools to reach the Kenyan population, including; plays, radio, TV programmes, workshops and role play. By using such a wide variety of

entrance points to the Kenyan population Uraia ensures a broad reach across the population (Simiyu, interview).

Although workshops do form one part of the programme those involved do not have much faith in their impact on Kenyan society. It tends to be the same people who come to all types of workshops, and those who do come tend to be the better off (Simiyu, interview). It was felt that by using a “multiplicity” of methods more people could be reached and the impact could be improved (Fox, interview). Therefore to make the same programme work in a number of different situations and scenarios a curriculum was set up that was flexible enough to work in all situations. As is noted in *Uraia: the Resource File*, “Rather than having a ‘curriculum’, we are saying that the Uraia programme has a set of materials....rather than being based on a set content or being delivered through lectures, civic education should promote a lively discussion among its participants. It should be open to diverse views and encourage critical analysis and debate” (NCEP 2007, p.4). By creating a pack of resources instead of a curriculum the information can be used in whichever setting. The *Resource File* includes background reading on the subjects being covered in each section, handouts that can be used as part of the programme and a toolkit which gives those facilitating the programme advice. This should all help to make the facilitator more aware of what their role is and how to go about it in the most participatory manner and in a way which will best benefit the participants.

One of Uraia’s main methodological components is “scenario teaching”, where participants are shown posters, political cartoons, or written scenarios concerning the



particular issue being discussed that day (Fox, interview). This form of teaching is meant to trigger discussion, so that participants are thinking about the issues surrounding that cartoon or poster and what that means in terms of the lesson of that day. The facilitator's role is simply to provide extra information and keep the conversation on track. It should be noted that although the resource file is written in English it is being translated into fourteen different languages therefore giving the largest range of possible participants the chance to be involved (Zein, interview).

This is quite a simple curriculum as it is built around the idea that it is the participants who must direct the course of the session. Therefore each unit is based around a question which, as the *Resource File* says "the aim is not so much to transmit information as to explore issues" (NCEP 2007, p.5). Both the facilitator and the resources given to participants are not there to tell them what being a Kenyan is, or what good governance is but for them to make up their own minds. A positive point of having such an unstructured curriculum is that it can be tailored to local issues and local situations. On the radio, those delivering talk shows and call-in shows are taking the curriculum provided by NCEP and then giving it their own twist by relating it to issues affecting local listeners (Kago, interview). The *Resource File* explains why it is called a file and not a handbook as it hopes that those who are facilitators and participants will add to the scenarios and case studies being used so that "it can be a living and lively set of Uraia materials" (NCEP 2007, p.6). Therefore participants are active in both the sessions connected to NCEP II and in the actual creating of the curriculum for the programme.

After taking part in the programme, some groups are being inspired to take action; for example one women's group was mobilised to go to court to freeze the accounts of their local Constituency Development Fund (CDF), while a marginalised ethnic minority group was roused to take court action so that they were given their own constituency (Simiyu, interview). The curriculum does help towards such direct action by explaining to people their rights and responsibilities within a democratic society and it also asks people to question how they can be involved. For example in Unit 2.4 "How has democracy fared in Africa?" one of the questions in the handbook asks "What role can you play to ensure that your country has the most desirable system?" (NCEP 2007, p.23). Such simple questions can lead to discussions in which knowledge is shared for how to approach local and national government and what activities can be done by the participants themselves. The only drawback from this discussion and debate led form of teaching is that there is little in the *Resource File* which gives examples of action that participants can take part in.

Overall the Uraia curriculum is extremely flexible, which means that it can incorporate a great number of people who may otherwise have been left out of more inflexible forms of teaching. The discussion led nature of the course means that while it does not give any direct instructions on what participants should do to be involved in the ways their communities are being run it does get people to consider that for themselves and the evidence suggests that they are still going out and taking on that challenge by themselves.

### ***3.3 Using Radio as a Medium***

#### **3.3.1 Good Governance on the Radio Waves (GGRW)**

The Good Governance on the Radio Waves programme is based around the use of satellite broadcasting so that content can be transmitted to a number of countries at the same time (in this case Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Ghana). In this case the satellite bandwidth provider is World Space who cover an area of 14 million square kilometres, meaning that no matter where you are, as long as you are in sight of one of their satellites you will be able to hear the programming (World Space 2007). For the more remote municipal councils this is an ideal way of being able to access civic education because it does not matter how remote you are, if you have a satellite radio you can access the information being broadcast. For rural local authorities and communities this technology is extremely important as many capacity building and civic education minded programmes are only accessible for those who live close to major cities (Nyambura, interview).

We can see that radio is useful for reaching out to those who are usually left behind. Aaron Sundsmo of First Voice Africa considers radio to be the most widely accepted form of communication across Africa making it an obvious choice for reaching out to a wide audience across the continent (Sundsmo, interview). However satellite radio when compared to FM radio may not be as appropriate for improving access to civic education. One of the problems mentioned by both implementers and participants alike is the fact that the programmes are all in English. This was done as the programme is conducted in five countries with a variety of languages spoken. A number of participants from Machakos brought up the issue that the programme was not in Swahili and that if this was

done more local people may come to the classes (Field Notes 2007). That the course is taught in English may be one of the reasons why the local community members tend to drop out. As the programme is using radio to reach more rural and inaccessible local authorities then it can be expected that their understanding of English may be poorer than those living in the capital. Such groups may not be able to keep up with the course or have a proper understanding of the issues being discussed. Therefore by using satellite radio to reach five countries simultaneously the Good Governance on the Radio Waves programme may actually restrict who takes part as this requires the course to be broadcast in English.

Those participants observed at Machakos town hall also noted that they would prefer FM radio instead of satellite radio (Field Notes 2007). Comments made by both those involved in the programme and from participants indicate that FM radio may be more accessible as most people already own or have access to an FM radio, which are considerably cheaper than satellite (Sundsmo, interview). Through the use of FM radio, civic education programming would probably be done through local or national radio stations meaning that there would be greater room for using local languages and tailoring the programming to local issues.

However, the way that radio is being used is more of an issue than whether it is satellite or FM radio. Non-participant observation of the Machakos class showed that participants simply read the workbooks as the script was read out on the radio<sup>4</sup>. Radio is not being used to engage with the participants or is very rarely. The only example of engagement

---

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 4 for non-participant observations.

with participants in GGRW is during the “You Ask We Answer” programmes that happened only twice in the *Governing Municipalities without Corruption* module. These programmes were an opportunity for a small group of participants from each country to phone in with their questions which were then answered by an on-air facilitator. The questions asked (see Box 3) were useful and perceptive but they had obviously been transmitted to the facilitator in advance as the answers were prepared and read from a script (WBI 2007b). There were no follow up questions or chance for debate, nor was there any chance of those participating from different countries to have any interaction during this section.

**Box 3. Governing Municipalities without Corruption Module  
Programme Eight - You Ask We Answer**

**Sample Participants Questions: Machakos, Kenya.**

“My question pertains to the perception of corruption. This is because different cultures have different perception on what is corruption, for example African, Islamic and Asian cultures advocate for gifts to be given to those in power and position. This is a show of respect and loyalty. But this is in European countries termed as corruption. Now my question is where is the line between the gift and corruption? Are gifts considered corruption?”

**Jane Manenge – Accountant for Municipal Council**

“How can the local authority and in particular our municipality, be assisted to formulate and implement the action plan on the ground so that we can reap the fruits of this programme?” **Joseph Motaviketo – Councillor**

(Source World Bank 2007)

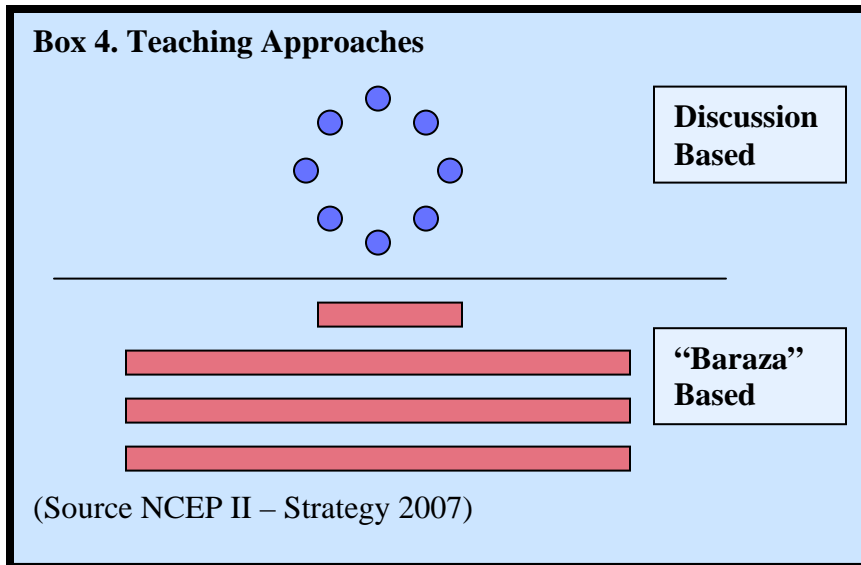
Radio is a recognised communication tool across Africa which gives its use in civic education credibility with most communities. However like any other tool it can be used badly just as easily as it can be used well. GGRW is on the right track by utilising radio to help rural and remote local authorities and their communities to access civic education and capacity building. However due to its use of English and its mostly one-way form of

teaching it has often alienated those community members it needs to include for it to truly affect the whole of society.

### **3.3.2 National Civic Education Programme (NCEP II)**

NCEP II is a multi-media project using TV, theatre, workshops and radio to reach the Kenyan population. Up to 1.5 million people have physically attended an NCEP activity (Simiyu, interview) and the numbers reached by radio can only be guessed at. The NCEP programme works with fourteen local radio stations, speaking fourteen different languages; this has been done to reach the largest possible audience (Zein, interview). By using local radio stations, often run by communities themselves, NCEP talks to people through a form of communication they are used to and already trust. Radio “is a companion as well, there is always a radio on somewhere. They treat what they hear on the radio as entry points for discussions with their peers” (Zein, interview).

John Fox, the managing director of IntermediaNCG, has been involved in NCEP since the beginning and, as an expert in adult education, believes that workshops are not the best tool in adult civic education, especially using what he calls the “Baraza” style of teaching where a teacher sits in front of a class of students who sit on benches facing them (see Box 4). He has argued for more participatory and discussion based learning with a facilitator as part of the group, there to keep the conversation on the right track (Fox, interview).



This type of thinking has been put into practice through radio talk-shows and call-in programmes where participants consider issues and take part in a two-way process. By involving participants in the process you can get them thinking about the issues being covered and begin conversations with their peers after the initial radio show. It is also a more inclusive utilisation of radio as participants voice their opinions and take part in the process. An example of just how well this is working is from a rural community radio station which was broadcasting an NCEP programme and received 170 SMS messages in one hour (Kago, interview). This shows that by giving people the chance to interact in the learning process you can increase their interest and participation levels. Radio, therefore, can be used as a participatory and two-way instrument of civic education.

Radio also means that the poorer sections of society are reached more easily. Workshops tend to only attract the better off and more elite sections of society who have the time and inclination to become involved whereas most Kenyans own a radio or have access to one

and it is a part of everyday life. Furthermore the fact that radio programming is more likely to be in their local language than poorer people with lower levels of education have a better chance of understanding what is being discussed and can join in the discussion (Simiyu, interview).

On the whole we can say that NCEP is utilising the radio well, it is creating an environment of discussion by reaching out to rural and remote communities in their own languages, making this learning accessible to the many and not the few. NCEP shows that radio is not just a one way tool where participants only listen, but it can create a dialogue between those hosting the civic education programmes and the public.

### ***3.4 Discussion***

What must be remembered is that GGRW is using civic education to teach people how to deal with certain situations and create plans and systems for this whereas NCEP is concerned with creating an awareness of issues and concerns and helping people to find their own understanding of citizenship. Furthermore while one is a national programme the other is an international programme working with local authorities in five countries. Therefore we cannot expect the two programmes to work in the same way, they are considering citizenship in different ways and working to different audiences. However by considering how well they are working in line with what the civic education literature considers best practice we can see how well they are reaching participants.

If we take Finkel's set of three criteria which he sees as being important for a successful adult civic education programme and assess both programmes in that context, we get a



better picture of how they are working in terms of best practice in civic education in developing countries. The three criteria are frequency of sessions, participatory teaching methods and the quality of instructors (Blair 2003, p.60). First of all, looking at GGRW we can see that on the first criteria it does well, with each module having about ten lessons, which are set once a week. The regularity of the lessons helps keep up attendance and the number that most participants will attend is well above the three shown by Finkel to be needed to have a real effect on those taking part (USAID 2002). On the participatory teaching methods we can see from the results section that GGRW is less impressive on this front. The programme hopes to have a participatory dimension which includes discussions by the participants. However the evidence from non-participant observations and from the fact that only one workbook contains material to stimulate such discussion suggests that this dimension is not being fulfilled. Finally the third criterion, quality of instructors, is hard to quantify as the class facilitators are simply there to make sure that the class runs smoothly. However the fact that there is no teacher present who could be “knowledgeable, inspiring, likeable, interesting and understandable” (Blair 2003, p.60) means that technically the programme is failing on this point too. There is almost no two-way interaction with those presenting the radio show so the quality of teaching is low, as participants have little help if they do not understand.

We now turn to NCEP II and how well it meets Finkel’s criteria. Frequency of sessions is difficult to quantify as there are many different radio shows being broadcast on 14 different radio stations and there are no current numbers for how many listeners they

have and how often they listen. The course though is fifteen sessions long and so it would be hoped that most listeners, if interested in the course, would hear at least three sessions (the tipping point for greater impact of civic education). However on participatory teaching methods NCEP is much more successful. The radio programming used is talk shows or call-in shows where the general public have a chance to interact with the presenters and or experts who are taking part in the show. They have a chance to voice their own opinions and discuss further the ideas presented, both on-air and with their peers. Furthermore the programme also uses a number of different methods to reach the public including, theatre, TV, roll plays and other formats where the public have a chance to be involved in a participatory manner. Finally the quality of instructors is hard to quantify from the information gathered. The aim of the programme is to have facilitators who are there to keep discussions by participants on the right track and provide background knowledge when necessary. The information received through semi-structured interviews showed that though there were differences in quality depending on who was facilitating, the quality was often high and some facilitators would modify the handouts and information so as to make it more relevant to local situations (Fox, interview). So while neither programme can be said to meet all three criteria perfectly NCEP seems to be closer to achieving such goals. If we were to use this as a measuring stick for participant impact we could assume that NCEP has a greater impact on participants than GGRW.

Furthermore the small amount of literature on radio and civic education makes the point that radio educations impact is greatly increased when used with other tools such as

participatory techniques, handbooks and discussions (Nwaerodu and Thompson 1987). The GGRW programme does make use of a handbook which includes homework and in the two workbooks on *Municipal Finance* an extra section of information on the subjects covered. However when it comes to discussion the evidence shows less participation by class members than there could be. NCEP II however uses participatory methods throughout, with *Uraia: The Resource File* as a additional source of information and discussion starters to help improve the use of radio as an education tool.

In both the NCEP and GGRW programmes there is no service learning, where community service is integrated into the curriculum so as to give participants a real understanding of how what they are learning works in real life (Galston 2001). The GGRW gets closest to this kind of learning through the homework which expects participants to look at their own communities and do exercises such as preparing a “community profile” or describe the strengths and weaknesses of their municipal government (MDP and WBI 2004 and 2006). However those who were interviewed still felt like they didn’t know what to do with the information they were given during the course, implying that they were not relating such homework with community action (Machakos 2007). Service learning is defined as a form of community service built into the curriculum, taken from this definition neither programme was engaging in service learning and it leaves us with an interesting question as to whether either programme would have benefited from it.

If we look at what we have found out about the two programmes we can see that in both cases radio is a vital tool for reaching a larger audience of participants, therefore spreading the knowledge of good governance and good citizenship to a much greater number of participants. It is a well recognised form of communication across Africa and is able to reach rural and remote areas which otherwise would have been left out of the process. However we can see that just using radio is no guarantee of it reaching the greatest possible audience or that the quality of the curriculum will be good. In the GGRW programme the use of satellite radio to broadcast the classes across five countries means it has a great reach but the fact that it is a one-way system with very little participation, is taught in English and has a complex and often technical curriculum quickly put off ordinary citizens from attending therefore limiting its reach. One advantage that such a programme has over a national programme like NCEP is the chance to have a range of examples from the countries participating so as to share best practice. Yet the fact that GGRW is only in English does restrict how much those listeners will understand. NCEP however is much more accessible due to its use of FM radio; working through community radio stations that speak the language of their listeners means that the lessons being taught are more relevant to people in rural areas and easier to understand. Furthermore the curriculum is more participatory and is based around participants discussing issues themselves and giving them the knowledge to take action themselves. Radio is a good tool but it depends how you use it as to whether it makes any difference to a community. Local languages, participatory methodologies and an accessible curriculum are more important, otherwise the capacity of radio to reach a wide audience is lost.

## Chapter 4 – Conclusion

Civic education is supposed to give people the “skills needed to work with others towards goods that can only be obtained or created through collective action, and the powers of sympathetic understanding needed to build bridges of persuasive words to those with whom one must act” (Galston 2004, p.263). Kenya as a country is just coming out of several decades’ worth of authoritarian rule; the NARC party and President Kibaki have made some progress but as Human Rights Watch put it their government has been a source of both “disappointment and hope” (Human Rights Watch 2005). Civic education can be seen as invaluable to a society like Kenya where corruption and authoritarian practices have been the norm. For democracy to be truly appreciated as a good and something which involves all citizens, a new level of knowledge needs to be given to all citizens. This is what both programmes this study has looked at are attempting to do.

Firstly, considering the use of the radio in civic education all the evidence points to its usefulness in rural and remote areas. Its widespread use across Kenya means that it is a great tool for reaching areas not usually accessed by such programmes. It is also a part of everyday life across the country meaning that people are happy to trust what they hear and use that information (Zein, interview). No one can deny that this is probably one of the easiest ways to run programming across a vast country whose infrastructure can often mean some areas are left out. For civic education to be truly effective it must be universally accessible so that all people from all walks of life have an equal knowledge of how their government should behave towards them and the responsibilities they themselves have. However in the decision between satellite and FM radio in these two

cases it appears that FM radio is more accessible. Satellite radio was used in the GGRW programme as a one way tool, participants listened to the classes and were not able to call in or communicate back to the presenters with ideas, questions or comments (except on two occasions). However NCEP used FM radio in a more participatory manner, using call-in shows and talk shows. Participants were able to discuss the issues and add their voice to the debate. Further to that satellite radio is limited in its distribution while FM radios are cheaper and far more readily available. Finally the use of local languages on FM radio made the programming more accessible to citizens who live in rural remote areas where English may not be spoken. NCEP, through working with local community radio stations made sure that they were reaching the greatest number of ordinary citizens. GGRW used English as they were working in a number of different countries; this is not a downfall of satellite radio but the way it was used. It matters how you use radio, and it also matters how available such apparatus is, and in this case FM radio is a much more flexible and accessible tool.

Looking now at the curriculum we have seen from the literature review that in all forms of civic education whether it be school based or adult education, in developed or developing nations, participation is the key. The impact of civic education is greatly increased if its students are actively engaged in their learning. The results and discussion show that overall the GGRW is not using a particularly participatory methodology and what attempts it has made do not seem to be working; discussion is not built into the programme throughout. Because class facilitators are often students too, and are there solely to make sure the class runs smoothly, there is no one for students to quickly go to

with their questions. From observations taken at Machakos, the classes were not taking it upon themselves to discuss issues. Furthermore, while homework is supposed to be done which includes activities looking at their own communities this does not seem to be having much of an impact as those interviewed felt they did not have the skills to take what they had learnt out into the real world (Field Notes 2007). NCEP however has a curriculum based on student participation, call-in shows, workshops based around group discussions, theatre, roll play and TV talk shows where the public could text in their views. Its handbook is based around giving people the background information needed to discuss the issues that “Uraia” is considering and the “scenarios” needed to start off debate. The whole programme is aimed at giving people the space to consider the issues of nationality, governance, democracy, human rights and constitutionalism. This is an extremely participatory programme and so if following the literature as a guideline is a much more effective programme.

So overall when looking back at the research question this dissertation is based around we can see that to simply say that radio makes civic education more accessible is too simple; it has to be used in way which is sympathetic to its environment and use participatory methods to create a two way relationship between teachers and students. Participation by those being targeted is vital for any impact to be long standing. In both cases the National Civic Education Programme comes out as a better combination of medium (radio) and curriculum than the Africa Good Governance on the Radio Waves programme. However it should be noted that a number of the problems mentioned about the GGRW in this dissertation are fixable and have been noted by those involved in the

programme (Nyambura and Sundsmo, interviews). For civic education to work in a large and diverse country like Kenya forms of communication such as radio are an excellent tool but without the correct curriculum to back it up the education being given is only going to reach a small portion of the population. Civic education needs to be universal in its reach and hopefully through the remarks made in this dissertation we can move a little further towards that being a reality.



# Bibliography

Amnesty International (2000), *Amnesty International Report 2000*. Available at <http://www.amnestyusa.org/document.php?id=AF95118DFE41371C802568E400729F0A>

Bahmueller, C.F. "A Framework for Teaching Democratic Citizenship: An International Project" Accessed on 23/05/07. Available at <http://www.civiced.org/papers/cbframe.html>

BBC (2005) "Fruity Campaigning in Kenya" available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4449046.stm>. (Accessed 19/6/07)

Bell, J. (1993) *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide for First Time Researchers in Education and Social Science*, Open University Press, Buckingham

Blair, H. (2003) "Jump-Starting Democracy Adult Civic Education and Democratic Participation in 3 Countries" *Democratisation*, Vol. 10 (1): 53-76

Branson, M. and C. Quigley (1998), "The Role of Civic Education" Position paper by the Communitarian Network.

Bratton, M. and P. Alderfer with Bowser, G. and Temba, J. (1999) "The Effects of Civic Education on Political Culture: Evidence from Zambia" *World Development*, Vol.27 (5): 807-824

Centre for Civic Education (1991) *CIVITAS: A Framework for Civic Education* available at [http://www.civiced.org/index.php?page=civitas\\_executive\\_summary#rationale](http://www.civiced.org/index.php?page=civitas_executive_summary#rationale)

Clark, T. et al (1997) "Service Learning as Civic Participation" *Theory into Practice*, Vol.36 (3): 164-169

Commonwealth Secretariat (2004) *A Framework for Citizenship Education in Sierra Leone*, Commonwealth Secretariat, London

Ehrlich, T. (1999) "Civic Education: Lessons Learned" *Political and Science and Politics*, Vol.32 (2): 245-250

Evans, G. and P. Rose (2006) *Support for Democracy in Malawi: Does Schooling Matter?* Working Paper No. 57, Afro Barometer

Finkel, S. (2000) "Can Tolerance be Taught? Adult Civic Education and the Development of Democratic Values" Paper prepared for the conference, "Rethinking Democracy in the New Millennium," University of Houston. Available at <http://www.uh.edu/democracy/finkelp.pdf>.

Finkel, S. (2002) "Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in Developing Democracies" *The Journal of Politics*, Vol.64 (4): 994-1020

Finkel, S. (2003a) "Can Democracy be Taught?" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.14 (4): 137-151

Finkel, S. (2003b) *The Impact of the Kenya National Civic Education Programme on Democratic Attitudes, Knowledge, Values and Behaviour* USAID, Nairobi Kenya

Finkel, S. and C.A. Sabatini (2000) "Civic Education, Civil Society, and Political Mistrust in a Developing Democracy: The Case of the Dominican Republic" *World Development*, Vol.28 (11): 1851-1874

Finkelstein, B. (1988) "Rescuing Civic Learning: Some Prescriptions for the 1990's" *Theory into Practice*, Vol.27 (4): 250-255

First Voice International (2007), Index and Front Page. Available at <http://www.firstvoiceint.org/> (Accessed 27/08/07)

Galston, W.A. (2001) "Political Knowledge, Political Engagement and Civic Education" *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol.4 (1): 217-234

Galston, W.A. (2004) "Civic Education and Political Participation" *Political Science and Politics*, Vol.40 (2): 263-266

Gastil, J. (2004) "Adult Civic Education Through the National Issues Forums: Developing Democratic Habits and Dispositions" *Adult Education Quarterly*, Vol. 54: 308-328

Grindle, M.S. (2004) "Good Enough Governance: Poverty Reduction and Reform in Developing Countries" *Governance*, Vol.17 (4): 525-548

Harber, C. (1998) "Political Culture, Education and Democratic Citizenship in Africa" in Ichilov, O. (eds) *Citizenship and Citizenship Education in a Changing World*, pp.205-220, Woburn Press, London

Heater, D. (2004) *A History of Civic Education*, RoutledgeFalmer, London

Heath, C.W. (1999) "Negotiating Broadcasting Policy: Civil Society and Civic Discourse in Ghana" *Gazette*, Vol.61 (6): 511-521

Hepburn, M.A. (1998) "A Disquieting Outlook for Democracy: Mass Media, News and Citizenship Education in the US" in Ichilov, O. (eds) *Citizenship and Citizenship Education in a Changing World*, pp.130-148, Woburn Press, London

Human Rights Watch (2005) *Country Summary – Kenya*, Human Rights Watch, New York

Ichilov, O. (1998) “Patterns of Citizenship in a Changing World” in Ichilov, O. (eds) *Citizenship and Citizenship Education in a Changing World*, pp.11-27 Woburn Press, London

ID21 (2005) “Voices for Change: Tuning into Community Radio” in *ID21 Insights*, no. 58

Imel, S. (2003) *Adult Civic Education. Practice Application Brief*, Report No. 30 for ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education.

Jacobson, R. (1995) “Women’s Political Participation: Mozambique’s democratic transition” *Gender and Development*, Vol.3 (3): 29-35

Kanyinga, K. and C. Wesselink (2002) “Transition to Democracy: The Role of Civic Education in Kenya” *Phatlasta Newsletter*. Available at [http://www.s-and-t.co.za/newsletters.php?newsletter\\_id=13&month=December&year=2002&action\\_flag=view](http://www.s-and-t.co.za/newsletters.php?newsletter_id=13&month=December&year=2002&action_flag=view)

Losito, B. and H. Mintrop (2001) “The Teaching of Civic Education” in Torney-Purta, J. et al (eds) *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-Eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen* pp.158-173, IEA Secretariat, Amsterdam

Marquette, H. (2007) “Civic Education for Combating Corruption: Lessons from Hong Kong and the US for Donor-Funded Programmes in Poor Countries” *Public Administration and Development*, vol. 17: 239-249

McCowan, T. (2006) “Educating Citizens for Participatory Democracy: A Case Study of Local Government Policy in Pelotas, Brazil” *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol.26: 456-470

MDP and WBI (2004) *Governing Municipalities without Corruption*, Workbook, Washington D.C.

MDP and WBI (2005) *Civic Participation for Good Governance*, Workbook, Washington D.C.

MDP and WBI (2007) *Municipal Finance/Participatory Budgeting*, Workbook, Washington D.C.

MDP (2005), *Africa Good Governance on the Radio Waves*, Leaflet distributed by the MDP-ESA.

NCEP (2006) *Uraia: The Resource File*, IntermediaNCG, Nairobi

Nwaerodu, N.G. and G. Thompson (1987) "The Use of Educational Radio in Developing Countries: Lessons from the Past" *Journal of Distance Education*. Available at [http://cade.icaap.org/vol2.2/7\\_Nwaerodu\\_and\\_Thompson.html](http://cade.icaap.org/vol2.2/7_Nwaerodu_and_Thompson.html) (Accessed 18/06/07)

Osler, A. and H. Starkey (2005) *Changing Citizenship: Democracy and inclusion in education*, Open University Press, Maidenhead

Osler, A. and H. Starkey (2004) *Study on the Advances in Civic Education Systems: Good Practices in Industrialised Countries*, Report for InterAmerican Development Bank Education Network of the Regional Policy Dialogue.

Parker-Gwin, R. and J.B. Mabry (1998) "Service Learning as Pedagogy and Civic Education: Comparing outcomes for three models" *Teaching Sociology*, Vol.26 (4): 276-291

Summerhill, W.R. and C.L. Taylor (1992) "Observation, Records and Traces as Alternatives to Direct Questioning in Collecting Evaluation Data" Circular PE-20, University of Florida. Available at <http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/pdffiles/PD/PD01500.pdf>

The Asia Foundation (2005) *Civic Education Support for the Afghan Elections*, San Francisco

USAID (2002) *Approaches to Civic Education: Lessons Learned* USAID, Washington DC.

World Bank Institute (2007a), *Africa Good Governance on the Radio Waves*, available at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/WBIPROGRAMS/CMUDLP/0,,contentMDK:20638494~menuPK:461794~pagePK:64156158~piPK:64152884~theSitePK:461754,00.html> (Accessed at 27/08/07)

World Bank Institute (2007b), *Governing Municipalities without Corruption*, Radio Broadcasts. Available at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/WBIPROGRAMS/CMUDLP/0,,contentMDK:20587750~menuPK:461794~pagePK:64156158~piPK:64152884~theSitePK:461754,00.html> (Accessed at 29/08/07)

World Space (2007) "What is Satellite Radio? An Overview" Available at <http://www.worldspace.com/whatisit/overview.html#3>. (Accessed at 28/08/07)

# Appendices

## Appendix 1 – List of Interviewed Persons

### **ALGAK (Association of Local Government Authorities in Kenya)**

- **Hamisi Mboga – Secretary General**
- **Joyce Nayambura – Programme Officer and Editor**

### **CIDA**

- **Robert Simiyu – Democratic Governance Project Director/Governance Advisor**

### **First Voice International**

- **Aaron Sundsmo – Head of Regional Office (First Voice Africa)**

### **Intermedia NCG**

- **John Fox (Human Resource Development and Media Specialist) – Managing Director**
- **Wanjiru Kago – Media Liaison Officer**
- **Abubaker Zein – Programme Manager for NCEP/Team Leader of Technical Assistance Team for NCEP/Consultant**
  
- **Martin Oloo – Governance Consultant**

### **Machakos Good Governance Radio Programme Class**

- **Joseph K. Kalande – Councillor**
- **Albert T. Kevo – Municipal Engineer**
- **Mutavi Kithu - Councillor**
- **Benjamin W. Maluva - Councillor**
- **John Mambua – Councillor**
- **Reuken Minnanfe - Councillor**
- **Anne Mjagi – Council Accountant**
- **Florence Mulinge**
- **Anna Mutie – Chairlady of Community Organisation**
- **Peter Joseph Mutiso - Councillor**
- **James Musyimi – Class Facilitator**
- **Stephen Mubso - Councillor**
- **Dorothy Nduiw - Councillor**
- **Catheryne Ngioka – M.C.M.**
- **James Njugunal – M.C.C.**

## **Appendix 2 – Interview Schedule**

**27/06/07**

- **Joyce Nyambura - Interview**
- **Hamisi Mboga - Interview**

**28/06/07**

- **Machakos Good Governance Class – Non-participant Observation**

**02/07/07**

- **John Fox- Interview**

**03/07/07**

- **Aaron Sundsmo – Interview**

**10/07/07**

- **Wanjiru Kago - Interview**
- **Abubaker Zein - Interview**

**12/07/07**

- **Robert Simiyu – Interview**

**13/07/07**

- **Martin Oloo - Interview**

# Appendix 3 – Semi-Structured Interview Questions

## Africa Good Governance on the Radio Waves Implementers

1. How would you describe the Good Governance Radio Programme
2. There are a number of organisations involved in the GGRP – how do they connect and work together?
3. The programme is now coming to an end – what lessons do you feel your organisation has learned during the process of the GGRP? What would you do differently?
4. Can you give me any examples of when the programme has worked for either fighting corruption/instilling civic participation/the creation or improvement of participatory budgeting?
5. Do you believe this will change the way local government works?

1. Why use radio as the median for teaching?
2. What were the advantages and disadvantages of using radio?

1. The programme is aiming at both citizens and local government officials – do you feel that it is able to benefit both groups?
2. How was the curriculum put together so that both groups would be involved and benefit from the programme?
3. How does uniting the programmes in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Ghana help in the teaching of the programme? Do you feel giving more international examples of these issues helps participants?

1. How do you feel this programme is going to create better citizens?
2. How did the participants come to be involved in the programme?
3. What level of literacy and language skills was needed and how much information was passed on to the wider community by participants?
4. What sort of demographic has been involved in the programme, how many ordinary citizens, government officials, how many women, young adults, those with low levels of literacy?
5. How widely was information disseminated in an area prior to the programme beginning?

1. How well do you feel the programme works in the context of wider civic education, in particular NCEP?
2. What role do you believe civic education has in developing countries? How important is good governance?

## **Africa Good Governance on the Radio Waves Participants**

1. How many classes have you attended? Did you attend all three sections of the course
  2. (Looking at corruption, civic participation and municipal budgets)?
  3. What have you learned from the course?
  4. Have you used any of the lessons learned during the course in every day life?
  5. Do you feel the course has been useful?
  6. Do you feel the course was relevant to the problems that you are aware of in your area?
  7. How did you feel about the way radio was used in the course?
  8. Did you share any of the knowledge gained during the course with those who did not participate? Or did you talk about the course with others who were not involved?
  9. Were you involved in the participatory “You ask we listen” sessions and if so what do you feel you gained from those sessions?
  10. Do you believe this will change the way local government will work in your area?
  11. What role do you believe civic education has in developing countries? How important is good governance?
- 
1. What methods of teaching have been used?
  2. What is your opinion of local government?
  3. Did you find the examples from other classes useful? Did your group give examples to the programme to be used?

## **NCEP Implementers**

1. How successful do you feel NCEP was?
2. What impact has it had on participation by ordinary citizens in the political process?
3. Do you feel this will have a positive effect on the government of Kenya?
4. What do you feel were the most successful components of the programme?
5. How did participatory methods improve the programme?
6. What are your thoughts on using different forms of media to help disseminate information and lessons on civic education – such as the radio?
7. How much of an impact on the general population has the programme had?
8. Are you aware of the GGRP?
9. If so, how do you feel it adds to civic education in Kenya?
10. Do you feel that there should be a single curriculum for civic education or that a variety of programmes is a good thing?
11. What role do you believe civic education has in developing countries? How important is good governance?



## Appendix 4 – Non-Participant Observations

**Observations taken at Machakos Town Hall, Kenya. 28/06/07 - 12.30pm – 2.00pm**

- Expected start -12.30pm: Participants supposed to have a discussion before radio programme starts to review what had been learned the week before. No participants arrive until 1.00pm except the participant who sets up the satellite radio.
- Five women and ten men were in attendance. All participants are council affiliated apart from Anna Mutie (chair lady of community organisation).
- Large number of councillors taking part.
- Participants sat around a long table with satellite radio at the far end.
- Workbooks were handed out to all participants.
- Programme begins at 1.00pm – Participants sit and read through their workbooks which say almost the same thing as the radio programme.
- Participants simply listen to the programme and read the workbook.
- Some participants are taking notes throughout the programme. Level of engagement is hard to gauge.
- Transcripts in the workbook of the radio show do not match up to what is being said on the radio programme. Some of the quotes in the workbook miss out useful information which comes up on the radio.
- Some times there are massive differences between radio and workbook – this makes it hard to reinforce ideas heard if the book is different.
- End of radio show the facilitator does not engage the participants in any form of discussion or debate.
- Representatives of First Voice Africa and myself asked participants a number of questions. Participants are quiet and it takes time for any to answer our questions. Made me question whether they are used to discussions as part of the course.

It should be noted that the day we were observing was not an average lesson or day for Machakos Municipal Council. Firstly it was the last broadcast of the programme and so there was no homework or class work to do, when there was such work to either review

or begin there may well have been more discussion in the class. Secondly that particular day was Budget Day across the whole of Kenya, all local authorities had to read out how the previous year's budget had been spent and the aims and targets for the next budget. Due to the fact that almost all those involved in the class are either council officials or councillors they were involved in the Budget Day organisation and the event was to start half an hour after the GGRW programme finished. The fact that there was no discussion before the programme and that participants were reticent to engage in any discussion after the broadcast may have been due to the fact that it was an extremely busy and important day for the council, and so participants needed to be elsewhere. These factors may have had an effect on the way participants acted but also the fact that myself and representatives of First Voice Africa were observing their class may also have affected the way the class acted and participated in the programme.