An Investigation of The Role of Radio Listener Clubs in Facilitating Audience Participation in Discussion of Issues that are of Relevance to The Public Good - a Malawian Case Study

A Dissertation Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Journalism and Media Studies

Rhodes University

By

Francis Kapiri

Supervisor

Dr Jeanne du Toit

October 2025

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own, original work and that throughout this work I endeavoured to acknowledge sources of information where necessary. I also affirm that I have not previously submitted the whole or part of the dissertation for publication elsewhere. I acknowledge my transfer of authority to Rhodes University to reproduce and publish the content therein to the public for academic purposes.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the role that radio listener clubs can play in facilitating the empowerment of audiences. It confirms assertions in literature that such clubs enable audiences to participate in public deliberation and debate. It offers insight into the way that such empowerment is put into practice within particular broadcast cultures. It is proposed that the operation of listener clubs within one environment can best be understood when one considers how it is located within the global history of the circulation of ideas about radio. The study demonstrates this argument through an examination of listener clubs in Malawi. To establish a theoretical framework, it reviews literature about the study of audiences, identifying three conceptualisations of the relationship between radio stations and their audiences. The first two are informed by an interest in the empowerment of audiences and are referred to as 'Brechtian' and 'Freirean' in nature. The Freirean conception represents a more sophisticated version of the Brechtian one, in that it includes more fully articulated methods for the achievement of emancipation. The third conceptualisation is informed by an interest in the control of audiences and is described as 'Sarnoffian'. The study explains that Brechtian and Sarnoffian conceptualisations originate from radio as it became established in the Global North while the Freirean conceptualisation originated in the Global South. It traces the global circulation of the two Northern Hemisphere concepts, paying attention to the way they were exported from the UK and US to environments with whom these countries historically entered into relationships of colonial rule. It concludes that in these environments the Sarnoffian conception informed the approach to audience adopted in public and state-controlled radio. It also traces the circulation of the Freirean concept, arguing that it was exported from the Southern Hemisphere to inform the global development of community radio. Against this backdrop, the study then reviews the international history of listener clubs, demonstrating their location within the broader development of relationships between radio and its audiences. Finally, it locates the Malawi example within this broader history. The study traces lines of influence between the establishment of radio in Malawi and concepts of radio that originate from the UK, the US and Latin America. It is proposed that in the UK and US, such influence formed part of relationships of colonial rule, while in Latin America it formed part of exchanges of ideas about decolonisation. It is further proposed that the extent to which one or another of these concepts were taken up in Malawi was informed by the existence of an authoritarian system of communication, controlled by the state. However, the extent to which an authoritarian relationship exists between a station and its audience differ within each of the tiers of broadcasting. The Brechtian, Sarnoffian and Freirean concepts of radio all play a role in shaping the distinctions between the three tiers of radio in Malawi. With this observation in mind, the empirical component of the study explores the way that listener clubs are taken up within each of these tiers. It examines three such clubs, each based in one of these tiers. It reveals that, in each case, clubs enable a participatory and emancipatory mode of communication to co-exist with one that is defined by an interest in social control. The emancipatory approach to communication dominates more strongly in the case of state and community radio, so that it can be seen to be Freirean rather than Brechtian in nature. More limited influence is achieved in the club introduced in commercial radio. The study nevertheless affirms the emancipatory potential of listener clubs in all three tiers of broadcasting. This enables the achievement of a degree of social emancipation even in the context of authoritarian broadcasting as this exists in Malawi. Recommendations are offered for ways in which to secure greater investment in listener clubs in Malawi, so that their potential as vehicles for the emancipation of audiences can be more fully realised.

ACRONYMS

ADC	**Area Development Committee**
ABC	**Australian Broadcasting Corporation**
AIR	**All India Radio**
ARV	**Anti-retroviral**
AMARC	**World Association of Community Radio**
ATMA	**America's Town Meeting of the Air**
BBC	**British Broadcasting Corporation**
CAAE	**Canadian Association for Adult Education**
CAR	**Community Access Radio**
CBC	**Canadian Broadcasting Corporation**
CDF	**Community Development Fund**
CFA	**Canadian Federation of Agriculture**
DBU	**Development Broadcasting Unit**
DC	**District Commissioner**
DFID	**Department for International Development**
DTRP	**Development Through Radio Project**
FACE	**Foundation for Active Civic Education**
FAMWEZ	**Federation of African Media Women**

FAO	**Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations**
FGD	**Focus Group Discussion**
FRI	**Farm Radio International**
HIV/AIDS	**Human immunodeficiency Syndrome/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome**
ICT	**Information and Communication Technologies**
LDC	**Least Developing Countries**
MACRA	**Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority**
MAMWA	**Malawi Media Women Association**
MBC	**Malawi Broadcasting Corporation**
MIJ	**Malawi Institute of Journalism**
MP	**Member of Parliament**
NBC	**New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation**
NPR	**National Public Radio**
NSO	**National Statistics Office**
NWICO	**New World Information and Communication Order**
PSAF	**PANOS Institute of Southern Africa**
UNESCO	**United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation**
UNICEF	**United Nations Children's Fund**
UN	**United Nations**
UNDP	**United Nations Development Programme**

USA	**United States of America**
USAID	**Unites States Agency for International Development**
USDA	**The United States Department of Agriculture**
VDC	**Village Development Committee**
WHO	**World Health Organisation**
ZBC	**Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION i

ABSTRACT ii

ACRONYMS iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS vi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xii

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER ONE: THE NATURE OF AUDIENCES 8

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 8

Introduction 8

1. Mass Communication Studies and the positivist conceptualisation of audiences 9

1.1 Positivist sociology in mid-20th century America 9

1.2 Mass Communication Studies and the study of audience effects 12

2. Critical responses to positivism and the constructivist conceptualisation of audiences 14

2.1 Critical responses to positivist social science in the mid to late 20th century 14

2.2 Cultural Studies and the study of audience reception 17

3. The decolonial turn in media studies and the implications for audience research 19

3.1 Decentralising the study of social science: some strands of critique 20

3.2 The decentralisation of media studies and the implications for audience studies 24

Conclusion 27

CHAPTER TWO: THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF RADIO AND ITS AUDIENCES 29

A GLOBAL HISTORY 29

Introduction 29

1. The conceptualisation of radio and its audiences in the early 20th century 30

1.1 Visions from the Global North about what radio can be: Sarnoff versus Brecht 31

1.2 The early experiments: amateur radio in the UK and US 33

1.3 The origin story of mainstream radio in the UK 36
1.4 The origin story of mainstream radio in the US 38
1.5 A Freirean vision from the Global South: Community radio 42
2. The global circulation of ideas about radio and its audiences 45
2.1 The influence of the UK and US conceptualisations of radio in the developed world 46
2.1.1 British influence 46
2.1.2 American influence 48
2.2 The influence of the UK and US conceptualisations of radio in developing nations 49
2.2.1 Radio in the era of colonial rule 50
2.2.2 Radio in the moment of decolonisation 51
2.2.3 Radio in the neoliberal moment 53
2.3 The global influence of community radio 55
3. Radio and its audiences in the digital age 57
3.1 Radio in the age of digital media globally 58
3.2 Radio in the digital age in Africa 60
Conclusion 63
CHAPTER THREE: THE ORIGIN STORY OF LISTENER CLUBS 67
Introduction 67
1. Radio listener clubs in the UK and US in the first half of the 20th century 68
1.1. Listener clubs in the UK 68
1.2 Listener clubs in America 70
2. The global circulation of listening clubs 75
2.1 Listener clubs in British dominions 75
2.1.1 Canadian listener clubs 76
2.1.2 Australian listener clubs 78
2.1.3 Listener clubs in New Zealand 79

2.2 Listener clubs in developing nations 80
2.2.1 Listener clubs in the developing world 80
2.2.2 Listener clubs in African countries 83
3. Listener clubs in the digital era globally 87
Conclusion 90
CHAPTER FOUR: THE HISTORY OF RADIO AND LISTENER CLUBS IN MALAWI . 93
Introduction 93
1. The contemporary Malawi radio landscape and its historical origins 93
1.1 From State Radio to Public Radio 94
1.2 Commercial Radio 96
1.3 Community Radio 99
2. Listener clubs in the three tiers of Malawi radio 101
2.1 Listener clubs in Public Radio in Malawi 101
2.2 Listener clubs in Commercial Radio in Malawi 106
2.3 Listener clubs in Community Radio in Malawi 108
Conclusion 110
CHAPTER FIVE: THE PLANNING AND EXECUTION OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH 112
Introduction 112
1. The overall research plan 112
1.1 The discussion so far as a backdrop to the empirical research 112
1.2 Conceptualising the operation of a listener club 115
1.3 The research aims and objectives 116
1.4 A case study design 118
1.5 The fieldwork plan and research methods 121
a) Observational research 122
b) Interviews 123
1.5 Developing research instruments 124

a) An observational questions list....124
b) The interview guides....125
1.6 Managing the interview process....126
1.7 Analysis of fieldwork material....127
1.8 Ethical considerations....127
2. Implementing the research plan....128
2.1 Identifying the research candidates and setting up the interview process....128
2.2 Conducting fieldwork observations and interviews....129
2.3 Transcription and analysis....131
Conclusion....134
CHAPTER SIX: LISTENER CLUBS IN MALAWI IN THE CONTEXT OF PUBLIC RADIO....135
Introduction....135
1 The first moment: club discussions prior to the on-air programme....136
2 The second moment: club discussions during on-air programming....146
3 The third moment: club discussions post-programming....154
Conclusion....157
CHAPTER SEVEN: LISTENER CLUBS IN MALAWI IN THE CONTEXT OF COMMERCIAL RADIO....160
Introduction....160
1 The first moment: club discussions prior to the on-air programme....160
2 The second moment: club discussions during on-air programming....167
3 The third moment: club discussions post-programming....174
Conclusion....177
CHAPTER EIGHT: LISTENER CLUBS IN MALAWI IN THE CONTEXT OF COMMUNITY RADIO....181
Introduction....181
1 The first moment: club discussions prior to the on-air programme....182

2 The second moment: club discussion during on-air programming.....187
3 The third moment: club discussions post-programming.....196
Conclusion 198
CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 202
1.1 Summary of the findings chapters 202
1.2 Recommendations.....206
REFERENCES 208
APPENDICES: 271
Appendix 1: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS: INTERVIEW GUIDES.....271
Appendix 1a: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RADIO LISTENER CLUB COORDINATORS 271
Appendix 1b: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RADIO PROGRAMME GUESTS.....274
Appendix 1c: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR LISTENER CLUB FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS.....276
Appendix 1d: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PRELIMINARY RESEARCH INFORMANTS 278
Appendix 2: CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEET FOR RADIO LISTENER CLUB PROGRAM DISCUSSIONS AND ON-AIR OR RECORDED PROGRAMMES 279
Appendix 3: OBSERVATION QUESTION LIST FOR RADIO LISTENER CLUB DISCUSSIONS.....280
Appendix 4: OBSERVATIONAL CHECKLIST FOR ON-AIR PROGRAMMES 280
Appendix 4: LIST OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS.....281
Appendix 5: LIST OF PRELIMINARY RESEARCH INFORMANTS.....283
Appendix 6: RADIO PROGRAMME TRANSCRIPTS 284
Appendix 6a: MBC radio programme transcript 284
Appendix 6b: MIJ radio programme transcript 296
Appendix 6c: Gaka community radio programme transcript 304
Appendix 7: LETTER OF PERMISSION TO MBC RADIO 316

Appendix 8: LETTER OF PERMISSION TO MIJ RADIO 317
Appendix 9: LETTER OF PERMISSION TO GAKA COMMUNITY RADIO 318
Appendix 10: MACRA LIST OF RADIO BROADCASTING LICENSEES 2023 319
Appendix 11: TABLE OF FIGURES 323

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to individuals and institutions whose support has tremendously contributed to the completion of this dissertation. To my supervisor, Dr Jeanne du Toit, my words to you are, thank you for your excellent guidance throughout the process of producing this work. To my dear wife Patricia, my daughter Watipatsa and my son Warren, I say, thank you for your prayers, support and patience during the moments I was away for my studies. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the management of the Malawi University of Business and Applies Sciences (MUBAS) where I am employed, for granting me the leave to study for a PhD. In particular, I wish to acknowledge the MUBAS Continuing Education Centre for granting me the scholarship for my studies. To the Department of Journalism and Media Studies, I say, thank you for the moral support throughout. Lastly, I am grateful to all staff members at the Rhodes University School of Journalism and Media Studies for their accommodative attitude.

INTRODUCTION

This research is an investigation of the role that radio listener clubs can play within the contemporary moment to facilitate community-based discussions of issues that are relevant to the public good, using Malawi as a case study. It is informed by an interest in the potential of such clubs to contribute to strengthening public participation in context such as that of Malawi. It seeks to compare how listener clubs can facilitate community-based discussions of such issues in the context of state-controlled, community or commercial radio. It does so through an engagement with stakeholders on the success of such clubs, including station management, club members, government officials and experts. It also explores and analyses examples of discussions as they occur in the context of listener clubs and traces the extent to which the outcomes of these discussions are addressed elsewhere, for example, in policy development. The aim is to explore the extent to which such discussions can be seen to serve the interests of the communities in which they are based. The study begins from a recognition that the development of strategies that can strengthen the involvement of local communities in discussions that achieve public good is of crucial importance in the context of Malawi.

Since the introduction of democracy in the 1990s, Malawians have shared the experience of listening to rhetoric about their constitutional rights. However, the full exercise of these rights, including that of participation in decision-making processes of relevance to their immediate social context, are yet to be realised (Mbano-Mweso, 2023; Matteo & Martina, 2017; Chirwa & Chenwi, 2016; Kapindu, 2013; Kameme, 2011; Banik, 2010). Indeed, local communities have for long faced challenges in their attempts to meaningfully participate in public discussions on issues that are of relevance to their own wellbeing. This includes discussion of the achievement, within their immediate local context, of social goals such as the strengthening of democracy, the protection of human rights, and the facilitation of social empowerment (Srinivasan & Diepeveen, 2019; Bello et al., 2017; Chasukwa et al., 2014; Lwanda, 2014). Scholars have argued that the exclusion of local communities from such discussion has serious long-term implications for the achievement of goals of relevance to social development (Nyirenda et al., 2018; Manyozo, 2008; Hussein, 2003). This state of affairs is of concern to a society that is understood to be amongst the least developed countries (LDCs) in Southern Africa (Page & Page, 2019; Action Aid, 2019; Amundsen, 2017; Ellis et al., 2003). The focus on local developments in Malawi is informed by the researcher's awareness of this status of vulnerability.

Within the field of Audience Studies, there is general recognition of the role that radio can play in the achievement of local participation in public discussion, through the cultivation of interaction between the medium and the audience (Butsch & Livingstone 2013; Scott, & Craig-Lees, 2010; MacLennan, 2013; Morley, 2006). In the African context, radio that achieves this goal is understood to have a particularly important role in the achievement of social development (Srinivasan & Diepeveen, 2019; Zeleza, 2009; Olorunnisola, 1997). However, the low level of such participation in radio is a persistent cause for concern. There is still lack of emphasis on the practice of radio that enables meaningful and democratic participation by local communities. On one hand, the deliberate achievement of widespread participatory radio has emerged as an acknowledged imperative (Mhagama, 2015; Manda, 2015; Manyozo, 2007). On the other hand, there continues to be a disparity between the expressed level of commitment to community participation in local and national policy discussions on radio and the reality of their involvement in such discussions (Bello et al., 2017; Kameme, 2015; Dekker, 2010; Chinsinga, 2008; Kayuni, 2005; Jimu, 2008).

Malawi's example offers the researcher the opportunity to contribute to the literature about the ongoing investigation of how this challenge can be negotiated within a Southern African context through the use of listener clubs. This is made possible due to the fact that listener clubs have become well established within the Malawi broadcast landscape. It is acknowledged that experts define an ideal radio listener club as one that is owned and controlled by voluntary members of the audience or community who listen together to a radio programe. These listeners are also understood to share an interest in deliberations on social issues that affect their wellbeing, both as individuals and as communities. Though the naming of the concept foregrounds 'listening' club activities go beyond just listening to radio to include active participation in the discussion and processes of producing the host programmes. The club members are expected to perform two major roles, technically produce their own programmes and socially produce their own meanings of development. In more effective clubs, members are expected to follow-up their resolutions with policy makers (Banda, 2007; Food and Agriculture Organisation-Dimitra Project, 2011). In this way, the form and the substance of the deliberations in context of the clubs are equally significant for achieving social development. The study also intends to examine the extent to which the Malawian case of listener clubs measure up to the expert understanding of the club structures and their purpose. This study adopts a historically contextualised approach to an investigation of these listener clubs. It acknowledges the significant role that such clubs have traditionally played in Malawi to the extent that they became integral to the radio landscape of this country. In the view of the

researcher, an understanding of this history is important in appreciating the potential of the clubs in enhancing public participation in radio.

The study deals with the presentation of radio as it exists in African environments in very broad strokes and only provides nuance and detail about such radio as it exists in Malawi. The purpose of the references to the broader African context is to create a backdrop for the discussion of Malawi radio and listener clubs as the main focus of the dissertation. Reference to this backdrop allows the researcher to demonstrate how ideas about listener clubs and about radio more generally have circulated through countries that are close neighbours of Malawi. It becomes possible, in this way, to show how these ideas have first circulated globally and then within the Southern African context until they come to shape radio in Malawi. The purpose of the study was not, in other words, to produce empirical findings about radio in Malawi that can be generalized to other African environments. Instead, the study was strategically designed to produce rich detail about the unique dynamics that informed the location of Malawi within globally circulating ideas about radio and radio listener clubs.

In considering the question of discussions of issues of relevance to the public good, as has occurred in Malawi, the study pays particular attention to the extent that local experience is acknowledged alongside expert knowledge and official guidelines. Observers note that such balance is often missing from public discussions about radio in developing countries. The tendency is to prioritise official and expert knowledge while contributions from members of the public become marginalised (Emeagwali, 2014; Crow & Boykoff, 2014). Arguably, this approach to the framing of public discussion does not encourage public trust (Sawe, 2022; Lundgren & McMakin, 2018; Khumalo & Baloyi, 2017; Mchombu et al., 2004; Smith, 2000). Critics suggest that there is a need for alternative approaches that acknowledges ordinary people as knowledgeable partners in a dialogical communication process. The study highlights the potential of listener clubs in creating spaces in which such acknowledgement can be achieved (Faisal & Alhassan, 2018; Meadows, 2015; Bonini & Monclús, 2015; Olden et al., 2012). Furthermore, in acknowledgement of the validity and importance of knowledge based on local experience, the empirical component of the study draws in rich detail on the experiences and observations of community members involved in listener clubs in Malawi.

The study acknowledges that participatory communication, in which participants are equally able to express their viewpoints and experiences, is an ideal that can only be imperfectly achieved (Chitnis, 2010; Govender et al., 2010; Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009; Waisbord, 2008; Bordenave, 1994). It further acknowledges that the presence of participatory strategies may give legitimacy to processes of communication even though they do not ensure the goals of

enhancing participation (Conrad et al., 2011; Cornwall, 2008). Approaches to participation can, in other words, be used as a disguise that legitimates already-taken decisions (He, 2014; Eversole, 2012). Such practices have been known to operate as 'authoritarian deliberation', which serves to entrench existing political relationships of repressive control (He & Warren, 2017; Molosi & Dipholo, 2016; Morozov, 2009; Tripp, 2004). The study acknowledges that this problem is of particular relevance to social environments such as that of Malawi, in which communication operates within an authoritarian system controlled by the state. It is possible, in this context, that listening clubs in Malawi may be exploited by the state, as a disguise for public participation which does not influence policy. For this reason, the study set out to articulate a critical and rigorous assessment of listener club discussions in which their impact on policy development is scrutinised.

In order to develop a framework of assessment that can achieve this purpose, the study draws on scholarship that examines how specific forms of public discussion can shape sustainable socio-political responses of local relevance to the public good in sub-Saharan Africa (Kolawole, 2012; Olden et al., 2012; Nwanko et al., 2009). Such scholarship stresses the importance of understanding how Africans in their local environments are able to engage with issues of local relevance through public forums (Damome, 2020; Ani, 2013; Manyozo, 2009; Banda, 2003). The study seeks to contribute to the growing scholarship on the role of radio listener clubs in participatory local community discussion of relevance to the public good.

The structure of the dissertation starts with an overview of the approaches to the study of media audiences. Chapter One provides the history of audience research in order to tease out the conceptual framework that defines such scholarship. The study draws from scholarship and theoretical approaches as emerged within the disciplinary fields of social science and mass communication in the US and Europe. It appreciates the significance of such historical conceptualisations in informing the analysis of the role of listener clubs in enhancing audience participation in the Malawian context.

Chapter Two traces the origins of ideas about radio and its social purpose. Because the arguments put forward in this chapter are foundational to the overall framing of the study, it is discussed in particular detail in this introduction. Of key significance, within this framing, is the invocation of 'Brechtian', 'Sarnoffian' and 'Freirean' conceptualisations of radio and its relationship to audience. The chapter refers to the first two of these conceptualisations as ideas about radio that emerged in UK and US respectively. The 'Brechtian' conceptualisation is informed by an interest in the empowerment of audiences while the 'Sarnoffian' places an emphasis on their control. The chapter argues that these ideas about radio were exported

internationally by the UK and US, in order to influence the kind of radio that would become established internationally. The discussion traces such influence as it can be observed in developing countries, in Africa and, finally, in Malawi. It is noted that within these environments the Sarnoffian conception of audience became dominant within public (and state-controlled) radio as well as commercial radio, while community radio is essentially Brechtian in nature.

It is acknowledged in Chapter Two that the invocation of Brecht and Sarnoff as key terms of reference within the framework of analysis developed for the study necessarily means a foregrounding of ideas about radio drawn from the global North. This may seem an unusual decision, when the focus of the study is on radio in Malawi which is located in the Southern Hemisphere. However the decision is deliberate, given that the study examines the way that ideas about radio that originated in the North (and more particularly Europe and America) have circulated globally. The Brechtian and Sarnoffian approaches to radio are understood to be representative of broadcast cultures that were exported from the United Kingdom and United States respectively and imposed on the global South. It is argued that such imposition operates as a process of 'broadcast colonisation'. The study focuses on the implications of such colonisation for the role that radio could come to play, particulary in the Malawi context, in facilitating audience participation and social emancipation.

At the same time, the study highlights recognition of the global South as an equally important region for the articulation of indigineous knowledge about radio. In doing so, it pays attention to ideas about radio that emerged from the South and then circulated globally. Community radio is one such concept that traces its origin to Latin America, and listener clubs themselves are another. Both concepts of community radio and the listener club were modelled on philosophical principles of dialogue and feedback, mirroring the ideas about communication articulated by Paulo Freire. Freire, a Brazilian native, argued that an equitable society would be possible only if marginalised communities are empowered through transformative education that would enable them to challenge oppressive authorities (Freire, 1970: 1993). It is argued in this study that in adopting the dialogical approach to deliberation, both community radio and listener clubs can be seen as informed by this Freirean conceptualisation of radio that comes from the south. Chapter Two sets in place the foundations of this argument. It proposes that the Freirean conceptualisation of radio is compatible with the Brechtian one, but crucially, it represents a more sophisticated or advanced version of the Brechtian concept. It is, firstly, informed by more rigorous and critical analysis of the way that relations of power may impact on processes of communication. Secondly, it offers more concrete methods through which

audiences can be empowered to participate in such communication despite the existence of such relations of power. In this way, the Freirean approach can be considered a maturation of the Brechtian conceptualisation.

Chapter Two traces the way that the UK and US influenced the establishment of radio cultures in countries in the Global South with whom they historically entered into relationships of colonial rule. It is argued that these relationships of colonial domination shaped the way that ideas about radio were exported from the UK and US and taken up in the environments that they colonized. It is proposed, furthermore, that there are important differences between the way that the UK exported ideas about radio to countries that had historically formed part of the British empire. In countries such as Canada and Australia, the influence of British ideas about radio led to the formation of public radio, in which a Brechtian conception of audience is foregrounded. In the African context the emphasis was, instead, on the formation of State-owned radio which the Sarnofian conception dominated. Indeed, this is the conception of radio that the United Kingdom foregrounded in context of Malawi.

The chapter also explores the role that Freirean conceptualisation of radio played in informing globally circulating ideas about radio. It is noted that the Freirean critical approach to learning in which every member is encouraged to participate informed the way early community engaged with its audience in Latin America. These ideas then migrated to the North, where they influenced emancipatory models of radio before being recirculated to the South.

The remainder of the literature review chapters in the dissertation build on the arguments articulated in Chapter Two, by demonstrating in more detail how the history of listener clubs is located within the broader history of the global circulation of ideas about radio. Chapter Three maps out the international history of listener clubs, describing how they enabled radio stations to facilitate meaningful dialogue with their audiences. The chapter demonstrates that the global lines of influence observed within the global history of radio as captured in Chapter Two can again be observed in context of the more particular history of listener clubs. Chapter Four deals with the local history of radio and listening groups in Malawi, locating this example within the global history.

The final chapters of the dissertation represent the empirical component of the study. Chapter Five describes the planning and execution of the empirical research. It provides details about the research design, methodology, nature of research, instruments utilised in data collection and the analysis applied in order to respond to the research objectives. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present the discussion of the findings of the study. In organising this

discussion, the researcher has chosen not to present the findings, analysis and interpretation of fieldwork in separate chapters. Instead the chapters deal, in turn, with listener clubs based in state-controlled radio, commercial radio and community radio. Each chapter adopts an integrated approach in which discussion of findings, analysis and interpretation are brought together in a single, focused discussion, each dealing with one tier of broadcasting. This enables the researcher to deal holistically and meaningfully with all aspects of the way that a listener club can be seen to operate within each tier of broadcasting.

The final section offers concluding remarks for the study. It revisits the argument that has unfolded in the dissertation as a whole and provides further reflection on the insights that can be drawn from this argument. As part of such reflection, the section further determines the extent to which contemporary radio in Malawi can be seen to achieve either a Sarnoffian, Brechtian or Freirean vision of radio. It considers the implications of these insights for the extent to which listener clubs in Malawi could aspire to the realisation of a Freirean model, in which their potential can become more fully realised. Here attention is paid to strategies that can be pursued in order to strengthen the role of the clubs in enabling audience participation in issues of relevance to the public good in the Malawian context. Finally, the section outlines recommendations for further research that can build on the contributions of this study.

CHAPTER ONE: THE NATURE OF AUDIENCES

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

As noted in the introduction to this study, it is an investigation of the role that listener clubs play in Malawi in facilitating audience participation in discussion of issues of relevance to the public good. The study demonstrates how the local history of listener clubs as it came into existence in Malawi can be located within the global history of such clubs. The purpose of this first chapter is to articulate a conceptual framework for this investigation of circulating ideas about radio. In order to achieve this, the chapter reviews literature dealing with the global history of audience studies. It focuses on three strands of scholarship that are understood, within this literature, to have made significant contributions to shaping the field of audience studies internationally.

The first of these strands, generally referred to as 'audience effects studies', is often described as the earliest example of a coherent and sustained body of scholarship about audience research (Jeřábek, 2017; Butsch & Heyer, 2000; Jensen & Rosengren, 1990; Morley, 2013). Section One of this chapter describes the establishment of this approach in the context of American Mass Communication scholarship in the mid-20th century. It demonstrates that this school of audience studies is informed by values and principles underpinning the broader tradition of positivist social scientific study that dominated American universities at this time.

The second strand, often referred to as 'reception studies', is rooted in the tradition of Cultural Studies that became articulated in the UK in the second half of the 20th century (Livingstone, 2002; Hardwick, 2003; Kjeldsen, 2018; Hall, 1993/1973; Morley, 2003; Kellner, 2011). Section Two deals with the origins of this tradition, demonstrating that it formed part of critical responses to the positivist study of society that emerged internationally in the latter half of the 20th century.

Section Three deals with the 'decolonial turn' in the study of society, which also emerged in the latter half of the 20th century and continues today. It is argued in this chapter that such scholarship provides a third strand from which to interrogate the first two strands of scholarship about audience studies referred to above. The section further discusses how specific aspects of Paulo Freire's theory of liberation are relevant for successfully achieving the goal of the study. Such interrogation is of particular significance for a study such as this one, in which

the examination of audience participation locates itself in the Global South and, more particularly, in Africa.

The chapter explores the theoretical principles that underpin these strands of audience studies and discusses the implications for the conceptual framework required for this study. It pays particular attention to the way each strand makes sense of the phenomenon of audience participation. It also considers ways in which such theory can be best applied within the context of debates about media studies raised within decolonial scholarship. In this way, the chapter provides terms of reference for the exploration, in subsequent chapters, of ways in which audience participation has come to be understood globally in the context of listener clubs.

1. Mass Communication Studies and the positivist conceptualisation of audiences

The field of American Mass Communication Studies located itself within the discipline of sociology as this existed in American universities in the mid-20th century. Communication Studies scholars drew on the philosophical framework that underpinned this tradition in sociology informing their understanding of the nature of society and how it should be studied (Staiger, 2005; Livingstone & Das, 2013). It is argued in the discussion below, that this understanding continues to represent one important vantage point from which contemporary scholars make sense of the relationship between media and audiences. Indeed, as we will see in subsequent chapters, it is a perspective that resonates with understandings of this relationship that exists more broadly in society, outside the academy.

The first subsection discusses the broader tradition of social science – and then sociology more particularly – as the disciplinary environment from which effects studies first emerged. It deals with the philosophical framework that informed this environment and teases out implications for the kind of knowledge about the social that was prioritised within it. The second subsection explains how, at that time, communication scientists applied this framework to the study of audiences.

1.1 Positivist sociology in mid-20th century America

Of particular importance to the rise of positivist social science in the US was an interest amongst social researchers in strengthening the authority of this discipline. They sought to achieve this by establishing more rigorous disciplinary foundations for the study of society. By the Second World War, American universities had established well-articulated traditions in social science which combined a diversity of methodological traditions, including both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The Chicago School of Sociology is, for example,

known for the research tradition that they articulated in the 1930s to engage with human experience, drawing on a diversity of methods across different paradigms (Katz, 2009). However, from the 1940s onwards, a shift within American social science is observed towards a more exclusive focus on quantitative research, underpinned by a positivist framing. Scholars involved in this movement laid claim to the supremacy of their orientation and contrasted this with what they described as the incoherence of previous research traditions (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; Nordenstreng, 2004; Rao, 2012; Steinmetz, 2005; Hinkle, 1963; Turner, 1989; Ramalho et al., 2015).

The shift is thought to have been informed by their desire to professionalise their scholarship so that it could create knowledge to better serve society. The focus was on knowledge that could manage social processes through established institutions of power, particularly those of government and corporate enterprises. Knowledge partnerships between social scientists and the government became more prevalent after the war, when the US government provided universities with massive funding for social research. Social scientists set up projects designed to be of value to the government's administrative goals. The knowledge they provided in this context was understood to be authoritative due to the rigorous empirical research approach adopted, and, in particular, the emphasis on objective verification. Based on this claim of authority, these scientists were able to lend legitimacy to government policy and processes (Baran, 2004; Steinmetz, 2005; Benton & Craib, 2023; Keat, 1979; Feichtinger et al., 2018; Merton, 1973). Knowledge partnerships between social scientists and corporate enterprises also increased at this time. American corporations increasingly invested in research that could assist them in maximising production and consumption (Baran & Davis, 2003). Such research led to the articulation of scientific principles that could be applied within work environments to enhance productivity and profit. One tradition of thought about industrial productivity that became articulated in this context is that of Fordism. Experts drew on this tradition in order to advocate for an approach to mass production that could achieve political, social and economic stability. Corporations also invested in studies of consumer behaviour, with particular emphasis on generating statistical analysis of consumer trends. In this way, they were able to gain access to knowledge that could be practically applied as part of the implementation of their marketing strategies (Wright-Isak & Prensky, 1993; Pachauri, 2001; Nightingale, 2003; Cohen, 2004; Steinmetz, 2005; Pooley, 2006; Riley, 2007).

The scholarship that emerged in this context was grounded in an emulation of positivist methods associated with natural sciences such as physics, chemistry and biology. Scholars who critique such social science point out that this paradigm is well placed to serve the interests of

the institutions of established power, as embodied by the government and big business. It defines its own authority in terms of the powers of prediction and control, achieved through an emphasis on systematic, objective methods of research. For this reason, it lends itself to the production of knowledge that can inform the efficient management of people. The methods and conceptual tools that form part of such social science can, for example, be applied to the examination of work performance and consumer behaviour (Kardes et al., 2014; Glander, 1999; Steinmetz, 2005; Baran & Davis, 2003; Schwarzkopf, 2015).

These trends within American social science could also be observed within the more specific context of the discipline of sociology. Harvard University became a significant centre for the articulation of the philosophical principles on which positivist sociology could be based. Scholars Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton contributed to this foundation by articulating a structural functionalist conceptualisation of society. Within this conceptualisation, it is assumed that society is a coherent system. Different substructures – such as the institution of the family, church and education - perform specific roles to sustain stability. This vision of society is by its nature conservative; the assumption is that the maintenance of stability is key and that this goal is achieved by making sure that all elements of society operate in harmony with each other. Within this understanding, there is little room for a basic critique of the fundamental structures on which society is based nor is there much space to argue for radical change (Outhwaite & Turner, 2017; Hess, 1997; Rao, 2012; du Toit, 2013; Parsons, 2017).

Historians of American sociology note that researchers at Columbia University played an important role in developing research methods which put into practice an approach to the study of society informed by this functionalist vision. Mention is made of Franklin Giddins and Samuel Stouffer who developed methods designed to enable the objective examination of social behaviour. They understood the purpose of such examination to be the identification of universal laws and principles that explain both shared social processes and individual human behaviour (Steinmetz, 2005; Ormerod, 2020; Parsons, 1951; Parsons & Shils, 1951; Babbie & Mouton, 2001). They also identified empirical research methods that can contribute to the achievement of this purpose. As part of this, they paid particular attention to surveys which they believed enabled the articulation of systems of data collection and analysis about social experience. Their work ensured that the survey method became central to the examination of social problems in the US (Staiger, 2005; Platt, 2002; Babbie & Mouton, 2007).

Another contributor to the articulation of these methods was Paul Lazarsfeld. After emigrating to the US from Austria, he established the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University. The centre engaged in extensive and rigorous empirical research projects

with a particular emphasis on the use of quantitative surveys. In concert with the application of the survey method, the centre engaged in the use of mathematical scales in order to understand social behaviour and attitudes. Lazarsfeld's background in mathematics influenced his decision to place the emphasis on the gathering and measurement of quantifiable data at the expense of a focus on field-based, qualitative methods. Context and subjective experience were treated as factors that needed to be controlled so that they would not interfere with the objective outcomes of the research process (Oberschall; 1978; Platt, 1998; Pooley, 2016). In this way, Lazarsfeld and his colleagues became identified as the founding fathers of a positivist tradition of research methods that could be applied in social science (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Rao, 2012; Pooley 2016; Jerabek, 2017; Katz, 1987). As we will see in the next section, the role that Lazarsfeld played in this respect is of particular interest to this study because he did so in context of research about communication and, in particular, the study of audiences.

1.2 Mass Communication Studies and the study of audience effects

Mass Communication Studies originated within the field of sociology and, like its disciplinary home, was shaped by an instrumentalist approach to life brought about by the global conditions of war. During the Second World War, the American government had experimented with the power of propaganda to influence public opinion. In the post-war moment, the government worked in partnership with educational foundations to further study the causal relationship between propaganda and audience reactions. At Columbia University, this led to extensive studies of the role of media in swaying public opinion of US involvement in the war (Jeřábek, 2017; Shannon & Weaver, 1949; Hardt, 1992; Glander, 2000; Staiger, 2005).

The conceptual foundation of positivist, empiricist approaches to mass communication scholarship was established in the late 1940s. Political scientist Harold Laswell contributed to this foundation by articulating a communication model for analysing the effectiveness of media messages. This model was based on the assumption that such effectiveness depended on the accuracy with which communication is shared between the sender and the receiver of messages. Laswell argued that communication research can assess such accuracy by examining the intentions of the sender and scrutinising the accuracy with which the message is understood by the receiver. In this way, the researcher can evaluate the degree to which the sender's original communication aims are achieved. Within this model, communication is understood to be linear and unidirectional in nature, with messages moving from the sender to the receiver.

Critics of this tradition have proposed that this assumption of unidirectionality supports a conservative approach to research in which power relations and structures determine the flow of information from the top to the bottom. As such, it is particularly suitable to an assessment of the extent to which governments and corporations succeeded in sharing their agendas to the public (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; Schramm, 1962; McQuail, 1985).

Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver also made pivotal contributions to this conceptual foundation in the late 1940s. Like Lasswell, they described the communication process as a series of linear steps that either enabled or derailed the transmission of information from a sender to a receiver. They explained how communication failure occurs when communicators are unable to appreciate the possibility of misinterpretations of messages sent. They pointed out how the identification of potential barriers to communication and ways of dealing with such these would contribute in achieving effective communication. In this way, Shannon and Weaver provided a parallel and supportive framework to Laswell's model for the analysis of underlying technical challenges in the communication process (Sapienza et al., 2016; McQuail & Windahl, 2015; Shannon & Weaver, 1949; Mortensen, 1972; Chandler, 1994).

At the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Paul Lazarsfeld played an important role in the development of methods of fieldwork that operationalised these conceptual foundations. He led a team of researchers focused on the formulation of research methods that enabled the investigation of media influence on audiences. The Bureau drew on these methods to conduct studies that were intended to challenge earlier theories about the power of media to influence social behaviour. Lazarsfield and his colleagues argued that human beings are resistant to excessive influence and that, in fact, the media has minimal impact on social behaviour (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Simonson, 2012). The scholars observed, instead, that messages acquired through interpersonal relationships are more likely to influence social behaviour than those that circulate through media. Based on this empirical work, they proposed a 'two-step flow' theory of communication in which opinion leaders interpret media content and then share these interpretations with the broader public (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Merton, 1949; Berelson et al., 1954). This theory was also employed at the personal level to demonstrate that the influence of media messages on audiences was mediated by their interaction with 'primary groups' such as family and friends (Katz, 1987; Okada, 1986). Within this model, interpersonal relationships function as sources of group pressure to conform to popular reasoning and action. Despite recognition of the role of mediators in the interpretation of messages, the theory still located audiences as passive recipients of information. Media messages are understood, within this framework, to form part of a system designed to maintain the stability of existing social

and political structures (Katz, 1957; Weimann, 1982; Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971; Robinson, 1976; Gitlin, 1978). Within such a society it is hardly surprising that the media would have little power to disrupt or transform public opinion and social behaviour (Fourie, 2015; du Toit, 2013; Giddens, 1979; Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Baran & Davis, 2003).

As discussed, communication scientists based at Harvard and Columbia at the mid-century played a central role in the development of scholarship about the relationship between media and society in the US. The conceptualisation of effects theory, and particularly the argument about limited influence, set in place the foundations for a tradition of scholarship in which the study of communication could serve the interests of institutional power structures (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; du Toit, 2013; McQuail, 1985). This scholarship introduced methodological frameworks and methods that continued to inform approaches to audience research into the late 20th century.

2. Critical responses to positivism and the constructivist conceptualisation of audiences

In the mid- to late-20th century, social scientists became increasingly involved in the critical analysis of positivist studies. They developed alternative approaches to the positivist school, foregrounding the study of subjective, social experience and arguing that knowledge of the social is always necessarily constructed. One significant field of scholarship that emerged in this context was that of Cultural Studies. This field became home to approaches of audience studies that represent important alternatives to that of the American mass communication scientists (Weber, 1949; Mills, 1969; Weber, 2004; Nordenstreng, 2004). The first subsection below paints a backdrop to this strand of audience studies by reviewing the critical responses to positivist social science in which they are rooted. The second subsection focuses on Cultural Studies as an important example of such scholarship, and then focuses on the approaches to audience studies that emerged from this field.

2.1 Critical responses to positivist social science in the mid to late 20th century

From the 1960s onward, academics around the world increasingly began to challenge the assumption that the study of society can only be valid and reliable if it is based within a positivist paradigm. These challenges were accompanied by the emergence of widespread advocacy for alternative approaches to the production of authoritative scientific knowledge about the social world, based in a constructivist framework. From this perspective, it was argued that claims about truth and knowledge are always socially constructed and, therefore,

reality does not exist prior to or separate from human activity (Weber, 1949; Tötösy de Zepetnek, 2002; Creswell, 2003).

One important conceptual resource for such criticism was critical theory, a tradition of social analysis strongly rooted in the European context. This theoretical framework was pioneered by members of the Frankfurt School and particularly by Max Horkheimer, Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno. These scholars were initially based in Germany and then emigrated to the United States in the 1930s. They brought with them a critical preoccupation with the authoritarianism and fascism that they had observed during the European inter-war period. They saw similar tendencies in liberal capitalist society as it was evolving in the American context. They understood positivist social theory to be inadequate in its ability to critique these tendencies. This was due to its idealisation of research that is free from value judgements, based only on the objective observation of empirical evidence. They argued that this tradition of social research was informed by an investment in the maintenance of the existing social order (Swingewood & Swingewood, 1984; Ramsay, 2018).

The Frankfurt School set about articulating the conceptual foundations of a framework that would be more suited to the purpose of critiquing that established order. They incorporated a neo-Marxist preoccupation with research that could contribute to the critical analysis of class-based power struggles (Delanty, 1997; Pinar & Bowers, 1992; Seidman., 2008). They revised the Marxist theory of the 1930s so that it could both provide a critical analysis of hegemonic control of economics, and, more broadly, to an assessment of the role that power and ideology plays within the cultural domain. The framework that emerged from this work was informed by a constructivist perspective on the nature of social reality. This enabled the pursuance of research informed by recognition of the ideological role of culture in the production of knowledge about society (Keat, 1980; Grove, 1985; Sidanius et al., 2001; Clarke, 2006).

Of equal importance was the postmodernist theorisation of society that emerged in the aftermath of the critical tradition initiated by the Frankfurt School. Postmodernism emerged in the mid- to late-20th century as an oppositional intellectual stance to ‘grand narratives’ about rational and logical thinking associated with modernism (Lyotard, 1984). Instead, they drew attention to the role of ideology in sustaining power structures and emphasised an approach to scholarship that examined direct experiences instead of abstract perspectives (Agger, 1998; 2006; Stockman-Shomron, 1984; Kellner, 2002; Turner & Reynolds, 2003; Mumby, 2014).

Based on these intellectual resources, constructivist scholars were able to develop a coherent critique of positivist social science and also to offer alternative approaches to the study of society. They argued for a close examination of subjectivity in which researchers study the

way that members of society make sense of their own experiences in different social contexts. They noted that such research should expose the role played by relations of power within these processes of meaning-making so that some versions of social reality come to dominate a given society. They challenged the positivist claim that social science can produce abstract and value-free findings about social thought and action. They also pointed out that positivist social science fails to appreciate the fundamental constitution of research as a social practice, that is, in itself, informed by social interest (Scotland, 2012; Ang, 2001; Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020; Saunders et al., 2012; Collins, 2018; Keat, 1980; Horkheimer, 1972).

Constructivist social scientists developed methods of research that are best suited to achieving their purpose. They argued that quantitative methods of empirical research, such as surveys and experiments, are not always appropriate to the study of the social world. They pointed out that observation which is based only on quantitative measurement lack the capacity to achieve a multidimensional understanding of complex social reality. Statistics cannot make sense of social experience on their own and should be complemented by qualitative research in which research participants comment on such experience. Thus, they faulted positivist social science for marginalising the role of research participants in the production of social knowledge (Factor & Turner, 1977; Mason, 2006; Albert, 2015; Layder, 2021). They argued, instead, for the use of ethnographic methods that enable investigators to situate themselves in research contexts. Such methods enabled a better understanding of social subjectivity than is possible in the context of controlled laboratory experiments (Barrouillet, 2015, Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Neuman, 2003; Creswell, 2003; Livingstone, 2002).

From the 1970s, social researchers applied these tools of critical analysis to other categories of social identity, beyond that of class. Feminist researchers represented one particularly important strand within such scholarship. They were able, through an analysis of gendered relations of power, to identify systematic deficiencies in traditional positivist theories and methods of social science. They pointed to a failure of positivism to place gender issues and women's social experiences as central to the concerns of social science research. Similar contributions were made in the context of sexual orientation, race, and a range of other categories of identity (Stacey & Thorne, 1985; Peterson, 2000; Hartsock, 2017; Habermas, 1971; Dankoski, 2000; Westkott, 2019; Edwards, 2012; Broido, 2000; Parker & Gagnon, 2013). This emphasis on different categories of social identity would become key to the study of audiences that emerged from this tradition of social research.

2.2 Cultural Studies and the study of audience reception

In literature about the history of Cultural Studies, it is explained that there are two main strands of such scholarship located in America and the United Kingdom. It is the British strand of Cultural Studies that is of particular importance to the history of Audience Studies as this has developed globally. The foundations of this research tradition were articulated in the 1960s at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies of the University of Birmingham. Scholars based at the Centre drew on the conceptual framework of the Frankfurt School and applied this to the analysis of popular culture as a legitimate site for the production of meaning. They explored the role played by ideology and relations of power in this sphere (Kellner, 1989; Ang, 2001; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013; Garnham, 2006; Modleski, 1986).

Stuart Hall emerged as one of the prominent pioneers of the Birmingham School and guided the institution for a decade. Hall developed philosophical and conceptual frameworks for analysing popular culture. He applied this framework to analysis which drew attention to the different social vantage points from which popular culture is experienced, including that of youth, race, class and ethnicity (Hall, 1992; Morley & Chen, 1996; Webster, 2004). The resulting conceptual framework was largely based on textual analysis of mass-mediated communications. It remained preoccupied with demonstrating the way that ideology informed media texts, either to contribute to social domination or resistance to power. However, Cultural Studies theorists also proposed the application of multidimensional methodological frameworks to moments of communication (beyond that of the construction of the text). For this purpose, they offered the idea of a continuous circuit of cultural production, in which there are different moments in the construction of meaning that can be examined. Within this circuit, it is not only the media text itself that is important but also the process of production. They also point (and this is of particular importance to this study) to the need for studies focusing on the manner in which these texts are received by audiences. Cultural studies, thus, introduced an approach to the study of media which emphasised the processes through which meaning is constructed, both by the producers of media and its consumers. Such scholarship rejects the notion of a linear, unidirectional line of communication, as articulated by the past communication scholars (Kellner, 1998; Johnson, 1986; Grossberg, 2013; Hall, 1981; Stevenson, 2002).

In the 1970s, as part of this intellectual work, Hall made important contributions to the conceptualisation of the relationship between media texts and audiences. In particular, scholars point to Hall's essay on the "encoding and decoding" model of communication. This model emerged as a seminal contribution to understanding the relationship between media production,

media texts and audience reception. In his essay, Hall used television broadcasts to analyse resistance to proposed ideological perceptions embedded in media texts. He discusses the process through which meaning is first encoded in media texts by the producers of media and then decoded by audiences, which can result in widely different interpretations of those texts. He argues for the existence of independent, equally valid meanings for those texts (Hall, 1980; Curran, 1990; Morley, 1980. This conceptualisation of audiences as active participants in the production of the meaning of media texts contrasts sharply with that of positivist effects studies, in which they were accorded a far more passive role (Hall, 1981 Morley, 1980; Baran & Davis, 2012; Delanty, 2001; Nightingale, 2003).

Cultural studies scholars criticised media effects theory for its linear and limited communication model that underestimated the rational power of audiences. They argued, instead, that audiences are rational thinkers capable of using media to satisfy their needs. Like mass communication scientists, they argued against the idea that audiences are simply 'dupes' or 'zombies' who can be manipulated by the media (Morley, 1998; Livingstone, 1997; 2002). However, unlike those scientists, they understood audiences to play an active role in the interpretation of the meaning of media texts. Furthermore, they saw such interpretation as being embedded in a struggle between different social interests. They signify the existence of oppositional cultural forces and understandings between dominant and subordinate groups in society (Lembo & Tucker, 1990; Kellner & Durham, 2001; Jensen, 2011; Jensen & Christensen, 2012). Based on such a conviction about the active role of audiences, scholars engaged in a re-examination of the constitution of audiences in the process of knowledge production. They introduced audience reception as a form of media scholarship that would focus on the fundamental contribution of audiences in the creation of meaning in society (Slack, 2006; Fenton, 2007; Livingstone, 2002; Stokes, 2021).

Scholars involved in such studies of audience reception tended to reject established methods of audience research typical of effects studies. They noted that the survey method on its own fails to unearth contextual factors that can explain specific audience behaviour. In particular, it fails to make visible the subjective agency of audiences and the role that audiences play, as rational human beings, co-producing the meaning of texts (Pilsworth & Ruddock, 1975; Croucher & Cronn-Mills, 2014; Ang, 1996; Ruddock, 1998; Ha et al., 2015). Instead, they advocate that audience study methods such as participant observation, focus group discussions and ethnography complimented by systematic textual analysis achieve a better understanding of audience reception. Such methods provide a holistic approach to the analysis of audiences by recognising both their individual role and that of the cultural context in the

process of producing meaning (Morley & Silverstone, 2002; Ang, 1996; Staiger, 2005; Amoakohene, 2004; Strelitz, 2000; Livingstone, 2002; Nightingale, 2003).

The tradition of audience research that emerges from Cultural Studies is one which enables a strong appreciation of the role played by audiences in meaningfully interpreting media texts. Furthermore, it provides a compelling argument for the co-existence of multiple, equally valid interpretations of mediated texts (Hall; 1981; Morley, 1980; Du Gay, 1997; Strelitz, 2002; Thompson, 1990; 2013). These contributions have allowed for the emergence of a body of knowledge about audiences that represents a compelling alternative to that of the mass communication scientists.

3. The decolonial turn in media studies and the implications for audience research

It should be apparent from the discussion thus far that scholarly debates about the study of media audiences have historically been conducted from the vantage point of developed, western environments. At mid-century there was little consciousness or acknowledgement amongst scholars of media and communication of this historical location. Indeed, scholarship was typically presented as if it was of universal validity (Bryman, 1988; Delanty, 1997; Anderson & Stewart, 2007). Even in the 1970s and 1980s, in the context of the rise of Cultural Studies, the study of audiences remained largely defined by the preoccupations of Western industrial nations. Nevertheless, from the 1970s onward, it is possible to observe some criticism of the assumption of universality and a call for research that locates itself in the developing world and the Global South. In the view of this researcher this tradition of critique is of importance to this study, given its location within the Global South and in Africa more particularly.

The discussion below maps out key arguments that formed part of the critique of social science from mid- to late-20th century, in which it was pointed out that it predominantly serves the interests of the industrial West. The second section considers the ways in which such critique has been taken up within media scholarship. Against this backdrop, the discussion then identifies examples of the study of audience that sets out to provide alternatives, conceptualised from the vantage point of the developing world and the Global South (Willems & Mano, 2016; Chadha & Kavoori, 2000; Miller, 2003c; Downing, 1996; Amin et al., 2000; Curran & Park, 2000).

3.1 Decentralising the study of social science: some strands of critique

From the 1960s onwards, critics around the world increasingly proposed a reappraisal of social science that acknowledged global imbalances in the representation of social knowledge production. They argued for an approach to social science that rejects the assumption that Western industrial nations represent the central point of reference. They proposed that the decentralisation of social science would assist in foregrounding the social experiences and interests of a diversity of communities located in the developing world and the global South. These critics also pointed out that, internationally, the investigation of society was largely informed by methodologies and tools of analysis developed by scholars based in industrialised Anglo-American contexts. Such critique was levelled both against the positivist tradition of social science of the mid-20th century and critical alternatives to the study of society in the decades that followed (Lebel & McLean, 2018; Glück, 2018; Mignolo, 2011).

Scholars suggest that an important moment in the articulation of such critique can be traced to international social science conferences that took place in the mid-20th century. The Bandung Conference of 1955, which took place in Indonesia, is often cited as one such event. It is understood to have enabled former colonies from Africa and Asia to deliberate about the establishment of their own cultural and economic partnerships in the production of social knowledge. Within these discussions, participants pointed out that the relations of power established through colonialism still framed the production of knowledge. They began to discuss ways in which social research could be conducted so that it challenges these power relations and opens opportunities for studies informed by the interests of developing nations and the Global South (Ampiah, 2007; Tan & Acharya, 2008; Acharya, 2018; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Mignolo, 2018).

In the decades that followed, scholars from the Global South and developing world produced work representative of these alternative conceptualisations. They pursued such work by basing empirical investigations in previously marginalised contexts (Diop, 1974; Miller, 2003; Laher et al., 2019). They succeeded in generating bodies of scholarship guided by a systematic recognition of social spaces in the Global South and developing world as relevant contexts for the production of unique, intellectual resources. They also pursued epistemological frameworks that provided alternatives to those that had emerged from Western industrial nations. As part of such work, they foregrounded the experiences of indigenous and marginalised communities of the Global South (Ndagala, 1985; Asimeng-Boahene, 2012; Baffoe et al., 2014; Rehbein, 2015; Laher et al., 2019).

One such body of knowledge from the Global South that has influenced the approach to the study of society is Philosopher Paulo Freire's theory of liberation expounded in his treatise 'pedagogy of the oppressed'. In its original form, he locates his examination of the idea of liberation in the field of education, and examines the challenges of the public education system in his native Brazil in the 1960s. However, it is possible to understand that his general argument applies more broadly to the way human interaction operates either to liberate or oppress the marginalised. Freire understands communication to be key to such interaction, and describes the process of dialogue as a significant encounter in achieving a just and equitable society. He theorises the oppressor as the beneficiary of a system of communication that is structured around unequal relations of power. He argues however that the marginalised are not automatically destined for a continuous state of oppression. Indeed, when they become conscientised about their state of oppression, they can claim the role of agents of change. Freire foregrounds the potential of conscientisation in enabling people to better understand the world and, in doing so, to change it. He further argues that such conscientisation can be achieved by means of a methodology for learning in which the exchange of knowledge is facilitated through critical dialogue. He stresses the importance of the agency of learners, and proposes that methodologies for conscientisation should be structured around the encouragement of the active participation of students in the exchange and knowledge through dialogue. In this way, learners can become equal partners in processes of learning, acting as critical agents of the change they aim to achieve (Freire, 1970; 1993). It should already be clear that this conceptualisation of communication as a vehicle for social change will be of significance to the discussion, in this study, of the approach to radio – and to the listener club as a vehicle for audience engagement – associated with the Global South.

In the early 1970s, the United Nations (UN) emerged as a significant role player in the international facilitation of support for decentralised scholarship. Through its specialised agency, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the UN enabled global discussions regarding the production of social scientific knowledge aimed at empowering previously colonised nations. These countries now had the status of independent nations with the right to contribute to social science on their own terms. UNESCO understood the encouragement of such research to be crucial to the achievement of sustainable development in the Global South and the developing world more generally (Maia, 2014; Lengyel, 2017; Selcer, 2011; Mignolo, 2008).

An early tradition of research that emerged from this history is that of 'postcolonial' studies. This term was typically applied to scholarship that explores the historical, cultural,

political, social and economic influence of colonial legacies on newly independent countries that had previously existed under colonial rule. Reference is also made to 'liberation' scholarship, which provided alternative perspectives on previously colonised societies as a challenge to the way that they came to be described during colonialism (Spivak, 1990; Bhabha, 1994; Seshadri, 2000). One contribution to postcolonial and liberation scholarship that is regarded by historians as significant is that of 'subaltern studies'. Critics point to the South Asian Subaltern Studies group created in the late 1980s, which produced scholarship about South Asia from a postcolonial perspective (Mignolo, 1994; Lazarus, 2004). These writers understood subaltern groups to be those which had been marginalised by the power relations of colonisation and they foregrounded the perspectives of such groups. The suggestion is that such work succeeds in liberating social science from the confines of a colonial agenda. By the early 1990s, postcolonial studies were also produced in environments beyond that of South Asia such as Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and the Middle East (Guha, 1983; Beverley & Sanders, 1997; Mbembe, 2001; Chalcraft, 2008; Quintero et al., 2019).

Postcolonial and liberation scholarship was, however, only the first phase in the history of these alternative approaches to social science. More recently, the emphasis has moved to 'decolonial' scholarship which rejects the claim that countries that have achieved independence can be seen to be 'post' colonial. Instead, they propose that relationships of coloniality continued to frame society even after independence. Decolonial researchers argue that more rigorous analysis of these continuing social relations is required in order to transcend the limitations of postcolonial scholarship (Colpani et al., 2022; Tembo, 2022; Weiner, 2018). They pursue this goal in the context of studies that examine ways in which the continuation of colonial relations of power can be challenged. One topic that is often returned to in this context is the significance of indigenous languages to the social experiences of previously colonised peoples. The use of vernacular languages is, for example, offered as a way of challenging persistent colonial perspectives and achieving a grounded understanding of African societies (Otite, 1993; Adesina, 2002; Omobowale, et al., 2013; Onwuzuruigbo, 2018). Another research topic that is accorded significance within such research relates to the value of indigenous epistemologies and knowledge systems as resources for the enhancement of social understanding (Connell, 2007; 2018; Tuhiwai, 2012; Patel 2021). A third topic of importance has been the study of philosophical perspectives that enable a contextualised investigation of societies in the Global South (Moola & Sibango, 2022; Ziai et al, 2020). In the African context, examples can be found in the examination of concepts such as that of Ubuntuism and Afriethics. These traditional philosophies are noted for recognising the role of

communitarianism in social knowledge generation (Kasoma, 1996; Banda, 2009; Tomaselli, 2009; Wasserman, 2014; Bosch, 2018).

In addition to the introduction of topics, decolonial scholarship also explored alternative methods of study. As part of such explorations, they typically propose a methodology that places emphasis on the agency of participants in processes of social inquiry. There is, within such work, a strong emphasis on participatory research, in which the people being studied become involved in the co-production of knowledge. Researchers are then typically located as participant observers who immerse themselves within the communities that they research (Owusu, 1978; Platt, 1983; Feldman, 2011; Ziai et al., 2020). The emphasis is also on research that plays a role in the facilitation of change, as is typical of action research. It is worth noting that the use of such methodologies combines well with the emphasis referred to above on the importance of indigenous language. The use of indigenous languages within fieldwork, in particular, has become recognised as a way of empowering the communities who participate in research (Akìwọ̀wọ̀, 1990; Adesina, 2002). The emphasis on participatory research also leads to the articulation of research methods such as that of 'counter-storytelling', in which members of marginalised populations share aspects of their social experiences (Ashby-King & Aragón, 2022; Moola & Sibango, 2022; Calafell & Acrey, 2023; Aman, 2015).

It is possible, then, to trace a coherent tradition of social science scholarship that has not only succeeded in presenting a convincing critique of western-centric studies of society but that has also developed traditions of research that offer alternatives to such work. These traditions of work are informed by recognition of indigenous subject matter and research methods grounded in knowledge systems of the Global South.

At the same time, this body of work described above continues to encounter the continued dominance, within the international sphere, of Western industrial perspectives on the study of the social. Within this circumstance, decolonial scholarship continues to define itself in terms of an engagement with unequal relations of power with the aim of cultivating alternative traditions of knowledge.

Of particular significance, in context of the present study, is the emergence within such scholarship of approaches to research in which methodology serves as a practical vehicle for the deliberate decolonialisation of the production of knowledge about society. Within this context, the Freirean articulation of guidelines for the facilitation of understanding through participatory dialogue stands out as being of particular importance. For this reason, the study chooses to refer generally to the articulation of critical methodologies and practices of knowledge production as encapsulated within the Freirean approach and guidelines for

achieving a just society. Such traditions are understood to enable a grounded understanding of the social environments, drawing on the social experiences of local communities, and leading to the possibility of progressive social change.

3.2 The decentralisation of media studies and the implications for audience studies

This tradition of decentralisation of established approaches to social science, and the articulation of alternatives, can also be observed in the context of the study of communications and media. Examples of such work can be observed from the mid-20th century onwards in proposals for a more inclusive approach to the study of media in which experiences from countries beyond Europe and America would be included (Curran & Park, 2000; Ampiah, 2007; Wang, 2013).

In Latin America, spirited efforts to establish alternative approaches to media studies have existed much longer than in other Global South contexts. One reason for this development was that Latin America attained colonial independence relatively earlier in the mid-19th century. This enabled Latin American scholars to engage in debates about intellectual independence in the 1970s. These scholars focused on encouraging media scholarship that was relevant to their contexts (Martin-Barbero, 1993; Bordenave, 1977 in Manyozo 2008; Glück, 2018; Morley, 2006).

Specific international interventions in support of localised studies of media and communication emerged in the 1970s as part of UNESCO's efforts, described in the previous section, to challenge the global relations of power that existed within social science. Of particular importance, was the establishment of the MacBride Commission to coordinate critical debates about the need for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) in 1979. Scholars from Asia and other Global South contexts proposed the incorporation of indigenous knowledge as a way of de-westernising international communication and addressing the imbalance (Xiaoming, 2012; Glück, 2018; Dissanayake, 2003). As part of these debates, commentators noted concerns about media 'imperialism', in which international systems of communication reproduced entrenched relationships of inequality around the world. Commentators identified processes through which modern transnational media communication institutions were sustaining and broadening global systems of domination. They argued that such processes ensured the continued dependence of developing countries on developed nations (Fejes, 1981; Nordenstreng & Schiller, 1979; Osei, 2023).

Another significant moment in the history of decentralising the study of communication and media can be seen in the calls from the early 1990s onward to 'de-westernise' media studies and cultural studies more generally. Critics from inside these fields argued for a reconfiguration of such scholarship in order to engage consciously with the interests of the Global South (Thussu, 2009; Sarkar, 2019; Dutta & Pal, 2020; Mohan et al., 2022). They called for empirical work that is grounded in these social spaces and that reconstitutes them as axes from which to conceptualise the study of media, culture and communication (Spivak, 1990; Mbembe, 2001; Shome, 2019). They challenged the established canon of scholarship, describing it as narrow in its conceptualisation and called for the inclusion of academic voices from non-western nations (Curran & Park, 2000; Löffelholz & Weaver, 2008; Gluck, 2018). Networks of Cultural Studies scholars in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa have responded to this opportunity, pursuing publication projects from the vantage point of the Global South (Prasad, 2012; Sawhney, 2019; Shome, 2019).

This decentralisation of the study of media, culture and communication has enabled scholars to explore alternative subject matter of greater relevance to the the Global South. It has, for example, allowed researchers to move beyond a focus on media as a profession and industry, and to embrace the study of media as community-based, social practice and amateur work. It has also enabled the emergence of studies investigating the relationship between media and traditional culture that encompass aspects of the oral and of folklore (Shepperson & Tomaselli, 2002; Atton, 2009; Shome, 2019). The decentralisation of scholarship also allowed for alternative methods of study, such as participatory and action-oriented research that generates new insights based in the perspectives of communities that had previously been marginalised (Amoakohene, 2004; McDougall & Fudge, 2001; Krieg von Bellikon, 2022; Botsch, 2018).

Within the traditions of scholarship that have emerged from this history, it is possible to trace a focus on the study of audiences. A particularly significant contribution to such study can be observed in Latin America where researchers have recognised indigenous contexts as relevant spaces for decolonial audience investigations. They argue that audience research embedded in such contexts offer ways of making sense of audience behaviour that are distinct from those that have emerged in Western-centric studies (McAnany & La Pastina, 1994; Lozano & Frankenberg, 2009; Zavala, 2013; Barranquero, 2019). In Asia, scholars are similarly described as working towards the de-westernisation of audience studies by adopting an 'emic' emphasis. This is understood to mean that they place emphasis on internal elements of audience engagement as this can be observed in eastern societies rather than an existing

external framework (Nemec, 2021; Jerome et al., 2022; Srinivas, 2013; Takahashi, 2009; Krieg von Bellikon, 2022).

Scholars also observe calls for the need for decolonial and de-westernised approaches to the study of audiences in African scholarship (Nyamnjoh, 2010; Willems & Mano, 2016; Moyo, 2020; Mohammed, 2021). Such scholars are, for example, making a call for audience studies informed byrinciples of Ubuntuism and Afrocentrism (Schoon et al., 2020; Moyo & Mutsvairo, 2018). As part of such proposals, they encourage engagement with traditions of research that foreground the agency of audiences by considering their participation in processes of meaning-making. Scholars propose that, by foregrounding the participation of audiences in the production of locally grounded knowledge, such scholarship would have the power to facilitate a 'ferment' in the field of audience studies (Chasi & Rodny-Gumede, 2018; Murphy & Kraidy, 2003).

From the late 1990s and early 2000s, commentators were able to identify instances in which researchers have put these approaches to the study of audiences into practice in African countries. They point, in this context, to studies that foreground the oral production and transfer of knowledge (Mudavanhu, 2021; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012. They also identify studies that prioritise the involvement of audience members in interactive research methods. Within such studies, participants are, for example, asked to comment on their engagement with media through the use of focus groups and in-depth interviews (Amoakohene, 2004; Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 2017). Such studies have shown evidence of the active role that radio audiences play in the construction of social meaning, even in African countries in which the broadcast sector is characterised by autocratic systems of control. Such research foregrounds the agency of these audiences, who are able to actively contribute to processes of development facilitated by the media (Wasserman & de Beer, 2009; Heinze. 2016; Willems & Mano, 2017).

The potential of participatory approaches to enable the production of grounded media and communication research in contexts of the Global South is well articulated in this literature. However, a lack of funding and access to research infrastructure in such contexts has persisted as a barrier to media research in general and audience studies in particular. As a result, localised media scholarship in these environments has mostly emerged as work under construction. Nevertheless, it is possible to recognise the potential value of the decentralisation of media studies, through the focus on alternative theoretical and methodological frameworks. It is also possible to identify such potential within indigenous intellectual contributions from the African context (Willems, 2014; Shome, 2019; Mohammed, 2022; Mlotshwa, 2023).

Conclusion

This chapter has put in place a conceptual foundation for this study by exploring the historical relationships that existed between approaches to the study of society, the study of media and communication, and the study of audiences. The chapter identifies three approaches to the study of the social and in each case links that approach to a tradition of media scholarship, and within this a tradition of audience studies.

Section One discussed the emergence, in the mid-20th century America, of the positivist tradition of social science as an authoritative body of knowledge for social administration and the maintenance of an established social order. It drew attention to the tradition of Mass Communication scholarship that emerged from this tradition of social science, particularly in the context of sociology. It pointed out that, like the broader fields and disciplines in which it was embedded, Mass Communication scholarship was informed by an interest in knowledge that could be of value to social administration and the maintenance of existing relations of power in society. This is also true of the tradition of audience effects studies that is closely associated with Mass Communication as a field. The model of communication on which effects studies is based is linear in nature, flowing from messenger to receiver. The quantitative method of the survey was given pride of place within the study of this process of communication. Such studies were often used to demonstrate the limitations of media effects on audiences.

Section Two highlighted the critical responses that surfaced as challenges to positivist social science in the latter half of the 20th century in America, Britain and Europe. Such responses offer a constructivist conceptualisation of social scientific knowledge as an alternative to positivism. Critical theory, as articulated first by the Frankfurt School and then by Cultural Studies and Postmodern scholars, represented important intellectual resources for the articulation of these challenges. These traditions of social research shared a preoccupation with the critique of authoritarianism in liberal capitalist society. They were all, furthermore, characterised by a critical response to positivist studies of society, describing them as integrally embedded in conservatism. They offered, as an alternative, a constructivist conceptualisation of social reality which foregrounded subjective experience, located within historically specific relations of power. This enabled the pursuance of research informed by recognition of the role played by culture – and ideology more specifically - in shaping social identity in a way that sustains established power structures. It is explained, that Cultural Studies was the field in which these approaches were first applied to the study of media and communication. Within

this broad field, application to the more particular domain of audience studies emerged in the context of reception studies. Whereas the model of communication in effects studies was linear, reception studies assumed that communication is dynamic in nature, acknowledging the active role of both sender and receiver. Whereas effects studies placed an emphasis on quantitative surveys, reception studies focused on qualitative interviews and analysis of discourse. Through such work, cultural studies scholars pointed to the role that audiences necessarily play in communication as a participatory process. They argued, furthermore, for the potential of audiences to contribute meaningfully to the production of social meaning.

Section Three reviewed a parallel history of criticism that also emerged in the latter half of the 20th century and that challenged both the positivist and critical school of social research. These challenges drew attention to the need for the global decentralisation of processes of knowledge production. From this vantage point, critics called for scholarship that foregrounds the interests and experiences of people living in the Global South. Important contributions to this call for decentralisation were made in the context of post-colonial and liberation studies and then at a more complex and sophisticated level, in studies of decoloniality. In particular the section points to the Freirean pedagogy of the oppressed as a key theoretical and methodological contribution to this scholarship. It argues for the recognition of the Frierean approach as a substantially decolonial methodology and one that equally embodies critical thinking. The section also traced this call for the decentralisation of scholarship as it can be observed in the context of the study of media and communication generally, and then in audience studies more particularly. It is noted that such work led to the articulation of audience studies informed by philosophical and methodological conceptualisations emerging from the Global South in general, and Africa in particular.

The next three chapters examine the significance of the distinction between these three conceptualisations of audience participation for a study that deals with listener clubs in Malawi. Each of these chapters deal with a distinct aspect of the history of the relationship between radio and its audiences, and, in each case, demonstrate that all three conceptualisations informed that history. Chapter Two achieves this purpose broadly in the context of a discussion of the international history of radio. Chapter Three traces the presence of the three conceptualisations within the more specific context of the global history of listener clubs. Finally, Chapter Four examines their role within the localised history of listener clubs as they have come into existence in Malawi. In this way, these chapters map the terms of reference for the empirical study of listener clubs in Malawi that follows in the remainder of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF RADIO AND ITS AUDIENCES
A GLOBAL HISTORY

Introduction

To establish terms of reference for this study, Chapter One presented a review of the history of audience studies and identified three broad approaches within such scholarship to the conceptualisation of audience participation. It was argued that each conceptualisation is informed by a distinct understanding of the purpose of scientific knowledge about society, inherent to the traditions of social science with which they are associated. This next chapter demonstrates that these same conceptualisations can be traced outside the context of academic scholarship, within the history of the relationship between radio and its audiences. It can be observed, more particularly, in the emergence of distinct approaches to the social purpose of radio and the role that audiences play in achieving that purpose. The chapter achieves this goal through a review of literature dealing with the broader history of the conceptualisation of radio audiences, drawn from the field of Radio Studies. It highlights global patterns in the conceptualisation of radio, its social purpose and its relationship to audiences as these developed during the 20th century. The chapter further discusses how these international patterns have influenced approaches to this relationship as it exists in former European colonies.

The discussion in this chapter begins from the observation that the relationships of influence that exist between the West and countries in the global South have historically been shaped by Western nations' interest in empire building. This interest can be observed, firstly, in context of the history of colonialism. In context of this study, the role that the British Empire has played in pursuing such colonisation is of particular relevance. Equally, interest in empire building can be observed in context of the history of commercial enterprise, and here the role played by the United States is of particular importance. One strategy that both the British Empire and the United States employed as part of their approach to empire building was to introduce traditions of radio to the countries they sought to occupy. It is argued in this chapter that these traditions of radio have typically operated as an instrument of social control.

The chapter is equaly informed by the observation that relationships of influence between countries in the Global South have historically been informed by an interest in emancipation. It is argued that ideas about radio that originate from the Global South and then circulated internationally were informed by this interest. Indeed, traditions of radio that were informed by these ideas came to offer an alternative to the radio of social control. These two

observations about international relationships of influence and the way traditions of radio became articulated within them will be of particular significance to the discussion, later in this dissertation, of approaches to radio that became established in Malawi. Section One examines early conceptualisations of the relationship between radio and audiences, articulated in the first half of the 20th century, firstly in the Global North (in America and the United Kingdom in particular) and then in the Global South (in Latin America with a seminal example being that of Colombia). It does so to demonstrate in this dissertation that ideas about radio that were articulated in these three environments have centrally informed the conceptualisation of the relationship between radio and its audiences in countries such as Malawi. In pursuance of this argument, Section Two explores how the models of radio that developed in the Global North and South came to underpin the conceptualisation of radio and its relationship to audience that eventually emerged in the British dominions and former colonies in Africa. Finally, Section Three deals with the way in which these conceptualisations have evolved in the context of the global rise of digital media in the 21st century and, with this, the reinvention of radio.

Throughout, the discussion focuses on moments in the history of ideas about the relationship between radio and its audiences that are identified within the literature as being of significance to the broader conceptualisation of the social purpose of radio. It describes these moments as informed by contestation between an interest in radio as a vehicle of social control versus an interest in radio as a vehicle for social emancipation. Within these moments of contestation, the discussion identifies the presence of all three conceptualisations of audience participation that were observed in the context of audience studies discussed in Chapter One. The first conceptualisation, observed in the context of effects studies, is closely aligned with the interest in radio as a vehicle for social control. The second and third conceptualisations, associated with the critical response to positivist mass communication and the decolonial turn in media studies, are aligned with the interest in radio as a vehicle for social emancipation. The chapter demonstrates, in this way, that the distinctions among these three approaches are not just specific to scholarship. Indeed, they resonate at a more profound level within contestations around the social purpose of radio – and, in fact, media more generally - within society as a whole.

1. The conceptualisation of radio and its audiences in the early 20th century

By the first decade of the 20th century, experimentation with wireless telephony involving the transmission of sound had become a common activity (Prosser, 2019). As early as 1904,

government agencies in the US were experimenting with audio transmitters (White, 2003). The US navy, in particular, had started to use wireless radio technology as a means of ship-to-ship and ship-to-shore communication (Walker, 2004; Rixon, 2018). Such experimentation was quickly understood to be more widely applicable outside the context of the military to develop new forms of communication in society (Hartley, 2000; Sterling & Kittross, 2001; Balbi, 2017). By the 1920s, in the UK and US, broadcast services were being established by amateur operators as well as by government and business entities (Schwoch, 1990; Slotten, 2006; Hilmes, 2012; Douglas, 2018).

Even within this very early history, it is already possible to identify the emergence of contrasting understandings of the social purpose of radio. Within Radio Studies, the articulation of such purpose is observed in at least four contexts. Firstly, researchers make reference to the role played by influential 'pioneers' in offering visions of the future of radio, as part of discussion of the social significance of wireless communication technology (Brecht, 1932; O'Shei, 2008; Frost, 2010; Hilliard & Keith, 2012; Bray, 2013; Douglas, 2018). Secondly, mention is made of amateur radio enthusiasts who experimented practically with the potential of this technology (Hilmes, 1997; Peters, 2018; Rikitianskaia, 2018; Campbell & Campbell, 2019). Thirdly, there is the domain of government regulation in which radio became institutionalised both as a public resource and an apparatus for social control (Bensman, 2015; Peters, 2018). Finally, there is the domain of business, where radio was constructed as a commercial enterprise (Lippmann, 2007; Picard, 2011; Hilmes, 2018 Hung et al., 2019). The subsections below deal with the conceptualisation of radio and its relationship to audiences within each of these contexts.

1.1 Visions from the Global North about what radio can be: Sarnoff versus Brecht

In literature dealing with early discussions of the potential of radio technology internationally, it is possible to identify two contrasting visions of its possible social purpose, and how this should ideally be achieved. The first vision emerged in the early years of the 20th century in the US, when wireless technology had not yet been established as a broadcast medium. Scholars associate this vision with David Sarnoff, commercial manager of Guglielmo Marconi's Wireless Telegraphy Company of America, which would later become the Radio Corporation of America (Wade, 2015; Nieckarz, & Hickey, 2023). Sarnoff is described in such literature as a pioneer in the use of radio as a form of entertainment for commercial gain (Wade, 2015; Benjamin, 2009). Reference is made to a memorandum that he presented to his superiors in

1915 in which he argued for the vision of radio as a 'music box' (Regal, 2005; Aitken, 2014; Hilliard & Keith, 2012; Njoku, 2019). He points out that this vision could be achieved by means of a service that sends out signals from one person (the broadcaster) to many (the listeners). The service would broadcast music to wireless receivers placed in private households (Marc, 2000; Slotten, 2006; Lasar, 2016). Sarnoff proposed that such broadcast services could be financed through the sale of the receivers (Benjamin, 1993). Commentators suggest that this vision was motivated by an interest in increasing the sale of radio receivers. They suggest, furthermore, that it is no coincidence that Sarnoff's vision locates these receivers within private households. It is, after all, an arrangement which would provide advertisers with direct access to those households. As such, Sarnoff's conceptualisation of the social purpose of radio was fundamentally informed by the interests of advertisers (Hartley, 2000; Kaiser, 2012).

The second vision emerged later, in the German context, after both commercial and public service models of radio had become well established across the globe. Scholars associate this vision with Bertolt Brecht, the German playwright (Langer, 1989; Frost, 2008; Heinze, 2019). They point to an article that Brecht published in 1932, entitled *The Radio as an Apparatus of Communication*, in which he envisages the establishment of a broadcasting sector that operates as a service to the public (Barber, 1989; Hochscherf et al., 2019; Brecht, 1932). As part of this vision, Brecht pointed to the role that radio can play to deliver lectures on issues of public interest (Brecht in Hilliard & Keith, 2012). However, unlike Sarnoff, he did not understand radio to remain limited to one-way communication. Instead, he points out that radio technology can enable members of society to participate in shared, participatory communication (Brecht, 1932; Nyre, 2007; Heinze, 2019). Within his vision, audiences are understood to be active partners in the production of broadcast content. Radio could, then, enable members of the public to not only have greater access to knowledge but also participate in knowledge production. Furthermore, radio has the potential to provide ordinary people with a way of holding those in power accountable for their actions (Brecht, 1932; Brecht, 2001; Nyre, 2007).

It should be apparent that each of these two visions is associated with one of the understandings of the social purpose of radio, and of the relationship it should therefore have with its audiences, discussed earlier. Sarnoff's vision described radio as it had already come into existence by that time, with the listener situated as a passive receiver of content. In contrast, Brecht argued that audiences should be active and equal participants in meaning-making processes (Villarraza & Milagro, 2018). He envisioned a type of radio in which communication would emanate from a complex network of contributors without a central system of control

(Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009; Carpentier, 2011; Squiers, 2012). He, thus, proposed an alternative to the conceptualisation of the relationship between radio and its audiences that had become dominant by the 1930s. In his version of this relationship, the emphasis was on participatory communication. Essentially, he argued that radio should be transformed from a communication system in which power was controlled by one sender in order to influence many receivers into a system in which power was distributed amongst many senders and receivers (Silberman, 1987; Nyre, 2007; Mirrlees, 2020).

It should also be clear that the two conceptualisations of audience that emerge in the global North, in the context of the early history of radio, bear a remarkable resemblance to those identified in the scholarly study of audiences as discussed in Chapter One. On one hand, Sarnoff's vision of radio is strongly representative of an emphasis on administration and social control that we observed in the context of mass communication scholarship and the effects studies tradition. Here, too, we see an emphasis on social administration and service to the interests of capital. On the other hand, Brecht's vision captures the emancipatory spirit of both the cultural studies scholarship, and the reception studies school. We see, again here, the focus on audience involvement and agency. It could be argued, then, that the distinctions that existed within this history of scholarship are informed by broader differences in approach to the production of social knowledge and its relations to power. By the time that Brecht offered his emancipatory, participatory vision of radio to the world, the moment for its actualisation as a central aspect of communication in society had come and gone. However, it is arguable that a Brechtian vision of radio has continued to inform approaches to the medium as these evolved in different parts of the world. In the discussion below it is proposed that this vision can be traced as an element within the history of the conceptualisations of radio as this unfolded across the 20th century and beyond.

1.2 The early experiments: amateur radio in the UK and US

Amateur radio generally gained ground in the UK and America during the first decade of the 20th century. Amateur enthusiasts used locations such as garages, attics and barns for their operations. They were hobbyists who primarily viewed radio as a form of entertainment and, for this purpose, experimented with broadcasting music and speech (Walker, 2004; Adams, 2015). They approached such broadcasts as a form of informal communication amongst themselves rather than a way of reaching mass audiences (Kasser, 1995; Hilmes, 1997; Bartlett, 2015). By 1912, the number of radio enthusiasts in America had risen to about a thousand

(Sterling & Kittross, 2001; Cox, 2013). There are no records of equally significant attempts by radio enthusiasts in the UK during this similar period. However, by the end of 1921, an interested group of about 250 amateur radio experimenters in UK were able to listen to transmission test signals from their counterparts in the US (Medlin, 1969).

The rise of amateur radio was, however, quickly constrained by the birth of commercial radio in the US and public radio in the UK. These two broadcast traditions were located within sectors of society that had access to institutionalised power; that of corporate business and government. As such, they were able to claim a primary location within the emerging domain of radio, and succeeded in marginalising the amateurs (Walker, 2004). Between 1912 and 1920, both government and industry were questioning the legality of amateur broadcasters and demanded that their activities be restricted or even discontinued (Douglas, 2018; Myers, 2018; Arbuckle, 2001). In the US, radio manufacturers made these demands because they viewed the amateurs as potential commercial competitors in the field of wireless broadcasting (Sterling & Kittross, 2001; McQuiggin, 2001). In the UK, the state was seeking to establish central control over the airwaves as a public resource. Consequently, there was an ongoing struggle around access to the airwaves between, on one hand, groups representing the interests of amateur broadcasters and, on the other, institutions of authority. In the UK, pressure came from government officials who suspended experimental broadcasts by amateurs because they were said to be 'interfering with important communication' (Coase, 1947:191; Peters, 2018). In the US, Congress also sought to marginalise the amateur broadcasters through the introduction of stringent broadcasting regulations (Segal, 1931; Boyd, 1983; Rixon, 2018; Devlin, 2018; Walker, 2004).

The result of these struggles was the restriction of access for amateur radio enthusiasts so that their participation could necessarily only occur on the margins of radio landscapes. In America, such restriction was laid down in law by the Radio Act of 2012, which was the first major piece of radio legislation in this country (Slotten, 2000; Ashley, 2014). Among other requirements, the Act stipulated that radio stations and operators should apply for licenses in which coverage radius was specified (Bliss, 2010; Bensman, 2015; Croidieu & Kim, 2018). Amateur operators were restricted to transmitting within a radius of not more than 200 meters and only allowed to use power transmitters below one kilowatt. The government justified this decision as part of its strategy to bring order to the radio spectrum and also restrict its use to important naval communication (Krattenmaker & Powe, 1994; Holt, 2018).

Nevertheless, this did not signal the discontinuation of on-air activities for amateur radio. In America, there was growth in the number of licensed amateurs from 322 in 1913 to

more than 10,000 in 1916 (Berg, 1999; Krysko, 2018). Amateur broadcast networks continued to operate in this country into the 1930s and beyond, with participants sharing both live speech and music with each other (Marquis, 1984; Miller, 2003). It was also possible to observe the emergence of more centralised approaches to amateur broadcasting both in the UK and US, in the establishment of a number of radio stations. In contrast to mainstream commercial and public service radio, these stations were often designed to transmit simultaneously from multiple locations. The operators set up transmissions from locations such as residential garages. As such, the amateur operations allowed for a more interactive form of broadcasting in which control was shared across multiple locations and participants (Razlogova, 2011; Mort, 2020).

The exploits of these makeshift broadcasters are noted to have played a role in the articulation of a community-centred approach to radio as a social practice (Slotten, 2006). Indeed, as early as the 1920s, the amateurs had already laid a foundation for the establishment of this approach (Razlogova, 2011). Many amateur radio networks and stations contributed to the wellbeing of the communities in which they were based. They would, for example, relay messages to their audiences such as weather forecasts and warnings during natural disasters (Slotten, 2006; 2009; Moore, 2010; Chuquillanqui et al., 2015). Furthermore, amateur programme producers encouraged public involvement by making use of phone calls, telegrams and letters. In this way, they established practices that were designed to solicit audience feedback and accommodate audience participation (Sterling & Kittross, 2001; Griffen-Foley, 2010; Razlogova, 2011). A participatory relationship with audiences and provision of a community service was, then, understood to be central to their purpose (McQuiggin, 2001; Haring, 2007). It has been proposed that the underlying impetus of such radio was the ’communication imperative’ rather than that of social control (Sidel 1976; McQuiggin, 2001; Razlogova, 2004). It is, therefore, possible to argue that the amateurs put into practice aspects of the Brechtian vision of radio in which it is an instrument of participatory communication.

This emphasis is noted to stand in contrast to much of the mainstream radio of this time which, as noted already, was more clearly representative of the vision associated with Sarnoff. Both in the UK and America, public and commercial radio were controlled by powerful minority groups who assumed that radio technology should be exclusively used for one-way communication by licensed professionals (Walker, 2004). In contrast to the example of amateur radio, audiences were not located as active contributors. Observers have suggested that one reason for this difference is that amateurs were mainly motivated by the desire to engage in broadcasting as a hobby for their own entertainment and that of their audiences. They were, in

other words, less concerned with the potential of the medium to influence audiences for commercial or political purposes (Campbell & Campbell, 2019; Slotten, 2006). This may be why amateurs appreciated the potential of radio as a medium in which power is shared with users who have access from multiple points, as opposed to radio as a centralised instrument of social control.

The amateur traditions did not, however, only stand in contrast to mainstream radio. On the contrary, amateur broadcasting is recognised to have operated as a rich nursery of innovation in radio. It offered an incubatory space for the development of an early model for constructing relationships with audiences, and this was eventually incorporated by the mainstream broadcasting industries that would be established in the UK and US (McQuiggin, 2001). In this way, broadcast practices that were developed by amateur experimenters were transferred and utilised in mainstream radio (Slotten, 2009; Bathgate, 2020). However, as noted below, such approaches were assimilated within communication systems that remained tightly controlled by the interests of the government and business enterprises. The amateur tradition continued to exist only on the margins of a media landscape dominated by commercial and state-owned broadcast services. These mainstream traditions of radio had, by this stage, become profoundly embedded in the conceptualisation of a one-way relationship between sender and receiver. It is possible to argue, then, that even though Brechtian approaches were taken up by mainstream stations, they were incorporated only to the extent that they could be accommodated within a 'Sarnoffian' framework.

1.3 The origin story of mainstream radio in the UK

During the early 20th century, there was increasing interest in the UK in the growth of wireless broadcasting within the American context (Balbi, 2017; Prosser, 2019). In May 1922, the British Post Office proposed the establishment of a single broadcasting service which would be controlled by the state for the public good (Coase, 1947; Elmer, 2017; Prosser, 2019; Mills, 2020). At the same time, the British telecommunication and engineering company Marconi positioned itself as a significant stakeholder in the formulation of broadcasting policy (Williams, 2017: Sutherland, 2020). By August 1922, government authorities and corporate groups such as Marconi had come to an official agreement that the UK would facilitate the establishment of a single, state-owned broadcasting service (Coase, 1947; Raboy, 2016; Balbi, 2017). The British government would set up a radio network based on the principle of public service broadcasting. This decision led to the establishment, in December 1922, of the British

Broadcasting Company (BBC), transformed into a corporation in 1927. From its inception, the BBC was financed through license fees and mandated to champion the execution of a public service mission (Tambini, 2016; Rixon, 2018; Bardgett et al., 2019; Prosser, 2019; Mazzone, 2019). On one hand, then, it was representative of the Brechtian vision of radio that operates in service of civil society. On the other hand, the emphasis on centralised control is closer in kind to the Sarnoffian vision.

The support that the Post Office lent to the establishment of the BBC contributed to the authority of the broadcaster so that it could claim monopoly status in UK (Devlin, 2018; Linfoot, 2011; Linfoot, 2019). The 1912 Radio Act signed in London provided that all stations, including amateur operators, could apply for licenses in which frequency restrictions were outlined (Segal, 1931; Schroeder, 1954). However, as early as the summer of 1920, the Post Office in UK had suspended amateur transmissions and stopped the issuance of licenses for such activities. This decision represented a rejection of longstanding negotiations on the part of the amateur radio movement for confirmation of their legal status (Slotten 2006; Devlin, 2018). Instead, the BBC was located as the only legitimate player in the broadcasting sector so that control of radio broadcasting was placed solely in the domain of the state (Devlin, 2018; Ibrahim et al., 2019; Holman, 2019; Bardgett et al., 2019; Prosser, 2019).

In contrast, commercial radio was slow to take off in the UK. Some commercial stations did emerge in early in the century and were well established by the 1930s. They were, however, given little support from the government (Jacobs, 2003; Rudin, 2007; Smith, 2019). Indeed, commercial radio only took off in the 1970s, when the government began to award a limited number of licenses to local broadcasters. By the late 1980s, the British broadcast landscape had become more liberalised, and the overall number of commercial stations increased. These stations were mainly local broadcasters. By the early 1990s, however, national commercial radio had become a reality (Lax, 2014; O'Malley, 2014; McDonald & Starkey, 2016).

It is clear from this history, that the conceptualisation of radio that emerged in the UK was originally founded on a commitment to public service (Smith & Steemers, 2007). Subsequent developments in policy and programme design continued to be informed by this conceptualisation. Through the mandate of the Royal Charter, the BBC was expected to "educate, inform and entertain" its audience. John Reith, the BBC's first Director General, placed particular emphasis on the educational mandate, arguing that the broadcaster should serve the public by providing them with knowledge and cultural enrichment (Scannell, 2005; Moe & Syvertsen, 2009:399; Potter, 2012a; Butsch, 2013). As one aspect of such programming, the BBC collaborated with educators in order to deliver lectures on subjects that

were thought to be of public value (Hajkowski, 2013; Carter, 2021). In this way, the BBC emerged as a pioneer of educational radio, incorporating both formal and informal educational slots in its programme schedule (Tunstall, 2010; Sarmah & Lama, 2017; Barclay, 2022). This is one aspect of the BBC's actualisation of broadcast radio that can be seen to be Brechtian in its emphasis, informed by a commitment to social progress and the empowerment of its audiences.

It can, nevertheless, be argued that the BBC's attempts to empower its audiences remained constrained by the corporation's investment in social control. The conceptualisation of radio on which it was based, with its firm investment in centralised broadcasting, did not offer the possibility of relinquishing power to audiences. Despite the emphasis on programming that serves the interests of the public, audiences remained located as passive recipients of content. The BBC was, in other words, not envisaged as a broad-based participatory platform in which audiences would have the power to set the agenda (Razlogova, 2011).

Nevertheless, the BBC remained the dominant force within the British radio landscape, and played a central role in the development of strategies for audience participation. Among such strategies was the establishment, in the early education programmes, of systems for audience feedback. This involved, for example, the collection of listener responses through the deployment of schools' programme instructors on scheduled visits to listener locations. By 1934, BBC broadcasting for schools was noted to be a success in mass education that pioneered the creation of spaces for listener participation (Carter, 2021). Through such programming, audiences were afforded an opportunity to have a say in the production of broadcast content (Crisell, 2005. In this sense, the BBC can be said to have exhibited some traits of the Brechtian vision of radio. It, nevertheless, remains true that the level of audience participation was far below what Brecht had imagined.

1.4 The origin story of mainstream radio in the US

Broadcasting in the US started in the 1920s, when licenses were first made available and companies began to establish stations. In contrast to the British example, the companies that established radio stations did not engage in broadcasting as a public service initiative. Instead, they were involved first and foremost in the production and sale of wireless radio receivers and were interested in creating a market for the sale of their products (Smulyan, 1994; White, 2003; Lippmann, 2007; Raymond, 2016). They did not foresee any other commercial incentive in the establishment of such stations beyond that of the sale of these receivers. To achieve this goal,

the manufacturers inundated the public with messages about the benefits of owning the gadgets (Craig, 2001; 2006). They encouraged consumers to buy receivers based on the argument that it would become a superior source of information and knowledge about the world (Franz & Smulyan, 2017). This approach worked, as the demand for radio receivers began to increase (Buchwitz, 2018; Prosser, 2019). By the end of 1922, the US Department of Commerce had issued nearly 600 licenses to broadcasting stations (Prosser, 2019). The tradition of radio that became established in this context was, thus, largely influenced by a Sarnoffian vision of radio as a business venture (Inglis, 1990; Stadel, 2016; Dolber & Dolber, 2017).

From the early 1920s onward, as part of this commercially driven approach, a more sophisticated model emerged in which radio was used as a vehicle for delivering audiences to advertisers in exchange for advertising revenue (Socolow, 2004; O'Barr, 2010). American businesses had observed the growing interest of the public in radio and the potential of this medium to become central to domestic life. Interest in the commercial potential of radio continued to grow as more American families began to listen to radio from their homes (Ohliger, 1969; Anderson, 2007; Douglas, 2013). Commercial companies recognised in these listeners a potential consumer base for the achievement of their sales objectives (Meyers, 2013). They began to explore ways in which radio's pervasive presence in domestic life could provide them with access to that consumer base (Socolow, 2004). By the late 1920s, programmes supported by advertising and sponsorship had become a dominant feature on the American airwaves. Broadcasters devised genres that were designed to promote the sale of commercial products. Examples of such content included soap operas and radio dramas, which could easily be combined with sponsorship announcements. Throughout, the broadcast, content had to conform to the sponsors and advertisers' intention of stimulating sales (Franz & Smulyan, 2017; Buchwitz, 2018; Meyers, 2018; Greco & Greco, 2020). In contrast to the UK example, where an emancipatory commitment to public access to information and education remained paramount, radio in the American context was strongly shaped by an instrumental interest in commercial gain. Whereas, British audiences were imagined in terms of their identity as citizens, American audiences were primarily envisioned as consumers.

The American state, nevertheless, recognised that radio frequencies represented an important public resource and, for this reason, radio audiences should be protected from the influence of exploitative advertising. Government regulation included stipulations that placed constraints on the kind of advertising that could be included on radio (Miracle & Nevett, 1988; Lippmann, 2007; Wykle, 2016; Prosser, 2019). Discussion of the need for such safeguards also characterised proceedings at the first government-sponsored radio conference in America in

1922. In his opening speech to the conference, the US Department of Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover suggested the need to limit advertising 'chatter' from drowning radio's public service functions. Hoover intended to seek input from the industry on the best way to regulate broadcasting while ensuring the provision of news, education and entertainment to the public. Only commercial content that benefitted large portions of the American public would be permitted for broadcast purposes. The conference also recommended that direct advertising should be prohibited on American radio. This meant that broadcasters were restricted to indirect or 'goodwill' advertising which allowed the mention of a sponsor's name but not the specific products or services they offered (Doerksen, 1999; Prosser, 2019). The outcome of this conference and similar conferences that took place in the mid-1920s in the US contributed to the development of broadcast regulations based on the principle of public interest (Benjamin, 1998; Arbuckle, 2008; Dempsey & Gruver, 2012).

There was also recognition within the American context of the role that radio could play in contributing to universal public education. In the late 1910s, educators lobbied to have certain frequencies allocated to 'educational' stations. By the 1930s, American colleges were setting up campus-based radio stations that served local communities and operated as an educational resource (Keeler, 2017; Myers, 2018; 2022; Waits, 2015). Most of these stations were based at 'land grant' colleges and state universities of the Midwest. Land grant colleges were originally established as a result of the Morill Act of 1862. The Act provided states with grants of land for the funding of educational institutions which prioritised vocational teaching and applied research. These institutions were obliged to serve both their students and the general public as a way of demonstrating their commitment to public service. They offered programmes dealing with 'useful' knowledge, with an emphasis on agriculture and technology that contributed to local economic progress (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994; Mirando, 2001). Educators at these colleges recognised the role that radio could play in the dissemination of such knowledge, both amongst their own students and in local communities. Some of the stations set up on these campuses, such as WHA in Wisconsin and WOSU in Ohio, had professional staff and received substantial funding. They offered a variety of lectures, practical information and college courses for credit (Cross & Cross, 1999).

In 1934, radio enthusiasts drafted a reform proposal to allocate 25% of frequencies to stations such as these, which were committed to non-profit and educational programming (Brown, 1989; Myers, 2018; Goodman, 2016; Laor, 2020; Goodman & Hayes, 2022). The proposal lobbied for the amendment of the Communications Bill in order to limit the dominance of radio by commercial operators. This resulted in the inclusion of a stipulation in

the Communication Act of 1934 that certain frequencies in the AM and FM bands should be reserved for use by non-profit broadcasters (Brown, 1989). Non-commercial broadcasters, particularly those affiliated to the Pacifica radio network in California, began to produce educational radio documentaries about politics and social justice (Land, 1999). Commercial radio networks also agreed to include educational programs in their broadcasting schedules (Waller, 1943; Tworek, 2015; Keeler, 2017). However, because these latter networks were primarily driven by a profit motive, their involvement in educational radio remained marginal. They were generally disinterested in the inclusion of educational content in their programme schedules as most of it was non-profit content from educational institutions. The appeals of commercial radio continued to relegate the education imperative to the perimeters of the American radio landscape (Keeler, 2017; Hilmes, 2013). Instead, for many years, local non-profit radio - and particularly college radio stations - represented the primary platforms for educational radio in America.

One broadcast tradition that emerged from this history that is mentioned here because it would later become of great relevance to the history of listener clubs was that of 'agricultural extension' radio. Agricultural extension refers to communication and learning activities organised for rural communities by educators in order to provide them with access to scientific and technological knowledge of relevance to agriculture. Agricultural extension agents were employed by the state to assist in such learning programmes. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) was responsible for facilitating such programmes in rural parts of the country. They recognised the role that radio could play as part of such education and worked with land grant college stations to establish programmes that could serve this purpose. By the 1920s, they had established agricultural extension shows on stations in rural farm counties in every state. The land grant college stations were well placed to contribute to these projects because of the commitment of their host institutions to agricultural training. The stations invited members of their agriculture faculties to deliver radio lectures on topics such as livestock and poultry management. Agricultural extension agents also participated in these radio shows. By the mid-1920s, the USDA had also established its own station that produced and distributed its agricultural programmes for broadcasting on other stations nationwide (Craig, 2001; 2006; Hilliard & Keith, 2012).

This tradition of radio nevertheless remained of marginal significance within the American radio landscape as a whole. By the early 1930s, the number of college stations was in decline, largely because the Federal Radio Commission introduced government regulations that operated in favour of commercial broadcasters located in urban environments. Investors

also began to buy up broadcast licences in small towns, and many college stations simply discontinued their broadcast operations. By 1938, only 48 of 202 licenced educational stations remained on air. Commercial radio had established its dominance (Boyle, 1964; McChesney, 1995). These patterns in the evolution of radio programming formed part of broader shifts that were taking place in American social culture. From the 1940s onward, American media began to promote a more individualistic and private, family-based lifestyle, with far less emphasis on socialist and collective culture (Ohliger, 1969; Anderson, 2007; Goodman, 2016). Within society as a whole, then, an emancipatory interest in the social empowerment of communities was giving way to an instrumentalist interest in social control. By the end of the Second World War, the US radio landscape was dominated by commercial networks, with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) key examples (Sterling & Kittross, 2001; Sterling & O'Dell, 2010; MacLennan, 2022). Their emphasis was on popular entertainment, particularly music. Speech programming was offered in the form of quiz shows, adventure series, comedies and soap operas that were sponsored by advertisers (Slotten, 2006). These programmes were interspersed with news bulletins and discussions with experts on issues such as science (Rothenbuhler & McCourt, 2002; LaFollette, 2002; Horten, 2003; 2007).

Nevertheless, when public radio finally emerged in the 1970s through the establishment of National Public Radio (NPR), it could build on the foundation that had been established by the local, non-profit, educational and agricultural traditions of radio (Slotten, 2006; Bodroghkozy, 2018). NPR essentially performed public radio functions in the American context. It became established as a central distributor of broadcast content for a network of federal-funded radio stations that operated under the public broadcasting banner in the country (Riismandel et al., 2002; Lochte, 2004; Mitchell, 2005; Johnson, 2014).

1.5 A Freirean vision from the Global South: Community radio

In discussions of histories of community radio, it is generally proposed that this conceptualisation of radio first emerged in the 1940s in Latin America. The ideal that emerged in this context, was that of a station that is owned and controlled by the community in which it is based, for the purpose of the wellbeing of that community. The operation of such a station was generally understood to depend on the participation of community-based volunteers. The participatory emphasis was informed by the Freirean theory of community-based critical pedagogy.

In Chapter One we have already seen the role that Paulo Freire played in the Brazilian context, in establishing an emancipatory and critical understanding of the study of society, through his treatise on the pedagogy of the oppressed. He observed that public education systems in developing countries perpetuated social inequalities. The methodology for conscientisation that he articulated, as described in Chapter One, acknowledges the capacity of citizens to engage in critical discussions that contribute to social transformation. He argues that dialogic communication is a fundamental stimulant for community action and social emancipation. At the core of this methodology is an understanding that the oppressed can become agents of their own change. They can do so, in particular, by entering into deliberation and debate that mounts a challenge to oppressive regimes. Inspired by this vision of education, local communities in countries such as Brazil formed cooperatives and used them as forums for social development and informal adult education. The success of this initiative prompted development experts to suggest it as a model worth adopting in countering top-down communication approaches (Freire, 1970/1993; 2020; Maccoby, 1971; Manyozo, 2009; Naidoo 2010; Habeeb 2018). An early example of radio informed by this ideal is thought to be that of the Colombian community radio movement, which was established by local trade unions. The conception of radio that was born in this context was then taken up by community-based movements in other Latin American nations such as Mexico and Ecuador (Dagron, et al., 2001; Rodriguez, 2005; Bosch, 2014; Febres Cordero Intriago, 2015; Hayes, 2018).

In this way, then radio as it first became established in the Global South can be seen to represent an important alternative to the conceptualisations of this medium that first took route in the UK and US. It is a conceptualisation that resonates with the Brechtian notion of participatory radio, but takes that concept further through its engagement with the need to challenge unequal relations of power. Freire's emphasis on the need for a deliberative process of facilitation, in which community members are drawn into critical discussion, introduces an element that builds on the Brechtian commitment to participation. It does so, more particularly, by providing it with a methodology for the actualisation of social change.

The discussion in this section of the early histories of radio in America, the UK and Colombia demonstrate that social interests played different roles within each context. In the Global North, these differences resulted in the establishment of two very different radio landscapes, each with its own relationship to the audience. On one hand, the architects of the British radio landscape defined it explicitly in terms of an interest in the provision of public service and located its audiences as citizens who could benefit from this service. Their approach focused on the provision of knowledge for social improvement and empowerment, with an

emphasis on informing and educating the public (Scannell, 2005; Moe & Syvertsen, 2009; Keeler, 2017). On the other hand, the founders of the American radio landscape were openly motivated by an interest in profit, and located audiences to be entertained and as markets that could be exploited. This model positioned radio primarily as a commercial enterprise which viewed the audience as passive consumers rather than active citizens (Franz & Smulyan, 2017; Keltie, 2017). In the Global South, we see the emergence of a third alternative approach to radio, which positions radio primarily as a vehicle of emancipation.

Nevertheless, there were some characteristics that were common to the three contexts. In particular, all three systems acknowledged the potential of radio as a public resource. As part of this acknowledgement, all three appreciated radio's influential role in informing and educating the public; even though, in the American instance, this emphasis remained marginal. In addition, neither the British nor the American system explicitly prioritised the audience's role as active participants in the public sphere. In contrast, it is exactly such prioritisation that can be observed within the Colombian example. It can be argued, then, that although British and US radio differed in their relationship to public and commercial interest, both embraced the Sarnoffian vision of radio as an apparatus of social control. In contrast, community radio as it became established in Latin America, embraced the vision of radio as a vehicle of social emancipation.

It has been proposed in the introduction to this chapter that the distinction between approaches to the audience observed in the context of scholarship discussed in Chapter One can also be traced within the broader history of the relationship between radio and its audiences. It is of relevance that the rise of Mass Communication scholarship coincided with the moment in global history described above. This was described as a moment in which the Western world turned away from the collective empowerment of communities and towards a more instrumentalist interest in social control, for the benefit of elite groups in society. By the middle of the 20th century, both America and the UK were dominated by a vision of society which idealised industrial progress, privatisation and individualist consumerism. It is a vision informed by a conservative conceptualisation of the purpose of social knowledge and the role that the public play in the production of such knowledge. It is, therefore, also a vision in which it made sense to promote the understanding that communication is linear and that audiences are inherently passive. It should, therefore, be no surprise that this was the moment in which the Sarnoffian vision of the audience was dominant both within the academic and social world. Both in the context of effects studies and the corporate institutions of broadcast radio, the audience as participatory agent was systematically confined to the margins of society.

At the same time, it is also possible to observe in this origin story of radio the continued persistence of the more marginalised Freirean vision of radio and its relationship to the audience. Significantly, one of the most powerful instances in which this vision becomes foregrounded is in the context in which the academic landscape, described in Chapter One, overlaps with the landscape of radio described in this current chapter. We see this in the context of local radio in the United States, and agricultural radio in particular. In future chapters, it will become clear that within such radio we see an intersection between the histories of radio, the academy and the state. Within this intersection, shared approaches regarding the purpose of social knowledge and the public good overlap.

2. The global circulation of ideas about radio and its audiences

In this section, it is pointed out that the conceptualisations of radio and its audiences that surfaced in America and the UK can also be observed in other parts of the world. In some instances, it is possible to trace a relationship of influence between their emergence in these two countries and their international circulation. It will be argued that such influence can be traced between radio as it first became established in Anglophone environments in the industrial West and as it was then exported to the developing world. In order to demonstrate these global patterns, this section deals, firstly, with ideas about radio as they circulated in advanced industrial countries. It then deals with their articulation as part of media landscapes in developing nations. The discussion teases out the way conceptualisations of radio were reinterpreted and applied in these different contexts. It focuses on the way vested interests impacted, in each environment, on the conceptualisation of the social purpose of radio and, consequently, the way in which radio audiences were constructed.

Of particular interest within the way ideas about radio have been taken up internationally in the latter part of the 20th century is the emergence of the concept of community radio. It is pointed out, in the discussion below, that the idea of community-owned radio first emerged in social environments within so-called 'developing' economies. Community radio represents a re-imagining of radio that is fundamentally Freirean and therefore emancipatory in its acknowledgement of the agency of audiences. It is a movement that originated in the Global South and then circulated internationally, impacting on traditions of radio around the world, both in developing countries and in the industrial North. Such radio would, eventually, also impact on the way radio was conceptualised on the spectrum of approaches to radio that became established in African countries, including Malawi.

Both public radio and commercial radio can be seen, then, as traditions of radio that originated in the industrial North, with the UK and US representing particularly important spaces of origin. Community radio, in contrast, was born in the Global South before it was taken up as a global movement. Also, in contrast to the first two traditions of radio, it can be seen to be fundamentally Freirean in its conceptualisation of the relationship between radio and its audiences.

2.1 The influence of the UK and US conceptualisations of radio in the developed world

2.1.1 British influence

Alongside the role that radio came to play in early 20th century British society, it also became central to systems of administrative rule that were established across the British Empire. This empire included colonies in the Americas, the Caribbean, the Pacific, Asia, and Africa. During the course of the first half of the 20th century, the British government was in the process of dismantling its relationship of direct colonial rule with many of these regions (Marshall, 1979; Darwin, 1987; Babou, 2010; Hevia, 2012; Home, 2013). However, radio came to represent an infrastructure that continued to sustain a relationship of influence between the UK and former colonies. When radio technology first emerged, the British government quickly recognised the role that it could play in supporting systems of administrative rule within these colonial outposts. Later, it would also recognise its potential for maintaining a relationship of influence with these colonies after independence.

In the developed world, this history of influence can be observed in the anglophone nations of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In the first half of the 20th century, these countries had the status of British 'dominions', which meant that they were regarded as self-governing colonies of the British Empire (Potter, 2012a). From mid- 20th century onwards, they achieved independence from the empire although they continued to exist as members of the Commonwealth. However, even with the achievement of sovereignty, a relationship of cultural and ideological influence continued to exist between Britain and the Commonwealth. One system through which this relationship was maintained was represented by their public broadcasting sectors, which had been shaped by ideas about radio that had been imported from the UK (Cocker, 1994; Potter, 2008; Griffen-Foley, 2010). The BBC emerged as a significant model in each of these countries for conceptualising the social purpose of radio and for shaping the relationship between radio and its audiences (Winseck, 2014; Teer-Tomaselli, 2017). The British government understood that, even as it retreated from relationships of direct colonial

rule, radio could reach audiences internationally and inform their world views (Johnston & Robertson, 2019). In the case of the British dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, such relationships of influence were achieved through the establishment of broadcast partnerships. These partnerships helped to ensure that the early development of radio in these countries was strongly informed by the British conceptualisation of its social purpose.

The foundations for such development was achieved, firstly, because the BBC invested in the broadcast infrastructure of these countries, contributing to the strengthening of their transmission systems. BBC officials also visited broadcasters in each country in order to make the case for a broadcast system based on the public service model. Reith became a central consultant on how these countries would operate their broadcasting institutions. The BBC also facilitated training for staff and set up 'relay' programmes, in which content from the BBC was shared with local broadcasters (Potter, 2012; Teer-Tomaselli, 2017). For many listeners, such broadcasts consolidated a sense of 'belonging' to the Commonwealth community (Robertson, 2013). As part of the establishment of the public broadcasting model, radio in the dominions adopted the BBC's emphasis on education. Reith argued that radio should contribute to shaping society through entertaining, informative and, most importantly, educational programming (Franklin, 2019; Harris, 2021). With the introduction of national broadcasters in each country, top positions were occupied by British-born personnel who were firm believers in the BBC principles (Potter, 2016; 2012; Resnick, 2005). By the early 1930s, a model of radio based on the example of the BBC was firmly established in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In each instance, the assumption was that radio was a resource that should operate in service of the public, under control of the state (Comrie & Fountaine, 2005; Langlois et al., 2010; Miragliotta & Errington, 2012; Armstrong, 2016; Teer-Tomaselli, 2017).

In Canada, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was established in 1936 and gained control of the broadcast spectrum in a manner similar to the BBC (Vipond, 2009; Graham, 2014; Windover, 2015). The first head of the CBC, Gladstone Murray, had worked under John Reith at the BBC and was an ardent advocate of the public service model. Under his leadership, CBC invested in the distribution of radio transmitters across Canada as one way of expanding its influence (Kuffert, 2009; Windover, 2015). A similar history can be observed in the case of Australia and New Zealand. Here, too, the BBC collaborated with state broadcasters in order to ensure a model based on the principle of public service (Potter, 2012; Franklin, 2019). In both instances, broadcasters prioritised the inclusion of British programming on their airwaves (Teer-Tomaselli, 2017). The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) and the New Zealand Broadcasting Company (NBC) came to dominate

the local broadcasting sectors in a fashion similar to the BBC (Inglis, 2006; Griffen-Foley, 2010; Johnson, 2013).

However, in each case, these broadcasters eventually matured in their conceptualisation of the implications of public service so that they were able to move beyond a dependence on the example of the BBC. Instead, they articulated a locally grounded understanding of such service, one in which programming was shaped by the requirements of their own context. The emphasis shifted away from the prioritisation of content drawn from the BBC, to a focus on the interests of local audiences (Cocker, 1994; Griffen-Foley, 2004; Graham, 2014). In all three countries, this led to the inclusion of the interests of indigenous communities (Meadows & Molnar, 2002; Gordon et al., 2004; Alia, 2004). Furthermore, as will be discussed in Section 2.3, partnerships between public radio and community radio came to represent one way in which concerns of these communities could be articulated. In Australia, in particular, this focus on the unique interest of indigenous communities was accompanied by an emphasis on partnerships with aboriginal community radio (Curran & Ward, 2010; Order, 2013; King, 2017).

In this way, possibly as part of claiming their own identity as sovereign states, the British 'dominions' redefined public service radio so that it could be responsive to the interests of their own citizens. One can argue, then, that although the export of the BBC model to these spaces had been motivated by the Sarnoffian impulse of social control, this became replaced by a Brechtian interest in emancipation and inclusive public participation.

2.1.2 American influence

Radio as it evolved in Canada, Australia and New Zealand was not only influenced by the example of the BBC, but also by the commercial model that was taking shape in the United States. In each of these countries, the commercial radio sector developed at the same time as public radio (Miragliotta, & Errington, 2012; Griffen-Foley, 2010). Canadian public radio in the 1920s was characterised by a mixture of local content and programming drawn from American commercial radio, financed by advertising (MacLennan, 2013; Langlois et al., 2010; Windower, 2015). The incorporation of such commercial content was not universally accepted in Canada. In reaction to this trend, Canadian nationalists argued that radio was becoming an instrument for the 'Americanisation of Canada' (Vipond, 2009:73). They proposed that local radio should instead foster the country's own cultural identity and that government control of the airwaves would assist in achieving this goal (Murray, 2003; Langlois et al., 2010; Allen, 2018; Eko & Eko, 2019). It was, in fact, these efforts to make radio as 'Canadian as possible'

that eventually ensured the establishment of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1936. However, despite such efforts, the presence of American content remained a feature of Canadian public radio (Graham, 2014; Griffen-Foley, 2010).

The Canadian regulator did not, however, grant the CBC exclusive control of broadcasting. By the late 1930s, commercial music radio had become established as a competing sector (Uimonen, 2017; Potter, 2013; Shapiro, 2014). Unlike the British example, the Canadian broadcasting sector therefore represented a 'hybrid' model, in which public and commercial radio co-existed from the start (Jackson & Vipond, 2003; Vipond, 2004; Allen, 2018). The programming that dominated private radio stations was mostly an import of the style and approach established in the US (Vipond, 2009; Murray, 2003).

This hybrid model in which public and commercial radio developed in parallel with each other could also be observed in Australia and New Zealand (Uimonen, 2017; Griffen-Foley, 2010). In each case, the public service broadcaster dominated the radio landscape but commercial radio operators were able to provide competition in the urban settings, as well as find purchase in locations not adequately served by public radio (Attalah, 2000; DeCillia, & McCurdy, 2016). In Australia, in particular, such radio was modelled on the American example of profit-oriented programming. It also became a practice for Australian commercial radio staff to tour the US in order to learn from the American model (Gliffen-Foley, 2010; Inglis, 2006; Rees, 2019). In New Zealand, the broadcasting landscape was also a mixture of strong political control and market-oriented media. As a result, there was no significant audience involvement in radio in the country between the 1930s and 1970s (Fountaine, 1998; Thomas, 2001; Sinton, 2021).

It is arguable, for these reasons, that the American conceptualisation of radio and its social purpose was at least as influential in these environments as the BBC model. This conceptualisation was, as we have seen, strongly informed by an interest in the exploitation of audiences for commercial purposes. This meant, then, that Sarnoffian and Brechtian conceptualisations of radio co-existed in these environments and influenced the way broadcasting was developing.

2.2 The influence of the UK and US conceptualisations of radio in developing nations

The previous section dealt with the export of ideas about radio from the UK and US to countries that had already achieved independence from British rule by the time radio technology emerged. In the case of countries that were still under direct subjugation by the British empire

at this time, the introduction of radio served a different purpose. Local radio sectors were established, in these instances, as part of a system of a repressive colonial rule (Head, 1979; Armour, 1984; Heinze, 2012. This history can be observed in developing countries across the British Empire (Hevia, 2012; Mosime, 2015; Thiranagama, 2010; Potter, 2020). Discussion of this history, in the next section, identifies stages in the evolution of ideas about radio in these environments that correlate with changes in their relationship to colonial power. Firstly, there is the era of colonial rule, in which radio served to strengthen administrative control of the empire in its outer reaches. Secondly, there is the moment of decolonisation, when the colonies declared their own independence from British rule. In the discussion below, it is argued that during this moment radio was reinvented as a medium that served the interests of newly established independent governments. Finally, there is the moment of the global shift towards neoliberalism, within both the developed and developing world. It is pointed out below, that this shift allowed for the liberalisation of media landscapes around the world, which meant that radio began to operate in the interests of both state and private enterprises. The discussion below, focuses on these moments as they apply to developing nations in Africa.

2.2.1 Radio in the era of colonial rule

In those environments in which the UK maintained a relationship of direct colonial rule, colonial governments introduced a broadcasting model that had little to do with public service. Instead, they imagined radio as a medium that could strengthen their systems of political and administrative control (Katz & Wedell, 1977; Armour, 1984; Pinkerton, 2008; Potter 2012 Bowden et al., 2012; McCracken & Teer-Tomaselli, 2013). In African countries under such rule, this involved a series of negotiations between the colonial administration in London and the governors of colonies such as Northern Rhodesia (later Zambia) and Nyasaland (later Malawi). Broadcasting experts from the BBC were seconded to these colonies to assist in the establishment of broadcasters, including the training of staff. It was typically agreed that broadcasters in the colonies would be operated as statutory corporations and the BBC would continue to provide training and technical support. In the early stages, such broadcasters typically targeted white settler communities as their primary audience (Ritter, 2021; Potter, 2012; Eko, 2016). However, the colonial governments in Africa soon utilised radio as an instrument for engaging with local audiences for the purpose of social and political control. They did so by expanding their programming to include services in indigenous language and circulated content aimed at instilling law and order, and discouraging nationalist views (Armour, 1984; Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011; Banda, 2020).

As part of this project of control, radio was used as a medium for canvassing support for both local and global military engagement. In particular, during the Second World War, British colonial governments in East and Central Africa used radio to broadcast war updates and mobilise the recruitment of local people as soldiers (Smyth, 1984; Killingray, & Plaut, 2012; Heinze, 2017; Johnstone et al., 2019; Banda, 2021). In addition, the colonialists used radio as an instrument for educating local communities about the importance of remitting tax for the financial administration of the colonies (Killingray, 1986). This focus on propaganda continued after the war in colonies such as those in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland. In this way the British used radio as an instrument for exerting relationships of subjugation and exploitation (Smyth, 1984; 2001; Killingray, 1986; Msindo, 2009; Ndlovu, 2015; Law & Jackson, 2016; Banda, 2021).

It should be apparent from this description that two contrasting historical strands can be identified within the global circulation of British ideas about radio. On one hand, there is the history of such circulation as this applies to the 'dominions' of the Commonwealth. Within this strand, we saw the transference of Brechtian ideals of public service. On the other hand, there is the history of radio that applies to spaces of colonial rule, including those in Africa. In this historical strand, radio was explicitly introduced for the purpose of Sarnoffian control.

2.2.2 Radio in the moment of decolonisation

The so-called 'decolonisation' of African countries that had been under British rule in the early 20th century generally occurred from the late 1950s to the late 1960s. This was true in West Africa (Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Southern Cameroon and Sierra Leone); East Africa (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) and Southern Africa (Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland). One achievement of independence of these countries, was the replacement of colonial administration with that of autonomous governance (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Ritter, 2021). However, the governments that emerged in many of these countries after independence were not based on democracy and were, instead, representative of single party authoritarian regimes (Kilson, 1963; Young, 2012; Hartmann, 2022).

Within these countries, newly established governments typically nationalised the broadcast systems they inherited from colonial governments so that they could operate as part of the communication infrastructure of the state. Many of these governments entered into partnerships with the United Kingdom with the objective of reconstituting local radio sectors in this way. As part of such partnerships, the BBC often provided support in the form of training and infrastructure. The United Kingdom argued for radio sectors based on the BBC model of

public service because it was understood that this would facilitate a transition to democracy within these new-found states. And indeed, under the guidance of the BBC, local radio broadcasters often adopted the rhetoric of public service. However, in practice, they mostly continued to exist as they did in the colonial era, operating in the service of political control (Myers, 2008; Chibita, 2010; Heinze, 2016; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Mano, 2016). Whereas, they had previously served the colonial government, they now became reinvented as state-owned broadcasters, existing in service of the government that was in power (Kasoma, 2000; Moyo, 2010; Mano, 2016). This emphasis on communication systems operating in the service of government was further bolstered by the establishment of state-run newspapers and news agencies, so that the local media landscapes generally operated in the service of authoritarian control (Heath, 1986; Teer-Tomaselli, 2015).

Observers note that, in African environments such as these, politicians feared that if the state broadcaster was made accessible to all interest groups in society for the purpose of public debate, the authority of the ruling party would be put into question (Rønning & Kupe, 2005; Mosime 2015; Arndt, 2019). Instead, states required their own broadcasters to focus exclusively on the production and dissemination of news and programmes that promoted the ideology of that ruling party (Eko, 2000). Often broadcast policy involved deliberate efforts to stifle democratic debate and to shut out dissenting views (Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011; Mosime 2015; Heinze, 2017). In this way, in many of these countries, information control became a shared strategy for maintaining political control (Takirambudde, 1995; Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011; Heinze, 2017; Kainja, 2022).

Nevertheless, during this era of new-found independence, state broadcasters did understand their central purpose as that of contributing broadly to the betterment of society. It was assumed that radio should contribute to this project through nation building, particularly through the cultivation of a common sense of identity (Katz & Wedell, 1977; Eko, 2000; Moyo, 2003; Heinze, 2012; Mano, 2016; Brooke, 2021). Radio programming should, furthermore, be concerned with social development in order to improve the quality of life of all citizens. For example, it should include content that promotes good agricultural practices and community health. Such programmes were typically produced by the relevant governmental ministries who often had their own production facilities (Mackie, 1971; Manyozo, 2005; Phiri, 2010; Mundia, 2017; Mazwi et al., 2019). Content that served the purpose of social development was typically conceived of as non-political in nature, which meant that party-based propaganda was less prevalent than in news-based programming. Public participation was to some extent accommodated, in the service of sharing of knowledge and skills to the betterment of society.

Governments also supported the inclusion of educational programmes and made them accessible to learners and instructors in primary schools (Mishra, 2005; Srivastava & Sekhar, 2017; Sarmah & Lama, 2017 Mbilu, 2019). Nevertheless, state broadcasters maintained strict control of the content that would be featured in such programming (Randall, 1993; Mosia et al., 1994; Myers, 2009).

To some extent, then, the broadcasters that emerged in former British colonies in Africa embraced a commitment to Brechtian ideas about radio by providing local audiences with access to resources that could contribute to the improvement of their quality of life. Nevertheless, in contrast to the Commonwealth countries discussed in the previous section, they remained informed by an explicit and unapologetic Sarnoffian investment in social control. In this way, the broadcasters in the former colonies became the new oppressors and betrayed the true purpose of a revolution, a tendency that Freire warned against in his conceptualisation about the pedagogy of the oppressed. As the study will argue later in section 2.3 of this Chapter, the potential for achieving a true revolution through equal participation as conceptualised in the Frierean approach only became enhanced in context of community radio.

2.2.3 Radio in the neoliberal moment

This moment, which is located in the early 1990s, was not specific to spaces of colonial rule; rather, it formed part of a global shift towards neoliberalism. This shift could be observed, internationally, in the favouring of free-market capitalism and the deregulation of markets. In many countries, including those with developing economies, it was accompanied by the commercialisation of media landscapes (McChesney, 2001; Green, 2003; Nyamnjoh, 2004; Zeleza, 2009; Thussu, 2011; Prasad, 2008). In post-colonial environments, one implication of this was often the loosening of governmental control of broadcast sectors. Typically, this resulted in the growth of private radio networks modelled on American commercial radio, which could now operate alongside state broadcasters (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000; Heath, 2001; Myers, 2010).

As a result of the introduction of commercial radio, the broadcast sectors of these countries experienced radical change. Private businesses could obtain broadcast licences and they used them to establish stations modelled on the American example of profit-oriented radio, targeting audiences with disposable income (Ilboudo & del Castello, 2003; Mudhai, 2010; Thompson, 2013; Manda, 2015; Moyo, 2017). By the late 1990s, commercial radio networks had become established as parallel players to the state broadcasters (Eko, 2000; Banda, 2006;

Manda, 2018; Uimonen, 2017). They created a competitive environment that challenged the monopoly of radio by the state (Opoku-Mensah, 1998; Chikunkhuzeni, 1999; Eko, 2000; Mbangweta 2012). In this way they contributed to an increase in audiences' access to radio, as well as the availability of a wider diversity of content (Phiri, 2010; Odhiambo, 2002; Makungu, 2004; Myers, 2008). However, despite introducing diversity and competition, commercial radio's emphasis on profit meant that they still defined the social purpose of radio in terms of social control. Audiences were constructed as passive recipients of advertising content rather than as citizens with a right of access to public resources. Their potential as participants in programming that operated as part of public debate also continued to be marginalised (Carpentier et al., 2003; Willems, 2013; Chowdhuury & Reza, 2013; Michel, 2022)

The emergence of commercial radio also awakened state broadcasters to the potential of radio as a commercial enterprise. In reaction, they incorporated commercial elements within their own programming, in order to attract advertising. As part of this trend, state broadcasters adopted a blend of commercially sponsored content, balanced with non-sponsored educational and cultural programming (Da-Wariboko, 2005; Eko, 2000; Chikunkhuzeni, 1999; Potter, 2007).

The shift towards neoliberalism in African environments was accompanied by processes of political liberalisation in which traditions of monopolistic one-party governance were replaced by multi-party politics. In North Africa, Tunisia and Egypt, in particular, saw the emergence of an 'Arab spring', in which anti-government movements rose up in response to oppressive regimes (Anderson, 2011; Khondker, 2011; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Sultan, 2013; Stepan, 2018; Mahmood et al., 2020). In Zimbabwe, there has been a long-standing history of struggle against authoritative rule. In Zambia and Malawi, single party authoritarian regimes were eventually voted out of power following both internal challenges from civil society and pressure from the international community. These developments created public spaces in which a greater diversity of political perspectives became audible. New voices emerged that located themselves in opposition to ruling parties (McCracken, 1998; Chirwa, 2003; Meinhardt & Patel, 2003; Dulani, 2008; Moyo, 2013; Mpondi, 2015; Hodgkinson, 2019; Tsarwe, 2020).

Such voices were often closely identified with newly emerging sectors of private media, including that of commercial radio. However, these commercial media platforms were typically owned and controlled by politicians, and as such their editorial guidelines operated in service of the interests of these politicians rather than the general public. For this reason, the

liberalisation of media landscapes, and the emergence of private media as part of this, did not necessarily result in the strengthening of civil society (Nyamnjoh, 2004; Ali, 2015).

It would seem, then, that within previously colonised African countries, the history of radio has been shaped by competing conceptualisations of its social purpose. Throughout this history, the Sarnoffian model of radio that defines its purpose as that of social control and service of the elite has remained dominant. In the moment of colonial rule, radio operated in service of empire; in the moment of decolonialisation, it shifted its allegiance to that of the one-party state; and in the moment of neoliberalism, it has come to serve both party political and commercial interests. Nevertheless, it is also possible to trace a second strand within this history, in which more Brechtian conceptualisations of the purpose of radio can be observed. We see this, firstly, in the moment of decolonisation, when radio becomes closely associated with a commitment to social development. Secondly, in the era of neoliberalism, when it becomes visible in the context of the plurality of voices that emerged within radio landscapes. However, as we have also seen, the Brechtian vision of radio remains constrained by the unequal relations of power that continue to define the broader social context. Within this model, the agency of audiences and the value of participatory radio remain limited. Again, as can be argued from the Freirean perspective, we see the maintainance of a different form of oppression instigated through the actions of the previously oppressed political and media institutions that have become new oppressors themselves even after the revolution against broadcast colonisation is won. In the African context, for example, relationships of coloniality continued even within an independent state.

2.3 The global influence of community radio

The influence of community radio was also felt internationally, and this included the developed world. Early interventions in the US came, for example, from the Pacifica Foundation which established KPFA in California as the first community radio in the country in 1949. Much later, in the 1970s, the community radio movement spread to Canada, where local populations introduced such radio as one way of maintaining indigenous cultural identity and community cohesion. During this same period in Australia, aboriginal communities established such stations as forums for advancing their interests (Lewis, 2015; King, 2017; Anderson et al., 2020). By the early 1980s, global support for the establishment of community radio had gained impetus, resulting in the establishment of the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) (Price-Davies & Tacchi, 2001; Sackel et al., 2008; King & Rahemtullah, 2019). This led to the strengthening of community radio networks around the

world. It is, for example, at this stage that we see the organised establishment of community radio in New Zealand, where it became known as Community Access Radio (CAR) (Pauling & Ayton, 2009; Nafiz, 2012; Beatty & Pauling, 2021).

In the 1990s, community radio also became established in developing countries outside Latin America, including in African environments. Growth of community radio in African countries was made possible by transition to democracy and, with this, legislation that supported the liberalisation of the media (Fraser & Estrada, 2001; Hussain, 2007; Myers, 2011; Bosch, 2014). An early example of this pattern could be observed in South Africa after apartheid in 1994 (Mtimde, 2000; Nell & Shapiro, 2001; Olorunnisola, 2002). In most other countries across the continent, community radio emerged in the late 1990s. Local communities took advantage of the liberalisation of media environments in the aftermath of democracy and applied for licences. As a result of such movements, community radio sectors emerged in countries such as Mozambique, Burkina Faso, Benin, Namibia and Mali (Kerr et al., 2007; Manyozo, 2009; King 2017; Thuranira, 2020).

Nevertheless, in contrast to the establishment of these stations in Latin America, the rise of community radio in Africa was largely initiated by international donors, working in partnership with local activist movements. These external agents introduced community radio as part of development projects and emphasised the need for community radio as a support mechanism for such projects. They argued that community radio could enable a multiplicity of historically marginalised voices to participate in public discussion of development issues. Of particular significance to such interventions has been the role played by UNESCO, which provided financial and structural support for rolling out community radio across the continent. Similar support has come from organisations such as the World Bank, OXFAM, UNICEF, USAID, UNDP and DFID (Scambary, 2004; Da Costa, 2012; Wabwire 2013; King, 2017; Fraser & Estrada, 2001; Krüger et al., 2013; Myers, 2014). Nevertheless, in addition to the influence of donors, ownership and control of such radio has also rested in the hands of local communities and activist networks. As a result, this type of radio emerged as a platform for facilitating local participation in development and good governance (Teklemicael, 2004; Manyozo et al., 2012; Ndirangu, 2014; Siakacha, 2015; Mhagama, 2018).

In summary, community radio has made significant contributions to social development in both the developed and developing world. As such, on the global scale, this type of radio has served as an important alternative to both public and commercial broadcasting. It has, in particular, offered a different conceptualisation of the relationship to audience, in which communities are provided with a much higher degree of agency in the operation of stations.

Community radio can, then, be seen to be much more closely aligned with a Freirean conceptualisation of the relationship to audience than has historically been the case for either public or commercial radio. Significantly, this is a conceptualisation of the relationship between radio and its audiences that only emerged once ideas about radio were taken up by communities based in the Global South. As we have seen in the example of such contexts in Latin America, the Freirean emphasis on a methodology of conscientisation became embodied by community radio. In doing so it was able to improve on the earlier Brechtian vision of radio by offering its audience participatory practices for engaging in public discussion that were designed to transcend unequal relations of power.

In Chapter One, we saw that the decolonial turn in media studies had important implications for the history of the conceptualisation of audience studies. The call for the decentralisation of media studies meant, in particular, that there was a stronger focus on local context in making sense of audience participation as a public good. In this chapter, we again see the value of the decolonial turn, this time in the context of the way that ideas about the practice of radio circulated within media practice in the Global South. In the African context, in particular, this can be seen in some small way in the shift away from radio as a vehicle for colonial administration to an emphasis on radio as a vehicle for nation building and development. Given the emphasis within this on the public good, it is possible to describe this shift as Brechtian in nature. However, at the same time, the shift was not informed by a strong commitment to the emancipation of audiences; instead, the relationship between broadcasters and their audiences remained defined by a top-down emphasis on social control. As such, the Brechtian conceptualisation of radio only remains partially realised. Based on the Freirean analysis, the shift becomes one in which independence from broadcast colonisation gave birth to a new form of oppression where the formerly oppressed became perpertrators of oppression. One exception can, however, be observed in the context of community radio, where the communitarian and participatory vision of radio comes to fruition. It is, as we have seen, a vision that originated from the Global South, and it is one which continues to enrich and sustain both the Brechtian conceptualisation of radio and its relationship to audience and the Frierean concept of dialogue for social liberation.

3. Radio and its audiences in the digital age

The final section of this chapter deals with transformation of the relationship between radio and its audiences as this can be mapped out in the digital age. This history of transformation

can be traced from the 1990s to the contemporary moment. The discussion deals with transformation as can be observed internationally and then focuses on changes that have occurred within African radio landscapes. In this way, it adds a contemporary dimension to the contextualisation of the study of participatory radio as it has become articulated in Malawi.

3.1 Radio in the age of digital media globally

The moment in which the impact of the global rise of digital technology first made itself felt in the world of media is often referred to as the 'digital turn'. It is associated with the growing adoption in media, from the early 1990s onward, of internet-based applications and the use of mobile devices both for the reception and circulation of content. The digital turn was accompanied by a growing tendency towards media 'convergence', in which traditional boundaries between different kinds of media became increasingly diffuse (Deuze, 2001; Dwyer, 2010; Cordeiro, 2012; Moyo, 2013; d'Haenens & Bink, 2021; Jensen, 2022). It was also characterised by broad shifts in the relationship between media and their audiences. The rise of the internet and social media meant that audiences were increasingly able to participate in online fora. They became more able to select content relevant to their interests, and to produce and circulate such content themselves (Bruns, 2008; Kammer, 2013). The innovations of real-time social media also enabled audiences to engage in conversations on international media platforms (Jensen & Helles, 2011; Nielsen & Schrøder, 2014). Critics have suggested that this has transformed audiences from comparatively passive participants in the construction of meaning in the media to active co-producers of content (Lăzăroiu, 2010; Carpentier, 2011c; Witschge, 2014;Picone, 2017). Internationally, these developments have been accompanied by significant changes in the behaviour of media audiences, who migrated from so-called 'legacy' media platforms (particularly print and broadcast media) to online media spaces. This tendency has broadly been perceived as a threat to the survival of legacy media. As a result, the owners and editorial staff of such platforms started to rethink and adapt in order to maintain their relevance to their audiences (Cordeiro, 2012; Diel, 2017; Chowdhury, 2019b).

One way in which these trends affected radio was through the emergence of online stations, live-streamed on the internet and made accessible to audiences through computers and mobile devices. Such stations have offered audiences alternative sources of audio content to that of traditional radio stations broadcasting on terrestrial frequencies (Atkin & McCardle, 2015; Berry, 2016; Sullivan, 2018). In addition to such stations, there has been the emergence of streaming services that offer audiences alternative ways of engaging with music. These

services have further threatened the centrality of terrestrial radio as a distribution vehicle through which the music industry can reach potential audiences. Internationally, stakeholders in radio have interpreted these developments as contributing to the gradual decline of radio audiences (Stark & Weichselbaum, 2013; Dias & Medboe, 2014; Mostert, 2018).

However, radio stations have also welcomed digital innovations as opportunities to reinvent the way they distribute content and engage with their listeners. Indeed, around the world, they have often been far more successful in achieving such adaptation than other legacy media, particularly print publications. It has, in particular, become standard for stations to incorporate the use of digital technology within their marketing strategies in order to enhance their visibility to audiences. As part of such strategies, social media is typically used to inform radio audiences about programme schedules and to expand the general visibility of a station's brand. This enhancement of their digital presence has enabled stations to improve their engagement with audiences (Barber, 1997; Peña Fernández et al., 2021; Willems, 2013). In addition, it has enabled stations to attract interest from potential advertisers and sponsors (van Vuuren, 2006; Moyo, 2013; Efstathiou, 2020; Rachmawati & Afifi, 2022).

Furthermore, radio stations have adopted online streaming as a mechanism for expanding modes of engagement with their audiences (Yeates, 2020; Miller, 2017). As part of such engagement, they make use of applications on mobile devices such as phones and other portable media players to share broadcast feeds with their audiences (Steinkuehler & Squire, 2009; Rosales, 2013; Hirschmeier et al., 2019).

Radio stations have also adopted digital strategies for the facilitation of conversations with audience members. Conversations with listeners that used to only take place live on air by means of phone calls are now further enriched by means of messages that audiences send to radio producers by means of social media. Discussions that begin in the context of radio programmes are encouraged to continue off-air in the digital universe of social media that stations create around themselves, and vice versa. Online technology has, in this way, provided stations with mechanisms for audience participation (Savage & Spence, 2014; Hutchinson & Hutchinson., 2017).

To a lesser extent, often in more privileged social environments, stations have also used podcasts[1] to enhance their own digital presence. They have been utilised, firstly, to diversify

[1]Podcasting is a media technology in which digital audio files are distributed online and made available, on demand, for downloading to subscribing audiences. The term 'podcast' is a derivative from the words 'ipod' and 'broadcasting' (Hammersley, 2004; Murray, 2009; Bonini, 2015).

the way existing broadcast content is relayed and accessed. Stations have, in this way, established public archives of past programming that enable audiences to select material for listening purposes at their own convenience. Secondly, stations use podcasts as vehicles for the distribution of digital-first content, expanding their offerings beyond the domain of broadcast programming (Menduini, 2007; Bottomley, 2015; Berry, 2015).

Indeed, commentators generally point out that, although the arrival of the digital era has been perceived as a threat to radio as it has traditionally existed, the incorporation of digital strategies have, in fact, operated to improve the relationship between stations and their audiences. In particular, such relationships have been significantly transformed to become more interactive (Srinivasan & Diepeveen, 2018; Miller, 2017; Mabweazara, 2015; Laor 2022). Digital technology has, in other words, opened up opportunities for radio to enhance audience participation. As such, the digital era is, again, offering the possibility for a realisation of both a Brechtian emancipatory conceptualisation of radio and its complementary Frierean theory of liberation.

3.2 Radio in the digital age in Africa

One way in which radio stations in Africa have adapted to the digital world is in response to requirements enforced by regulatory bodies that broadcasters should migrate from analogue to digital broadcasting platforms (Berger, 2012; MoICT, 2009). For the purpose of this study, though, it is more important to consider how stations have adopted digital strategies in order to enhance their relationships with their audiences. As elsewhere in the world, these strategies have been used both as an enhancement of the participatory potential of radio and, in addition, to strengthening the communicative ecology of which radio forms a part. In this way, instead of being replaced by emerging technologies, radio in most African environments are adapting to and benefitting from the use of such technologies (Ogola, 2014; Mabweazara, 2015).

Nevertheless, within many environments in Africa, radio stations have not been compelled to adopt digital strategies to the extent that this can be observed in other parts of the world. One reason for this is the presence of the so-called ‘digital divide’; a reference to the rift between individuals with access to Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and those without. In many African environments this divide is extreme and affects the majority of the population. One problem is that most people cannot afford the devices on which access to digital media services depend (Smith, 2009; Desta, 2018; Gebremichael & Jackson, 2006;

Ilboudo, & del Castello, 2003). Another is the high cost of mobile data, and then there is the fact that poor neighbourhoods often do not possess the infrastructure that ensures connectivity (Moyo, 2014; Chaputula & Mutula, 2018; Mutsvairo & Ragnedda, 2019; Sitto & Lubinga 2021; Moyo & Munoriyarwa, 2023).

In many African environments, the adoption of digital strategies has also been less of a priority because digital media does not present an immediate threat to the survival of radio. Radio remains a reliable mass medium across the continent, due to its wide geographic reach and low cost. Indeed, whereas radio audiences may have declined elsewhere in the world, radio in Africa continues to thrive. This remains true even in environments in which the presence of digital media is on the rise (Matelski, 1995; Mudhai, 2010; Lopes & Srinivasan, 2014; Englund, 2019; Chowdhury, 2019b; Carvajal, 2020; Moyo & Moyo, 2020).

Nevertheless, African radio stations are increasingly making use of digital strategies to enhance relationships with their audiences. This can be observed, in particular, in the use of social media platforms for the purpose of programme promotion. Stations make use of Facebook and Twitter to share programme updates. They also increase access to their content by means of streaming a broadcast feed on websites and making transmissions available through mobile phone applications. Indeed, in many African environments the availability of radio on mobile phones has meant that more listeners are accessing the medium than was possible through broadcast infrastructure. For this reason, stations are now able to distribute their content more widely to audiences (Chiumbu & Ligaga, 2013; Avle, 2016; Sullivan, 2019; Lunga & Musvipwa, 2023).

In addition, stations are adopting digital strategies that create an enabling environment for holding conversations with their audiences. Stations use mobile phones as alternative modes for generating feedback from audiences. They are able to pursue such modes of feedback by making use of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter (Chiumbu, 2014; Chiumbu & Ligaga, 2013; Srinivasan & Diepeveen, 2018). In particular, Facebook has been a popular platform for this purpose because it has invested in enabling users access applications for free in Africa. For instance, the platform provides options for mobile phone users to access its text-based version without data charges. It also allows users to access all forms of content on its "Lite" version, with low consumption of mobile data. These free and low-data-cost Facebook applications enable wide access to the platform for low-income communities on the continent (Willems, 2016; Romanosky & Chetty, 2018; Nothias, 2020). As a result, there has been an increase in participation in radio, particularly, for audiences that are already familiar with the

use of the mobile devices, the internet and social media platforms (Willems, 2013; Willems & Mano, 2016; Bosch, 2016; Steinfeld & Laor, 2019).

To some extent, although not as often as has been the case in industrially advanced nations, African radio stations are also strengthening their own communicative presence through the use of podcasts. Instances of this can be observed in countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Uganda and South Africa (Zakaria & Ofori-Birikorang, 2018; van der Merwe, 2021; Royston, 2023; Motsaathebe, 2023).

One context in which digital media strategies are increasingly being adopted to strengthen audience participation is in government-led development projects (Moyo, 2013; Chiumbu, 2014; Gagliardone, 2016; Komodromos, 2021). Examples of such projects are often pursued through partnerships between governments and radio stations. Whereas, such partnerships used to exist primarily in the context of state-owned radio, African governments now make an effort to also establish partnerships with community radio stations. For this reason, there has been growth in attempts by governments to collaborate with community radio stations and support their digital infrastructure development (Manyozo et al., 2011; Nassanga et al., 2013). In such cases, audiences are often invited to use mobile phones to share their views and actively participate in content production (Fraser, 2016; Srinavasan & Lopes, 2016; Carah & Louw, 2015; Bonini, 2014; Willems, 2013; Banda, 2003).

Similarly, the adoption of digital strategies can also be observed in partnerships between non-governmental organisations and radio stations. Such partnerships are typically aimed at empowering audiences and strengthening civil society. This has been possible even in authoritarian environments in which the state has attempted to shrink spaces for the promotion of civic rights and engagement. In such environments, governments may control broadcast infrastructure but find it more difficult to place restrictions on digital platforms through which audiences can access radio (Lax, 2017; Englund, 2019; Tietaah et al., 2019; Laor, 2022).

Private radio stations have also played a key role in drawing on the affordances of the digital world in order to increase media freedom in authoritarian environments. In Kenya, for example, the arrival of digital radio has not only fostered the growth of popular talk shows but also transformed the manner in which such shows are conducted. The technology has enabled private radio stations to host interactive studio and online debates on social and democratic governance issues (Kalyango & Adu-Kumi, 2013; Srinivasan & Diepeveen, 2018). In Zimbabwe, online radio has also been influential in providing a platform for alternative discourses. Both local audiences and those in the diaspora have been able to follow updates

and add their voices on local developments through these websites (Atton & Mabweazara, 2011; Mare, 2013; Chiumbu, 2014; Ncube, 2017). In this way, digital technology has opened up possibilities for radio to engage the audience in a manner that avoids extreme state censorship and surveillance. Government monopoly of broadcasting, as a space for political and social control in Africa has, as a result, been challenged and curtailed (Englund, 2019; Workneh & Steeves, 2019; Lopes & Srinivasan, 2014).

These trends demonstrate that the adoption of digital strategies by radio stations in Africa have resulted in the strengthening of both the Sarnoffian and Brechtian approaches to engaging with audiences. At the same time the strategies have facilitated the adoption and application of aspects of the Freirean philosophy as an enhancement of the Brechtian approach. On the one hand, the incorporation of such strategies as part of state-driven communication campaigns can be seen to be Sarnoffian in their intent. This is demonstrated by the top-down approach to audience engagement in which the purpose is primarily to convince audiences to participate in development projects without providing them with much agency. In other cases, such as the Kenyan and Zimbabwean examples, the emphasis on resisting authoritarian control of the media is an example of the opening up of Brechtian and even Freirean spaces for audience participation. In each case, the influence of digital technology has enhanced radio by strengthening its relationship with audiences.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen that radio technology was first applied for the purpose of broadcasting in the early 20th century in industrially advanced environments of the global North. The conceptualisations of the social purpose of radio that were articulated in this context and the consequent approaches to the construction of the relationship between radio and its audiences were widely divergent. It is possible to identify the emergence in this context of at least two main conceptualisations of this relationship in the Global North, which has been described as ‘Brechtian’ and ‘Sarnoffian’ in nature. From the Sarnoffian perspective, the aim is to use radio to shape the behaviour of audiences in ways that will benefit the institutions of established authority, particularly business and government. From the Brechtian perspective, the aim is to harness the benefits of radio for the purpose of public good and to facilitate the emancipation of audiences. Whereas the former tradition places an emphasis on ways of controlling audiences, the latter cedes some control to the audience. The chapter also introduced a third, Freirean conceptualisation that emerged from the Global South, with a shared purpose to the Brechtian approach. It improves on the Brechtian approach, however,

through the articulation of a set of practices through which the ceding of control to audiences can be more fully achieved.

Section One explored the emergence of the Sarnoffian, Brechtian and Freirean conceptualisations of radio as these came into existence in different parts of the world. It is argued, in this section, that it is in the context of amateur radio that the Brechtian ideals were first introduced and strongly demonstrated. However this Brechtian tradition was rapidly marginalised by the further emergence of more influential models for commercial and public radio. At the same time, it is in the context of community radio that we first see the articulation of the Freirean vision of radio, and within this tradition of radio the emphasis on emancipation has remained central to its purpose.

Within commercial radio, the focus was on locating the audience as passive recipients of programmes for marketing purposes. In this way the Sarnoffian vision of radio, in which the audience is situated as a consumer, was set in place. At the same time the model of public radio that was emerging in the context of the BBC was also typically Sarnoffian in nature. The Brechtian elements of radio nevertheless continued to manifest to a lesser extent within the overall broadcasting tradition. In this way, the overall pursuit of the Brechtian vision in both contexts was systematically subdued by a stronger Sarnoffian influence that existed within mainstream radio frameworks.

We see, in this history, how a conservative approach to social knowledge and the conceptualisation of the role of the audience as passive consumers becomes entrenched. It has been argued in this chapter that this conservative framing forms part of a broadly conservative moment in America of the mid-20th century, that also found its reflection in the rise of Mass Communication scholarship and studies of audience effects. At the same time, it is also possible to observe within this origin story of radio the continued persistence of an emancipatory vision of radio, which can for example be traced in local agricultural radio.

In Section Two, we saw that during the latter part of the 20th century, ideas about radio, its social purpose and its relationship to audiences circulated globally. This circulation formed part of the broader history of the relationship between the UK, the US and countries with which they had established relationships of influence. In the case of the UK, such influence emerged through relationships of colonial rule. In contrast, the influence in the context of the US can be traced in the form of mutual relationships of commercial interest. Essentially, the concept of radio that was exported from the UK to other countries was influenced by the nature of the relationship of colonial rule that existed in the early 20th century. In colonies that became independent, the idea of radio that was transferred emphasised the use of the medium for public

service. In this way, the British were to some extent able to export Brechtian ideals of radio in these contexts. In contrast, in countries that were still under the control of the empire, the idea of radio as an instrument of suppression prevailed. The Sarnoffian vision of radio emerged strongly in such contexts. This approach was particularly observed in former British colonies in Africa. However, despite the dominance of Sarnoffian radio in these relationships of influence between the UK, the US and the Global South, there also emerged another more Brechtian tradition in the form of community radio.

It has been pointed out that the origin story of community radio can be traced to the Global South where it became fundamentally informed by the Freirean approach to transformative education. In Chapter One we already saw, in the context of media studies informed by the decolonial turn, a call for the global de-centering of knowledge production about media. In this chapter, we again see the importance of this argument, as evidenced by important contributions to the conceptualisations of radio that originate from the Global South. In the context of this history of ideas, we see the most advanced realisation of a Freirean vision of radio, in which there is both an emphasis on service to the public good and social emancipation. In particular, we see how this conceptualisation equally proposes an effective methodology for dealing with social inequality and informs emancipatory practices for early community radio in the global south.

Finally, Section Three discusses the way that radio has reinvented itself in the era of digital media by adapting and embracing the affordances of digital technology. This presented opportunities for public, commercial and community radio to strengthen engagement with their audiences by widening access and enabling participation. For this reason, the rise of the digital did not displace radio but rather enhanced the medium's potential in facilitating meaningful audience participation. It remains to be seen whether the incorporation of affordances of the digital is leading to Brechtian or Sarnoffian traditions of audience engagement. For radio in developed countries, the technology is certainly enhancing the Sarnoffian approach in support of commercial interests. This pattern has also been observed in the type of radio that has emerged in developing nations. Particularly for African countries, radio has been widely exploited for the purpose of social and political control except in a few cases where community radio has enabled some form of audience involvement. In this way the Sarnoffian tradition of radio has globally become strongly entrenched in contrast to the marginal presence of the Brechtian and Frierean approaches.

Nevertheless, it is possible to argue that the historical account of radio and its relationship with the audience traced in this chapter reaffirms the global South as a relevant

context for realising both the Brechtian vision of audience participation and the Freirean concept of transformative dialogue. It also points to the possibility of ensuring that such participation becomes a catalyst for the achievement of social emancipation. We saw how the achievement of either the Brechtian or Freirean ideal of emancipation became constrained in African radio because of the lack of emphasis on social emancipation despite the introduction of the idea of radio for nation building and development. In this context, radio functioned as a public service within state institutions but one that could not empower the local audience. One reason for this was that the local elites entrusted to advance the revolution of African broadcasting against social oppression beyond the era of colonisation became oppressors themselves. The digital era is then seen as a later potential moment for enhancing meaningful participation and achieving both the Brechtian and Freirean ideals. It is argued that in contrast to state broadcasting, such ideals as supported by the digital era also particularly possible in context of community radio in Africa.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ORIGIN STORY OF LISTENER CLUBS

Introduction

This chapter examines how patterns in the conceptualisation of radio and its relationship to audiences, as observed in the previous chapter, can be traced within the international histories of radio listener clubs. It demonstrates that the histories of such clubs are informed by social and economic trends inherent to their context. Such trends impacted on the ways in which their social purpose was defined and also how such purpose was realised in practice. The chapter explores the extent to which, in each case, the purpose of clubs was conceived as either Sarnoffian, Brechtian or Freirean in emphasis. As part of the exploration of the Freirean ideal, the discussion considers the extent to which clubs were informed by a commitment both to the public good and social emancipation. It is argued in this dissertation that, where both these principles are present, the Brechtian visions of audience participation - and of radio more generally - becomes most fully realised, so that it can in fact be seen to become Freirean in its framing. In assessing the emergence of listener clubs in developed and developing countries, the chapter first examines the influence of both the Sarnoffian and Brechtian conceptualisation in the practice of such clubs. The chapter then explores how the emergence and conduct of clubs in African countries can be seen to be strongly informed by the more critical Frierean concept of transformative dialogue.

To facilitate discussion of the relationship between the history of listener clubs and this broader narrative, the chapter follows the same structure as Chapter Two. The first section focuses on the early years of the 20th century as the moment in which ideas about radio were originally articulated in the UK and US. However, whereas the discussion in Chapter Two dealt with the conceptualisation of radio as a medium and its relationship to audiences, attention now turns to the early evolution of listener clubs. Section Two deals with the mid- to late-20th century as the period in which ideas about radio first circulated internationally but now the focus is on global exploration of the value of listener clubs. The section pays attention to the emergence of clubs in African societies, given the contextual relevance of the continent to this study. Finally, Section Three deals with the way listener clubs have adapted in the age of digital media. In this way, the chapter considers the role that listener clubs played within the global history of the construction of the relationship between radio and its audiences.

1. Radio listener clubs in the UK and US in the first half of the 20th century

Listener clubs were quick to emerge in the early days of radio, both in the UK and the US. However, by mid-20th century, interest in such clubs had started to wane in both of these countries. The discussion in this section explores the rise of these clubs and the motivations behind their emergence. It also explores possible reasons that contributed to their decline.

1.1. Listener clubs in the UK

As pointed out in Chapter Two, the emergence of radio in the UK took place primarily in the context of the establishment of the BBC. It was also the public broadcaster that was responsible for the introduction of listener clubs within the British radio landscape. BBC officials knew that listener clubs could enable them to reach a larger audience because the cost of receivers at that time was not affordable to many members of the British public (Bussey, 1990; Scott, 2012; Goodman, 2016). In addition, they recognised that the clubs could help them to establish a more engaged relationship with their audiences. It was understood that this relationship would strengthen the role that public radio could play in building democracy. We have already seen in Chapter Two, that the BBC was concerned about the role that advertising and propaganda could play in undermining democracy through the manipulation of audiences. Listener clubs were understood to have the potential to strengthen the public's resistance to such manipulation by providing them with knowledge about their social context and enabling them to engage critically with this knowledge. The clubs were understood, then, to have the potential to facilitate the development of an informed public that could participate in democratic processes (Barbrook, 1992; Goodman, 2016).

In commentary on the BBC's establishment of such clubs in the 1920s it is noted, firstly, that they were introduced as part of a programme geared towards the general educational enrichment of listeners (Goodman, 2016). Secondly, the broadcaster involved listeners in the discussion of public issues so that they might become empowered to participate in civil society (Ohliger, 1969; Yeandle, 2021; Hajkowski, 2013; Goodman, 2016). Clubs falling into the first category typically involved sessions in which participants gathered to listen to broadcast lectures and then discussed them. Club members were asked to identify a leader within their group who would oversee the listening sessions and moderate the discussions. The lectures, usually about half an hour in duration, were presented by experts on topics such as economics, literature, psychology, politics, industry, art, science, leisure and the modern state. The public could, of course, benefit from tuning into these broadcasts without attending the clubs. They were, however, encouraged to join due to the perceived benefits of the post-broadcast

discussions. These were understood to provide participants with an opportunity to strengthen their critical thinking skills. The BBC appointed education officers who travelled across the country to visit the clubs to advise participants on how to conduct the discussions. They provided listener clubs with study materials that complemented the topics discussed in the broadcasts (Ohliger, 1969; Lawrie, 2019).

Clubs falling into the second category provided participants with opportunities to engage in deliberation on issues of public relevance. The BBC encouraged organisations and institutions to convene such groups in libraries, public halls and workspaces. The clubs were typically patronised by people occupying marginalised positions in society such as unemployed youth and the homeless, but they also included individuals simply because they were interested in the discussions. Participants would listen to broadcasts on topics of relevance to civil and political life such as rising unemployment, economic challenges, the importance of democracy and international affairs. Discussion of such issues became more frequent on the BBC towards the end of the 1920s as a result of the removal of an earlier regulation that banned the broadcaster from featuring controversial content. Participants were invited to debate such issues in order to share their own perspectives and to draw on their own social experiences (Goodman, 2016; Lawrie, 2019; Tebbutt, 2017; Lipari, 2014).

Reports suggest that by the early 1930s, listener clubs in the UK had achieved some success in contributing to audience engagement (Goodman, 2016; Chaney, 2013). In addition, they were gaining the status of forums for gathering audience feedback at a time when the BBC had not yet developed significant methods for audience research. The clubs grew in popularity so that there were soon more than a thousand groups established nationwide, with membership ranging between six people to 100. By this time, the BBC had emerged as a leading institution in the coordination of the radio listening groups (Chaney, 2013; Tebutt, 2017).

However, the number of clubs peaked in the early 1940s at about 2000 and from this point onward there was a decline in membership (Goodman, 2016). The BBC was also gradually withdrawing both financial and administrative responsibility for the listening groups. Commentators explain that the broadcaster had never intended to remain permanently responsible for the clubs and had hoped, instead, that their management would be taken up by other institutions in civil society (Williams et al., 2011). By 1945 the BBC had relinquished all commitment to its role as financier and facilitator of the clubs that they had pioneered (Goodman, 2016; Ohliger, 1969). The corporation also reduced the frequency and duration of listener club broadcasts (Cardiff, 1980; Murphy, 2014).

The decline in public interest in the clubs took place at a time when radio audiences in the UK were growing fast. Indeed, the number of individual license holders had increased from around nine million in 1939 to above 11 million in the late 1940s (Briggs, 1995; Ohliger, 1969). One reason why the clubs were in decline may have been that the role that they played in the empowerment of audiences remained constrained. In the context of the lecture-based 'educational' clubs, the BBC relied on an instructional format in which the emphasis was on the "top down" transfer of knowledge. A BBC report notes tellingly that class discrepancies in the UK presented challenges in the operation of these clubs. Particularly in rural settings, listeners experienced difficulties in understanding the standard English and 'educated' terminology used in some of the broadcasts. The clubs could be seen to operate, then, as forums for instructing listeners in middle class culture and values. As such, it is possible that the role that they could play as spaces for social transformation remained limited, and this may be at least partly due to the institutional culture of the BBC itself (Goodman, 2016).

In the case of the groups aimed at public participation in civil matters, there is evidence that the decline in interest may have been due to the absence of concrete outcomes to the discussions. It is noted that participants became disillusioned about the worthiness of the groups when proposals made in discussions were not addressed at national level. This, again, suggested a lack of commitment on the part of the BBC in achieving the purpose of social empowerment (Goodman, 2016).

It may be that the BBC's withdrawal from the listener club programme was informed by a growing conservativism in its understanding of its own social purpose. By the end of the Second World War, emphasis within the broadcaster was shifting away from engaging with audiences in public spaces. Instead, audiences were increasingly understood to be listening to radio from the privacy of their own homes, as individuals and families. It can be argued that this conceptualisation of audience lends itself less to projects of social transformation or emancipation. Instead, it can be seen as a conceptualisation of audience that serves the interests of administrative control (Ohliger, 1969; Schwyter, 2008; Murphy, 2014; Pearson, 2023). This analysis suggests that the BBC's abandonment of listener clubs formed part of a shift from a Brechtian approach to audiences to one that was more Sarnoffian.

1.2 Listener clubs in America

We saw in Chapter Two, that radio, as it came into being in the American context, was strongly framed by commercial interests and relatively minimal government regulation. Advertisers recognised that the newly emerging medium had the potential to provide them with access to

markets and consequently staked their claim in the ownership of the radio landscape. On the other hand, we saw that there were groups and individuals who were invested in the value of radio as a public resource that could operate in the interest of social development. They set in motion a tradition of radio that offered an alternative to commercial radio, defining itself in terms of public service. Of particular importance to the articulation of this tradition, were educators responsible for establishing radio stations in land-grant colleges. These stations, like the educational institutions that hosted them, defined their own purpose as that of serving local communities. The educators who built and managed them observed the example of British listener clubs with interest, as one strategy for building an engaged relationship with their audience (Mitchell, 2005; Goodman, 2016).

By the mid-1930s, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) had established the Federal Radio Education Committee (FREC). This body was mandated to explore the feasibility of listening group projects in the US. Membership included representatives of the college radio stations as well as government agencies, labour organisations, civil society groups and religious groups. FREC focused its attention on the role that listener clubs could play in the context of education, with a particular focus on adult education. They were at first unable to secure financing from government or industry, and instead gained support from philanthropic organisations invested in the transnational exploration of the value of radio as an educational medium (Goodman, 2016, Birn, 2014; Richardson & Johanningmeier, 2006).

This emphasis on the transnational is of significance to this study since it demonstrates cognition amongst champions for public interest radio that ideas about such radio could be shared across national boundaries. Such recognition would remain characteristic of the global circulation of ideas about radio for the purpose of public good, as this became articulated in the US and UK (and soon after in Canada and Australia). Eventually, it would allow for the emergence of internationally shared approaches to such radio that draws on learning from a wide range of social contexts (Vipond, 2013). For now, in America of the early 20th century, this interest in transnationalism resulted in the establishment of the first experiments with listener clubs, attached to local radio stations operated by educational institutions (Hill & Williams, 1941; Hilmes, 2012; Goodman, 2016). In time, these clubs began to receive support from the federal government, which enabled the spread across the US (Hill, 1940; Goodman, 2016).

The tradition of listener clubs that emerged from these early experiments grew at a relatively slower pace and more haphazardly than in the UK, only gaining momentum in the late 1930s and early 1940s. This is not surprising, given the decentralised nature of the radio

landscape in the American context and the absence of a public broadcaster that could take responsibility for the nationwide facilitation of clubs. Instead, the growth of clubs depended on the involvement of local stations and interest groups from civil society. The result was a more diverse spectrum of clubs than those that can be observed in the UK, motivated by a wider variety of interests (Hill & Williams, 1941).

Several factors are noted to have contributed to the eventual surge in the growth of the clubs in the US. By the 1930s, radio had become an integrated aspect of American society and the majority of the US population had embraced its value as an aspect of public culture. As part of this tendency, discussion-based radio gained popularity and this is noted to have been accompanied by a growth in the membership of listener clubs. Project evaluations suggest that a more particular motivation for participating in the clubs was an interest in self-improvement. Club members understood the broadcast lectures and associated discussions to be of educational benefit (Hill & Williams, 1941).

It is possible, in this context, to observe the emergence of at least three categories of clubs, two of which are similar in conceptualisation to the UK examples, while the third stands out as peculiar to the American broadcast environment. Firstly, there were clubs designed to benefit members of the public who have had limited access to formal education. They targeted both adults and out-of-school youth, providing them with access to broadcast content that served the purpose of educational enrichment. These clubs were facilitated by educational organisations, in partnership with college stations (Lash, 1944; Funk, 1998; Slotten, 2009). The clubs served as forums for the discussion of broadcast lectures and also played a role as a supportive framework for informal education. Club members listened to programs on subjects such as hobbies (gardening), culture (music and drama) and vocational issues (problem solving and technical skills) (Hill, 1940; Funk, 1998; Slotten, 2008).

The second form of listening group was facilitated by civic organisations, which defined their purpose explicitly as that of civic and political education. They were designed to encourage active civic awareness and to empower citizens to have confidence in expressing their views on public issues. College stations contributed to these clubs by providing airtime for group discussions on civil society concerns (Goodman, 2016; Keeler, 2017; Lawrie, 2019: Hill & Williams, 1941; Ohliger, 1969). One influential example is that of ATMA (America's Town Meeting of the Air), which was a project of the National Broadcasting Corporation. ATMA's listener clubs featured live debates about current affairs and international matters such as US involvement in the Second World War. By the early 1940s, ATMA had registered

over 3000 listening groups and trained some listeners on how to conduct discussions (Hill & Williams, 1941).

The third category of listener groups took root within the agricultural extension programmes referred to in Chapter Two, which provided farmers with expert advice about farming. As noted in that chapter, the stations that carried such content were based at land-grant colleges, where educators specialised in agricultural training. These educators set up partnerships with the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) and, with their help, introduced agricultural extension shows into their stations, accompanied by listener clubs. They understood that group discussion could help participants to make sense of the relevance of the broadcast content to their own farming context. Agricultural extension agents played a key role in the facilitation of these clubs, convening meetings and organising discussions, each consisting of about thirty members (Craig, 2001; Goodman, 2016; Shaffer, 2019). Under their guidance, club members listened to shows, conducted discussions, and then forwarded questions and commentary through the mail to the host radio stations. In follow-up programming, radio hosts discussed this feedback with specialist guests. Clubs were also provided with further reading designed to enrich their learning, and stations provided written responses to letters of inquiries from the listeners. By 1925, club attendance in the farm radio forums was increasing (Slotten, 2008).

Nevertheless, even at the peak of the listener club movement in the US, its members represented a tiny minority of America's radio audiences. Also, as in the case of the UK, the popularity of these clubs was relatively short lived with membership falling by the mid-1940s. Commentators suggest that this decline can partly be attributed to the growing dominance of the values of commercial radio within the American radio landscape of this time (Slotten, 2008; Scott & Walker, 2016). Indeed, commercial broadcasters expressed their resistance to the listener club model, arguing that the practice was more suited to countries such as the Soviet Union and Germany. The suggestion here, is that listener clubs were essentially anti-democratic, akin to the broadcasts conducted in public spaces in these two countries in order to spread state-sponsored propaganda. In both countries, radio was being broadcast to masses assembled in halls and marketplaces during World War Two, for the purpose of propaganda (Adena et al., 2015; Barber & Miller, 2019). There is, however, little to compare these broadcasts with listener clubs as they existed in the American context, where the intention of public discussion was fundamentally democratic. It is possible that critics of the American listener club tradition made the comparison because they had a vested interest in undermining the legitimacy of such clubs in their own country. Listener clubs were informed by the

assumption that radio is a public good and serves to emancipate audiences, who are invited to be active and critical participants in the construction of radio as a public resource. This stands in sharp contrast with the commercial vision of radio in which it is primarily understood as a vehicle for the generation of profit for shareholders, with audiences as markets to be exploited (Vaughan, 2002: Schlosser, 2011; Rawnsley, 2016; Goodman, 2016). Adult educators and civic associations interested in the distribution of educational content also found that it was increasingly difficult to negotiate with commercially-minded stations for the inclusion of public service programming (Sterling & Kittross, 2001).

It should be clear from the discussion in this section that the histories of listener clubs as they developed in the first half of the 20th century in the UK and US are remarkably similar. This is despite the fact that the radio landscapes in which they were embedded were dominated by very different broadcast cultures. As discussed in Chapter Two, radio as it existed in the UK at this time was based in a model of public service. In the US, audiences were instead primarily understood as markets to be exploited for the benefit of commercial enterprise. Despite these differences, the history of radio clubs in these countries follow similar patterns. In both cases, we see quick growth of interest in such clubs in the early decades of the century, informed by a recognition that they can enhance the role of radio in contributing to the empowerment of audiences. In both cases, this interest begins to dissipate from the 1940s onward. It may be that, despite the differences in broadcast cultures in America and the UK, radio, as it developed in these two countries, was still shaped by similar social interests. The decline of the clubs in both countries may point to transnational developments in media landscapes of the mid-20th century. This included economic trends in which free-market practices of neoliberalism were becoming a popular global shift. These developments may, furthermore, have been characterised by a growing dominance of a Sarnoffian perspective on the treatment of audiences at the expense of the Brechtian approach.

Both in the UK and US, it is possible to note the influence of commercial interest on the achievement of the social purpose of radio and this quickly constrained the role that listener clubs could play. In both countries, powerful stakeholders were investing in radio and their primary interest was in conceptualising radio audiences as passive recipients of information rather than active agents. The mid-20th century represents a period, then, in which a Sarnoffian understanding of audience led to the curtailment of clubs.

2. The global circulation of listening clubs

We saw in Chapter Two how the conceptualisations of radio and its audiences that emerged in the UK and US came to shape radio landscapes in other parts of the world. That discussion focused on countries that shared a historical relationship of influence with Britain and America, particularly through connections of subjugation and colonial rule. In this next section, we return to that relationship of influence, this time in the context of the history of listener clubs. The first subsection traces the growth of such clubs in industrially advanced nations, focusing again on Canada, Australia and New Zealand as former British Dominions. The second subsection deals with growth of listener clubs in developing countries that were under direct British rule in the early 20th century, at the time when radio landscapes first began to take shape. The section focuses on such clubs as they developed in African societies, given that the dissertation is concerned with the African context.

2.1 Listener clubs in British dominions

As noted in the previous chapter, broadcast landscapes in British dominions were based on a hybrid model in which public and commercial radio co-existed. By the 1930s, public radio was strongly present in rural spaces while commercial radio was focused on urban audiences. Public radio was, furthermore, strongly focused on the interests of farming communities. It should be remembered that, in the 1930s, these were countries in which urbanisation was less advanced than in the US and UK, and in which the vast majority of people lived in agricultural communities. In Canada, nearly 80% of the population of about 10.5 million was concentrated in the countryside. In Australia, two-thirds of a population of 6.5 million was based in rural agricultural communities. In New Zealand, the rural farm community was also predominant, accounting for nearly 50% of a population of 1.5 million (Davison, 1979; Griffen, 1986; Vipond, 1992; Statistics Canada, 2002; Bourne & Rose, 2001).

It was argued in Chapter Two that, as part of claiming their own identity as sovereign states, these countries laid claim to public radio and defined its purpose in accordance with the particular interests of these rural audiences. As a consequence, agricultural broadcasting became strongly established. The traditions of listener clubs that emerged were closely associated with such broadcasting. The discussion in the next section teases out the implications of these contextual factors for the way in which the histories of listener clubs evolved in the dominions.

2.1.1 Canadian listener clubs

In Canada, like the UK, it was the public broadcaster (the CBC) that was responsible for the introduction of listener clubs. Of equal importance was the contribution of Canadian educational experts who, after observing developments in the US and UK, collaborated with the CBC in order to introduce a modified version of the listener club tradition in the local context. The CBC launched this venture nationwide in the early 1940s, targeting farmers in rural communities. The clubs formed part of a collaboration with the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) and the Canadian Federation of Agriculture (CFA) (Lewis & Booth, 1989; Raboy, 1990; Draper & Carare, 1998). Weekly local 'forums' met to discuss broadcasts of a CBC programme called the *National Farm Radio Forum* (Mhagama, 2015; Beattie, 1999). This show regularly hosted guests with knowledge of farming, including both scientific experts and farmers. Episodes dealt, on the one hand, with issues of general social relevance such as democratic citizenship and international affairs. On the other hand, they contained agricultural advice on issues such as the marketing of farm produce and soil conservation. Discussions in the forums were conducted under the format "Read, Listen, Discuss, Act" (Sandwell, 2012; 171). In preparation for weekly sessions, participants were given reading materials to review. They then met to listen and discuss the latest episode of *National Farm Radio Forum*. Questions and resolutions were forwarded to the CBC to be used in determining a topic for the next broadcast (Ogilvie, 1983; Beattie, 1999; Bennet, 2002). The clubs emphasised citizen engagement and collective decision-making in rural development projects. They also included recreational activities such as games and singing as a way of increasing interest in participation (Rogers et al., 1977; Manyozo, 2010; Goodman, 2016).

It should be pointed out that, alongside the rural radio programmes, the CBC also introduced discussion programmes involving listener groups that targeted the urban population and which focused on matters of public concern. They included programmes such as the '*CBC Discussion Club*' and the popular '*Citizens Forum'*. It was, nevertheless, in rural, agricultural radio that the most extensive example of the use of listener clubs could be observed (Mackie, 1968; Schwass, 1972; Beattie, 1999; Schugurensky, 2006; Doris et al., 2019).

By the mid-1940s, the CBC Farm Radio Forum project had established a strong foundation in Canada for audience participation in agricultural radio programming. At its peak in the late 1940s, the project was widely recognised as the largest successful listening groups project in the world. It was famed for its contribution to rural education and social development through the medium of radio. Between the 1940s and 1960s, the radio forums operated at full-

scale and their influence extended to local communities nationwide. By the early 1950s, the project had attracted the interest of UNESCO, which commissioned a research report examining the achievements of the initiative. This research helped to consolidate the model on which the CBC listener clubs were based, particularly with regards to the involvement of participants in action-oriented processes of deliberation. The report also demonstrated the significant role that CBC as a public broadcaster played in the establishment and operations of the clubs. It noted that this role is linked to contributions made through collaboration with other institutions such as colleges and civil society organisations. It also drew attention to the unique ways in which Canadian agricultural radio used listener clubs to enhance local audience participation on matters affecting their farming. It described how direct involvement of the participants in the forum discussions and opportunities for feedback meant that the farmers in Canada were empowered to make their own decisions about their farming practices. It also emphasised the fact that participants were involved in broader discussions of social issues of relevance to their local context (Ohliger, 1968; 1969; Rogers et al., 1977; Sandwell, 2012).

As a result of the UNESCO report, the example of Canadian listener clubs emerged as a significant international model for the introduction and management of such structures. The collaboration with UNESCO meant that the clubs in Canada were able to benefit from the international transfer of knowledge and expertise from other contexts. Such support and partnership are noted to have significantly contributed to enhancing and sustaining the Canadian clubs (Goodman, 2016; Ohliger 1968; Zatzman, 2023). It is worth noting that it is in the context of this international circulation of ideas that the listener club, as a device for the emancipation of audiences, finds one of its strongest articulations.

As had been the case with the public broadcaster in the UK, institutional support for listener clubs in Canada was also eventually withdrawn, although it took much longer for this to occur. From the mid-1960s onward, the CBC began to withdraw direct support to the clubs (Sandwell, 2012). They no longer broadcast the forums nationally, opting instead to do so at regional level. Also, the focus increasingly turned away from agricultural broadcasting to a more general emphasis on adult education for rural people (Draper & Carare, 1998; Bennet, 2002). Other institutions that had initially collaborated with the CBC in establishing the clubs also began to withdraw. The CFA, in particular, became less active in its mission of coordinating and addressing the national interests of farmers. Without this institutional support, the forums began to falter. It is possible that the clubs were not strongly enough assimilated within Canadian civil society to be able to maintain their own momentum. As a result, farmers began to opt for other emerging forms munity engagement, such as cooperatives. These trends

began to undermine the relevance of the radio forums as a key resource of knowledge distribution within agricultural communities (Ohliger, 1968; Beattie, 1999; Zatzman, 2023).

Nevertheless, in the Canadian instance, withdrawal of direct support from the public broadcaster did not signal the end of listener clubs in this country. Although the CBC no longer facilitated the farm forums, rural listener clubs still accessed the farm reports that they broadcast on a daily basis for use in their own discussions. Furthermore, the clubs continued to build on the culture of action-oriented deliberation on which they had been founded. They initiated projects designed to build resources within local communities, including reforestation programmes, relief interventions, and school and community hall refurbishments (Ohliger, 1968; Bennet, 2002). As a result, there is a more sustained and continuing history of listener clubs in this country that can be traced to the present moment (Vipond, 1992; Eaman, 2015; Armstrong, 2016; Goodman, 2016).

In contrast to the US and the UK, the Canadian listening groups' history emerged as a story of relative success. One reason for this may be the large population that continued to live in rural farming communities well into the second half of the 20th century. These communities remained strongly invested in projects concerned with facilitating access to resources of relevance to agriculture. It is also possible that this tradition of clubs achieved the status of a Freirean model. This Freirean influence may have enabled communities to sustain it on their own, even when institutional support from the Canadian broadcaster was withdrawn.

2.1.2 Australian listener clubs

In Australia, it was again the public broadcaster (in this case the ABC) that initiated the establishment of listener clubs. Also, as in the case of America and Canada, the clubs were established in the context of a collaboration with the education sector, targeting rural agricultural communities. The ABC introduced listening clubs in the late 1930s, acting on recommendations of educational experts who had been funded by the Carnegie Foundation to study their emergence in the UK, America and Canada. They argued that the introduction of the clubs would be even more relevant in Australia, where a much higher percentage of the population were located in remote and rural areas. They suggested the need to introduce local versions of the groups that would respond to the specific concerns of the Australian audience. They envisioned the formation of the clubs as a significant complement to ABC existing programming, which was already strongly focused on the social requirements of rural communities (Inglis, 2006; Goodman, 2016; Socolow, 2021).

The ABC was quick to implement these recommendations. They drew on the example of ATMA on NBC to create an Australian version of 'The Nation's Forum of the Air'. They assumed central responsibility for establishing and co-ordinating the clubs, and collected reports from them to inform rural and regional broadcasts. They successfully introduced and registered significant membership to listening groups in a majority of rural areas in the country. They worked in close collaboration with educational institutions, particularly the University of Sydney and the University of Melbourne. Through these partnerships, they facilitated discussion in local communities across Australia, both of agricultural content and knowledge of relevance to the building of an engaged and informed citizenship (Griffen-Foley, 2020).

By the mid-1940s, the listening group project in Australia had reached the peak of its success. There was an estimated 10,000 groups in the country that were engaged in critical discussions of issues of public interest in the aftermath of the War (Griffen-Foley, 2010; 2020; Goodman, 2016). Nevertheless, as we have seen elsewhere, membership and participation in the listening groups began to decline. As in the case of the BBC and NBC, the ABC began to withdraw its involvement. About 500 clubs nevertheless continued to exist beyond the mid-1950s as independent groups without coordinated support from the broadcaster. The clubs continued to hold discussions, even though they could not send their reports to the public broadcaster. As a result, their history of influence was not as strong as the one that existed in Canada after a similar decline of institutional support (Johnson, 1981; Goodman, 2016; Griffen-Foley, 2020).

2.1.3 Listener clubs in New Zealand

Commentators have noted the lack of systematic research about radio listener clubs in New Zealand (Fountaine, 1999; Day, 2000; Hammill, 2022). Nevertheless, as we have seen in the previous chapter, it is possible to trace a broader history of participatory radio in this country and there are references within this to the use of listener clubs. This can be observed, firstly, in the context of agricultural shows broadcast on the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC). There is some evidence of the presence, within such programming, of devoted farm listener groups. It is noted that these programmes provided farmers with more readily available information about agriculture than they could glean from reading newspapers (McMillion, 1960; Fountaine, 1999; Fleming, 1980). The introduction of community radio also resulted in the formation of grassroots listener groups in New Zealand. By the mid-1980s, there were more than 600 different listener groups linked to community radio stations. This practice has

continued, and remains a recognisable aspect of community radio in New Zealand as it exists in the contemporary moment (Maharey, 2004; Nafiz, 2012; Beatty, 2017).

The histories of listener clubs in the dominions of the British Empire, as discussed in this section, demonstrate that their evolution was closely linked to that of agricultural radio, as it was articulated in the US. As in the American example, the clubs were also based on collaboration with institutions of government and higher education. In each of these countries, listener clubs were representative of an international pattern in which globally shared approaches to participatory radio were being utilised for the purpose of enhancing local agriculture. As we have seen, all three countries prioritised the role of public radio in serving the interests of rural agricultural communities. This may be one reason why there is a more sustained history of listener clubs in these environments than we saw in the UK and US.

However, it was in Canada that we see the most sustained history and one that became established as an internationally recognised model. This may have been, as we have seen above, that there was an intersection between the Canadian history of listener clubs and the international history of such clubs. It is possible, furthermore, that the Freirean emphasis that can be observed within the Canadian agricultural radio clubs emerged as a result of this intersection. We will explore this idea further in the discussion below, of the circulation of ideas about listener clubs in the developing world.

2.2 Listener clubs in developing nations

It was argued in Chapter Two that the UK adopted a very different approach to shaping the radio landscapes of its former dominions than it did in countries in the developing world that were still under its direct colonial rule in the early 20th century. In Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the intent was to establish public broadcasters modelled on the BBC, dedicated to the principle of public service. In its colonies, the aim was to establish broadcast systems that could assist in the administration of authoritarian rule. In most of these countries, even after independence from the UK, radio continued to be founded on this authoritarian model, serving the interests of government and the state rather than the public good. In this next section, we examine how listener clubs became established within radio landscapes in these countries and the role they came to play.

2.2.1 Listener clubs in the developing world

The UNESCO report highlighting the success of the Canadian Farm Radio Forum project was published in 1954 and was then widely circulated as a model for agricultural programming in

the developing world. Developing countries are noted to have expressed enthusiasm for experimenting with the forums. However, an examination of the history of such experimentation reveals that the adoption of listener clubs occurred far more rapidly in some countries than in others. Indeed, it is possible to identify a series of waves in the introduction of listener clubs in different geographic regions.

The first wave of adoption can be observed in Latin America in the late 1950s, with mention being made in the literature of Mexico, Chile and Bolivia (Myers, 2011). One reason for the rapid adoption of the clubs in these countries was the strong presence of Freirean, community-based broadcast cultures in Latin America at this time. As we saw in Chapter Two, community radio found its first expression on the South American continent. Its establishment nevertheless also depended on the involvement of transnational non-governmental organisations aiming to facilitate the achievement of civil rights and social development. Of particular importance in this respect was UNESCO, which worked closely with government ministries in Latin America to build agricultural radio in the region and, with this, the establishment of listener clubs (Nwaerondu & Thompson, 1987; Manyozo, 2008; Diedong, 2014; Hayes, 2018).

Also in the 1950s, listening clubs were introduced in India, again based on the Canadian farm radio forums and as part of a collaboration between the public broadcaster All India Radio (AIR) and UNESCO (McAnany, 1973; Baruah, 2017; Sekhar, 2018.). The rapid adoption of the clubs had to do with the presence of a broadcast culture that was amenable to the introduction of listener clubs. Firstly, the public broadcaster was based on values and principles similar to that of the BBC. In addition, the regulatory environment in India had for long allowed for a tier of low transmission and local broadcasting, similar to that of community radio. Although broadcasting in India had been under direct control of the government since the 1930s, the Government of India Act of 1935 allowed provinces and education institutions to establish such radio stations. These stations typically targeted rural audiences and emphasised agricultural programming (Baruah, 2017; Pathak, 2019). The presence of these two broadcast tiers created an environment that was friendly to the introduction of listener clubs. By 1954, as a result of the UNESCO and AIR collaboration, a total of 150 clubs were established in the former Bombay region and over 4000 other clubs were later introduced nationwide (Sharma, 1975; Manyozo, 2010; Baruah, 2017; Goodman, 2016). The clubs are credited for transforming rural radio audiences in India from passive recipients to active participants in engagement with broadcast content, particularly that of agricultural programming (Sood et al., 2004; Baruah,

2017). India, thus, emerged as a successful pioneer in the adaptation of the UNESCO model of the clubs in the developing world (Sandwell, 2010; Grise Jr. et al., 1974).

Further waves of adoption took place incrementally from the 1960s onward and were typically initiated in the context of agricultural radio projects that make use of listener clubs. It is at this time that we see the introduction of clubs in African countries (discussed in more detail in the next section). In addition, clubs also emerge in Southeast Asia, South Asia and the Pacific Region. Available literature includes references to the establishment of clubs in Philippines, Indonesia, Pakistan, Nepal, Fiji and Papua New Guinea. Transnational institutions such as UNESCO, Farm Radio International, and the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) played a key role in their establishment (King, 2017; Seneviratne, 2011; Sandwell, 2012; Lucas, 1999; Grise Jr. et al., 1974). In each case, the clubs emerged as useful forums for enabling farmers to acquire knowledge about agriculture and to adopt modern farming practices. They also contributed more generally to the establishment of participatory relationships between stations and audiences. Such participation included discussions that allowed communities to deliberate about social issues, and, as part of this, to engage with decision-makers. As such, they provided a platform for participants to hold public officers to account for their obligations towards service delivery. It would seem, then, that the clubs enabled members to exercise their rights as active participants in democracy (Carter, 2016; Ochichi, 2014; Myers, 2011; Randall, 1993). As a result, the clubs are generally described as contributing to the emancipation and transformation of rural societies in these regions of the developing world (Fröhlich et al., 2012; Mchakulu, 2007; Sood et al., 2004).

The discussion above demonstrates that it is possible in the context of the developing world to identify sustained histories of listener clubs that can be traced up to the present moment. This stands in contrast to the histories of listener clubs in the US, UK and in 'dominions' of the British Empire (Canada, Australia and New Zealand). One reason for this might be that listener clubs have proved themselves to be more suited to responding to the needs and interests of audiences of radio in developing contexts. However, as we have also seen, the demise of listener clubs in industrially advanced environments took place in the context of investment in radio as a commercial enterprise rather than a vehicle for the empowerment of audiences. Their survival in developing contexts also depended on support from both local and international organisations that remain committed to such empowerment (Akhter & Md Syed, 2021; Mhagama, 2015; Myers, 2011; Banda, 2007; Sood et al., 2004, Rogers & Singhal, 2003). It may be that the interests of these organisations complimented those

of local audiences in a way that was not possible in countries with more advanced industrial economies.

2.2.2 Listener clubs in African countries

It was explained in Chapter Two that in Africa the evolution of radio took place in three stages, each associated with a different moment in political history. The first stage stretches from the 1920s to the 1950s, when those countries still had the status of British colonies. During this time, radio served to support colonial rule and operated as an apparatus of social and political control.

The second stage generally commences in the late 1950s, after these countries achieved independence from colonial rule and established themselves as self-governing states. Their governments typically assumed ownership of state-owned radio stations and ensured that their content supported their political agendas. These broadcasts were, at the same time, also utilised for the purpose of nation building and social development, and, as such, were understood to operate in the interests of the public good. Of particular importance in this regard was agriculture programming which served to enhance farm extension projects.

The third stage starts in the 1990s, when a shift towards neoliberalism and political pluralism resulted in the liberalisation of media landscapes in these countries. This enabled the emergence of private and commercial tiers of broadcasting, alongside that of state-owned radio. Listener clubs were generally absent from Africa during the first stage of political development, only emerging after independence from colonial rule in the 1960s.

This forthcoming discussion deals with the way in which listener clubs took purchase within various African countries. Whereas, the discussion in Chapter Two focused on those countries that had historically been colonised by the British Empire, this discussion deals broadly with the African continent as a whole.

In literature dealing with the early history of listener clubs in Africa, mention is made of the emergence of such clubs in the early 1960s in the north western parts of the continent, particularly in Ghana and Senegal. There are also references to the introduction of such clubs in countries further south, particularly Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia. Commentators note that, in each of these countries, clubs were introduced as part of strategies for facilitating informal education drawing on a Freirean educational model of participatory development and citizen conscientisation (Kamlongera, 2022; Faisal & Alhassan, 2018; Sow, 2014; Manyozo, 2011; Javuru, 2011; Chitnis, 2010; Banda, 2009; Abbey-Mensah, 2001; Lewis & Booth, 1989; Freire, 1970/1993). We saw in Chapter Two how this Freirean model of critical pedagogy informed

the participatory broadcast culture of community radio as it developed in Latin America in the 1940s. It would seem that a similar pattern can now be observed in Africa in the 1960s in the context of listener clubs. Commentators point out that the clubs served as an ideal vehicle for the realisation of a Freirean pedagogy because their purpose was also to facilitate participatory communication and critical engagement with social context (Servaes & Servaes, 2021; Manyozo, 2012; Kirkendall, 2010; Banda, 2007; Gadotti & Torres, 2009; Singh, 2008). The clubs thus offered one way in which the spirit of democratisation that was intrinsic to Latin American radio could be introduced in African radio landscapes. The development of this tradition in broadcasting within the African context continued despite resistance from authorities in these countries who feared that the approach would undermine their political control (Kankuzi, 2013; Manyozo, 2012; Servaes, 2008; Shah, 1996; Randall, 1993).

A second wave in the emergence of listener clubs in Africa then occurred at the end of the l970s, as a result of a partnership between UNESCO and the Canadian based Farm Radio International (FRI). FRI was founded in 1979 by former CBC farm radio broadcaster George Atkins, with the aim of enhancing agricultural programming in developing countries. Atkins had returned to Canada from a visit to Zambia in 1975 where he had been seconded as a facilitator on a workshop for agricultural broadcasters. While there, he observed that agricultural radio, as it existed in the country, did not provide smallholder farmers with technical knowledge that was of relevance to their agricultural practice. He established FRI in order to provide agricultural broadcasters with knowledge resources that could serve this purpose, not only in Africa but in Asia and Latin America. African countries which became involved in this network included Ghana, Mali, Tanzania, Uganda, Cameroon and Nigeria. Atkins mailed scripts and tapes to participating broadcasters in these countries (Farm Radio International, 2024; Smillie, 2017; Bennet, 2002; Atkins, 1990; Feutl, 1983). His efforts were supported by funding from educational institutions, independent researchers, government agricultural extension departments and international organisations (Sullivan, 2019; Goodman, 2016; Smillie, 2017; Sandwell, 2012; Bennet, 2002).

Initially, broadcasters in Africa associated with the FRI were only provided with agricultural knowledge resources that could be incorporated in their programming. Over time, however, the FRI also assisted stations with the establishment of listener clubs. The first of these clubs was established in Ghana in the early 1980s, possibly because, as we have seen, this country already had an established tradition of such clubs going back to the 1960s. Ghana, thus, served as a catalyst for the adoption of listener clubs in Sub-Saharan Africa (Hudson et al., 2017; Zakariah, 2008; Chapman et al., 2003; Abbey-Mensah, 2001). Similar clubs were

introduced in the immediate aftermath of the Ghana experience within local radio stations in Mali, Tanzania, Uganda, Cameroon and Nigeria (Sangaré, 2001; Myers, 2008). In all these contexts, the clubs emerged as significant spaces for discussions of basic agricultural knowledge for rural communities. As elsewhere in Africa, they supplemented agricultural extension shows that had already been established (Mwaniki et al., 2017; Rao, 2018; FRI, 2011; African Farm Radio Research Initiative [AFRI], 2010; Saito & Weidermann, 1990).

A third wave in the introduction of listener clubs in Africa also occurred from the early 1980's in Southern Africa, starting in Zimbabwe (Banda, 2007; Matewa, 2002; George, 1993). The Zimbabwe-based clubs were established by the Development Through Radio Project (DTRP) in collaboration with the Federation of African Media Women (FAMWEZ), the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), UNESCO and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Moyo, 1991; Matanga, 2018). The emphasis was not exclusively on agricultural broadcasting. The goal was, rather, to provide communities with access to knowledge of relevance to the betterment of their lives and to assist them in contributing to the development of their communities (Matewa, 2002; Moyo, 1990). This liberatory pedagogy, alsongside the Canadian Farm Radio Forum model (both of which can be said to be Freirean in their emphasis) influenced the development of clubs that served this function (Kamkwamba, 2020, personal interview; Nyareza & Dick, 2012). By 1985, the radio clubs project in Zimbabwe had facilitated the establishment of close to 50 clubs in four provinces, and each club had between 10 and 20 members. The ZBC assumed the role of coordinator and provided basic training to the clubs on how to record discussions and use radio for advocacy (George, 1993; Nyareza & Dick, 2012).

Within this history, Zimbabwe emerges as the entry point for the introduction of the clubs in Southern Africa (Matewa, 2002). A key reason for this was that, in comparison to neighbouring countries, Zimbabwe was technically well resourced. There was, furthermore, a willingness, both on the part of the state broadcaster and local non-governmental organisations, to collaborate with international donors and organisations to establish the clubs. Given these factors, the clubs evolved into dependable forums for audience empowerment (Maputseni, 2006; George, 1993). As a result of the success story in Zimbabwe, clubs were eventually also adopted in the late 1990s in other Southern African countries, particularly Zambia, Tanzania and (crucially for the purpose of this study) Malawi. It should be remembered that clubs had already been established in these countries as part of the first wave of African listener clubs in the 1960s. It is, therefore, not surprising that when the Zimbabwean example arose, radio in Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania was able to adapt the clubs to achieve specific, local

development purposes (Mwalukasa, 2013; Mtelera, 2013; Manyozo, 2011; Heinze, 2016; Banda, 2007; Sibalwa, 2000).

As time progressed, each of the African countries that had introduced listener clubs started to adapt them to their development needs (Damome, 2020; Banda, 2007; Faisal & Alhasan, 2018; Farm Radio International, 2021). In Zimbabwe, for example, clubs were adopted for the purpose of the emancipation of women. This was also true for Tanzania, where rural women adopted clubs as spaces for discussing issues affecting their communities (Mhagama, 2015; Banda, 2003; Berrigan, 1979). Commentators also make reference to the role that the clubs played in cultivating a culture of entrepreneurship and economic empowerment for local communities. It is noted that this approach became characteristic of clubs in the Zimbabwean context, where they operated as forums for skills development of small-scale business ventures (Matanga, 2018; Matewa, 2002). Furthermore, clubs served as convenient spaces for supporting adult education projects. Again, this purpose can be observed in the context of Zimbabwe where members pointed out how they had improved their literacy levels through informal learning. Participatory clubs committed to a similar purpose have also been observed in Togo, Benin, Burkina Faso and Niger (Matewa, 2002; Moyo, 1991; Bhattacharya, 2013; Damome, 2020; Grise Jr. et al., 1974; Ohliger, 1971).

The description in this section, demonstrates that collaboration between local and international stakeholders played an important role in the development of the clubs on the African continent, as was the case in the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. However, their establishment in African countries depended not only on the importing of ideas from the Global North but also the transnational sharing of knowledge amongst countries in the Global South. As we have seen, the first wave of African listener clubs were based on the Freirean model articulated in the context of Latin America. Furthermore, approaches to the local adoption of listener clubs depended on a transnational exchange of knowledge between African nations. These relationships of influence played an important role in ensuring that clubs emerged on this continent as an instrument for facilitating audience participation in radio. Their use has significantly enhanced such participation for agricultural radio, particularly in rural communities.

It is noticeable that, in comparison to the industrialised nations, where there is a history of introduction and decline, listener clubs have a more sustained influence in developing countries. As noted, the clubs in these contexts were successfully aligned with local approaches designed to empower participants and develop their communities. This pattern of a sustained presence and significant local impact can also be observed in the way the clubs emerged in

African countries. It is possible to argue that an investment in listener clubs is more attainable in an environment in which the social purpose of radio is strongly aligned with its potential as a vehicle for social development harnessed through widespread audience engagement. As noted in Chapter Two, this emphasis is associated with a Brechtian conception of radio as a medium for enhancing public participation for the purpose of the public good. In this section we have also seen that in the African context the early introduction of clubs became possible because of an alignment with a Freirean commitment to empowerment. Indeed, it is possible to identify a close connection between the Brechtian vision of radio and the Freirean vision of critical education for the purpose of social change.

In developing countries and across Africa, then, the clubs offered broadcasters not just a Brechtian but indeed a Freirean approach to audience engagement. This stood in contrast to the Sarnoffian approach typical of radio as it existed in these countries in the colonial era. In the empirical component of this dissertation, the study explores the extent to which the potential of clubs to achieve this participatory objective is realised in practice in the Malawian context.

3. Listener clubs in the digital era globally

There is no doubt that listener clubs have benefitted from the advent of digital media. This can be seen, for example, in the context of the utilisation by clubs of applications on mobile phones and computers. Commentators refer, in particular, to club coordinators inviting their members to use such applications to tune into live broadcasts and to access archived programming. Club members are also encouraged to use social media applications to take part in discussions through texting and voice messages. These digital media strategies enhance club members' ability to participate both in club discussions and directly in on-air programming (Scifo, 2014; Sherwood, 2015; Bonini & Monclús, 2015; Manyozo et al., 2011). In addition, listener clubs provide their members with access to online resources that enrich their ability to research topics of relevance to club discussions. Facebook is, for example, offered as a platform for providing members with access to agricultural information. In the process, members enrich their knowledge and make meaningful contributions to club discussions (Barau & Afrad, 2017; Sokoya et al., 2012).

However, such resources have not been equally available to listener clubs in different parts of the world. In Chapter Two, it was clear the way radio stations have adapted to the digital era in the 1990s varied from one country to the next, depending on the extent to which the 'digital divide' manifests in each context. Access to digital resources depends on the availability of infrastructure and also on the extent to which data is at the disposal of audiences.

Listeners in developed contexts tend to have far greater access to such resources than those in developing countries. It should, therefore, not be surprising that the use of digital technology is first observed in clubs located in developed countries (Ardielli, 2017; Sherwood, 2015; Bonini, 2014; McCain & Lowe, 1990).

There is no doubt that, in these more privileged spaces, clubs have made the most of digital strategies to empower their members. Commentators note, both in the context of Australia and the US, that access to digital resources have enabled listener clubs to mobilise local community discussions on democratic issues (Pavarala & Malik, 2021; Anderson & Rodríguez, 2019). In Canada, the Ag Women Network was able to resuscitate the radio forum format by adapting the open discussion approach for use on the internet. More recently, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation revived the tradition of accommodating the voice of diverse groups of listeners using creative digital audience engagement strategies (CBC, 2003; Pasiona et al., 2021). To some extent, such use of technology has enabled stations to enhance the quality of discussions that emerge in the clubs (Bonini & Monclús, 2015; Dubber, 2014; Dale & Naylor, 2005).

Nevertheless, listener clubs based in developing countries do make the most of digital media strategies, even if they do so at a less advanced level than their first-world counterparts. At the very least, there are many instances in which club members based in the poorest environments are able to use mobile phones to listen to radio shows. Studies dealing with radio in Asia, for example, describe rural clubs in India, Thailand and the Philippines that have adopted the use of smartphones to access and record agricultural radio shows (Bentley et al., 2022; Rupavatharam et al., 2018; Watkins et al., 2012; Singh, 2006). Furthermore, club coordinators are able to use phones to send text messages about proposed topics to club members before group meetings. Club members in these contexts also use phones to share text messages about proposed topics before meetings. This enables members to access relevant preliminary information in readiness for the actual club discussions. In these ways, digital technology still contributes substantially to making club discussions more engaging and meaningful (Shahzalal, 2017; Hudson et al., 2017; Jędrzejewski, 2015; Halliday, 2013; Hussain & Tongia, 2007).

Digital strategies have also proved significant for listener clubs in Africa. Here, again, we see the use of mobile phones to listen to radio shows and text messaging to enhance communication between stations, agricultural extension workers and club members. Descriptions of this can be found in studies of clubs in Malawi, Ghana, Kenya and Uganda (Dzanku et al., 2022; Sullivan, 2019; Ragasa & Niu, 2017; Mhagama, 2015; Chapota et al.,

2014). Club members also utilise internet services on mobile devices and computers to gather more information in preparation for club discussions in South Africa and Tanzania (Sanga et al., 2014; 2013; Chiumbu & Ligaga, 2013).

A particular characteristic of the use of mobile phones by clubs in African countries is the extensive use of very basic mobile phones. These clubs take advantage of the fact that even the cheapest phones can be used for messaging and listening to radio broadcasts. In Tanzania and Malawi, club members may have access for this purpose to a mobile phone as a group even though they may not individually own one (Sullivan, 2019; Hampson et al., 2015; Mhagama, 2015; Chisama, 2016; Simuja, 2012). The availability of low-cost MP3 recorders has also provided clubs with convenient facilities for collecting and archiving discussions. In this way, even club members from marginalised communities are able to explore their own local and low cost means to benefit from digital technology (Hudson, 2018; Hudson et al., 2017).

Another characteristic feature of listener clubs in Africa is the use of Facebook to reach out to club members (Rådelius, 2015; Jallov, 2012). Agricultural radio across the continent, from Ghana to Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi, have used this platform to provide information to their club audiences about meeting schedules and proposed topics for discussion. Commentators note that radio stations' adoption of these platforms has enhanced engagement with their listener club audiences.

It would seem, then, that in the African context, the growing availability of digital media to poor audiences has enhanced the functioning of such clubs (Mabweazara, 2015; Willems, 2013; Chiumbu & Ligaga, 2013; Gakuru et al., 2009). Indeed, observers recommend using existing listener clubs to educate rural communities on how to use digital technology to participate in radio. They suggest, furthermore, that more clubs should be established to contribute to this purpose (Hudson et al., 2017; Rådelius, 2015; Agba & Bassey Duke, 2014; Gilberds & Myers, 2012).

It is possible to observe that the innovative use of digital technology has been predominant in the context of clubs that are affiliated to community radio in both developed countries and in Africa (Mhagama, 2015; Myers, 2011). One possible reason for this tendency is that community radio is founded in a Freirean participatory model of communication. For this reason, community radio movements look for innovative ways in which to involve their own audiences in engaged discussion of their programming. As part of this, they have typically turned to the use of community-based forums. It is not surprising that they should also be quick to experiment with the affordances of digital technology in order to enhance the value of such forums. Overall, it is possible to observe the wide adoption of the technology for enabling

participation in clubs in developed countries in relation to similar structures in the developing world (Bosch, 2014; Rådelius, 2015; Chiumbu & Ligaga, 2013; Jallov, 2012).

This discussion demonstrates that listener clubs across the world, both in industrially advanced and developing countries, are utilising digital technology to achieve their purposes. They do so by using digital strategies for logistical purposes, to stay in contact with their members, and to draw their membership into more active engagement with programme content and related educational resources. The interactive features of the technology has enabled clubs to re-engage members as significant co-producers of both off-air and on-air discussions. However, the manner in which the clubs have been able to fulfil the potential of this technology in more privileged environments remains much more advanced (Lechman, 2016; Cordeiro, 2012). Ultimately, the benefits that accrue from the use of the technology are maximised for clubs in developed countries when compared to those in developing nations, including contexts in Africa (Duncombe, 2014; Myers, 2011; Megwa, 2007). It can, nevertheless, be argued that the introduction of digital technology within the operation of clubs in developing countries presents an important opportunity for the realisation not just of a Brechtian approach to radio but indeed the Freirean ideal of critical dialogue for social liberation in these environments.

Conclusion

This chapter has mapped the global histories of radio listener clubs. It is demonstrated that the international growth of the clubs is strongly embedded within the more general history of the relationship between radio and audiences, as described in Chapter Two. Section One made this point by tracing the emergence of the first listener clubs during the preliminary years of the 20th century in the UK and US. We were reminded that these two countries gave birth to very different broadcast cultures. In the US, a commercially defined approach that essentially exploited the audience as consumers became dominant, while in the UK, public service strongly emerged as a model. Nevertheless, despite these differences, listener clubs in these two countries developed in strikingly similar ways with an initial surge in the 1920s and 1930s but a rapid decline in the 1940s. It is argued in the conclusion to the section that these similarities may result from the fact that even if the radio landscapes in these two countries were different, they existed within a shared global context. In particular, from the 1940s onward, media in both countries were impacted by the free-market practices of neoliberalism. This led to a growing dominance of a Sarnoffian perspective on the treatment of audiences at the expense of the Brechtian approach. In this context, an interest in the value of listener clubs weakened.

Section Two explored the global expansion and impact of the listener clubs from the mid-20th century onward, dealing first with the emergence of listener clubs in the British dominions (Canada, Australia and New Zealand), and then looking at their occurrence in the developing world. Finally, the discussion zoomed in on the role that clubs came to play in African countries. We learned that in the dominions, it is possible to observe an initial growth in listener clubs which then begins to decline as a result of a withdrawal of support from state and educational authorities. In the Canadian context, however, this withdrawal of support does not lead to the marginalisation of clubs; they survived, particularly in rural settings where they are still used to support agricultural radio programming. It is suggested, that this is because farming communities in this country remained strongly invested in projects concerned with facilitating access to agricultural resources. It is further proposed that the success of the Canadian clubs resulted from the fact that they had achieved a Freirean articulation, in which the empowerment of radio audiences could be far more fully achieved. One outcome of this story of success is that the Canadian listener club model became an important point of reference within the expansion of such clubs in the developing world.

The remainder of Section Two argued that the expansion of the clubs in the context of developing countries occurred in a series of waves. As noted, the first wave observed in both Latin America and Asia in the 1950s, points to the establishment of the clubs for the Freirean purposes of social empowerment and transformation. Subsequent moments of the introduction of the clubs are noted to have emerged gradually after the 1960s in other developing countries including those in Africa. In Africa, in particular, the clubs emerged in successive waves in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s. As noted, the Freirean educational model, and its emphasis on citizen participation and conscientisation, became the influence of the transformational purpose of the clubs in these countries. At the same time, the adoption of the clubs was strongly supported by international organisations with a shared focus on enhancing participation in development and agricultural radio. UNESCO and Farm Radio International are particularly noted to have collaborated with local broadcasters in establishing the clubs and supporting the achievement of these goals. The section also noted how African countries later adapted the clubs to introduce versions that responded to relevant and specific local development needs. It is argued that the grounding of these clubs in Freirean principles meant that they could emerge as sustainable forums for social empowerment.

Section Three dealt with the way listener clubs adapted to the age of digital media, exploring this phenomenon, firstly, in context of industrially advanced countries and, secondly, as observed in developed countries. We learned that clubs located in developed nations have

been able to make more sophisticated use of digital strategies, due to greater levels of access to digital resources. Nevertheless, even in the context of the digital divide, clubs located in developing environments have also enhanced their own operations by drawing on the affordances of digital media. This has enabled them to strengthen listener club members' ability to engage interactively with the content of broadcasts, and with discussion about such broadcasts. Indeed, it is possible that the extent to which the technology has enhanced participation in the clubs in developed countries has been higher in comparison to its influence in developing countries.

As a whole, the chapter highlighted the significant contributions of radio listening clubs to the global narrative of the conceptualisation of radio and its relationship with the audience. The chapter noted the value of the clubs in achieving audience empowerment through enhancing their participation in radio as it exists in industrialised nations, countries in the developing world, and in Africa. It is observed that such value has been most strongly demonstrated in the clubs in context of agricultural radio. The chapter observed that the history of the clubs has been more sustained in developing countries than in developed contexts, partly as a result of sustained local and international collaboration. It is concluded that, within the global history of the construction of the relationship between radio and its audiences, listener clubs have provided spaces for cultivating engaged and meaningful audience participation.

The chapter further noted the impact of the arrival of digital technology in enhancing both the interaction between the club coordinators and members, and participation in radio broadcasts. It is argued that despite challenges of the 'digital divide', in which there is unlimited access for users in developed countries, the technology is, to a greater extent, enabling participation in the clubs in developing nations and in Africa. In this way, the clubs in these contexts demonstrate strong potential to serve the public good and play a role in achieving the Brechtian conceptualisation of public service radio and the Frierean ideal of social liberation. It is possible to argue, then, that it is in the context of the clubs that the goal of audience participation for the public good can be achieved. This goal appears even more realistic, particularly with the introduction of the interactive affordances of digital technology and despite the perceived challenges of the digital divide.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE HISTORY OF RADIO AND LISTENER CLUBS IN MALAWI

Introduction

We saw in Chapter Three how the global history of radio listener clubs forms part of the international history of the relationship between radio and its audiences. In this chapter, attention turns to the way in which this story can be told in Malawi, first by looking at the history of radio and then considering the way listener clubs formed part of that history. In discussing the Malawi history of radio, it is pointed out that the radio landscape has become structured around three tiers of broadcasting; that of state, commercial and community radio. In considering the history of listener clubs, attention is then paid to the role of the clubs as they exist in the context of each these three different tiers. The discussion then traces the presence, within each sector, of a Sarnoffian, Brechtian and Freirean vision of audience participation.

Section One provides an overview of the Malawian radio sector and, as part of this, explains the distinction between state, commercial and community radio in the country. It describes these tiers as they currently exist and comments on the historical development of each tier. Section Two describes the role that radio clubs have played within the history of each of these tiers of broadcasting. In each case, discussion focuses on the way in which radio stations have worked with listener clubs to shape their relationship with their audiences.

1. The contemporary Malawi radio landscape and its historical origins

The socio-political history of Malawi dates back to the early 1890s when the country was declared a British protectorate named Nyasaland. The colonial administration assumed an authoritative approach to political governance in which local inhabitants of Nyasaland were regarded primarily as a source of labour for the small group of European settlers. When the country attained independence from British rule in 1964, the new government remained authoritarian in its approach, establishing a system of one-party rule. This system of government remained in place for the next 30 years. In 1993, Malawi embraced multiparty democracy as a result of local and international pressure for political reform. The new democratic constitution guaranteed human rights and enabled the population to exercise rights such as freedom of expression and freedom of association (Kainja, 2022; Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011; Manda, 2007).

During most of this history, radio served the interests of an authoritarian government and operated as an apparatus of social control. This was the case during the colonial era and remained true for the period of one-party rule. The only difference was that while radio was

used during colonial times for the purpose of oppression by external forces, it was now the newly independent government of Malawi that appropriated it for this purpose (Englund, 2011; Kankuzi 2014; Chikaipa & Gunde, 2021). In this sense, then, the Malawi government can be seen to have perpetuated a culture of radio that operates as an apparatus of coloniality. However, during the establishment of multi-party democracy, the radio landscape diversified, allowing for a distinction between state-controlled radio, commercial radio and community radio (Wedler, 2010; Meinhardt, & Patel, 2003). Within this context, it became more possible for traditions of radio dedicated to the purpose of democratisation to emerge. The discussion, below, provides more detail about the historical development of each of these tiers of broadcasting. As will be demonstrated, these developments were typical of the history of radio in African environments described in Chapter Two.

1.1 From State Radio to Public Radio

Within the contemporary moment, the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) covers 90% of the country's geographical area by means of two broadcast channels. Radio 1 serves a rural audience, catering for all ages and broadcasting in English and seven vernacular languages. Programming includes news and current affairs, with an emphasis on social issues that are understood to be of national interest in spheres such as health, politics and agriculture. Throughout, discussions are presented from a pro-government perspective, with an emphasis on social development and nation building (Kankuzi, 2017; Moyo, 2012 Manda; 2006). Radio 2 targets a youthful, urban audience and broadcasts in English (NSO, 2014; Macra & NSO, 2020). It carries far more advertising than Radio 1 and draws on the programming conventions of commercial radio, with a strong focus on music and entertainment-driven content (Manda, 2015; Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011).

The social purpose of the MBC and its relationship to its audience can best be understood in the context of the history of its establishment during the colonial era and the years after independence. British political interests influenced the introduction of radio broadcasts to Nyasaland. Radio broadcasts were relayed from Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) to cater for the British settler community. The colonial administration established the first radio studio in Nyasaland in 1956 to produce local programmes for broadcasting at the Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Lusaka. In the early 1960s, just before independence, Radio Malawi was established - still for the purpose of promoting British colonial interests (Mvutho, 2018 cited in Shara, 2020; Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011;

Banda, 2005). After independence in 1964, the new government founded the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) under the MBC Act which placed the broadcaster under control of the state. During these early years of independence, the MBC maintained a close relationship with the BBC. As discussed in Chapter Two, relationships were often maintained in African countries that had previously been British colonies. In Malawi, too, MBC personnel benefitted from the in-house professional training and exchange programmes that the BBC offered to broadcasters located in its former colonies. Through such collaboration, the MBC embraced the BBC model of public service broadcasting that centred on three main objectives; to inform, entertain and educate its audience (Kainja, 2021; Banda, 2005; Chikunkhuzeni, 1999; Mackie, 1971).

However, in reality, the MBC's involvement with the BBC did not translate into adherence to public service values. During the 30 years of one-party rule, it operated as state broadcaster rather than as public service radio, serving primarily as a mouthpiece for the Malawi Congress Party and government (Kainja, 2022; Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011; Patel, 2000). The station was used to suppress any dissenting views that originated from either local or international sources. Airtime was primarily reserved for interviews with the political leadership, designed to elicit a positive image of the party, government and the head of state. There was minimal audience participation in such programming, with listeners offered only the role of passive observers (Cammack, 2019; Tambulasi & Kayuni, 2005; Chiyamwaka, 2009).

Even in the 1990s, after the introduction of multi-party democracy, the MBC maintained this authoritarian culture of broadcasting with minimal interaction from its audience. This remained true even with the introduction of the Malawi Communications Act and the Right of Access to Information Bill of 2016, which required the MBC to adopt public service principles (Kainja, 2021; Sharra, 2020; Englund, 2019; Kankuzi, 2013). Successive ruling parties continued to interfere with editorial policy, with the intention of enforcing their political agendas (UNESCO, 2022; Chirwa, 2014; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2008; MHRC, 2009; Misa, 1997). For these reasons, critics often express pessimism about the possible reformation of the MBC as a public service broadcaster. There is continued uncertainty about the actual implementation of the Information Bill, despite it being enacted into the Access to Information Law. While the information legislation has transformed as a principle, "the operational culture is taking too slow to change" (Matonga, 2024). Commentators note that there has not been adequate awareness regarding the stipulations made in the law with regards to the role that the MBC must play as a public broadcaster and the

implications for its relationship to its target audience (Kainja, 2022; Mambulasa, 2017; Chirwa, 2014).

In the view of this researcher, one reason for the continuation of a relationship of control by government may be the dependence of the MBC on state funding. The MBC and its predecessors have always been sustained by such funding. Since the 1960s, the broadcaster has been able to supplement government funding by generating some of its own revenue through advertising and programme sponsorship. However, efforts at generating commercial revenue prove a challenge to sustain due to the unstable economic conditions that prevail in the country. As a result, the MBC has continued to depend heavily on government funding (UNESCO, 2022; Chikunkhuzeni, 1999: Mackie 1971). State funding is often unstable and inadequate due to the politics associated with state media operations in the country. For instance, its operations were significantly affected in 2008 due to a reduction in funding that was proposed by opposition parties on the grounds of perceived bias in its coverage (Englund, 2019; Gunde, 2017; Kayanula-Banda, 2010).

It would seem, then, that Malawi's history of state-controlled broadcasting is typical of the patterns in the development of African radio, as described in Chapter Two. Even though the MBC has adopted the status of a public service broadcaster, it operates in practice as a state broadcaster. Indeed, continued interference from government has meant that it has served, throughout its history, as an instrument of government propaganda. As a result, its approach to programming has not enabled critical and democratic audience participation. As such, the MBC promotes social control more than emancipation, embodying a Sarnoffian rather than a Brechtian conception of its relationship to its audience or a Frierean concept of dialogue for social liberation.

1.2 Commercial Radio

Commercial radio as it currently exists in Malawi has also achieved nationwide coverage, this time through the accumulative broadcast footprints of four major stations. The sector is dominated by Zodiak Radio, followed by Times Radio, MIJ FM and Capital Radio (NSO, 2014; Macra & NSO, 2020). Capital Radio has a listenership primarily consisting of urban dwellers from within the three major cities of Blantyre in the south, Lilongwe in the center and Mzuzu in the north. Capital mostly offers programming in English, while the other three stations target rural and urban audiences equally and broadcast in a combination of English and Chichewa (NSO, 2014; Lwanda, 2014; Moyo, 2012; Manda, 2012).

The commercial radio sector emerged in Malawi in the 1990s as part of the liberalisation of media that took place at that time in the context of the introduction of multi-party democracy. The Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority (MACRA) was brought into being through the establishment of a Communications Act in 1998, with the aim of creating a conducive environment for fair and equitable broadcast licencing (Kanyongolo et al., 2005). These developments enabled private individuals and institutions to apply for commercial licenses. Also in 1998, Power FM 101 was established as the first commercial broadcaster in the country, followed by Capital Radio in 1999. By the early 2000s, the number of commercial broadcasting licences granted had reached eight. Broadcasters introduced during this period included MIJ FM, Zodiak Radio, Star FM Radio, Joy Radio, Matindi Radio and Times Radio. However, a majority of these broadcasters have since gone out of business due to licence breaches and economic challenges. The four commercial stations referred to in this section are the ones that have survived the test of time (UNESCO, 2022; Lwanda, 2014; Moyo, 2013; Lingela, 2008; Chirwa, 2008).

Commercial stations in Malawi are known for adopting a more critical stance to government than the MBC, taking pride in the production of hard-hitting news and current affairs programming (Lwanda, 2014; Moyo, 2012; Misa, 2019). These stations have been at the forefront of investigating corrupt practices by public officers and criticising undemocratic government policies. They represent the interests both of oppositional politicians and the private sector, and, in this way, provide a platform for alternative perspectives to that of the MBC (Lwanda, 2014). They are also known for broadcasting programmes that accommodate audience engagement and opportunities for feedback. Such programming includes roundtable discussions and phone-in programmes that make audience interaction possible. These stations also create alternative and wider options for audience feedback by inviting listeners to participate in discussions on social media and online platforms. However, this utilisation of digital technologies has not translated to meaningful audience participation as a result of prohibitive data costs (Moyo, 2013; UNESCO, 2020).

Commentators point out that the editorial policy and framing of programming on commercial stations has been shaped by the professional and political backgrounds of the organisations and individuals who own them. Gospel Kazako, a broadcaster who once worked for MBC and was also a former Minister of Information, is a major shareholder of Zodiak Radio. The Times Group, a conglomerate with over 50 years' experience in the media business, are the owners of Times Radio. The Malawi Institute of Journalism, one of the major media training institutions in the country, are the operators of MIJ FM. Alaudin Osman, the owner of

Capital Radio, is a renowned veteran broadcast journalist and a former presidential press officer with a postgraduate journalism qualification. Other minor commercial stations such as Joy Radio FM and Power FM 101 are owned by former politicians. The diversity of experience and social perspectives that these owners bring to the sector are thought to have shaped the approach they adopt to news coverage. It is generally argued that, in doing so, they ensure a more balanced framing of coverage when compared to the MBC (Moyo, 2013; Chiyamwaka, 2009; Manda, 2007). In this way, commercial radio in Malawi is also observed as justifying the assertion that 'public-service broadcasting in Southern Africa is a contested subject that is better defined as a genre than an institution since private institutions can also aspire to this genre' (Fourie, 2003; Banda, 2006).

However, as in the case of the MBC, the relationship between radio and its audience in the commercial radio sector of Malawi is also framed by the interests of elite groups in society. Commercial stations mostly depend on advertising revenue and sponsored programmes provided by the corporate sector in Malawi for financing. It is noticeable that officials representing these corporations tend to dominate as news sources for the programme content on these stations. This includes programming designed around audience participation. Critics have argued that the interests of audiences and advertisers are sometimes at odds with each other within such programming. In attempting to negotiate between these competing interests, stations are pressured to prioritise the interests of advertisers and marginalise those of the audience (Jensen, 1999; Makoka, 2011; Moyo, 2013).

The overall picture that emerges, then, is one in which commercial radio stations in Malawi provide an important alternative to the programme content of the MBC that is, on the whole, more balanced and critical in its coverage of news. One way in which they pursue this goal is through the facilitation of audience participation in their call-in programmes. However, these stations exist equally for the purpose of making a profit for owners and shareholders. The need to ensure profit-making and the consequent commitment to the interests of advertisers can be seen to compromise these station's ability to represent the interests of their audiences. Within this description we see, again, the patterns observed in relation to commercial radio as it exists in the African context as described in Chapter Two. Here, as elsewhere, radio is representative of the American model of radio, in which commercial interests remain dominant. For this reason, stations fail to realise either the Brechtian or Freirean ideals of social emancipation.

1.3 Community Radio

The remaining license holders in Malawi make up the community radio sector which includes stations with local, geographical audiences, as well as those that broadcast nationally and target communities of interest. In this way, the the sum total of community radio stations cover about half of the total geographical area of the country (Macra & NSO, 2020; Malawi Communications Act, 2016; Mhagama, 2015; da Costa, 2012; African Media Barometer, 2012; Englund, 2011). The majority of stations in this sector are situated in rural areas, where they broadcast to local communities in their own languages (Chikaipa & Gunde, 2021). Stations are required, according to their license conditions, to be managed and controlled by members of the community where the station is located for the benefit of that community. Community radio stations in Malawi are obliged to broadcast within a maximum radius of 100 kilometres (Macra & NSO, 2020; Nirmala, 2015).

It is estimated that there are 45 operational community radio stations spread across the three regions of the country. The majority of stations are located in the remotest parts of the country (Macra, 2023; Chikaipa & Gunde, 2021). Some of the stations include Gaka FM (in Nsanje), Nkhotakota (in Nkhotakota), Mzimba (in Mzimba), Mudziwathu (in Mchinji), Tuntufye (in Karonga), Tigabane (in Mzuzu), and Radio Lilanguka (in Mangochi) (Macra, 2023). The sector also includes stations that are affiliated to religious institutions and focus on promoting their respective faiths and doctrines. Some of the stations in this category are Radio Maria (Catholic), Radio Islam (Muslim) and Channel for All Nations (Assemblies of God Pentecostal Church) (Kamwendo, 2015; Kapasule & Chikoti, 2012; Lwanda, 2014; Manda, 2007; Osman, 2008).

The history of the Malawi community radio sector can be traced back to the late 1990s, when community licenses first became available. The availability of these licenses was a significant outcome of the introduction of democracy and media freedom in Malawi. It took some time, however, for stations to become established. In 1998, the Malawi Media Women Association (MAMWA) established Dzimwe Radio as the first community broadcaster in the country. The station was set up in the lakeshore district of Mangochi through a project called Development Through Radio (DTR) with support from the PANOS Institute of Southern Africa (PSAF) and the BBC. The next community radio station, Nkhotakota FM, was launched in 2003 (Mhagama, 2015; Myers 2011; Manyozo, 2009; Kamwendo, 2008; Banda, 2007). Thereafter, several community radio stations were introduced across the country. By 2014, there were six community radio stations in operation. At the time of writing, the number of community radio stations has increased to 50 broadcasters (Macra, 2023).

The community radio sector provides content similar to the MBC in the sense that the focus is on social development balanced with entertainment. However, whereas the MBC foregrounds content that it regards to be of national interest, community radio stations prioritise issues that are of relevance to their particular target communities (Chikaipa, 2023; Kamwendo, 2015). Since their introduction in the country, these stations have been associated with the empowerment of rural communities. This is achieved, in particular, by enabling communities to participate in development projects with the goal of addressing various social inequalities such as discrimination and marginalisation (Chikaipa & Gunde, 2020; Mhagama, 2015).

Unlike commercial radio stations that adopt an explicit business model for profit, community radio is obliged by their license conditions to provide broadcasting services that are not for profit, or for the financial advancement of shareholders. Income from advertising or any other source should, within this model, be ploughed back into station operations (Ministry of Information, Communication Sector Policy 1998). The stations also adopt a volunteer model, in which community members contribute their time and skills to the maintenance of programming and other operations without receiving salaries. This volunteer model is designed to encourage community participation in station operations, and community-based ownership and control of the stations. Through such participation, stations strengthen the degree to which they are able to operate in the interests of the communities that they are there to serve (Mphaka, 2006; Mhagama, 2015; Makoka, 2011; Moyo, 2013).

However, as in the case of the MBC and commercial radio, it is still possible to identify relationships of dependence on powerful stakeholders that may compromise the interests of their target communities. Stations are often guided in their choice of content by international development organisations which work in partnership with them (Kamwendo, 2008; Mtelera, 2013). The organisations advance their diverse agendas through their support for programming about local development initiatives in sectors such as health, women's empowerment, human rights, education and agriculture. As a result, stations are forced to shift away from their normal programming and lose authority over both the broadcast content and schedule (Chikaipa & Gunde, 2020; Mhagama, 2015).

It is possible to conclude, from this description, that each of the three tiers of Malawian radio are defined by distinct social interests. In each, broadcasters claim to represent the interests of audiences but it is possible to observe the presence of other interests that may compromise this commitment. In each case, this situation exists because stations are dependent on powerful stakeholders in Malawian society. The MBC claims to exist in service of the public but in practice advances the government's political agenda. Commercial radio also adopts the

role of protector of the public interest but can be seen to represent the more specific interests of the private sector. Community radio defines its own identity as a commitment to the empowerment of local communities but their agendas are, at least partly, shaped by the priorities of international donors.

It will be argued in this study that radio stations can only achieve a balance between these competing interests if they successfully pursue a strong emphasis on the participation of their audiences. The extent to which they do so will determine whether they operate primarily as agents of either Brechtian or Freirean emancipation or exist in service of Sarnoffian control.

2. Listener clubs in the three tiers of Malawi radio

Listener clubs can be observed within all three tiers of broadcasting within the Malawian radio landscape and, in each case they, have slowly but steadily become established as forums of participatory engagement (Mchakulu, 2007; Chapota et al., 2014). This next section provides a review of available literature in order to determine what commentators have thus far concluded about the role that clubs play within each of these sectors.

The content of the section is drawn both from a review of available literature about the clubs and from interviews with research informants who were involved in establishing and managing the clubs. The empirical interviews enabled the researcher to enrich his understanding of the history of clubs in Malawi, given the limited availability of relevant documentation. The researcher included interviews with retired broadcasters from commercial, community and public radio stations where listener clubs can be found. Also included are interviews with leaders of organisations that played a role in the establishment of listener clubs. The interviewees were engaged at their workplaces and were asked open-ended questions about their knowledge of the history of the clubs, about their personal involvement in this history and about the clubs' purpose, structure and management[2].

2.1 Listener clubs in Public Radio in Malawi

The early introduction of the culture of radio clubs in Malawi is synonymous with the history of participatory agricultural radio programming on the MBC in the mid- to late 1960's. The Ministry of Agriculture's Communication Branch first introduced small clubs into the local environment in 1966, describing them as 'farmers' forum listening groups' (Mhagama, 2015;

[2] A full list of these research informants is included in the appendices to this dissertation. The guide that was used for the interviews is also included in the appendices.

Wood, 2010; Mackie 1971). The aim was to facilitate interaction between farmers and agricultural extension workers in order to strengthen knowledge of modern farming methods. These clubs, which were established in all three major regions of the country, concentrated on dialogue about farming methods that were thought to have the potential to increase sustainable food production (Chikunkhuzeni, 1999; Manyozo, 2005). The Ministry of Agriculture produced radio programmes at their own studios that featured club discussions and shared these with the MBC for airing. These programmes were typically half an hour in length, featuring interviews with agricultural experts and successful farmers who discussed best practices in farming; they also included extracts from club discussions. The episodes often concluded with a 10-minute discussion facilitated by a coordinator identified among the members of the club (Lwanda, 2014; Manyozo, 2005; Banda, 2007).

The establishment of these listener clubs can be seen to form part of the broader history of the introduction of such clubs in African countries in the 1960s. In Chapter Three, we saw that clubs first made their appearance at this time in the North Western parts of Africa and also further southward, in Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi. It was noted in that chapter that such clubs tended to be introduced as part of agricultural education projects based on the Freirean model of participatory development. Literature about the Malawian example of such clubs, as captured above, points to evidence of the influence of this Freirean model. However, in contrast to the Freirean ideal, one notable weakness of the model adopted by the MBC has been their lack of interaction and public participation (Chapota et al., 2014; Kamkwamba, 2020). In fact, even by the late 1970s, the inclusion of extracts from club discussions was declining. One technical reason provided for this by officials within the MBC was that it became a challenge for field reporters from the Ministry of Agriculture to sustain quality recording of club discussions since they were using a field recorder with one-directional microphones so that they could only capture one interviewee at a time. As a result, group interaction was difficult to maintain and ceased to be the primary focus of these programmes. Instead, the broadcasts emphasised the individual voices of successful farmers who were members of the clubs. Research informants note, however, that this reference to technical constraints does not provide an adequate explanation for the decline in participatory content. They propose, instead, that the MBC was not invested in participatory programming in the first place (Kamkwamba, 2020; Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011; Zidana, 2020). Nevertheless, even though the clubs became inactive, the Ministry of Agriculture continued to provide agricultural programmes for broadcast on MBC throughout the 1970s and up to the 1990s. Up to the time of writing, these

programmes have been a regular feature on the MBC (Zidana, 2020; Mhagama, 2018; Nankhuni, 2017; Thangalimodzi & Phiri, 2014; Chikunkhuzeni, 1999).

A second important moment in the establishment of radio clubs in Malawi follows 30 years after their initial introduction, this time in the late 1990s. This was at a time when the MBC was under increasing pressure to demonstrate its own performance as a public service broadcaster rather than as a state radio broadcaster. This was in the context of the broader move in Malawi towards multi-party democracy. In 1999, representatives from the MBC visited Zimbabwe to study the implementation of listener clubs because they were known to have registered some success (Manyozo, 2005). The Zimbabwean success story prompted the MBC to instruct programme producers to introduce similar strategies at the MBC (Mtelera, 2020, personal interview; Manyozo, 2007). The team from MBC was taken on an extensive tour of radio clubs run by village cooperatives in rural areas in Matebeleland and Mashonaland (Kamkwamba, 2020, personal interview). This helped them to better understand the value of such clubs and to conceptualise how they could be introduced in the Malawian context (Mtelera, 2020; Kamkwamba, 2020; Nkata, 2016). In this way, listener clubs in the MBC were given a new lease on life in the late 1990s. They were, furthermore, strengthened by the introduction of principles for good practice that had been developed in a context very similar to their own.

Of primary importance to the success of this reinvigoration of listener clubs in the late 1990s was the role played by the MBC's Development Broadcasting Unit (DBU), a semi-autonomous donor-supported unit of the MBC specialising in communication for development (Chirwa, 2020; Manyozo, 2007). The DBU was established in 1999 in collaboration with the Department for International Development (DFID), an arm of the British government responsible for international support for developing countries (Manda & Wozniak, 2015; Lwanda, 2014). It set out to integrate participatory communication approaches into radio programming for the purpose of promoting national dialogue around development issues (Chirwa, 2020: Khonje, 2011; Sisya, 2003). It placed particular emphasis on discussions within local communities around civil rights and citizenship (Chapota, 2009; Manyozo, 2005). The aim was to provide local communities with opportunities to engage in a dialogue with policy makers and to also to hold social service providers accountable when they neglected their responsibilities (Kapyepye, 2020, personal interview; Chijere-Chirwa et al., 2000). Given their interest in such programming, it should come as no surprise that the DBU went on to champion the continued survival and strengthening of listener clubs within the MBC.

The DBU established fifteen radio listening clubs in 1999 and scaled up to 30 clubs across the country by 2002 (Ntelera, 2020; Mhagama, 2018). Radio for Development (UK) facilitated skills training of members of the DBU, focusing on development journalism. It is arguable that the MBC was already, at this time, based in development journalism. However, theirs was a tradition of development journalism that primarily involved the Sarnoffian, top-down facilitation of communication around projects of relevance to nation building and social development. Programmes were produced under the tight control of government in which there was heavy censorship of all news content and no audience interaction (Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011; Chiyamwaka, 2009). In contrast to this, the tradition of development journalism that took root in the context of the DBU was fundamentally concerned with a more Freirean participatory communication. They embraced an emancipatory and facilitative approach to programming in which deliberative spaces for the audience are created (Trappel & Tomaz, 2021; Kamkwamba, 2020, personal interview; Christians et al., 2009; McQuail, 2009). One outcome of this training was that DBU staff were able to make interventions into the existing MBC clubs that enabled them to operate more effectively for the purposes of participatory communication. For example, the DBU team observed that participation was proving a challenge to facilitate when audiences were being addressed as large groups (Mtelera, 2013). In response to these observations, the DBU established listener participation structures that engaged with audiences in smaller, localised groups (Mtelera, 2020; Manyozo, 2007).

The model established by the DBU in the early 2000s still guides listener clubs as they exist in the MBC today. Clubs are self-managed by members who are first provided with basic training in recording, moderation and how to conduct group discussions (Kapyepye, 2020, personal interview). However, the DBU assumes the role of a facilitator for the clubs and empowers them by putting them in touch with relevant specialists on a particular topic or making arrangements for a larger forum during which community members discuss issues of concern. The DBU identifies a producer who visits the clubs periodically to facilitate and record discussions on a specific topic. The topics differ from one area to another, depending on needs. Discussions, therefore, range from a focus on gender, health, agriculture, education, entrepreneurship, skills development and environmental issues (Kamkwamba, 2020, personal interview). The recordings for such discussions are later taken to the MBC for editing and broadcasting (Chimala & Chikapa, 2010). Typically, the individual who facilitates the club also acts as the presenter or producer of a radio programme on the associated station.

The process requires that facilitators first convene a club meeting so that the members can agree on a topic of discussion and explore this topic. They then make use of recordings

from this discussion as the basis for an on-air programme. Usually, they will invite experts, social service providers, officials, and policymakers into the studio to discuss the listeners' concerns. At this stage, the club will gather again to listen to the broadcast and to comment. In this way, it ensures that listeners can contribute to the framing of discussions on the station's programming. More particularly, it enables discussions in which the perspectives of individuals in positions of authority, such as experts, social service providers, officials and policymakers, are balanced with those of community members (Manda, 2015; Mhagama, 2015). A typical programme begins with recordings of club members' discussions in which they explore a problem or social concern. The second part contains dialogue between club members and experts in which they engage with the problem, teasing out solutions (Kapyepye, 2020).

Since their establishment, MBC clubs have enabled the participation of their members in developmental programmes such as *'Ndizathuzomwe'* [These things are ours] and *'Kanthu Nkhama'* [Hard work pays]. Listeners are accommodated in these 30-minute, weekly programmes to discuss issues such as food security, health, gender and HIV/AIDS (Manyozo 2005). The numbers of listeners have been increasing every year. Since 2000, the DBU has established RLCs across a range of rural communities in the country. The clubs are identified by any local name or words that they select (Nyirenda et al., 2018; Chirwa, 2020). By 2018, the DBU was managing close to 150 of these clubs nationally (Shale, 2016 in Kapiri, 2017). In 2020, the number had increased to an estimated 180 clubs. The clubs continued to conduct their activities despite the outbreak of Covid 19 during this period, with members advised to adhere to Covid preventive measures as they conducted their discussions (Chirwa, 2023).

The clubs are often based in social environments that are economically fragile, where communities face daily challenges. Topics of relevance to these challenges form part of their discussions (Chirwa, 2020). Furthermore, the emphasis is no longer purely on content of relevance to agricultural instruction. Unlike the earlier farmers' forums, where the objective was to strengthen farmers' agricultural knowledge, the DBU introduced an emphasis on the establishment of a culture of public discussion of development issues that encompassed an engagement between the electorate and government (Nkata, 2016; Manyozo, 2007). In this way, listener clubs have come to represent an important aspect of the MBC's strategy for accommodating democratic public participation in its programming.

It is of interest to the researcher that these participatory strategies are pursued within the MBC despite the fact that the broadcaster continues to form part of an authoritarian system of communication controlled by the state in which public participation is not prioritised (Teer-Tomaselli, 2018; Lwanda, 2014; Kankuzi, 2013; Patel, 2013). As we have seen, the clubs that

the Ministry of Agriculture introduced in the 1960s served a Sarnoffian, top-down approach to programming, contrary to the typical purpose of clubs. Episodes foregrounded stories about exemplary farmers who attributed their success to government support. The clubs operated as part of a strategy for improving agricultural productivity, but they also served to emphasise the government's role in facilitating these success stories. As such, they enhanced the political interests of government in a manner that was similar to the general approach by the MBC to broadcast news.

However, since the 1990s, due to the role of the DBU, there has been a shift towards a more facilitative, emancipatory approach to these clubs. In contrast to the early years, they now focus on enabling more critical discussion in which audiences deliberate on issues of relevance to civil rights and citizenship (Kapyepye, 2020; Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011; Chiyamwaka, 2009; Chapota, 2009; Sisya, 2003). In the context of these clubs, we see the potential of achieving not only the Brechtian but perhaps even the Freirean vision of radio for social emancipation that has been absent within the overall social purpose of the MBC.

2.2 Listener clubs in Commercial Radio in Malawi

Commercial radio stations in Malawi generally started showing interest in establishing listener clubs around the year 2012. Programming staff mention that their interest in the clubs stemmed from the need to reach out to listeners to encourage participation in programming (Mankhambera, 2020, personal interview; Sandram, 2020, personal interview). A number of stations introduced clubs either as an in-house initiative or in the context of partnerships with non-profit organisations such as Canadian-based Farm Radio International (FRI) (Mloza, 2020, personal Interview). MIJ FM Radio has, for example, established clubs to accommodate local community voices on development issues. To a lesser extent, Zodiak Radio has also engaged small groups of local communities that have discussed issues in a pattern similar to conventional radio clubs (Mankhambera, 2020, personal interview; Mloza, 2020, personal interview). In some instances, particularly in the case of in-house initiatives, discussions have dealt with a wide range of social issues such as the environment, health, political governance, human rights and climate change (Chikalipo, 2020, personal interview). In contrast, discussions within the listener clubs supported by organisations such as Farm Radio International tend to focus on strengthening small-scale agricultural projects in a particular geographical location (Mloza, 2020, personal interview). As discussed in Chapter Three, the FRI worked in collaboration with nearly 400 radio broadcasters in approximately 40 African

countries with the aim of alleviating poverty and food insecurity in developing nations (Chapota et al., 2014). It is also possible to observe the difference between the sources of international support for the growth of the clubs in public and commercial radio. There was more initial support from British-based organisations such as DFID in public radio in the context of the DBU, while similar support for such structures in commercial radio originated from FRI, a Canadian-based organisation.

Within the Malawi commercial radio sector, stations typically introduced one or two listener clubs to their broadcast operations. Over a period of one or two years, the number of clubs would increase, gaining popularity through repeated broadcasting of discussions. In this way, stations have succeeded in establishing fairly successful radio listening clubs that hold meetings on a regular basis with strong attendance (Mankhambera, 2020, personal interview).

As we saw in public radio in the previous section, a typical club meeting in a commercial station also involves a recorded discussion on a relevant topic. Thereafter, a producer edits the recording for broadcasting in a related programme. Again, as is the case with public radio, the presenter and producer of a programme in which the discussions are broadcast assumes the role of a coordinator for the listener clubs. In the event that a particular discussion has produced outcomes requiring responses from experts and policy makers, the club coordinator invites responsible persons to respond to such concerns as guests in the programmes (Chikalipo, 2020, personal interview).

In contrast to the MBC clubs, the commercial station clubs bear names of the programmes and radio stations with which they are associated or indeed by the names of local areas where club members are based. Experts observe that the practice of assigning titles of programmes to listener clubs is typical of clubs in many contexts in Africa and not just in the context of commercial radio. The practice, nevertheless, serves the interest of a commercial broadcaster well, given that it helps a station to promote itself, strengthening its visibility amongst members of its target audience. As such, the clubs are emerging as broadcast structures through which commercial radio stations can begin to accommodate the voices of their audience and build a strong relationship with them (Damome, 2020; Mankhambera, 2020).

However, commentators note that the emergence of the clubs in commercial radio has not been as organised and popular as with clubs introduced within public radio. One reason for this has been the lack of capacity in the form of well-trained producers and departments to successfully coordinate the clubs the way the DBU has done at the MBC. On the whole, the commercial programming logic has tended to pose a challenge towards the support for the

growth of the clubs and their participatory role in these stations (Manda, 2014; Mhagama, 2015; Mloza, 2020).

It is possible to conclude that the introduction of listening clubs in commercial radio has operated as an extension of the overall strategies employed by such stations to establish themselves as private enterprises in Malawi. The need to generate revenue persists as the motivation behind the existence for commercial radio (Moyo, 2012). Stations strengthen this purpose by building close relationships with listeners so that they can deliver them to advertisers. However, preliminary observations as captured in the discussion suggest that these stations have adopted a fairly haphazard approach to the establishment of clubs. The clubs located in this tier of broadcasting do not, for this reason, benefit from the structures and processes designed to facilitate the empowerment of members that can be observed in the case of DBU. As such, it may be that they are representative of a Brechtian approach to listener clubs rather than a Freirean one. In the empirical section of this study, the researcher aims to explore the extent to which this initial observation can be verified.

2.3 Listener clubs in Community Radio in Malawi

Various community radio stations in the country have also adopted the use of radio listening clubs as an approach to engage local communities and allow them to participate in discussions on development issues in their areas (Mhagama, 2015; Osman, 2008). The majority of community radio listener clubs were established almost at the same time as the second wave of clubs were being introduced within the public broadcaster. As discussed above, this took place in the 1990s; the introduction of clubs in community radio followed soon after in 2000.

In contrast to clubs in public and commercial stations that were respectively established with support from British- and Canadian-based organisations, the initial backing for such structures in community radio came largely from organisations such as UNESCO, the Panos Institute Southern Africa, and Open Society Institute of Southern Africa (OSISA). These organisations are invested in the empowerment of marginalised communities and groups through participatory discussions about their rights (Mhagama, 2015; Banda, 2007). It is, therefore, not surprising that the first community broadcaster known to have introduced such clubs is Dzimwe Community Radio Station. As noted in the previous section, this was also the first community radio station to be established in the country, through the initiative of MAMWA and with assistance from Panos (Manjawira & Mitunda, 2011; Chirwa, 2005). Immediately after the establishment of Dzimwe, MAMWA introduced 12 radio listener clubs,

while members of staff at the radio station initiated three more clubs to bring the total to 15 structures. By the end of 2007, the station had managed to register 17 radio listening clubs (Mchakulu, 2007). The number of clubs at the station is estimated to have reached 44 at the end of 2010. Dzimwe Radio provides the clubs with radio sets but the members are encouraged to make small financial contributions towards the purchase of batteries (Wood, 2010).

Nkhotakota Community Radio, established after Dzimwe, was another outstanding community radio station which established 32 radio listening clubs in its catchment area (Mhagama, 2015). Commentators note that the listening clubs were incorporated at this time because they demonstrated the stations' capacity to facilitate public participation in the identification of appropriate and sustainable policies for poverty alleviation and improvement of livelihoods (Mhagama, 2015; Manyozo, 2012). Since 2013, most community radio stations in the country have established radio listening clubs as participatory forums for discussion of development and other social issues relevant to their communities (PSAf, 2013). More clubs have recently emerged in community stations such as Gaka FM in Nsanje, Mudziwathu in Mchinji, Mzimba in Mzimba district, Usisya in Nkhatabay and Lilanguka in Mangochi (Macra, 2020; Msiska et al., 2018; Manda, 2015).

In a typical setup, a community station provides clubs with basic recording equipment and other accessories such as batteries and audio tapes for capturing the discussions for broadcasting later. It also ensures that the club members are trained in the use of equipment as well as handling group discussions. A chairperson often leads the discussions while a member appointed as a secretary records minutes of the proceedings. All club members are accorded equal opportunity to suggest topics for discussion in a particular session, afterwhich members vote for the main items to be included in the agenda. In addition, the radio station assumes responsibility for connecting the various affiliated clubs to each other, as well as connecting them with local and national policymakers, experts, government officials and social service providers. The radio stations also facilitate dialogue between local people and duty-bearers invited to the discussions (Mtelera, 2013). This interface between local communities and policy makers or service providers is described as yielding positive results, such as the construction of health and education facilities in areas where there were none. Observers also note that local communities develop a strong sense of ownership and involvement when they hear their voices and concerns on a radio located within their communities (Chikaipa & Gunde, 2020; Msiska et al., 2018; Manda, 2015; Mchakulu, 2007).

It is clear from this summary that listener clubs have become well established within the community radio sector in Malawi over a relatively short period of time. One reason for

this may be that listener clubs are particularly well suited as a vehicle for achieving the central, Freirean purpose of community radio. We saw in Section One that community radio in this country is characterised by a commitment to ownership and control by local communities, and a focus on their development. The listener clubs are described as sharing the responsibility of achieving this goal of social development in the local context (Chikaipa & Gunde, 2020; Manyozo, 2012; PSAf, 2003).

Commentators note that community radio stations in Malawi are particularly well suited to building and maintaining a vibrant tradition of radio listener clubs. It may therefore be that it is in context of this tier of broadcasting that we can find clubs that fulfill the Freirean ideal. After all, they define their core purpose as that of establishing community ownership and participation, which creates an enabling environment for the potential effectiveness of the clubs. It is, indeed, not surprising to note that some of the most successful radio listening clubs in the country are linked to community radio stations (Malawi Communications Act, 2016; Manda, 2015; Mhagama, 2015; Mchakulu, 2007). For these reasons, the connection between listener clubs and community radio stations has the potential to continue growing in the Malawian context. However, it remains to be seen what contribution the clubs in the case of Malawi are, in fact, making to meaningful social emancipation of local communities. It is hoped that the empirical component of this study can provide the researcher with insight into this question.

Conclusion

Section One of this chapter dealt with the composition of the radio landscape in Malawi. We saw that the historical forces that shaped each tier of broadcasting also formed the relationships that now exist between stations and their audiences. The section focused on the social, political and economic interests that compete against each other in shaping these relationships. We saw that, in each case, stations claim to be invested in serving the interest of their audiences and to contribute to their empowerment. However, within each tier, it is possible to identify powerful stakeholders whose interests may, at times, be at odds with those of the audiences. Within the public broadcaster, editorial content often directly supports the political agenda of the government. Within commercial radio, the private sector uses programming to promote their activities and interests. Within community radio, editorial goals can be in alignment with the agendas of international development partners, and this relationship has the potential to constrain ownership and control of programming by listeners.

Section Two traced the introduction of listener clubs within public, commercial and community radio in Malawi. In the case of the MBC, it was possible to observe two waves in the establishment of clubs, in the 1960s in the context of agricultural radio and in the 1990s for the purpose of social development. Within context of the first wave, clubs did not lead to the establishment of a Brechtian approach to audience participation due to the continued dominance of the government's agenda. However, in the second wave, DBU-facilitated clubs did open up some possibilities for Brechtian or even Freirian engagement, even within the generally authoritarian culture of the MBC. In the context of commercial radio, the role that listener clubs are playing in establishing a Brechtian let alone Freirean audience culture remains compromised by the strong commitment within this tier to the interests of private enterprise. Nevertheless, attempts to introduce the clubs within this tier of broadcasting continues to represent an opportunity to legitimise their claim to be champions in creating alternative spaces for critical engagement with issues of public interest. Community radio, viewed at face value, can be seen to represent an ideal environment for nurturing the culture of participatory, Brechtian radio or Frierean dialogue that is historically associated with listener clubs. However, review of literature and fieldwork conducted for this chapter suggests that this potential is sometimes overshadowed by agendas imposed by donor agencies that support the stations. The remainder of this dissertation explores the extent to which these dynamics have either enabled or constrained the role played by listener clubs in Malawi in building a Brechtian culture of audience engagement or introducing aspects of the Frierean ideal of transformative dialogue.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE PLANNING AND EXECUTION OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Introduction

This chapter deals with the research plan for the empirical component of this study. In discussing this plan, I adopt the use of the first person in order to allow for reflection on the decisions that I have made in its design and implementation. Section One describes the overall research design, focusing on the research goals and the plan for their execution. Section Two describes how this plan was put into practice, commenting both on the value of the resulting research outcomes and on their limitations. The emphasis, throughout, is on demonstrating how I went about ensuring the validity and reliability of the research process.

1. The overall research plan

The first two subsections below serve as a reflection on central insights drawn from the chapters I have so far presented in order to demonstrate how they informed the conceptualisation of my research goals. In the remaining subsections, I describe these goals and map out the research plan that I put together in order to ensure that they could be realised.

1.1 The discussion so far as a backdrop to the empirical research

The first four chapters of this dissertation serve as a review of available literature in order to contextualise and conceptualise the empirical component of the study. Chapter One articulates a theoretical framework for the investigation. In order to achieve this purpose, I examine different traditions of scholarship that have made significant contributions to the field of audience studies. I identify, within each of these traditions, a distinct understanding of the purpose of scientific knowledge of society inherent to the tradition of social science with which they are associated. I demonstrate that, until the mid-20th century, positivist conceptualisations dominated the approach to audience studies. My argument is that this emphasis was informed by an interest in the maintenance of established relations of power in society. I then trace the emergence, in the second half of the 20th century, of alternative approaches to the study of audiences that critique the conservatism of the early conceptualisations and propose emancipatory alternatives. Within cultural studies, I point to an emphasis on the need to recognise the role of the audience in communication as a participatory process. Within post-colonial and decolonial scholarship, I note references to the importance of engaging with the philosophical and methodological requirements of audience research based in the Global

South. In this way, I establish key terms of reference for my engagement throughout this dissertation, with the conceptualisation of audiences.

In each of the remaining chapters, I deal with different aspects of the context of the study and explore the relevance of the theoretical framework to these contexts. Chapter Two deals with the international history of the relationship between radio and its audiences. I proposed that this history is informed by a contestation between what I term, on one hand, a 'Sarnoffian' emphasis on social control and, on the other, 'Brechtian' and 'Freirean' emphases on social emancipation. The Sarnoffian vision is concerned with the promotion of a top-down approach to communication in which the audiences are located as passive receivers of content. In contrast, the Brechtian and Freirean understandings constitute the audiences as active participants in the communication process. Within this vision, the audiences are enabled to access knowledge about their social environments and make meaningful contributions towards the production of such knowledge. I propose, furthermore, that the Freirean version of this understanding is more action-oriented in its framing, prioritising the need for methodological guidelines that can be followed to facilitate audience participation. It does so with intent of transcending unequal relationships of power that shape the engagement of a given audience with programming content. As such it can be seen to be more advanced in its conceptualisation than the Brechtian conception.

I refer to this concept as Freirean because it finds its origins in context of the birth of community radio in Latin America, where it was shaped by the emancipatory education tradition associated with Paolo Freire. As such, it is a conceptualisation of audience that originates from the Global South. I propose that it represents an important altenative to the conceptualisations of radio audiences that emerged in the UK and the US because it offers more compelling guidelines for the achievement of emancipatory radio.

With this argument as a starting point the chapter further examines the diverse manners in which these three conceptualisation of radio audiences spread across the world. The discussion pays attention, firstly, to ideas that originated in the UK and then circulated to countries that had previously been British colonies. As part of this discussion, I point out that there is an important distinction between the way ideas about audience were exported to Canada and Australia versus countries that were still under colonial rule when radio first emerged in the early 20th century. In the former, the emphasis was a Brechtian one, in which radio practitioners understood broadcasting to be a public good which should operate for the purpose of the empowerment of its audiences. In the latter, the emphasis was on state radio as a Sarnoffian mechanism of social control. Secondly, the chapter traces the circulation of ideas

about radio and its relationship to audience that originated in the American context and was then exported internationally. We saw that this conceptualisation was again, primarily, Sarnoffian in its intent. I point out in subsequent chapters that it was the Sarnoffian conceptions of radio and audience that found purchase in the context of Malawi.

In Chapter Three I describe the global history of radio listener clubs, demonstrating how it is located within the broader history of radio audiences. The chapter shows how the contrasting conceptualisations of audience highlighted in Chapter Two can be traced within the history of the clubs. It traces these patterns of conceptualisation from the initial introduction of clubs in first world countries to their global expansion in the Global South. I note that, in industrially advanced contexts of the Global North, the most sustained history of listener clubs can be observed in Canada. Here it can be seen to have served not just a Brechtian purpose of empowerment and emancipation but even a Freirean one, in which an emphasis on action-oriented methodology helps to ensure that such empowerment is realised in practice.

It is significant in the context of this study that, within the above discussion, I am able to trace a direct line of influence between the Canadian model of listener clubs and the approaches to listener clubs that have been taken up in the African context, including that of Malawi. In Chapter Four, this connection to global lines of influence is maintained in my discussion of the history of radio and listener clubs in Malawi. I also argue that it is important to trace the evolution of such clubs in each of the three tiers of broadcasting in this country. I approach this task by describing the current radio landscape in Malawi and explaining how each of the three tiers of broadcasting has been shaped by the social history of Malawi. I then examined the role that listener clubs play within each of these tiers. My discussion demonstrates how Sarnoffian, Brechtian and Freirean approaches to radio audiences informed the establishment of clubs within each tier. Firstly, I observe that the second wave of clubs introduced by the MBC during the 1990s demonstrate that these structures were more successful in enabling audience participation than those that were established in the 1960s. Nevertheless, despite the emancipatory impact of these clubs, the overall editorial policy of the MBC still functions primarily in support of government control of communication systems. Secondly, I noted that the clubs have recently become a feature in commercial radio. However, here too, their potential to enable audience participation and achieve social emancipation remain constrained, this time by the commercial imperative of commercial radio. Finally, I described how the clubs were taken up in community radio and argued that this tier of broadcasting lends itself most directly to the realisation of their potential for social emancipation of audiences. I proposed that this is due to the fact that the fundamental purpose

of community radio is most closely aligned with that of listener clubs, given its commitment to the empowerment of audiences through participatory communication.

It is possible to argue that the emergence of clubs in Malawi point to a commitment amongst radio practitioners and other stakeholders in this country to achieving the Brechtian vision of radio for the social emancipation of audiences. Indeed, they can in some instance even be seen to realise the Freirean ideal, with its emphasis on action-oriented dialogical strategy that helps to ensure the achievement of social liberation. However, in my view the presence of such clubs cannot, on their own, be read as evidence of the general emergence of a participatory culture of communication. Studies suggest that if listener clubs operate in contexts that are broadly defined by unequal relations of power, this may continue to constrain their effective operation (Mtelera, 2013; Manyozo, 2012; Hart, 2011; Banda, 2003). My discussion in Chapter Four points to the presence of such constraints as a result of the extent to which the social interests of authoritative groups in society still dominate each of the broadcasting tiers in Malawi.

The plan for the empirical research that forms part of this dissertation, as set out below, is informed by these arguments and insights.

1.2 Conceptualising the operation of a listener club

Based on my review of relevant literature dealing with listener clubs as captured in Chapter Three and Four as well as my personal observation of listener clubs in Malawi, I concluded that the operation of a listener club typically consists of three moments. The first is respresented by the club discussion that takes place prior to on-air programming. The second is the discussion that takes place as part of on-air programming. The third is the club discussion that reflects on such programming after it is aired.

The first moment is located off-air, in the context of the preparatory discussion that takes place in listener clubs prior to the planning of the shows. These listener club discussions involve deliberations amongst the listener club members, and may involve duty-bearers who reside within the local community, such as an agricultural extension worker or a health assistant. The discussions provide an opportunity for participants to present and record ‘the village voice’ [VV] in which they question the accountability of local duty-bearers as the first point of contact.

The second moment is represented by the radio show itself. Because the show is broadcast, it operates as a public space. It generally serves as a space in which the resolutions

that club members have developed in the context of the initial club discussions are shared publicly. In this way, their perspectives and proposals are shared with duty-bearers and service providers from outside the community, who are invited to participate in the show as guests. Through this mechanism, community members gain access to a wider public forum and reach out to official duty-bearers from the district and national levels. The on-air moment also provides community members with an opportunity to engage with public officials and such engagement, as well as the response from officials, is documented.

The third and final moment is represented by a club meeting that takes place after the show, providing space for reflection on the outcomes of the show. As part of such reflection, listener club members and club co-ordinators evaluate the extent to which show guests have followed up on proposals made in the show. This process of evaluation provides community members with an opportunity to hold these guests accountable. They can, for example, consider the extent to which public officials have followed up on the completion of development projects or the reformulation of policies. In this way, the moment demonstrates the value of the resolutions of the clubs in influencing social change.

I decided to organise my research design around a consideration of these three moments in the operation of clubs. By doing so I would, more particularly, attempt to establish whether a club's operation is informed by a Sarnoffian, a Brechtian or a Freirean conception of audience.

1.3 The research aims and objectives

The first aim of this empirical study is to establish a deeper understanding of the role that listener clubs play in the contemporary Malawian context by examining how they operate within each tier of the radio landscape. In each case, my aim was to explore the extent to which the operation of such clubs can be said to be informed either by a commitment to social control or social emancipation. I aimed to establish, in particular, whether the conceptualisation of audience that operated in each context can be described, on one hand, as Sarnoffian (informed by an interest in social control) or on the other as Brechtian or Freirean (informed by an interest in emancipation). I also aimed to identify those instances in which the operation of clubs could be said to approximate the more ideal Freirean conceptualisation. In such instances it would be possible to identify action-oriented methodological guidelines which enables engagement with relations of power so that the emancipatory goals of listener clubs could be more fully achieved.

The second aim of the study is to examine the extent to which the presence of these Brechtian, Sarnoffian and Freirean conceptions of radio audiences in Malawi can be seen as evidence of the relationship of influence that exists between this local history and the global history of such conceptualisation. I take note, in this context, that presence of the three tiers of radio in which listener clubs are housed are in themselves representative of the local influence of global traditions of radio. I therefore hoped, by examining the way listener clubs operate within each of these tiers, to produce a nuanced description of the intersection between the global and local trajectories of ideas about radio as this can be observed in Malawi.

In order to realise these aims, I planned to examine the clubs by focusing on different moments in their operation.

To assist me in my assessment of each of the three moments in the operation of a listener club, as it can be seen to operate within a particular tier or broadcasting, I identified five research objectives:

1. To gain insight into the way that discussions about issues of relevance to the public good are facilitated within clubs at each of the three moments, and to identify the responses to such issues that become articulated by listener club members in this context.

2. To observe how staff at radio stations, and the guests that they invite to participate in radio shows, engage with listener responses emerging from the clubs as part of the on-air moment in the operation of clubs and to describe the programming content that is generated in this way.

3. To gain insight into the way listener club members make sense of such programme content both during the on-air moment and in the moment of post-programme reflection.

4. To gain insight into how listener club members experience the enablement of their own involvement in these communication processes at each moment in a club's operation. I was interested, in particular, in assessing the extent to which they felt constrained from involvement in public discussion by forces of social control or enabled in such participation by forces of social emancipation. I was also interested in what they,

therefore, understood to be the potential benefit of the listener clubs; the extent to which this potential is being realised; and how this can more successfully be achieved.

5. To compare these communication processes as they take place in the context of commercial, community and public radio, as traditions of broadcasting that form part of the global history of radio and have been adopted in the local context. Throughout such exploration, to examine the role played by the broadcast cultures that characterise each of these tiers of broadcasting, in order to determine the extent to which they enable an entrechnment of either a Sarnoffian and Brechtian or Freirean conceptualisation of the audience. As part of this, to consider the role played by relations of power and the vested interests of participants in the communication processes. In this way, to trace the relationship between global conceptions of radio audiences and their articulation in the local context.

1.4 A case study design

I decided that a case study design would be appropriate to this study because it offers ways of exploring the 'why and how' of participatory communication as it takes place in a specific context (Avenier & Thomas, 2015; Yin, 2013; Bennett, 2004). The case study approach is generally recommended when a reasercher intends to investigate contextual conditions because they are relevant to the phenomenon under study. It is also effective in qualitatitive studies where the borderlines are not clear between the phenomenon and context. In such context, the design enables clear identification of cases and their activities (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2003).

The study identifies the 'case' of listener clubs in Malawi as an example of the way in which global conceptions of radio audiences have been taken up in a local context. I did not, however, aim to make more generalised observations based on the case of Malawi about listener clubs as they operate in the broader African context. Rather, I was interested in exploring the Malawi case as a unique example of the way in which different conceptions of radio, circulating within the international context, become concretised in one particular local environment.

We saw in the previous chapter that the clubs emerged in the MBC as a result of strong support from British-based organisations. There was also significant support from both Western and African-based organisations for the growth of the clubs in the context of

community radio. In contrast, interest in the introduction of clubs in the commercial tier is a more recent phenomenon and is, in fact, most strongly associated with one commercial station, where it has emerged as an in-house initiative. In instances where commercial radio have aired programmes that feature club discussions, such productions have generally been externally produced by organisations such as Farm Radio International. I wanted to tease out the implications of these contextual differences for the operation of listener clubs in this country. As such, the introduction of listener clubs within the commercial tier exists as an anomaly within the context of Malawi. Nevertheless, the anomaly enabled me to pursue a comparative approach that involved each tier of broadcasting.

I decided to focus on the operation of one listener club in each broadcast tier. I did not assume that this would enable me to make generalisations about how clubs typically operate in each tier. Instead, the purpose was to explore in rich detail the unique approach to the operation of clubs that I could observe in each case. Nevertheless, this exploration was seen as an opportunity to examine the role that clubs can potentially fulfil within each tier, given the affordances and constraints that exist in each of these contexts. I was also interested in exploring the differences that could be observed between clubs that are historically well established (as is the case with the state broadcaster) and those that have emerged more recently (as in the case of commercial and community radio). In selecting clubs, I planned to identify the ones that are well established, with the highest level of participation from members within each tier of broadcasting. For the sake of convenience, I would prioritise clubs based in the region of Blantyre, which is where I reside. This was applied to both state radio and commercial radio.

I was conscious that the decision to include clubs for the sake of convenience might place limitations on the validity of the research process. There was, for example, the potential for either under-representation or over-representation of particular social groups in the research population. For this reason, the samples drawn may not be representative of the population under study and as such not generalizable to a wider population (Jawad, G., et al., 2022; Creswell, 2013). However, as is the case with the purpose of my study, generalisation has been argued as not always the significant goal in qualitative studies. In order to compensate for the potential limitation I ensured that I engaged with a diversity of clubs from different radio stations to produce an appropriate cross-section of the targeted population.

In selecting my example of a listener club based in state radio, I was engaging with a broadcasting platform with national reach and a strong presence in both urban and rural areas. Furthermore, as explained in Chapter Four, this broadcaster has facilitated local audience

engagement with its programming content by means of listener clubs since the 1960s. As noted in that chapter, this tradition was reinvigorated in the late 1990s under the auspices of the Development Broadcasting Unit (DBU). It succeeded in establishing a strong participatory culture in existing clubs and also expanded the club system so that there are now 200 such clubs based across the country. They include radio clubs on programmes such as *Kanthu N'khama [Hardwork Pays],* which feature discussions about infrastructure development, and clubs based in schools focusing on HIV/AIDS education. Each club is managed by its own membership drawn from the local community, with supportive facilitation from a DBU staff member; and recordings from club discussions are broadcast on selected MBC programmes. For the purpose of this study, I selected the Nanjili MBC Listening Club, both because the coordinator of the clubs at MBC explained to me that it can be seen to represent a typical example of a DBU listening club, and because its location in Blantyre was convenient to me. This club is based in the Lunzu Area, 20 kilometers north west of Blantyre City. The club's discussions form part of a programme on MBC called *Tigwirane Manja [Let's hold hands]* which focuses on development and health issues. At the moment, the programme features discussions from 30 active listener clubs based across the country.

In the case of commercial radio, I selected MIJ FM, a commercial radio station that is located opposite The Polytechnic in Blantyre City. Its studios are housed within the premises of the Malawi Institute of Journalism (MIJ), one of the major media training institutions in the country. MIJ was established in 1995 with financial assistance from the European Union in order to promote media independence and professionalism. The station was launched in 2000, to provide MIJ with an experiential learning platform. Currently, MIJ FM operates as a licensed commercial station and broadcasts to audiences located in semi-rural and semi-urban areas across all the regions of the country. It carries programming about news and current affairs, health, the environment, sports and entertainment. It is ranked as the third most widely accessed national commercial radio station in Malawi. The club that MIJ FM operates is called *Amayi Mwakonzanji [Women, what have you prepared?*] radio listening club. It was introduced in 2017, and takes its name after the *Amayi Mwakonzanji* radio programme, in which the discussions from the club are featured (MIJ website, 2024; Macra & NSO, 2023).

It made more sense to look further afield for a club associated with community radio, since stations within this tier of broadcasting tend to be based in rural and peri-urban areas. For this reason, I selected a club associated with Gaka FM, a community radio station based in Nsanje, a district located approximately three-hour's drive from Blantyre. The station was established in 2015 with financial support from Foundation for Active and Civic Education

(FACE), a local NGO. It also received technical support from The Polytechnic, then a constituent college of the University of Malawi (now the independent Malawi University of Business and Applied Sciences). It broadcasts to listeners based in villages within the transmitter radius of 60 kilometers from its base at Bangula trading centre. In this way, the station is able to reach out to the 300,000 population of Nsanje district, establishing itself as the most widely accessible community radio station in Southern Malawi out of the five main community stations in the region. The station can also be accessed in other Shire Valley districts of Chikwawa and Mwanza, and parts of Thyolo and Zomba districts. It focuses on programming about food and nutrition, security, education and awareness, disaster risk management, health, water and sanitation, and youth and women empowerment. The club conducts discussions that are mainly featured in a broadcast show called *Gaka Social Responsibility.* The club invites duty-bearers to respond to the discussions about community challenges in the on-air programme. The members also meet at Gaka after the programme is aired in order to assess the impact of the broadcast. Sometimes the discussions are included in another programme entitled *Citizen Hour,* in which listeners also phone in to comment on emerging social issues in the Nsanje district (Macra & NSO, 2023).

In each instance, I intended to contact a coordinator of the clubs in the area so that they could assist me in the identification of appropriate clubs and put me in touch with club members. I resolved to adhere to purposive sampling requirements in order to identify reasonable estimates of members that would represent each of the three clubs from the radio stations. I understood that the use of reasonable samples is a deliberately informed requirement within qualitative research methodology because the aim is not to collect larger samples in order to generalise findings as is often the goal in quantitative research. I decided to draw participants through carefully selected sample sizes as a deliberate strategy that would enable me achieve the specific purpose of the study. However, I also intended to consult the club coordinators as my key informants on the number of potential members that they could assist me to organise for the study.

1.5 The fieldwork plan and research methods

I made a decision to employ qualitatitive research as a valid methodology for achieving the purpose of the study. Similarly I opted to engage the distinct methods of qualitative research in the process of conducting fieldwork because their implementation enable a researcher to produce rich descriptions about social phenomena and context.

I planned the fieldwork so that it would enable me to understand the three distinct moments in the operation of the clubs, as described above. I intended to achieve this purpose by first observing the club discussions and then the on-air programmes that feature recordings drawn from such discussions. Finally, I would conduct interviews with club members in order to reflect on the club discussions and the resulting radio programmes. In addition, I aimed to interview radio personnel involved in the production and presentation of these programmes, and guests who participate in the shows. In this way, I would be able to gain insights into the way these different contributors experienced participation in the conversations that they were designed to facilitate (Lim, 2024; Tracy, 2024; Palys & Atchison 2021; Creswell, 2013; Hancock et al., 2001).

a) Observational research

I understood that I would need to familiarise myself as a first-person eyewitness with the operation of the clubs at each of the three stations. I would do so by spending time at each station observing the clubs at different moments in their operation cycle. I designed my period of observation at each station so that it could enable me to identify patterns in the way the clubs operated and themes in the conversations they helped to facilitate. I expected the observation to enable me to produce thick descriptions of the way participants contributed to these conversations (Hennink et al., 2020; Bryman, 2008; Geertz, 1973). This would assist me in realising the first three research objectives, enabling me to develop rich terms of reference for the interviews that I would conduct later in my fieldwork.

I knew that I would, as a first step, need to secure permission to access the stations for a period of observation. I would also need to explain to both staff members at the station and club members what the purpose of my research is, so that they could accept my presence as an observer. It would be important that everyone understood the tasks that I would be engaged in during the observational period, such as making fieldnotes and recording the audio for the discussions. I planned to identify a convenient location within the environment of each station and club premises that would enable the process of observation. Where possible, I also hoped to moderately participate in specific moments of the activities I was there to observe, for the strict purpose of seeking clarification of the processes taking place.

As part of my observational process, I intended to acquaint myself with the social setting in which the stations and the clubs operate. In the context of the clubs, I would take note of the number of members that would be present in club meetings, and establish their ages and gender characteristics. I would make notes of the main topics of conversation that transpire

during club sessions and how these topics are explored. I also expected to observe the body language of the participants in order to assess the way they would be interacting with each other during the discussions. Within such interaction, I intended to identify which members dominate the discussion and which assume a passive stance. My hope was to identify factors that influenced the different behaviours. I planned to be guided in this overall exercise by designing an observational checklist. The details of the checklist are discussed below under the section on research instruments.

In the context of my observation of the radio shows, I aimed to gain insight into the exact decisions and steps that producers take in their preparation and management of the on-air programming. Where I succeeded in being present during the broadcast or recording of a show, I intended to pay attention to the arrangements that framed the production process. As part of this, I would take note of the studio setup, the way club members are physically positioned and the manner in which the presenter is moderating the discussion between the club members and the guests. Should I face challenges in gaining access to such opportunities for observation, I intended to request the producers to supply me with pre-recorded programmes. I would also ask the producer to explain how the pre-recorded interviews and discussions were collected and the decisions made about the arrangement of the inserts in the programme. In this way, I would still be able to make assessments of the approach to moderation and the facilitation of participation.

b) Interviews

I decided to pursue interviews with contributors to the listener clubs and shows because I understood that they would enable me to explore their experience of the club and show activities. I planned, in each case, to conduct semi-structured one-on-one interviews in order to obtain detailed descriptions of this experience. My aim was to, firstly, conduct interviews with the coordinators of the clubs. I expected that they would provide valuable insight into the facilitation process since they have hands-on experience with the operations and management of the clubs affiliated to their stations. I intended to ask them to describe their own role in running club discussions, and producing and hosting the associated radio programmes. I would also prompt them to comment on the content of conversations that took place both in the club sessions and on-air, and to share their insights into the way club members, radio staff and show guests participate in such discussions.

Secondly, I aimed to conduct interviews with the guests who participated in the radio shows. I hoped to obtain detailed descriptions from them about the listener responses shared

on the shows drawing on the recordings of club discussions, and their own responses to this material as part of the shows.

Finally, I planned to conduct focus groups with members of the listener clubs. I decided that these interviews would involve a minimum of four to eight members from each of the listener clubs. I estimated that this number of focus group participants would be reasonably easy to organise and effectively manage during the discussions. In the focus groups, I would, firstly, explore the thoughts of the members about the meaning and relevance of issues discussed both in the clubs and in the radio programmes. I further hoped to explore their views on the nature of participation that they experience in the club discussions. I looked forward to exploring the way the members would describe the broader significance of the clubs, and how this would be achieved and sustained.

1.5 Developing research instruments

For the purpose of my fieldwork I developed an observational checklist and a set of interview guides (these are included in the appendix to this dissertation). I designed both the checklist and the guides so that they would enable me to capture descriptions of the operations of the clubs and shows, recording key aspects of the conversations that took place in this context. Furthermore, they needed to assist me in prompting participants to share their observations about these processes and conversations. As such, they would enable me to gain an understanding of the participants "emic perspective" of the club discussions which forms part of their own social world (Carter & Henderson, 2005: 215).

a) An observational questions list

I needed a list of key questions that would systematically guide my observation of the club discussions and radio shows. I designed the contents and order of the list so that they would logically direct my attention towards the relevant contextual issues necessary for achieving the research objectives. I structured the questions so that they would assist me in identifying distinct contextual features, behaviours and actions of the interviewees. Given my focus on social emancipation versus social control, I knew that I would need to pay particular attention to the existence of unequal power relations. I hoped I could observe how distinct social groupings such as men, women and youth participate in the discussions in order to assess how their designations may influence their level of participation.

I designed the list so that it ecompassed relevant questions for me to keep in mind during the observation processes. These questions focused on issues such as the overall physical

arrangements in the venue or studio; the location of individuals present within this space; the mode of moderation adopted by the facilitator; the level of interaction amongst those present; the type of responses; and their duration. My plan was to make brief notes on the list to identify relevant patterns in the moments of my observation [See observational questions list Appendices 3 and 4].

b) The interview guides

I structured the interview questions in an open-ended format in order to extract flexible, explanatory responses from the participants. In this way I hoped to gain insight into the way the participants understood the nature of discussions that take place in the context of the clubs and shows. The questions would further explore the specific ways the participants made sense of the role of the discussions in enhancing participation in discussions of relevance to the public good.

The interview guide that I designed for use in the case of club co-ordinators contained preliminary questions that are designed to solicit information about their background and experience in managing the clubs. This is followed by questions that explore their understanding of key concepts, including the notion of participatory communication and the principle of public good. Next, co-ordinators were prompted to evaluate the level of participation that they observe in listener club discussions (See the interview guide for RLC coordinators in Appendix 1a). Finally, they were asked to describe both the constraining and enabling factors impacting on the successful facilitation of club discussions (See interview guide for focus group discussions in Appendix 1c).

The guide that targets show guests, first, explores the professional profiles of the guests and their history of engagement with club discussions. The second question prompts the guests to explain their own perspectives on participatory communication. The guide also requires guests to discuss how they engage with participants' comments emerging from the club discussions. In particular, they are expected to elaborate how they have dealt with the proposals made by club members on policy development and the allocation of public resources. As part of this discussion, they were required to explain why listener club outcomes may or may not influence policy development and resource allocation [See interview guide for programme guests in Appendix 1b].

I produced the interview guide for focus groups in both English and the local Chichewa language to enable members to have a clear comprehension of the questions. The guide maintains the standard introductory inquiry into personal and occupational information. It then

directed the research participant to explain their general understanding of participatory communication that deals with issues of relevance to the public good. Next, the guide required the focus group member to assess the type of participation that they experienced in context of the club discussions. Finally, members were asked to discuss the challenges that constrain effective participation in discussions of relevance to the public good, and to suggest factors that would enable the achievement of such participation (See this focus group guide in Appendix 1c).

1.6 Managing the interview process

I understood that in order to ensure the success of the interview process, I would first need to secure permission from the management of each station. I then also needed to contact the listener club coordinators to secure their collaboration in the fieldwork process. They would need to assist me in setting the dates, times and locations for briefing participants and conducting the interviews.

As a second step in the fieldwork process, I planned to book appointments and arrange interviews with individuals who feature as guests in the radio programmes. I expected to identify the guests to be interviewed based on recommendations from the club coordinators. I would consider factors such as the frequent involvement of the guests in responding to the relevant issues discussed in the programmes.

As a third step, I expected to record the discussion and interviews with club participants using a digital audio recorder in order to capture verbatim descriptions and responses. I decided that I would also need the recordings to ensure that unplanned questions arising from the open-ended nature of the discussions and responses missed in the process of notetaking would be captured as well (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). In this way I acknowleged the limitations of the processs of notetaking in capturing all the relevant nuances of verbal discussions. I prepared to conduct the interviews within a reasonable duration and focus on collecting relevant responses. I planned to achieve this through my polite interventions in moments where participants continue speaking beyond their allocated time. I would also be alert to clarify issues and prompt participants when they are digressing from the key questions of the study. My expectation was to later transfer the material onto a computer for editing and documentation purposes. As a way of documenting evidence of being granted permission to record the audio for the interviews, I would consider requesting the participants to fill and sign consent forms. My decisions to follow these procedures would be informed by my interest to adhere to the requirements of

respecting the right of participants to voluntarily be involved in research (Vanclay et al., 2013; Hesse et al., 2019; Hopf, 2004).

1.7 Analysis of fieldwork material

In preparation for my analysis of the fieldwork material, I drafted questions that would guide me in locating significant themes and patterns for addressing the overall aim of the research; that of investigating the role of radio listener clubs in facilitating audience participation in discussion of issues that are of relevance to the public good in Malawi (See appendices 1a, b, c,d and appendix 2). I aimed to employ a thematic analysis to capture meaningful patterns that responded to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2012). It is important to recall that the research question in this study is concerned with an examination of how radio listener clubs can be seen to enable audience participation in context of an environment of authoritative broadcasting culture such as that of Malawi. I would then look for ways of linking the thematic patterns to the Sarnoffian, Brechtian and Freirean theoretical conceptualisations and, more importantly for this study, the global history of ideas about radio articulated in the early chapters. I also decided to use the NVivo 14 software for qualitative data analysis to support my analytical activities.

1.8 Ethical considerations

I understood that the study would require the participation of human beings in their working environment and the interviews gathered would deal with their experiences. As such, the study would need to adhere to ethical requirements in order to safeguard both the rights of the participants and their wellbeing. For these reasons, I secured all ethical permits for the study from the two relevant ethical review committees for this type of study in both countries. I obtained ethical approvals to commence fieldwork from the Rhodes University Human Ethics Committee (RU-HEC Approval number 2023-1579-7489) in South Africa and The National Commission for Science and Technology, an institution mandated to issue research permits in Malawi (Research Permit No.04/23/753). I also obtained further permission to conduct the study in all the individual local settings in Malawi. I ensured that all research participants consented to their involvement in the study and that their anonymity was maintained throughout the study.

2. Implementing the research plan

This section describes the way I executed the research plan. The discussion deals, firstly, with the strategy I pursued in identifying the research participants, securing their agreement to participate in the research process, and booking appointments with them. Secondly, it focuses on the management of the interview process. Finally, it looks at the process that I followed in analsying the interview material and writing up my findings.

2.1 Identifying the research candidates and setting up the interview process

My overall experience of securing the involvement of participants in this study was very positive. I was left with the impression that broadcasting institutions in Malawi believe in the importance of academic research focusing on their work. The cooperation of the institutions demonstrated their appreciation of a study that had the potential to provide an in-depth understanding of how stations can enhance their relationship with their audiences.

I booked appointments with the management of the three radio stations in order to confirm their availability for this study. I first visited MIJ FM, as an example of a commercial radio in Blantyre, and submitted the letter seeking permission to conduct the study at the station [see letter in Appendix 7]. I spoke to the station manager Roselyn Mankhambera, and Mwakhere Kalyande, the coordinator of *Amayi Mwakonzanji,* the radio club programme. Both Mankhambera and Kalyande appreciated the goals of the study and assisted me in identifying potential dates on which I could meet participants based at this station. I arranged to conduct an interview with the coordinator of the MIJ radio listening club and its membership on a later day. I also planned to meet a guest who participated in the on-air programme on the same day.

I also visited MBC radio, where the director of administration Justice Matonga granted me permission to proceed with the interviews [See appendix 8]. The director of administration advised me to meet Joshua Chirwa, the manager of the MBC Development Broadcasting Unit (DBU), the section responsible for programming that features content from radio listening clubs at the station. The DBU manager introduced me to Yapatula Nyirenda, the coordinator for *Tigwirane Manja,* the radio programme that features content from club discussions. I noticed that the MBC contact persons were as cooperative as the MIJ staff.

I finally called Charity Dzongwe, the club coordinator at Gaka community radio in Nsanje district. He also expressed willingness to participate and offered his support in identifying interviewees for the focus group discussion and a programme guest.

The granting of permission from the institutions and the positive collaboration with the participants gave me a sense of assurance about their willingness to provide honest responses and valuable insights into the study.

2.2 Conducting fieldwork observations and interviews

As planned, I went to MBC and interviewed Yapatula Nyirenda, the club coordinator. She provided responses with significant insights about the nature of her responsibilities and MBC as a host institution for the clubs. She highlighted how the institution continues to support the clubs through the provision of recording equipment and airtime for the club discussions. From the onset of the fieldwork, it was possible to draw a picture of the combined influence of the involvement of the coordinator and the institutional support of the MBC on the activities of the club. It was also possible to imagine the influence of institutional involvement on the level of motivation of the members and their impression of the kind of relationship with the broadcaster that could be cultivated as a result of such involvement.

In order to confirm the impression that I developed about the support from MBC through my interaction with the coordinator, I engaged in another conversation with members of Nanjiri MBC Radio listening club at their base on the outskirts of Blantyre city. My first assumption about the club was that it was a grouping that might have prepared thoroughly for my visit. The secretary for the club, Loveness Kamanga introduced herself and the 12 members present. Since I arrived on a day for a club meeting, I noticed that the members had already identified an issue to discuss and record. Such preparedness and prior identification of a topic increased my instinct about the level of organisation and the potential nature of discussions that emerged in the club. The club secretary informed me that the MBC coordinator had already provided a recorder, and trained the leaders on how to conduct and record discussions on their own. The monitors are accorded the authority to keep the recorder safe and use it whenever the club organises discussions. As a result, the MBC coordinator concentrates on minimal supervision of the field discussion. As I took my observation notes, I anticipated that my presence and experience of the club processes at this stage would be significant in informing my analysis of the potential influence of such an arrangement.

We then proceeded to the Mikoko Maternity Clinic, the building that was at the centre of the issue for discussion. The visit to the clinic enabled me to experience the club's display of physical evidence of the subject for discussion. The secretary explained that the discussion on this day was a follow-up about concerns amongst the group with the delay in the official

opening of the clinic. I learnt from the discussions that Public Works officials had reported to the community that the clinic could not be opened because it was assessed as sub-standard. I inscribed my observations and recorded the discussions for about an hour as the club monitor was also recording the same for the purpose of including it in the on-air programme. After the discussions, I identified six club members with whom I conducted a focus group discussion based on the issues raised. Since the issue was on-going, the members planned to present the resolutions of the discussions to either the councillor for the area or the District Commissioner (DC). The MBC coordinator then called the DC who referred us to the Director of Public Works at the Blantyre District Assembly. My intuition at this point was that my preliminary fieldwork visits at the MBC and the radio listening clubs that the institution supports enabled me to successfully collect substantial and rich material for analysis of the clubs based in public radio.

Again, as earlier agreed with the Gaka community radio club coordinator Charity Dzongwe, I travelled to the station located in Nsanje district, a distance of about 130 km south of Blantyre. In order to adhere to the formal protocol, I first met the station director Gizex Gizai to seek permission to conduct the study at the station. The club coordinator introduced me to seven radio club members and a programme guest that had gathered at the station. The fieldwork plan here also worked successfully as all the participants consented to participate in the study. I also collected a sample of an on-air programme that featured content from club discussions. As planned, I managed to collect all the fieldwork material from Gaka community radio within one day.

In order to follow up on the earlier issues for the MBC club, I travelled to the Blantyre district offices in October to meet James Bodole, the Director of Public Works. I noticed that the director was one of the key individuals with authority to comment on the issue at hand. It is also important to point out that I made attempts to contact the councillor for Mikoko area as the preferred duty-bearer. The councillor, however, proved uncooperative and instead, I engaged the referred director. The interview with the director was another successful dialogue that took about an hour to complete. Later, I also collected a sample of an on-air programme with content from club discussions that was broadcast on MBC radio.

I was satisfied that I had collected relevant and adequate material from the public broadcaster and, therefore, shifted my attention to MIJ radio. My experience of the fieldwork engagements in commercial radio were also generally successful as I was able to meet all significant participants. I secured a one-on-one interview with Mwakhere Kalyande the club coordinator at the MIJ campus. I also conducted a focus group discussion with five club members of the MIJ Radio *Amayi Mwakonzanji* radio listening club based on issues that they

had discussed in previous meetings. I made minor adjustments to the observational plan at MIJ as I was unable to record a club discussion on the spot because they had not yet identified an issue to discuss on the day. However, I managed to record a club discussion that the members conducted a week later. I also had an opportunity to capture first-hand the way that guests engage with the content of club discussions in commercial radio when I interacted with Lucy Nkhoma, a menstrual health management activist who feature as a guest in the MIJ *Amayi Mwakonzanji* programme. I also collected a recorded programme which featured club discussions to support my analysis of the content. The process of recording of my interaction with these study participants offered me an opportunity to visualise how they individually and collectively experience involvement in the club communication processes at a commercial radio.

To a larger extent, the implementation of the research plan worked successfully as I managed to visit all the relevant study institutions and interacted with accommodative interview participants who provided me with valuable insights. In this way, the systematic plan also provided me assurance about the adequacy, validity and reliability of the questions and the collected fieldwork material in enabling the achievement of the study goals. There were only two instances where I was compelled to make minor adjustments to the plan. As noted, the first involved an area councillor who proved uncooperative to respond as a guest for club discussions at the public broadcaster. Instead, I interviewed another higher public official who was able to provide relevant insights on the subject of discussion. The second, was when I could not observe and record a live club discussion in a commercial radio and resolved to conduct the observation in a pre-recorded programme discussion. Nevertheless, these slight adjustments did not derail the focus and successful execution of the overall research plan.

2.3 Transcription and analysis

After collecting the fieldwork material I contracted my research assistant to assist me in transcribing the recorded interviews and radio programmes. I later examined the transcripts and compared these with the recordings to ensure that they accurately captured both the text and meanings in the fieldwork material. I then prepared the transcriptions into three distinct folders for the public, commercial and community radio stations. I transferred the folders onto the NVivo 14 Software for qualitative analysis. In this way, I was able to compile an organised data set and arrange the material into traceable folders in the software.

After reading the through the fiedwork material and editing it into sensible patterns, I coded it using both the concept driven approach widely known as ‘deductive’ and the data-driven one called the ‘inductive’ coding approach. Through the deductive approach, I developed an initial codebook and identified five initial themes based on the five main objectives of the study. The themes identified in this way included the following:

a) The level of moderation
b) Guest engagement with responses
c) Club members’ insights into programme content
d) Club members’ experiences of participation
e) Patterns of difference and similarity observed when comparing public, commercial and community clubs.

I checked through each transcript in order to identify the descriptive material of relevance to these themes. I highlighted and grouped these themes into folders containing similar responses. I also identified further subthemes from the responses as guided by the themes in the interview guides. In the analysis chapter, I analyse these grouped responses and comments in order to draw meaningful interpretations in support of the research question and theoretical framework of the study.

Thereafter, informed by the data-driven inductive approach, I identified subthemes from the initial five main codes. These have been identified through an analysis of the emerging responses from the participants. This meant that I was able to analyse each main theme in order to identify further subthemes and categories in order to arrive at my final version of the codebook. For example, the main theme of relevance to ‘club members’ experiences of participation’ has a potential subtheme relating to ‘coordinator experience of ownership’ because all the coordinators provided insightful comments on the relevance of ownership. The main theme relating to ‘club members’ insights into programme content’ has a subtheme relating to members’ views about the ‘structure and impact of club discussions’. I analysed the fieldwork material from each radio station independently and conducted a cross-radio comparison in the final stages of the analysis. The factors that informed my cross-comparission included identification of patterns of activities that were either common in all radio stations or specific to each context. In the final stages of this process, I grouped all the themes into distinct categories and selected representative quotes. I translated all the quotes into English in order to illustrate the study findings. In this way, I was able to identify significant findings of the study for presentation, analysis and interpretation in Chapter Six.

Based on this analysis I was also able to develop a graphic illustration of the operation of what I conceived of as a typical listener club. This diagram captures the three distinct moments in the operation of the club, as described in Section One of this chapter. The first version of this diagram, included below, presents these moments generically, as they would form part of the operation of listener clubs in any of the three broadcast environments that form part of this study. In subsequent chapters, where I present my analysis of my fieldwork, I refine and rework this generic illustration, adding detail that enables me to compare the operation of clubs in the three broadcast environments. In each case, the graphic illustration changes, capturing differences between the three broadcast environments that have important implications for the role that the clubs play in shaping the relationship between the stations and their audiences [See Figures 1, 8, 12 and 15]. These subsequent figures demonstrate how, within each broadcast environment, the clubs negotiate the limitations and affordances of the institutional environments in which they are based in public, commercial and community radio respectively.

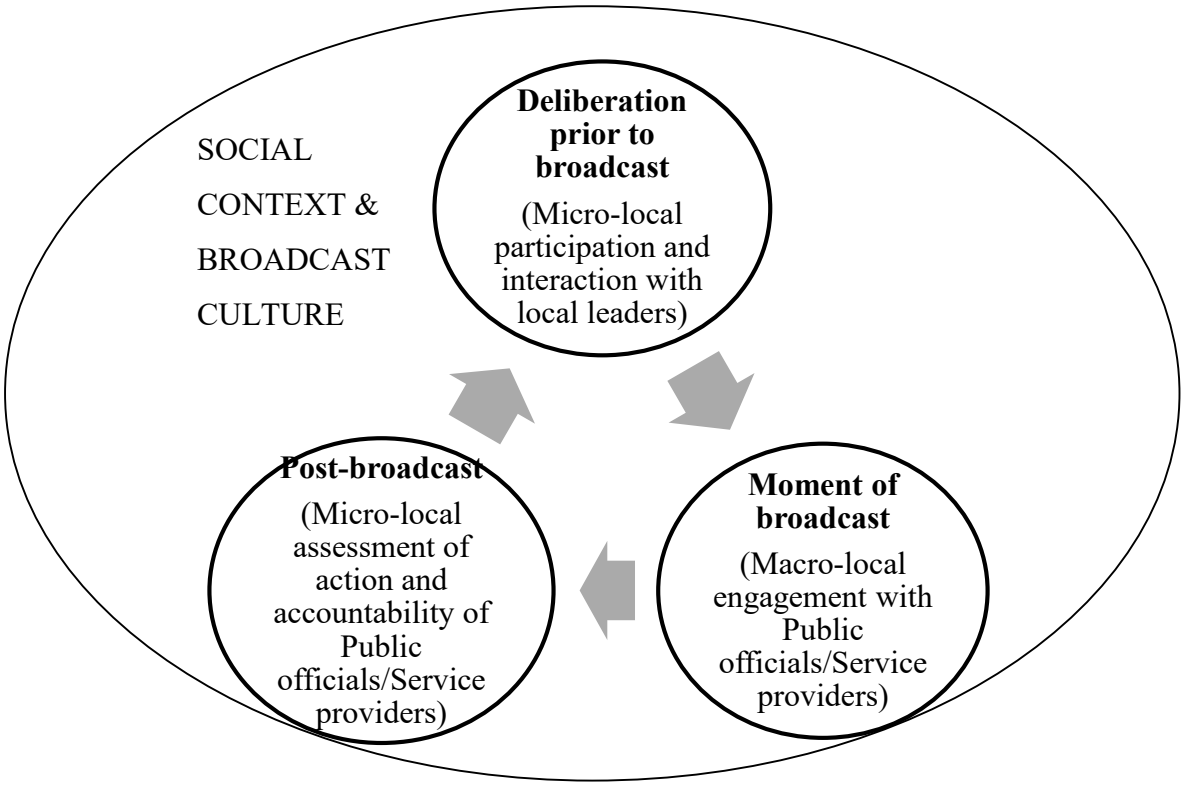

Figure 1. A diagram of the three main moments of the communication processes of radio listening clubs. It illustrates how the notion of deliberation permeates the three moments of relevance in the communication framework of the clubs.

In working with this visual illustration as an analytical tool, I was able to establish an in-depth understanding of the operation of the listener clubs that was equally relevant to each of the three stations that formed part of the study. This allowed me to compare the way the clubs operated in each station, teasing out relevant differences and similarities.

Conclusion

In reviewing the planning and execution of my empirical research project as set out in this chapter, I am convinced of its validity and reliability. In my drafting of the research aim and objectives, the case study design, the fielwork plan and the plan for analysis, I drew appropriately on the requirements for qualitative research. I also kept in mind the limitations of this design.

Of particular importance was my acknowledgement that I could make no claim about the generalisability of the findings. The purpose was, indeed, not to generalise but rather to gain insight into unique aspects of the 'case' I was examining, represented by the intersection of the global history of radio and listener clubs with the local example of such history as found in Malawi. In this way I ensured from the onset that my findings would be reliable for the specific contextual focus of the study and in congruence with the core charactueristics of qualitative research.

I also followed relevant rules of research to develop the instruments for enabling my observations of the communicative moments of the clubs and conducting interviews. I developed a detailed plan for managing the fieldwork processes in order to ensure the collection of relevant interview material and observational data. I ensured that I adhered to the ethical requirements for conducting qualitative research. In this way, I was able to collect adequate and relevant material for achieving the goals of the study. Based on the plan, I transcribed the fieldwork material and successfully arranged the content for analysis. I ensured that I maintain an ethical and conceptually coherent approach throughout my engagement with the analytical chapters. Overall, this process enabled me to successfully arrive at answers to the main research question. I was able, in particular, to gain insight into the participatory affordances that are obtained at each major moment of the communication processes of the clubs in public, commercial and community radio in Malawi. I was also able to identify empirical evidence about the intersection of the global and Malawian local history of the social purpose of radio and listener clubs. I present the findings of this research process in the final chapters of this thesis.

CHAPTER SIX: LISTENER CLUBS IN MALAWI IN THE CONTEXT OF PUBLIC RADIO

Introduction

The final three chapters present the analysis of my fieldwork material and also describe my findings. Throughout, the discussion is guided by my two main research aims. As noted in Chapter Five, the first of these aims was to gain insight into the extent to which the operation of clubs within each of the three tiers of broadcasting can be said to be informed either by a commitment to social control or social emancipation. The second aim was to examine the extent to which the presence of these interests can be seen as evidence of the relationship of influence that exists between this local and global history of such conceptualisation. In achieving these aims, I draw on the conceptual framework that I developed in the early chapters in order to make sense of ways in which the international history of ideas about radio and its audiences can be seen to shape a local history of such radio. I do so by referring back to the Sarnoffian vision of radio for social control and the Brechtian and Freirean visions of radio for social empowerment.

In each of the chapters, the discussion is also guided by the five specific research objectives outlined in Chapter Five. I aimed to gain insight into the way that discussions about issues of relevance to the public good are facilitated within clubs; to observe how station staff and studio guests engage with such discussion; to gain insight into the way listener club members make sense of the programme content that stations generate in this context; to gain insight into how participants in the listener clubs and on-air programmes experience the enablement of their involvement in the communication process; and to compare these processes as they take place in the context of public, commercial and community radio.

In addition, the discussion is structured around the three "moments" in the operation of listener clubs identified in the research plan developed in Chapter Five. As such, the first section of each chapter deals with preparatory listener club discussions that take place prior to the shows, sometimes referred to by the research participants as the "village discussions". The second section focuses on the moment of the radio show itself. The third section deals with the moment of the club meeting that sometimes takes place after the show, providing space for reflections on the show outcomes. This third moment is understood within the process of analysis to be of particular significance since it can potentially provide evidence of outcomes which involved the achievement of social change that contributes to public good.

The chapters deal, in turn, with listener clubs based in state-controlled radio, commercial radio and community radio. Each chapter adopts an integrated approach in which

the analysis and interpretation of fieldwork material are brought together with the discussion of findings in one discussion. This enables the researcher to deal holistically and meaningfully with all aspects of the way that a listener club can be seen to operate within each tier of broadcasting.

The discussion in this first chapter presents the findings of the study as they emerged in the context of public radio. Each section of the chapter deals with one of the three moments in the operation of the clubs. I take note, as part of this discussion, that the Malawi state broadcaster stands out as an example of an institution in which authoritative broadcasting has been systematically sustained for decades. This aspect of its history was discussed in Chapter Four and it was proposed there that a 'Sarnoffian' programming culture has become established inside this broadcaster. In my empirical study, I attempt to build on that insight by examining the way this culture can be seen to impact the role that listener clubs play inside the state broadcaster.

However, at the same time, I also took account of the existence of the Development Broadcasting Unit [DBU] within the state broadcaster, and the implications that this has for the emergence of an alternative conceptualisation of audience. As noted in Chapter Four, the DBU focuses on participatory programming and as such represents an intervention into the broadcast culture of the MBC. I was curious to examine the extent to which this intervention could be seen to amplify the "Brechtian" and maybe even the "Freirean" role that listener clubs could play inside the MBC.

1 The first moment: club discussions prior to the on-air programme

The Nanjili radio listener club is, as I confirmed after observations and verification with the MBC club coordinator, typical of clubs as they exist in Malawi public radio. The club includes general members as well as a chairperson, treasurer, secretary and their deputies. These office bearers run the club in an organised manner, based on guidelines that have become familiar and established in clubs across the country. The club receives guidance from a coordinator who works for the MBC, but, in practice, its operations are managed by a member of the club who has the status of volunteer monitor. During club deliberations, this monitor takes charge of the discussion. They receive training from the MBC DBU on how to record and facilitate discussions [See Figures 4 and 5]. The MBC also provides the club with a portable recorder that enables the recording of their discussions. The club also identifies another member or second monitor who assumes the role of moderating the discussions. My observation is that

this clear division of roles, and the availability of training and technical resources enables the establishment of a procedure in which meaningful and empowering discussions can take place.

Meetings of the club are sometimes convened in a location such as a classroom at a community school because this happens to be a convenient gathering point for the members. At other times, members gather in a location because the challenges faced by the local community are observable in that space. In such instances, the location is used as a way of providing *'umboni weniweni'* [physical evidence] of the challenges that people experience in that area (Nanjili club monitor, September 2023). These settings are, in other words, strategically chosen to enable participants to make sense of the gravity of the issues under discussion.

In the case of the listener club meeting that I attended at MBC Nanjili radio club, members hired several *kabazas* [local bicycle taxis popular in the area] and travelled to the Namikoko Health Centre, a maternity clinic for the Namikoko community [See Figure 2]. I was told by the club monitor that this choice was meant to draw members' attention to the unfinished state of the building in which the clinic was housed. At the same time the clinic was within a convenient distance from the houses of villagers, which most likely contributed to the reasonable attendance of the 15 men and women at the meeting.

Figure 2. The Namikoko Maternity Wing located in a remote part of Blantyre City. The Nanjili MBC radio listening club has been discussing its unfinished state to persuade the Blantyre City council to complete the construction work at the site.

Figure 3: Members of the MBC Nanjili radio listening club recording a discussion on the verandah of the unfinished Namikoko Maternity Wing.

During a typical meeting of the Nanjili club, seating is arranged so that participants face one another in order to ensure that they can easily engage in close conversation**.** They discuss a range of topics that affect the diverse group that are represented. Members explained to me that discussions might, for example, focus on the welfare of women and children in the area; how to conserve the environment; and ways to improve security. The participants also discuss how they can initiate local projects on their own before requesting support from external development partners.

In the specific discussion that I observed, the monitor James Bwanali first introduced the topic and followed this up systematically with a set of questions, inviting views from the members. The topic of discussion on this day was *Kalondolondo* [a follow-up] on the delay in the opening of Namikoko Maternity Clinic. It was apparent that the members were familiar with the topic and that they were dissatisfied with official reasons given for the continued delay. They unanimously called for government to finish constructing the clinic because '*akubomawo akungotidikilitsa ife nkumaoneka opusa* [it seems the authorities are not considering our concern as a serious matter and they are taking us for a ride] (Club Monitor, MBC Nanjiri RLC, 25 September 2023). As a way forward, they requested an audience with the councillor for the area or the district commissioner.

My observation of discussions such as this one convinced me that the role played by the monitor is of fundamental importance to the operation of the listener club. This person is entrusted with ensuring the successful facilitation of club discussions. They take charge of this role at each stage, first introducing the topic of debate, then controlling the flow of the discussion by formulating follow-up questions. The monitor also handles the recording of the

discussion. The second monitor is another important member of the group who manages the time as a way of ensuring equal participation. This individual also ensures that the discussion maintains a focus on the relevant topic of the day. The MBC coordinator performs a more distant role, providing general oversight and supervising the discussion. The coordinator only intervenes to clarify a point or encourage members to participate. At the end of the discussion, the monitor hands the recorder to the coordinator who transfers the recordings onto a laptop for editing and inclusion in the final programme on-air. The coordinator then returns the recorder to the monitor for use during the next meeting. The monitor, coordinator, and the participants demonstrated familiarity with each of the distinct steps in the management of the meeting. My impression was that the process was demonstrative of trust and unity of purpose, shared between the coordinator and the club participants.

This impression was confirmed by comments shared with me by club members in our interviews. They describe their interaction with the monitor during club discussions as a pleasant experience that encourages them to feel at ease and contribute more:

> Our … monitor [does] their work well … because they are well-trained to lead and control the discussions ... They give equal chances for us to speak … so we feel at home … they move around the whole group with a recorder. (Participant C, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

They also spoke positively about the role of the coordinator:

> Our coordinator from MBC also guides us, she tells us how to contribute. She also connects us to the service providers and helps us discuss the feedback (Participant B, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

In the above description of the coordinator, the members pointed to the effort that this person makes to contact relevant guests that the members can approach in order to engage them in a discussion aimed at identifying solutions to community challenges. They also appreciated the role of the coordinator in assisting the club to discuss effective ways of advancing community concerns beyond the first meeting. The coordinator herself describes the facilitation process as one that ensures that a majority of the members can participate:

> We encourage dialogue inside the discussions, and everyone is encouraged to participate … (MBC RLC coordinator, 25 September 2023).

The coordinator also explains how she provides the club members with a coherent framework of analysis in which to engage with the issues for discussion:

> And those issues, we see them in two areas. We first talk of *'development that is seen'* and '*development that is not seen'*. Now 'development that is not seen'… deals with issues such as the general health of the people, for instance if someone is healthy, for us in the clubs it means development has taken place … But 'development that is seen' then that's about things we can see like … people want the construction of boreholes and bridges. So, when they identify the problems, they come together and record the programme… (MBC RLC coordinator, 25 September 2023).

The coordinator describes how she is able to use local expressions and familiar analogies to enable members to follow the discussions and make sense of the issues quickly. Here, again, we see the importance of her contribution to the facilitation process:

> So, we use a local adage that all members in this club know by now to say *masamba a mtengo ndi amene amaoneka kuti adwala koma vuto lili pansi* [the leaves of a tree may take the blame because they look unhealthy and dry on the surface, but the issue is not up in the leaves, the problem may be hidden underground where the roots are]. So *amakamba zinthu zomwe akuziona kaye* [So, the people first discuss what they see which then leads them to the root cause of the problem] (MBC RLC coordinator, 25 September 2023).

This emphasis on respect for tradition can also be observed in the way the monitor ensures that club members respect the established traditional etiquette of village meetings in local communities and maintain the practice where necessary. For instance, during the discussion at Nanjili, the members always addressed the chiefs present using their appropriate titles. In the same vein, while the members clapped hands rapidly in appreciation of a comment from an ordinary member, the applause for a comment that a chief made was deliberately slow and deep to signal traditional respect for their authority. It is also possible to note how the approach to club discussions in public radio tap into indigenous knowledge and cultural practices to enable members to comprehend the issues and enhance their participation. This act, for me, demonstrated the richness of the unique institutional culture of conducting discussions within clubs in public radio. It also demonstrated how the club context enabled the audience to invoke Malawian cultural traditions during social interactions in order to enhance democratic participation on contemporary issues of social development.

In my observation, this careful management of the listener club discussion by the coordinator, monitor and second monitor who acts as a moderator results in the creation of an environment that is conducive to supportive and respectful interaction amongst club members. I noticed that a majority of the members interact with each other in an open and trusting manner. They were also confident enough to make counter arguments on points that they disagreed

upon. They always clapped and cheered in agreement when a participant made a point that they considered relevant. I understood, as a result of my own knowledge of Malawi society, that the ritual clapping of hands that I observed in these sessions signals approval of a pertinent contribution. This observation resonated with statements made in literature dealing with listener clubs in Malawi, in which it is pointed out that cultural habits typical of Malawi society have become embedded in the conduct of club discussions (Swidler & Watkins, 2015; Mhagama, 2015; Munthali, 2018). Apart from applauding the speaker and animating the discussion, the clapping also motivated members to chip in with their own remarks to emphasise a previous point from a fellow participant. This can be observed in the following exchange between club members, as part of a club discussion:

> First speaker: They should know that we are not ready to give up. We will continue this fight … because the people here are still suffering because this thing *chikungokhala phwiii* [it's just sitting there] this building is still idle up to this day, it's just a white elephant in our presence at the moment! (Participant D, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).
>
> *Handclapping and ululation from women.*
>
> Second speaker: Just to add on what has been said already as the reason for our gathering here today. Another thing that forced us to ask for a maternity here was that, since where we are supposed to get assistance to give birth is very far and we all know that pregnancy comes with many complications … we observed that as women *ifeyo akutiyikira miyoyo yathu pa mpeni penipeni, pachiswe pamene* [our lives as women is in great danger because it is being placed on the knife edge, at the centre of termites, (two local metaphors equivalent to the English expression 'in the jaws of death')] (Participant F, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

From this interchange, I observed that repeated applause and supportive remarks have become a special way in which the members encourage each other to participate. The practice works to the advantage of the club since discussions are always lively and participatory. This ritual of support demonstrates a sense of unity and consensual understanding of issues of relevance to the central purpose of the club. I understood this purpose to be achievement of the public good, as this applies to the wellbeing of the local community.

Throughout the facilitation of the discussion, the MBC coordinator and the club monitors worked together to ensure the achievement of meaningful discussion. The monitor ensured fairness by selecting a wide spectrum of speakers when they raised their hands as a gesture to speak. The second monitor or moderator ensured that each member articulated their views within a specific and equal duration to avoid unfair dominance of the discussions by a particular participant. At the same time, the MBC coordinator made timely interjections throughout the discussions to encourage members to participate. In a group comprising of eight men and eight women, all women were able to speak while four men, who included the village chiefs, also made contributions. At the same time, there was only a small number of young people who simply nodded their heads and clapped hands in support of the various contributions from participants.

Throughout the discussion, I was impressed with the amount of autonomy the club monitor exercised in managing the proceedings and moving around with the recorder to capture views from the participants. It suggested to me that the listening club environment enables the transfer of power to ordinary people who can take charge of the process of the club for their own benefit. At the same time, the support that MBC continues to provide the clubs ensures that the process is successful. I observed that the MBC coordinator has also developed a strong commitment to the successful operation of the clubs as a result of a long history of experience with the club discussions:

> I became a radio listening club coordinator by virtue of being within the development broadcasting unit … when I went there, I had to learn [how to] become a producer and facilitator for *Tigwirane Manja* radio listening clubs … I have worked from 2015 up to 2023 … [for] eight years now. So, over the years I have become familiar with the clubs and how they work. I enjoy the interaction with ordinary people in rural areas and making sure that the clubs are active and achieving their goals of developing their communities … and the monitors and members have become my friends who also understand the importance of the club (MBC RLC Coordinator, 25 September 2023).

The club members were equally full of praise for the way the club communication processes enabled them to debate public issues and make independent decisions about their own development. For instance, the members that I interacted with in the focus group discussion at Nanjili described how the setting of the discussions within the community and among familiar faces motivated club members to participate. This was in contrast to their experience of discussions that took place in the intimidating formal atmosphere in government offices. They

pointed out that members speak confidently when they realise how powerful their arguments will emerge when their views are recorded and presented as an organised group.

At the same time, members were of the view that the outcomes of the club discussions could be more successfully achieved if they could find a way to convince top officials from government to be physically present during the discussions in the field. Public officials and service providers would then be able to appreciate the challenges faced by communities and the need for rapid responses. They suggested that, although the discussions already accommodate local community leaders such as chiefs, a sustained direct conversation with top decision makers would have a much greater impact:

> If the duty-bearers come here to respond … face-to-face, we will be able to sort out some issues right here. The service providers will also be learning a thing or two from both our discussions and what they see on the ground. When they set foot on a broken bridge in our communities, they will also feel how people in this area are suffering (Participant D, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

My observation of discussions within the Nanjili radio club suggested that the club played an important role in facilitating deliberations around issues of relevance to the public good within the local community. I believe one reason that it succeeds in doing so is because its operations have become embedded in a Malawian traditional culture of engagement in which local leaders and villagers convene meetings to discuss their concerns. For this reason, the members have developed a sense of ownership of the club's structures and processes. At the same time, the supportive role played by the MBC in facilitating and capturing the club discussions ensure that their full potential can be realised.

I also believe that the fact that monitors take responsibility for recording the club discussions enabled members to interact and be more involved in the discussion. The monitor does not only manage the recording process; they prompt and encourage members to speak. Because they are well-known to the members of the club, they are well placed to play this role. Furthermore, as the members explained themselves, the monitor's availability within the local community enables the clubs to respond spontaneously to the need to record discussions on emerging issues in real-time and not wait for the scheduled visits of the MBC coordinator. Their presence, thus, significantly empowers the club members and their communities to make independent decisions about issues of relevance to the public good.

The above description represents a summary of my observation of communication processes that took place in the first moment of the operation of the Nanjili radio listener club

– that of the deliberative meeting prior to on-air programming. I concluded that this MBC club was able to generate the kind of participatory discussions that listener clubs are classically designed to achieve, as discussed in Chapter Three. My impression was that it achieved this ideal at a high level, so that it could be seen to be demonstrative of the Freirean conceptualisation of communication. This could be observed in the articulation of detailed, methodical strategies designed to ensure the achievement of transformative learning. I believe that it is the presence of such rigorous methodology that enabled the Freirean approach to communication to take root in this listener club, despite the authoritarian broadcast culture in which such an approach is being implemented. I was struck, in particular, by the way in which such facilitation enabled the discussion to become embedded in local cultural practices in which community members support and encourage each other to participate in public conversation. I understand this to be indicative of the success of the club in empowering its members to take ownership of the discussions that took place in context of the club. Such empowerment enables marginalised subjects to participate in discussions about their own social welfare. Such audience participation would otherwise be unattainable in normal programming for authoritative public radio environments such as that of the MBC.

I concluded, based on this observation, that the club discussions conducted prior to the on-air shows successfully create an enabling environment for participants to take full ownership of processes of deliberation. In this context, they are able to debate openly and assume the role of co-producers of field content for programmes in public radio.

Figure 4. A member of the DBU conducting club training during the period of Covid-19.

Figure 5: A member of the MBC listening club self-recording a discussion held in a community.

2 The second moment: club discussions during on-air programming

The second moment within the operation of listener clubs, as described in Chapter Five, typically takes place in the context of the radio show with which the club is associated. In observing this moment in the context of the Nanjili club, I was primarily interested in establishing whether it served to sustain the sense of ownership and partnership that I had observed in the pre-programming moment. As explained throughout this dissertation, and Chapter Four in particular, the Malawian state broadcaster continues to be informed by a culture of authoritarian control despite periodic calls for its reform. I was conscious that the moment of the on-air programme is located within the programming environment of that broadcaster and is, therefore, framed by the Sarnoffian 'top-to-bottom' broadcast culture of the MBC. I was curious to see whether conversations originating from the pre-broadcast moment could be introduced into this environment and still sustain the realisation of a Freirean conceptualisation of participatory communication and transformative learning. In this way I would be able to examine the extent to which the Freirean conceptualisation can be achieved in an example of the on-air programming within a space known for strict censorship.

The specific programme that I identified for analysis was a 28-minute-long sample edition entitled *Tigwirane Manja [Let's hold hands*] [See MBC RLC programme transcript, Appendix 6a]. It should be noted that the MBC coordinator provided me with three different copies of the club programmes from which I listened to and identified one for the purpose of analysis in this thesis. As is typical of the on-air moment of the listener club process in Malawi's state radio, the club coordinator [Yapatula Nyirenda] took on the role of presenting the programme on air [See Figure 6]. She explained that the show would feature discussions by members of the MBC Nanjili radio listening club of ways to deal with the challenges of HIV/AIDS and non-adherence to ARV treatment in their area. She then inserted a recording of this group discussion captured during a field meeting. In this recording, club members explain that community members no longer adhere to the treatment because they do not have food to eat before taking the medication. In context of the broadcast, the coordinator requested the officials to first listen to this recorded discussion. They were then invited to respond to statements made by the club participants. After this discussion, Yapatula shared more recorded material which was followed by further on-air discussion. In this way, the show was divided into two rounds of discussion, each focusing on a distinct subject area.

Typically, within such shows, participation is not only facilitated through the inclusion of recorded material but also through live audience engagement. Listener club members and

listeners more generally are encouraged to "…talk with the guests through phone calls or send messages through mobile phones when the programme is broadcast live" (MBC RLC Coordinator, 25 September 2023). This process of participation was present within the episode of *Tigwirane Manja* that I observed.

As within the field discussions, the on-air programme was structured to follow a familiar and systematic progression. My impression was that this systematic approach allowed the show team to establish a space in which interactive discussion became possible. I witnessed the facilitation of on-air discussion that was generally fair, balanced and mature in its execution. Studio guests included "duty-bearers" who hold official positions within local government. The presenter of the programme challenged these guests to respond to the comments from the club participants included in the recorded material that was featured in the show. They also posed follow-up questions which prompted the guests to provide clarification on their responses.

The first round of discussion dealt with complaints from the club members directed at local chiefs and other local duty-bearers as demonstrated in this excerpt:

Club Participant D: This problem can indeed be directed to the councillor. But I think the MP as well should take our problems and present them to government because he is 'our eyes'…. the problem also is that our MP does not come here often, we just hear on the radio that he is in Lilongwe the capital city. We need him to come and see these problems that are coming up suddenly like this…

Village Headman Nkumba: This is all happening because of personal problems in the community. You know, when people are struggling, they do things which they think are right even though such things are wrong. But we need to stop all this. Maybe, if a person stops taking ARV's there should be a fine for them to pay so that people should be encouraged to take medicine because if they stop, they are destroying their lives. So *kuomba mkota kwake ndingonena kuti* [in summary] things are not fine in the villages as some people are depending on mangoes for their supper.

Club Monitor: This is what people from Group Village Headman Mkumba T/A Lundu in Blantyre have said on the problem of people who stop taking ARVs. *Mwachidul*e [In a nutshell] we are saying that problems that are making people not to take ARVs here include hunger and polygamous marriages. And on how we can end the problems people from this area think that health personnel should arrange meetings with chiefs and people in the villages. Our members from the VDC [Village Development Committee] have also said they will make sure that people should benefit from every donation that comes in

the villages … the people have also asked duty-bearers such as the councillor who is responsible for development projects and the MP for the area to take part in helping these people to fight against hunger so that families should not be affected and people should not stop taking ARVs.

Applause from club members (MBC RLC programme transcript, Appendix 6a).

The second discussion consisted of the dialogue between the community and a public official (a Member of Parliament, in this case) who was invited as a guest:

Club participant C: *Olemekeza athu a MP* [Our honourable member of parliament], now that you have heard why people are not taking the ARV medicines, you can see that it's *njala bwana, mutithandiza bwanji pamenepa?* [its' because people are hungry, they have no food, how are you going to help us in this situation?]

MP for BT North East Christopher Chiundiza: I have heard that issue properly … I can assure you that I will discuss with my colleagues honourable Sam Kalonga, our minister of agriculture and Khumba Kasitika, the health minister so that we can consider the Nanjiri constituency as an area that needs urgent support in terms of food, maize to be particular. And on the health issue, we also need to speak with a lot of people about the importance of taking the ARV medication in the right way.

Club participant B: *Koma vutoli lafika pothina panopa, mupanga liti zimenezi? Anthu afe kaye?* [But this issue is now worsening here, how soon are you going to help us? Are you going to wait for more people to die first?]

(Handclapping and ululation)

MP for BT North East Christopher Chiundiza: [He hesitates]. No, I have seen that the hunger situation and the ARV issue is a huge problem indeed, so this, am treating this as a serious issue (MBC RLC programme transcript, Appendix 6a).

Throughout both segments, the recorded material included in the show was demonstrative of participatory and inclusive discussions in which club members were able to confront a public official and hold them to account. They were able to articulate relevant follow-up questions as a way of seeking firm clarification during the discussion. The inclusion of this recorded material served to highlight the extent to which club members were taking ownership of processes of dialogue and deliberation. It is my impression, that the showcasing of such content

in the public domain, through their presence on a broadcast show, must be empowering to club members. When they listen to such programming, they are likely to feel empowered, due to the public acknowledgement of their contribution to the club communication processes.

The programme was also structured to enable the presenter to methodically position the recorded voices of the club members side-by-side with concrete responses from public officials. As a result, the programme facilitates engagement between duty-bearers and community members in which the focus is on a discussion that responds to the concerns of those community members.

Towards the end of the show, recordings were included in which club members made requests to the government and to the MP for them to take action against non-adherence to ARV treatment. During the discussion that followed, the MP [who was present as a guest on the show] promised to approach the Ministry of Health to sensitise the community about the significance of adhering to treatment. In conclusion, the presenter assured listeners that the next edition of the programme would continue to examine the responses from the MP. In this way, the show content remained closely aligned with pertinent issues raised in the club discussions. The programme, thus, created a reliable platform for tracing the concerns of the people from Namikoko community, and holding responsible officials accountable.

Viewed as a whole, the show was simply conceived, with content focusing purely on the topic of discussion that had been generated in the listener club. There was no distraction from this topic, for example, advertising and sponsorship messages. The coordinator explained to me that the MBC currently manages the club programmes without external sponsorship. This enabled the coordinator to work with content that exclusively focuses on the interests of club participants. The coordinator explained that this is a change from the 1990s when external sponsors such as the British Department for International Development (DFID) were regularly mentioned on air. However, even then, show discussions maintained a "focus on the social development of the club members and their communities" (MBC RLC Coordinator, Interview, 25 September 2023).

Figure 6: An MBC club coordinator presenting an on-air programme at the Blantyre main broadcasting studio.

In my analysis of the way club participants made sense of the content of such on-air programming, I concluded that members consider such broadcasts crucial in the achievement of development goals for local communities. Participants suggested that the programmes operate as an effective platform for projecting the collective voice of communities so that their concerns can be shared with government officials who are otherwise difficult to contact. They explain that the shows enable members to engage with officials on a range of issues of public concern. In the focus group at the Namikoko community, members noted that they have been able to use on-air discussions to engage with officials on issues related to entrepreneurship, climate change, agricultural development, gender equality, and health:

> … we discuss issues concerning problems in our area … we discuss HIV/AIDS issues, problems of early pregnancies among young girls … we also discuss development issues on how to uplift our personal lives … how

> we can sustain our good culture, how we can solve problems that we face, how we can deal with hunger through maybe starting small businesses… (Participant B, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

Club members and their communities are always appreciative whenever government and service providers implements a project in response to the broadcasting of the club programmes. Members of the Nanjili club outlined some of the tangible outcomes of the MBC club programme within their community. They included an instance in which such a programme influenced a change in a health policy about the administration of HIV/AIDS treatment in the area:

> People living with HIV/AIDS here are now able to receive the ARVs that are delivered in the village as opposed to what was happening in the past when they had to travel a long distance to access the medicine. When they receive the drugs, they feel happy to say, if it were not for the radio programmes, we could have still been travelling all the way to Lirangwe to get the ARVs. Today we are getting the ARVs from here at Mikoko, we are also getting the HIV testing and counselling services right here… (Participant B, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

They note that the on-air discussion on *Tigwirane Manja* has also resulted in greater access to potable drinking water:

> …we are walking on concrete bridges to cross the streams here, we also have good boreholes because of the radio programmes (Participant B, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

Club members also explained how the on-air programmes enable them to track the progress made by officials in addressing their concerns. They describe the content of the on-air programmes as significant in providing a space for democratic conversations about their community concerns and holding duty-bearers accountable. They point out that, despite the lack of urgent action on their concerns in most cases, the mere broadcasting of the acknowledgement of the challenges by the guests instils confidence about the delivery of the message and potential remedial action:

> So, we the people from this area, together with our leaders, we plan to listen to the programmes when Yapatulla (MBC coordinator) tells us that the programme will be aired on such … a day, so we plan to listen to the programme so that we hear what the service providers will say about our problem…so listening to the duty-bearers in the on-air programme is good because we are assured that our issue has been presented to the right authorities (Participant E, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

The above explanation emphasises how the listener club members make sense of the significance and impact of the programmes as structures for facilitating rational audience

involvement in radio communication processes. It is possible to identify how the on-air programmes provide the club members with an opportunity to generate content for analysing responses and the actions of service providers. At the same time, the participants use the programmes as a form of reference and documentation for their discussions.

The MBC club coordinator pointed out that the programmes create a platform for enabling local communities to discuss local issues and find their own solutions. The public broadcaster simply had to provide community members with the resources and facilitative support, and they would make the most of this opportunity:

> All that we did was teach them how to conduct and record basic discussions on developmental issues that come up in their community … we simply guide them during discussions so that they stick to the relevant issues ... We as MBC then go back to put the discussions in a programme on our station … I do some editing to clean it up, get the feedback from officials on the issues, I then write a script and we put the programme on air (MBC RLC coordinator, interview, 25 September 2023).

Nevertheless, it is clear from the coordinator's own description that she plays a crucial role in assisting in the facilitation of meaningful discussion, even in the second moment of the club processes. There is no doubt that the discussions that take place in the on-air programmes are thoughtful and reflective, and directed towards the identification of solutions. The coordinator notes that this constructive emphasis is typical:

> For example, the main problem in today's case where a lot of infants are dying could be because the area has no maternity clinic where women are supposed to get treatment when pregnant. In this case, the issues that are coming out because of the absence of a maternity clinic are already seen in the area. So, the people can then brainstorm on the solutions (MBC RLC coordinator, interview, 25 September 2023).

The coordinator expressed great satisfaction at the role she was able to play by recording such discussions, so that the voices of ordinary citizens from the furthest regions of the country could become audible on the public broadcaster:

> …when MBC boasts that it is able to reach every corner of the country, one way through which we achieve that is by using the radio listening clubs. MBC is able to hear the views of people even in the remotest areas as far away as Misuku in Chitipa district up north… (MBC RLC coordinator, interview, 25 September 2023).

The coordinator also explained that the MBC sometimes rebroadcasts programmes which attracted positive feedback from the listener clubs:

> Sometimes we repeat a discussion because we observed the frequent requests that we received from listeners to do so. Some of the request come from service providers or public official that show interest (MBC RLC coordinator, interview. 25 September 2023).

The shows that were rebroadcast in this way often focused on issues of significant public concern:

> Discussions on complaints about lack of school and health facilities, or broken bridges tend to attract the attention of officials when other people like, say on social media, carry on with the debate … so some authorities contact us at DBU to say, can you repeat or provide us with a particular discussion programme so that we can see how we can assist? Others don't even come to MBC, they just secretly go to the affected communities to see for themselves … (MBC RLC coordinator, interview. 25 September 2023).

My interaction with James Bodole [director of Public Works], who was present as a guest during the broadcast that I was observing at MBC, was also informative. He explained that his presence on the show provided him with an opportunity to respond to important community concerns. He was able to share details with listeners about an action plan for the completion of the construction works that have been pending at the Mikoko clinic:

> I think I have been able to provide the necessary answers as a guest in the programme so far. Like now we are in the process of going there to facilitate the site visit for contractors, the building will be fixed … so I think these are good programs [the radio programmes]. (MBC RLC programme guest, interview, 2 October 2023).

He noted further that the involvement of office bearers and decision-makers in such shows can enrich their understanding of the problems faced by communities:

> Sometimes they also help us because we may not know the specific problems that people are complaining about because it's not possible to be everywhere and all the time. So, when they bring these issues to us like this, it helps to say hey! There is a serious problem there… lets' go and see what we can do! (MBC RLC programme guest, interview, 2 October 2023).

The MBC coordinator pointed out, furthermore, that the presence of such guests on shows provided an opportunity to expose them to the views of people living in rural areas. When an official or service provider could not be persuaded to visit such an area and talk with the people who live there, the recordings that are gathered at the "village discussions" can still be included in a programme. The official or service provider could then be invited onto the show as a guest, and asked to respond the concerns raised:

> Sometimes we get the service providers during the discussions or take the concerns of the villagers in a recorded form for the service provider to listen to and respond (MBC RLC coordinator, interview, 25 September 2023).

Bodole agreed that the MBC coordinator takes responsibility for ensuring that issues raised by listener club members can be responded to in a meaningful way by guests. In this way, the coordinator allows for a continuous conversation between the club participants and programme guests:

> My experience in responding to the issues [raised in the village discussions] is that the MBC coordinator has always given me some kind of room to listen to the complaints first ... she always comes back to me with something that has cropped up from my previous response. So, me and them we keep talking and this gives me enough space to understand the issues before I respond (MBC RLC Programme guest, interview, 2 October 2023).

In consideration of the discussion in this section, one can argue that the on-air programmes and the recording of the club discussions on public radio significantly enhance audience participation in discussions of relevance to the public good. By the same token, involvement in the production of these communication processes instil a sense of ownership among the club members of the on-air programmes. In this way, the listener club-based shows strengthen the relationship between the public broadcaster and its audience. It is possible to conclude that these shows put into practice the Freirean ideal of radio as a vehicle for participatory communication in which critical dialogue is encouraged as a catalyst for transformative education and social liberation. This is possible even within the context of the authoritarian broadcast environment of the MBC. The participatory affordances of the clubs and their potential to create such Freirean spaces for social emancipation in public radio in Malawi is a significant achievement that must be nurtured.

3 The third moment: club discussions post-programming

Typically, the third moment in the operation of the clubs – that of the meeting that takes place after the show – serves as an opportunity to reflect on what had been achieved in the broadcast. At the MBC Nanjili club meeting that I observed, the secretary of the club first provided a summary of the previous meeting, reminding club members of the main issues discussed there. She noted that the focus of the discussion had been the continued delay in the establishment of a local maternity clinic, and pointed out that this issue remained unresolved:

> As am speaking here, the purpose of bringing the maternity here is not being fulfilled…. why is this so? *Nkhani yaikulu ndiyimeneyo, palibe chachitika mpaka lero*. [That is the main issue, that we are not seeing progress]. (Participant F, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

She argued that this should not discourage club members from reaching out to responsible officials to point out problems that were affecting the people from the Mikoko community:

> *Akuluakuluwo* [the higher authorities] should know that we are not ready to give up. We will continue to fight because the people here are still suffering, they have nowhere to go when they fall sick because this building *chikungokhala phwii* [The building is still idle and people cannot access treatment] (Participant G, MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

The monitor proposed that the focus of discussion for that day should be a follow-up on the complaints about the delay in the opening of the clinic. The members unanimously agreed to the suggestion and indicated their willingness to participate in the discussion. I noticed that the monitor did not record the full details of this preliminary discussion, or the analysis of the previous programme.

When I asked club members why they revisited issues that had already been aired in previous shows, they argued that this approach had produced dividends in the past. They provided me with one example:

> Participant F: In the past we didn't even have those electricity poles that you see here. So, we asked for that through a club discussion. They elected the poles but there was still no power after we first made that complaint in a programme. We continued asking the officials in yellow overalls….
>
> Group response: … the Escom labourers! [Escom is the Electricity Supply Company in Malawi].
>
> Participant F: Yes, those Escom labourers! They gave us yet another reason, they said now the problem is about a delay in power connection. It is us as a club, with support from the DBU, who made yet another discussion programme demanding electricity here. Eventually electricity came here in Namikoko because of our programme!
>
> *Handclapping and ululation from club members.* (MBC RLC FGD, 25 September 2023).

The club coordinator explained that the reflections that took place in the post-broadcast meetings enabled both the club members and the MBC to assess what had been achieved in the

deliberative processes of the clubs. She suggested that this process of assessment often enabled the club members to hold officials and service providers accountable to communities, so that they made an effort to provide them with assistance:

> The community continues to check with these duty-bearers even after the programmes has been aired until a tangible solution like a borehole has been constructed. At the same time, we at MBC can see what changes to make in the next programme. But also, the people in the clubs do also review their performance this time to say … here we didn't put enough pressure in the previous meeting, so now we have a chance to do better (MBC RLC coordinator, interview, 25 September 2023).

Figure 7: A member of staff from the MBC DBU recording a radio listening club post-programme discussion using an omnidirectional recorder located at the centre of the gathering.

In my examination of the benefits of the club discussions, I asked participants to elaborate on the extent to which deliberations had succeeded in influencing changes in policy. In response, the coordinator cited instances in which club discussions have impacted on the delivery of health services at local and national level. She noted that the provision of drugs to remote health centres had, for a long time, been delayed due to bureaucratic procurement processes:

> Drugs would first arrive at the central medical stores and stay there for a long time and this was causing delays for local health centres to access the drugs (MBC RLC coordinator, interview, 25 September 2023).

However, as a result of the discussions in radio clubs, the government implemented changes in policy that improved the situation:

> … the government changed the system and the drugs are transferred to the health centres as soon as they arrive in the country (MBC RLC coordinator, interview, 25 September 2023).

The coordinator noted that listener club discussions had, similarly, influenced a review of policy for distributing ARTs (Antiretroviral treatment) among marginalised people:

> … in Malawi we used not to have ARTs [Antiretroviral drugs] for children. But now through radio listening clubs and the lobbying and advocacy that has been conducted in the radio programmes, government responded and introduced the ARTs for children (MBC RLC coordinator, interview, 25 September 2023).

In my judgement, the post-broadcast moment in the operation of the listener clubs played an important role in ensuring the achievement of such gains. It provided an opportunity for club members to complete a full circle in the process of deliberation around which the operation of the club was organised. The post-programme moment could serve this purpose because it enabled the club members to consider the extent to which their deliberations had resulted in impactful change. If there was a need for further action, they could forward them again as reminders to appropriate duty-bearers about the need for decisive action. I believe this enables the clubs to operate in a way that is consistent with the Brechtian ideal of radio in which the medium is considered an "apparatus of communication on issues of public interest" (Brecht in Hilliard & Keith, 2012:16). But even more so, the meeting enabled the members to rework their strategies of challenging duty-bearers and achieve the Freirean emphasis on empowering the marginalised to challenge oppressive structures and influence change in society. This is possible even in the context of the authoritarian broadcast culture of the MBC.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the role of radio listener clubs in enabling audience participation on issues of relevance to the public good in the context of public radio in Malawi. It is demonstrated that in the MBC, despite its authoritarian broadcast culture, such clubs create spaces for audience participation that is demonstrative of the Freirean conception of emancipatory radio as a medium for transformative dialogue for social liberation. The chapter articulated how the interventions of the Development Broadcasting Unit [DBU] at the state broadcaster empower ordinary members of the clubs to participate in discussions about their own social development. The emerging discussions create opportunities for community

members to hold service providers and officials accountable. They question the extent to which responsible authorities are putting into practice their constitutional mandate towards improving the welfare of local communities. It is demonstrated in the chapter that the participatory affordances of the clubs enable ordinary people to mobilise. In this way, people are enabled to project a unified voice with the potential to influence significant social change. At the same time, the clubs enable the public broadcaster to create a sense of ownership of the station among the listeners and in the process strengthen the relationship between the station and the audience.

Figure 8 below presents a schematic illustration of the relationship between the three moments in the cycle of communication in a radio listening club in public radio. The figure demonstrates how discussions that occur in each of these moments form part of a seamless flow of deliberative communication from one moment to the next. This flow of communication results in the formation of a complete circle that can be repeated from one cycle of the club's operation to the next. The figure also makes visible the injection of fresh views and perspectives into the flow of communication at each of the three moments. At the first moment, this injection is represented by the contributions made by listener club members and sometimes by invited guests. In the second moment, further input is received via the contributions of the audience of the show, as well as show guests. In the final moment, there is again input from listener club members. This allows for a deepening and diversification of the deliberative process, as new points of view are absorbed into the communication process.

As a way forward, it would be significant to investigate the extent to which the participatory practices introduced in the clubs have the potential to influence the broader programming culture in public radio, outside the context of the listener club shows. Despite recognising the existence of authoritarian practices in this context, it is important to clarify that an engagement with its wider domain was beyond the limit of my empirical research.

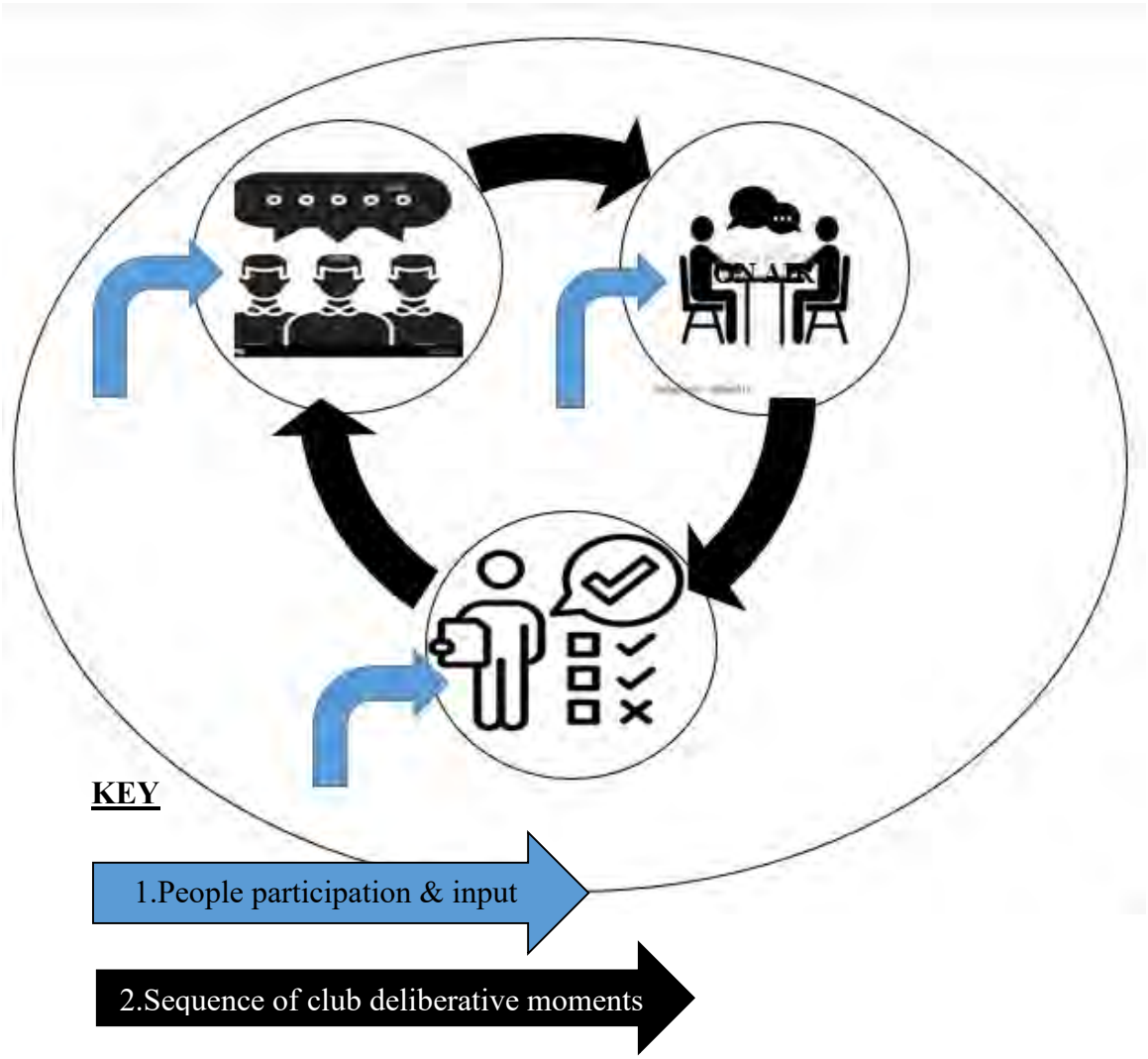

Figure 8: *An illustration of the relationship among the three main moments of the communication processes of radio listening clubs in enabling seamless audience participation in public radio.*

CHAPTER SEVEN: LISTENER CLUBS IN MALAWI IN THE CONTEXT OF COMMERCIAL RADIO

Introduction

In Chapter Four, it was explained that commercial radio stations in Malawi first demonstrated an interest in the introduction of listening clubs about one decade into the new millennium. Some stations set up clubs as independent projects while others did so in partnership with organisations such as Farm Radio International (FRI) from Canada. This chapter focuses on listener clubs that operate in the context of such ventures. I focus, in particular, on the example of MIJ FM, a commercial station located in Blantyre. My discussion deals specifically with *Amayi Mwakonzanji* [*Women, what have you prepared?*], a radio programme that features content from listener club discussions.

Chapter Two described the internationally accepted model for commercial radio as one that is primarily informed by a Sarnoffian interest in social control. It is driven by an interest in the exploitation of listeners for commercial gain because its primary purpose is to deliver audiences to advertisers. However, in Chapter Four it was pointed out that in the African context, commercial radio stations also perform an emancipatory role. They do so because they offer listeners an alternative to state-controlled radio that provides them with a greater diversity of perspectives on their social context. In Malawi, commercial radio serves this purpose by offering an alternative to the MBC so that audiences can find a public space in which critical engagement with political and social concerns is encouraged (Matonga, 2024; Lwanda, 2014; Moyo, 2012).

In this chapter, my discussion of listener clubs as they exist within commercial radio explores the implications of this distinction between commercial and public radio in Malawi. I set out to establish whether the contrasting goals of these two broadcast sectors impact on the role that listener clubs play within them.

1 The first moment: club discussions prior to the on-air programme

The listener club that I observed at MIJ FM has an all-female membership. The club chairperson initiates discussions and invites members to participate, while the club coordinator records the proceedings. The club coordinator at MIJ confirmed to me during our introductory conversation that discussions tend to be of specific relevance to women, with a focus on

subjects such as gender-based violence and identification of strategies for achieving women's empowerment.

Topics that require input from experts or duty-bearers are, in most cases, conducted at the premises of the station in Blantyre. The location is easily accessible to club members, being centrally based in the city. The station provides a welcoming space for members of the club to conduct their discussions. Meetings on topics that do not require input from experts or officials are conducted in 'zones' within the communities, usually at the home of one of the members who volunteers to host the meeting. The coordinator that I interviewed described these meetings as 'informal gatherings'. The discussions that take place there are rarely recorded (MIJ RLC coordinator, interview, 2 October 2023). Instead, the coordinator encourages members to come forward with significant ideas that emerge from their meetings so that these may be considered for inclusion in the discussion sessions that are recorded at the station. The members who provide ideas are also encouraged to attend the sessions on order to make their own contributions during the main discussions. The members are drawn from diverse locations and invited to come to the station on designated days:

> We've got members from the Lirangwe club as a zone, we've got the Chilomoni club, we've got Ndirande club, we've got Phalula club, Balaka club, Thyolo club and so on and so forth. The members meet as clubs in their localities once every month usually on Sundays … But for discussions that we think must go on air we invite them to come here at the radio station most of the time (MIJ RLC coordinator, interview, 2 October 2023).

The members are expected to find their own means of transport to attend the recording of the discussions. The coordinator of the clubs at MIJ notes that the members have not registered any complaints about this arrangement. On the contrary, they appear contented with their own contributions to the success of the club, even in the absence of financial or material resources from the host radio station:

> They [club] opened their own group bank account to which they make contributions. They also print their own T-shirts with a MIJ logo which they sometimes use as uniform. So, for them it's all about flying the name of MIJ whenever they do charity work and also that sense of connection to MIJ that the members get from engaging in these activities (MIJ RLC Coordinator, interview, 2 October 2023).

Figure 9: The MIJ radio premises in Blantyre

During preliminary discussions at MIJ FM, the coordinator supervises the proceedings and ensures that the recording sessions are completed within a maximum duration of 40 minutes. This is to ensure that the recordings can be accommodated within an hour-long programme. These recordings are played back on air for the benefit of a studio guest who is expected to provide guidance on how the problems raised in the recorded discussion can best be dealt with. In some cases, during the recorded discussions, club members resolve to find their own solutions to problems by engaging in self-help activities. They may, for example, decide to organise a clean-up of a community or to make donations to a public health service facility.

On arrival at the discussion that I observed at MIJ, club members gathered under the shaded area for visitors outside the radio station. The club coordinator welcomed them and then handed over the process to the club chairperson so that they could concentrate on recording the discussions. For this discussion, club members sat in chairs that formed a circle around a table in the shaded space outside the premises of the station. They shared ideas on how to deal with domestic and gender-based violence. Members requested to remain anonymous during the discussion. The chairperson noted that participants had requested the choice of topic because

they had experienced such violence themselves. They spoke about experiencing abuse from their husbands and explained that their children have also been subjected to the same treatment. The group shared ideas about the best way to deal with such violence and, as part of this, they identified individuals and organisations to approach for assistance.

It was my impression that the club members felt able to openly discuss gender-based violence, even though it was clearly a sensitive topic. One reason for this might be the fact that they were an all-female group. In addition, there was the assurance of anonymity, which encouraged members to talk about their own real-life challenges. The facilitators of the discussion also made it clear to all participants that the discussion was informed by an interest in the empowerment of everyone present. They emphasised their determination to hold duty-bearers in the local environment accountable for the development of public services that could ensure the wellbeing of these women. I concluded that, within this environment, the women felt able to speak out with confidence.

Throughout the recording process, the coordinator only intervened at occasional intervals. I observed that the purpose of these interventions was either to direct the discussion or to bring calm when members were engaging in an inconclusive argument. Overall, I was impressed with the way the coordinator managed these polite interruptions of the discussion. She was able, in this way, to play an important role in guiding the process. There were also moments when the chairperson of the club assumed direct control of the discussion while the coordinator observed silently. The silence appeared indicative of non-interference designed to enable the club participants to identify their own independent solutions in the process.

When I interviewed club members about their experience of this session, they explained to me that they appreciate the moments of free discussion because it enables them to take charge of the debate as mature individuals:

> Sometimes she [the coordinator] tells us how to speak during the discussion … other times she just watches and leaves us alone to continue until … we make a mistake. When she allows us to move on, we also feel confident that … Oh Yes! We are now doing everything the right way. The freedom gives us a chance to discuss issues as *azimayi akuluakulu okhwima ndinzeru zawo* [as wise adults and capable women] (Participant A, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

In this way, the coordinator enabled the participants to build their self-confidence and trust in the relevance of their comments.

The chairperson described the presence of the coordinator as supportive of the communication processes of the club. She explained that the coordinator plays this role right from the start, when the topics for discussion are chosen:

> Mwakhere [the coordinator] always help us in identifying a relevant topic for discussion *kuchokera kumayambiriro komwe* [Right from the onset of the discussion]. Sometimes she deliberately talks to members who are too quiet and asks them to say, hey you! What do you think we should discuss? … so that way everyone says something about the topic (Participant B, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

The club members agreed, and explained that the coordinator was there to maintain order and ensure that everyone participates. They considered this role as beneficial to their group because there are several characters with a penchant for monopolising discussions. The presence of the moderator inspires members who rarely comment to speak more often. This means that one can be assured about less monopoly of the discussion by over-enthusiastic members:

> Usually, we ask Mwakhere to jump in and say a word or two in cases when we see that we are stuck because we either can't agree on one idea or *chifukwa choti azimayi enawa pano poti amayankhula kwambiri nthawi zina kuposa anzawo ena ndiye zinthu zasokonekera….* [Especially because some of us here speak too much sometimes and that causes disorder]. Mwakhere calmly advises us to respect each other and allow other people to also say their views on the issues under discussion (Participant A, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

The coordinator also described her attempts at ensuring that the discussions are conducted in an orderly manner:

> I think I have been able to instil some discipline among the members so far. I see that there are no conflicts or the use of provocative words during the meeting. I tell the women to respect each other and focus on the important issues throughout the discussion … I also ensure that the members talk as much as possible so that it shouldn't always be me running the show. So, there are times when I just come and sit here to watch while the chairperson or someone chosen on that day leads the discussion (MIJ RLC coordinator, interview, 2 October 2023).

The members explained that the club secretary complements the work of the coordinator in encouraging other members to participate during the discussions:

> Hawa [the club secretary] also helps us to cheer up and hold our discussions properly. She makes sure that she calls us by our names in order to make us speak. She makes sure that the discussion is moving. She tells us to explain more about the statements that are not clear. So, she is like the second important person who maintains order during the discussions (Participant A, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

They note that this careful and close attention to the fair facilitation of discussion has allowed club members to adjust their usual way of contributing:

> To some of us who noticed that maybe we talk too much, we also began to tone down after noticing that the coordinator, the secretary and other members were advising us

> to also give space to other members to speak … and our friends also started to speak equally and now almost everyone is able to speak up (Participant A, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

The coordinator also felt that she was able to contribute to the framing of the topic of discussion:

> So far, I think I have provided the right directions. I make sure that they have chosen a relevant topic … I always contact an expert on the issue in good time … (MIJ RLC coordinator, interview, 2 October 2023).

In their final comments about the moderation of their discussions, members were of the view that the club should maintain this approach to discussions since it is empowering to all the members. This ensures that ideas can surface that might not otherwise be given attention:

> I think we need to just continue encouraging the shy members more so that they open up. And also, maybe try to create a welcoming environment for everyone by greeting them when they come here. Ask them nicely about what they think so that they at least say something. In this way, we can all benefit because some people may be shy while the ideas that they have in mind are very important (Participant C, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

The members explain that they appreciate the chance to speak unreservedly with fellow women with whom they share common interests. Being able to speak their mind in such an environment makes them feel valued, as well as hopeful about obtaining solutions to problems that shape their daily existence:

> The issues that we discuss are very important because these are the problems that we all go through every day … for us as women, it becomes easy for me to talk about menstrual issues or domestic violence for example … I talk *momasuka* [freely and openly] because I am with *azimayi anzanga* [Am in the company of fellow women] and we face similar health problems every day. When you share an issue here, you are sure that the solution can be found through the discussions with someone who maybe familiar with that problem (Participant A, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

They mention words like *timamasuka* [we feel free to say anything], *timaphunzintsana komanso timalimbikitsana za bizinesi* [we share ideas about starting and strengthening a business]. These phrases and statements suggest that participants acquire a wealth of new knowledge through social interaction in the club discussion. The members also talk about *kutha kukambirana za mabungwe ndi akatsiwiri omwe angatithandize* [we also identify which expert or organisation we can go to for assistance]. They point out how a number of members of the club have established *timabizinesi tingo'noting'ono tazosokasoka, kaya kaokala kenakake*

[small scale businesses such as tailoring and hawking] after implementing professional advice about entrepreneurship from the discussions. They emphasise that the club discussions motivate members *kuti tidzigwirana manja pa mavuto athu ngati azimayi* [to be united as women in solving our own challenges].

It is my observation that the club associated with MIJ FM is succeeding in empowering its membership. The women are provided with a space in which they can speak freely about issues that impact their lives in local communities. They discuss relevant civil rights issues and identify strategies for improving life in these communities. As such, I believe that the club serves the traditional purpose of listener clubs. It is, however, possible that such empowerment happens within a narrower domain than was evident at Nanjili. As noted above, there is an exclusive focus in this commercial radio club on women and on subjects relevant to women. This stands in contrast to the diverse choice of topics that were explored at Nanjili.

In addition, there appeared to be less emphasis on the enablement of club members through the allocation of resources and training than I had observed in the public radio club. We saw in the previous chapter that the club in Nanjili was well resourced and members benefitted from ongoing technical training. I believe that, because of this, they were able to play a more active role, taking charge both of the content of discussions and of recording processes. In contrast, in the example of MIJ, the focus was not on building the technical capacity of the members; instead, the coordinator assumes full responsibility for the discussion and its recording. Nevertheless, it remained clear to me that discussions in the first moment of the operation of the club at MIJ FM allowed members to achieve a sense of empowerment. In my judgement, the first off-air moment of the MIJ club's cycle of operation contributes to the successful realisation of the listener club as a vehicle for the empowerment of its members. At this moment in the process, MIJ FM succeeds in the integration of the listener club as a vehicle for the facilitation of the empowerment of members of its audience. It does so despite operating as a commercial station in which programming is understood to exist in service of generating profit. This suggests to me that, within this station, the Sarnoffian interest in social control can co-exist with a Brechtian commitment to emancipation. However, I would argue that the MIJ FM has not, as yet, fully achieved an approach to listener clubs that meets the requirements of a Freirean engagement with audience. This is due to the fact that the station has not invested in the carefully scaffolded support systems for the facilitation of participation that could be observed in the case of the MBC club. One such example is the way MIJ has so far treated the initial conversations of the club participants who interact within its premises as informal gatherings when similar sessions and its contents are regarded as worth recording at MBC. At

the same time, we saw how the participants of the club at MIJ often have to individually organise their own means of transport to the meeting place whereas cases of mobility for the members are an issue that the coordinator at MBC resolve together with participants.

Figure 10: Members of the MIJ Radio 'Amayi Mwakonzanji' radio listening club in branded club regalia at a meeting as the secretary for the group moderates the discussion.

2 The second moment: club discussions during on-air programming

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the club at MIJ FM provides content for a show on the station called *Amayi Mwakonzanji* [*Women, what have you prepared?*]. Again, here at MIJ, the coordinator offered me two different copies of the programmes from which I selected one for analysis in the thesis. I also spared my time to listen to the general content of both programmes. In the sample of this show that I examined, the club coordinator [Mwakhere Kalyande] assumes the role of the presenter, introducing the main topic before playing back the recording from the club discussion. Her voice is, therefore, present not only in the original recorded material captured in the first moment of the club cycle but also in the second moment, when the show is broadcast. In the introduction to the show, the coordinator allows the chairperson to establish general terms of reference for the on-air discussion:

> Today our topic is a discussion on the abuse that children, women and in some cases, men are noted to be experiencing in our locations. We want to look at these abuses, how they happen, why and how we can reduce such practices. So, what causes child or women abuse in our families? Let's start with Mrs. Ruth Kululanga. How do you see this issue?

> (Chairperson/Participant A, MIJ *Amayi Mwakonzanji* RLC programme, 26 October 2023, Appendix 6b)

My impression was that the foregrounding of the voice of the chairperson both in the recorded material and show presentation operates as an acknowledgement of her authority. Throughout the remainder of the programme, she intervenes in the discussion on a regular basis in order to create a bridge from one participant's statement to another or to facilitate the transition of the discussion from the level of preliminary debate to exploring solutions from experts. The continuity that she provides in this way allows the programme to progress seamlessly as it moves from one theme of discussion to the next. As such, the chairperson is afforded agency in shaping and steering the programme content. This show format, therefore, allows her, as an ordinary member of the station's audience and a representative of the listener club, to become empowered.

In consultation with club members, the coordinator selects material recorded in the first moment of the club cycle for playback in the second moment, when the show is broadcast. This recorded material is combined with input from studio guests, also selected by the coordinator, who acts on recommendations from club members. It is my observation that, in making these choices about recorded content and guests, the club members and the coordinator set out to stimulate on-air discussions that lead to possible solutions to the problems faced by community members.

One kind of recording that is chosen, in this context, focuses on instances in which the club members speak about ways in which they themselves can tackle problems, for example, through self-help projects or charity activities. The club chairperson describes one such instance in which members encouraged each other to first explore their own way of dealing with the problem of abuse at a household level:

> We have looked deep into this issue about how on both sides, women and children, and men are being abused especially within families in our areas of residence. The main point that we have agreed upon is that when we return to our families, we must be the first to act when we see anyone mistreating a child. If that fails, then we need to ask duty-bearers in our locations to help us… (Chairperson/Participant A, MIJ *Amayi Mwakonzanji* RLC programme, 26 October 2023).

Sometimes, the club members and coordinator choose guests who are able to comment on recordings in a way that would allow club members to better understand the problems they are facing. Club members note that in such instances, the expertise of the guest enables them to develop an in-depth understanding of strategies that they can pursue in order to solve problems:

> The involvement of the guests is important for us because these are experts that people trust because of their experience … We believe that if we follow their advice, then our problems will be solved … and we often get our problems solved if we follow the instructions… (Participant B, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

In another example, one of the members gave an account of the way the club benefitted from the contributions of a legal expert on divorce who featured as a show guest. In this instance, the knowledge that they gained from the show helped them to make important changes to the way women are treated in their community:

> We observed that most women in our locations suffer when their husbands die, and the relatives sometimes come to take the property from the widow. We discussed the issue and sought the opinion of a lawyer who clarified that being a housewife is also part of contributing to the running of the house. After divorce or death, the woman must also get a fair share of the property (Participant B, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

In other instances, club members ask for guests who are able to tackle particular problems, with a focus on service providers and officials who can address these problems as part of their work. The monitor explained to me that in the show on gender-based violence, for example, members resolved to invite a human rights activist or an officer from the police on air to address the issue of domestic violence that the club discussed on that day. He elaborated why the group finally recommended to involve officials from the public law enforcement agency:

> We know the police service has various sections, they do have a domestic violence unit, criminal investigation unit, child victim support … That is why we want the Police Commissioner from Blantyre Police to respond to these issues of domestic violence that we have spoken about today. We know these people can help us with solutions on this issue (Monitor/Participant A, MIJ *Amayi Mwakonzanji* RLC programme, 26 October 2023, Appendix 6b)

A member of the club at MIJ cited another programme in which the group called officials to account in this way. As a result of this show, the city authorities changed the way they manage sanitation at a public health center in Blantyre City:

> I remember we agreed to sweep at the Limbe Health Centre because of poor sanitation there. At first, an assistant director from the city council, who spoke in the programme promised to look into the issue. But then, the council did not do anything. We then agreed to go and sweep the area ourselves. Since that time, the city council started to send their refuse collection vehicle at the Limbe health center because we exposed the issue through the radio programme (Participant C, MIJ RLC FGD, 2 October 2023).

In this case, the programme enabled club members to expose the negligence of the city authorities and indirectly force them into action.

Guests also sometimes appear to have the purpose of simply confirming the club members' right to speak out, as expressed in the recordings. Such an example occurred during the programme on gender-based violence that I witnessed. As noted above, club members had called for the presence of the commissioner of police but the presenter explained on the show that he was not immediately available. She instead introduced Lucy Nkhoma, a human rights activist who was invited to comment on the issues of domestic violence and provide advice on-air. The presenter allowed Nkhoma to first listen to the recording of the discussions before being requested to speak on the topic. Nkhoma commended the club members for their discussion on the issue in question. She encouraged the members to continue speaking against the malpractice and understand that it is within their constitutional right to do so. She also implored the members to report domestic violence and any form of abuse to authorities such as the police or human rights organisations in order to seek redress:

> All I can say is, keep it up. You don't have to fear because our constitution provides for a redress form abuse as a human right for everyone. You should also encourage each other to be fearless about speaking on any type of abuse on you as a person. You can also report to the police or women rights organisations to help you take such issues to court if necessary (Lucy Nkhoma, MIJ *Amayi Mwakonzanji* RLC programme guest, interview 26 October 2023, Appendix 6b)

Nkhoma also shared her thoughts about the significance of the discussions in enabling club members to critically explore solutions on issues that are endemic to women. She assured the members of her own readiness to assist and noted that human rights activists should support individuals who are victims or survivors of domestic violence:

> It is encouraging to hear that some women are now speaking up on issues of domestic violence as a group like this. What the club members here are doing is very commendable. As activists … we are always available to offer counselling and financial support for court procedures so that perpetrators are prosecuted (Lucy Nkhoma, MIJ *Amayi Mwakonzanji* RLC programme guest, interview 26 October 2023, Appendix 6b).

After engaging with this guest, the presenter provided listeners with a mobile phone number and encouraged them to either call or send their comments through *Whatsapp* to the programme producer. She explained that the comments would be read as feedback from the audience in the next edition of the programme.

I gathered that Lucy Nkhoma had been a guest on the show before. She told me that she appreciated the way that the discussions were generally conducted:

> I have noted that the club works like a center stage for women to speak *momasukirana* [openly and freely] about challenges they are facing in their lives. Women come with issues of disclosure about deep personal challenges and seek advice on that … they also suggest who to approach for assistance as a group (Lucy Nkhoma, MIJ *Amayi Mwakonzanji* RLC programme guest, interview, 23 October 2023).

She also considered her involvement in the discussions so far as 'successful times' in which she has been able to both learn from the members and "share my own constructive insights". These insights are drawn from her background as a human rights and menstrual hygiene health management activist. She feels that she has, to some extent, assisted the women in developing a better understanding of issues of hygiene, as well as confidence in themselves as women (Lucy Nkhoma, MIJ *Amayi Mwakonzanji* RLC programme guest, interview, 26 October 2023). Club members assured me that they are satisfied with the way guests respond to their recorded content in the programmes. They provided statements such as '*Timakhala okhutira ndi uphungu omwe timalandira'* [We are always happy with the way they issues are relayed to the experts and how they address our concerns] (Participant E, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

I noticed that MIJ Radio finds satisfaction in the provision of free airtime for the discussions and to connect members with experts to offer feedback. The station considers this to be a valuable contribution towards the operation of the club. The coordinator points out, however, that this contribution is not purely altruistic in nature. MIJ also benefits, since the club has increased public awareness of the station's programming, thus, helping the station to build its audience:

> I can say that the programme *Amayi Mwakonzanji* has become popular through the radio listening club that these women formed (MIJ RLC coordinator, interview, 2 October 2023).

In my judgement, it is significant to note that MIJ schedules advertising to be broadcast as part of *Amayi Mwakonzanji* (See MIJ Radio programme Appendix 6b**)**. These adverts are flighted throughout the one hour-long programme. In this sense, then, the station views the show as an opportunity to engage with listeners as potential consumers of the products that they are advertising.

My first impression was that the station's editorial guidelines still required a strict distinction between the content of such advertising and the content of the show itself. The selection of spots appeared arbitrary, with no particular consideration of the relationship

between the content of the show and the advertising messages. The presenter also simply inserts the adverts and avoids explicit reference to the products and services mentioned in the adverts. For this reason, the commercial content continues to exist in separation from the show content.

However, I later learnt that the station does accept direct sponsorship in exchange for airtime and will apply this in the context of the listener club show. Indeed, in some editions of the *Amayi Mwakonzanji* programmes, the presenter acknowledges the contribution of the sponsors and provides details of their products and services. I also learnt from the coordinator that *Amayi Mwakonzanji* is among programmes that can be interrupted or rescheduled at the station in the event of a booking for a sponsored live broadcast:

> Sometimes it depends on what is happening on the radio at a particular time. For example, when we have a programme like *Requests and dedications*, and then sponsors have paid for an OB [outside broadcast] to launch a product, we easily take out the *Requests and dedication* programme. Or when there is a football match midweek… say Wednesday, programmes that run at that time like *Amayi Mwakonzanji*, are taken off to accommodate the sponsored game (MIJ RLC coordinator, interview, 2 October 2023).

The coordinator justified the approach as "something that happens almost everywhere on radio stations". However, she also explained that the practice is particularly encouraged at MIJ because the station considers advertising as one of its main strategies for generating income and sustaining operations:

> At managerial level, I know the purpose is to focus on getting more listeners and advertisers for our survival. So, we are open if companies want to advertise in the programme. If I am doing a programme and there are sponsors, we definitely bring them in (MIJ RLC coordinator, interview, 2 October 2023).

The coordinator also noted that when the radio listening club show at MIJ is taken off air to make way for sponsored programming, the station issues an apology and informs the audience that it will be broadcast the next day. Her suggestion was that by assuring the listener of the rescheduling of the club programme, the station aimed to maintain a relationship of respect and trust with its audience.

Figure 11: A MIJ radio listening club coordinator presenting the 'Amayi Mwakonzanji' programme on-air at the radio campus in Blantyre.

Through my observation of *Amayi Mwakonzanji,* I was able to gain insight into the nature of the discussions that becomes possible at the second moment in the operation of the listener club as it exists in this particular commercial radio station. It was my observation that these discussions focused on civil society issues and guests are, in most cases, activists drawn from civil society organisations. This is in contrast to discussions in the second moment as this exists in the Nanjili club at MBC, where public officials such as government spokespersons, directors of public institutions and politicians are periodically approached to respond to the concerns of members. As such, infrastructural development projects dominate the content of on-air programmes for the public radio show, while civil society issues occupy a larger share of the discussion in the commercial radio show. Nevertheless, in both instances, the shows create favorable spaces for the audience to engage in democratic discussion on distinct issues of relevance to the public good.

I noted in my discussion of the first moment in the operation of the commercial club that the focus tended to be specific to issues of relevance to women. However, in the second moment, I could see that this framing still enabled the women to explore a wide range of

challenges faced by people who live in a semi-urban community. Furthermore, the quality of discussions that take place in the on-air moment opens up possibilities for the exploration of constructive strategies for engaging with these challenges. There is a careful balance between the discussion of the individual life experiences of club members and advice from experts, which tend to focus on supportive strategies for dealing with the challenges that members face. Discussion of the lack of functional public services enable club members to challenge responsible officials and government departments to address the issues. In this way, the operation of this club enables its members to exercise their right to freedom of speech and demand their right to decent social services. I, therefore, conclude that the second moment in this club's operation exists as an example of the inculcation of a Brechtian approach to audience participation within the context of a commercial radio station. However as we have seen, there are instances in which the station's need to prioritise income generation stands in tension with its commitment to the successful operation of the club. One such instance, as we have seen, is when a club discussion programme is shelved in order to prioritise an unscheduled sponsored programme. I am therefore less convinced that this listener club fully achieves the requirements of the Freirean approach.

3 The third moment: club discussions post-programming

My discussions with research participants showed evidence that the third moment in the operation of listener clubs – which concerns itself with the post-broadcast reflection - can also be identified in practices associated with the club at MIJ FM. The coordinator notes that this moment plays an important role in reflecting on the success of the show:

> After the programme, we usually discuss before starting the next meeting to see whether what the experts said was helpful to us. Sometimes we just share what we have learnt if the expert was just giving advice. Thereafter members also testify about the specific lessons that they drew from the programme (MIJ RLC coordinator, interview, 2 October 2023).

In this way, the members are able to make decisions on whether to continue discussing the issue in anticipation of a tangible outcome or to discard the topic altogether:

> … we use the moment to think about the pledges from guests in the programmes to see if it's something we can act on as a way forward. Like the time when we discussed about challenges that our school girls face because they are unable to buy sanitary pads, our expert guest on this day, Lucy Nkhoma, promised to identify donors to donate the pads. So, we

> reminded one another after the programme to be following that up with her (MIJ RLC coordinator, interview, 2 October 2023).

However, unlike the example of the club I observed at MBC, this moment does not exist as a formally constituted aspect of the club's operation. Instead, as club members described it, they spare time after each broadcast to reflect informally on the achievements of the show. As part of such discussions, they would typically comment on their own contribution to the on-air discussion:

> Since we stay in close locations, we casually meet after listening to the programme and talk about how some of us spoke eloquently in the programme or joke about how some members were stammering (Participant C, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

In addition, they comment on the extent to which the discussion has resulted in beneficial outcomes. As part of such reflection, they take note of insights they have gained from the studio guests' contributions, that enable them to engage better with challenges that they face at home and in their communities:

> When we meet here for the next discussion, we also briefly comment on the lessons learnt from what our experts said. For example, some of us maybe we were failing to manage our families, now we are able to do better because we got good ideas from the programmes (Participant C, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

One member spoke, for example, about the lessons that she learned in a studio discussion focusing on the implications of divorce. The knowledge of the law that she gained was personally empowering, both to her and to other members of the group:

> Most of us learnt a lot that time when we had questions about what the law says on issues of property in marriage. We were convinced with the way the lawyer explained the issue especially as it applies to us as women. The discussions and explanations from the lawyer helped us understand some legal implications in marriage and the sharing of property (Participant B, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

I observed that the club members understand the knowledge that they gain in this way from expert studio guests to be of particular importance to the successful operation of the club. They appeared satisfied that a show had served its purpose if such learning had been achieved.

However, the women also explained that in this post-broadcast reflection they would typically strategise around the course of action they should pursue in order to make progress with solving the social problems discussed in the show. As part of this reflection, they would speak about strategies they could pursue if the approach they were advised to follow in the

show proved ineffective. It is my impression that such strategies often involved contributions made by the women themselves to solving the problem. For example, the members spoke about the decision they made after a show that dealt with the non-action of the Blantyre City Council in acting on one of the complaints from the club. After city officials failed to fulfil their obligation to provide sanitation at a health centre, club members approached the council for permission to conduct the sweeping exercise on their own:

> Even though the officials at first refused to grant permission for us to clean at the health centre, we kept pushing and finally got permission to sweep the area (Participant C, MIJ RLC FGD, 12 October 2023).

In this way, then, the *Amayi Mwakonzanji* club provided the women with a space in which they could claim agency. It would seem, from the example that I observed, that the club at MIJ did successfully influence the frequency of cleaning exercises at a public health facility. This suggests that a club based at a commercial station such as MIJ FM can make a powerful impact on its social context. And indeed, this role is not contrary to the purpose and identity of commercial radio in this country. As noted earlier, commercial radio in Malawi does typically claim a role for itself in monitoring the actions of public officials, particularly in the context of its news and current affairs phone-in programmes. The introduction of the club programme at MIJ can, therefore, be construed as an extension of this role.

However, in this example, the club members also assumed full responsibility for cleaning the clinic. They could, alternatively, have persisted in holding public officials to account, possibly in a follow-up discussion in the next programme. By resorting to take action on their own and not wait upon the council, the club practice at this radio breaks away from the role of continuous enforcement of accountability of the authorities.

I would argue that the informal nature of the facilitation of the third moment means that there is little attempt to achieve a Freirean purpose. In this casual conversation, the influence of this moment in the process of the club is reduced to basic exchange of opinion rather than rigorous deliberation. Within this model, the first two moments may still facilitate critical engagement with systemic social problems, so that Freirean goals are partly realised. In contrast, the third moment tends to serve only to consolidate understanding, awareness, and personal action. All in all, the overall operation of this club is very different to the one that I observed at MBC, in which there is evidence of methodical follow-up at each of the three moments of the club's operation. In the context of such follow up, the discussion necessarily

returns to an engagement with decision-makers and duty-bearers, who are held accountable for the role that they should play in solving social problems.

Conclusion

This chapter focuses on MIJ FM as an example of a commercial radio station that is attempting to introduce a radio club into its programming strategies. I acknowledge in this chapter that radio listening clubs are not traditionally associated with commercial radio, either in Malawi or elsewhere. However, I believe that the introduction of the club at MIF FM offers a unique opportunity to demonstrate the potential role that such clubs can play within the context of a commercial station in this country.

The chapter describes how the first moment in the participatory procedure of the club enables members to conduct in-depth deliberation on social issues of relevance to women. It then demonstrates how the second moment, associated with on-air programming, enables members to direct their concerns to civil rights experts and officials. Finally, it demonstrates that the review of the on-air programmes in the third moment of the club's operation enables members to follow-up with experts and officials on the issues discussed in previous programmes. It is, however observed that, within the first two moments, the club does not fully implement the requirements of closely supported sytems for the facilitation of participation. In the third moment this becomes particularly apparent, given the general informality of its management. For these reasons, the club does not operate effectively to hold government officials accountable for solving challenges that they face in their communities, through strict and methodical follow-ups. Instead, club members often take personal responsibility for dealing with such challenges.

Throughout, the chapter compared the operation of the club at MIJ FM to the way clubs are managed in public radio. It is noted, that the commercial radio club invests fewer resources in the operation of the club and club members also do not have the same level of access to training. In particular, we saw that there is no formal support for the facilitation of the third moment of deliberation. The omission of support for the third moment means that the commercial radio listener club is unable to follow through methodically on holding decision-makers and officials accountable.

The findings in this chapter suggest that it may be the commercial identity of MIJ FM that is constraining its ability to make the most of the potential role the club can play in the empowerment of its audience members. The station does succeed in incorporating aspects of the club operations (especially as this relates to the first and second moment of operation).

However, as illustrated, when the club's operation interferes with the station's commitment to advertisers, the interests of advertisers will be prioritised. It is, in other words, the station's commitment to a Sarnofian interest in the exploitation of audiences for commercial gain that interferes with the full realisationof the purpose of the club.

It has been argued in Chapter Four that in the African context and in Malawi, commercial radio also performs a more Brechtian, emancipatory role. We observed in that chapter how commercial radio in Malawi claims to provide a space for emancipatory audience deliberation as opposed to what is possible within the state broadcaster (Lwanda, 2014; Moyo, 2012). It is possible that MIJ's incorporation of a listener club is informed by the station's commitment to this emancipatory role. It can, in particular, draw on the participatory affordances of the listener club in order demonstrate the legitimacy of the claim that, as a commercial station, it fulfils the role of a custodian of critical engagement with the state. However, in my judgement, MIJ still pursues its commitment to emancipatory ideals primarily through its general news and current affairs programming. For this station, the tradition of listener clubs remains a secondary concern.

The operation of the MIJ FM listener club is captured in Figure 12 below. The illustration focuses on the way communication processes that take place within the first and second moments of the club's operation become successful in achieving an emancipatory purpose. In this sense, then, the club serves a similar purpose to clubs that exist in public radio even though the extent to which commercial radio formalise support for club members is limited. However, the figure also highlights how marketing interests form part of the second moment of the discussions. The influence of such interests on the second moment in this club's operation makes it distinct from this moment in public radio. As we saw in Figure 8, advertising content is not included in the case of public radio.

The figure also demonstrates that the third moment in the operation of the commercial radio club does not provide significant opportunities for wide audience participation. For this reason, the discussion often fails to do full justice to the process of reflecting on the outcomes of on-air discussions. In particular, studio guests are not held accountable for their responsibility towards actioning these outcomes. Instead, the club members take on personal responsibility for such outcomes. As a result, the operation of the club does not result in a Freirean completion of the circle of deliberation as is the case with the club in public radio.

However, there is still evidence that the listener club in this commercial radio station contributes significantly to audience participation, and serves an emancipatory purpose. MIJ is utilising this listener club to introduce the ideals of social emancipation into its approach to

programming, despite the fact that the station's primary purpose is to raise advertising revenue. As such, at least within the first two moments of the operation of the club, the station demonstrates the exceptional power of listener clubs to contribute to at least the partial realisation of a Freirean emphasis on dialogue for social liberation, even within a broadcast culture that is fundamentally Sarnoffian in nature. Nevertheless, within the final moment of the club, this potential remains unfulfilled.

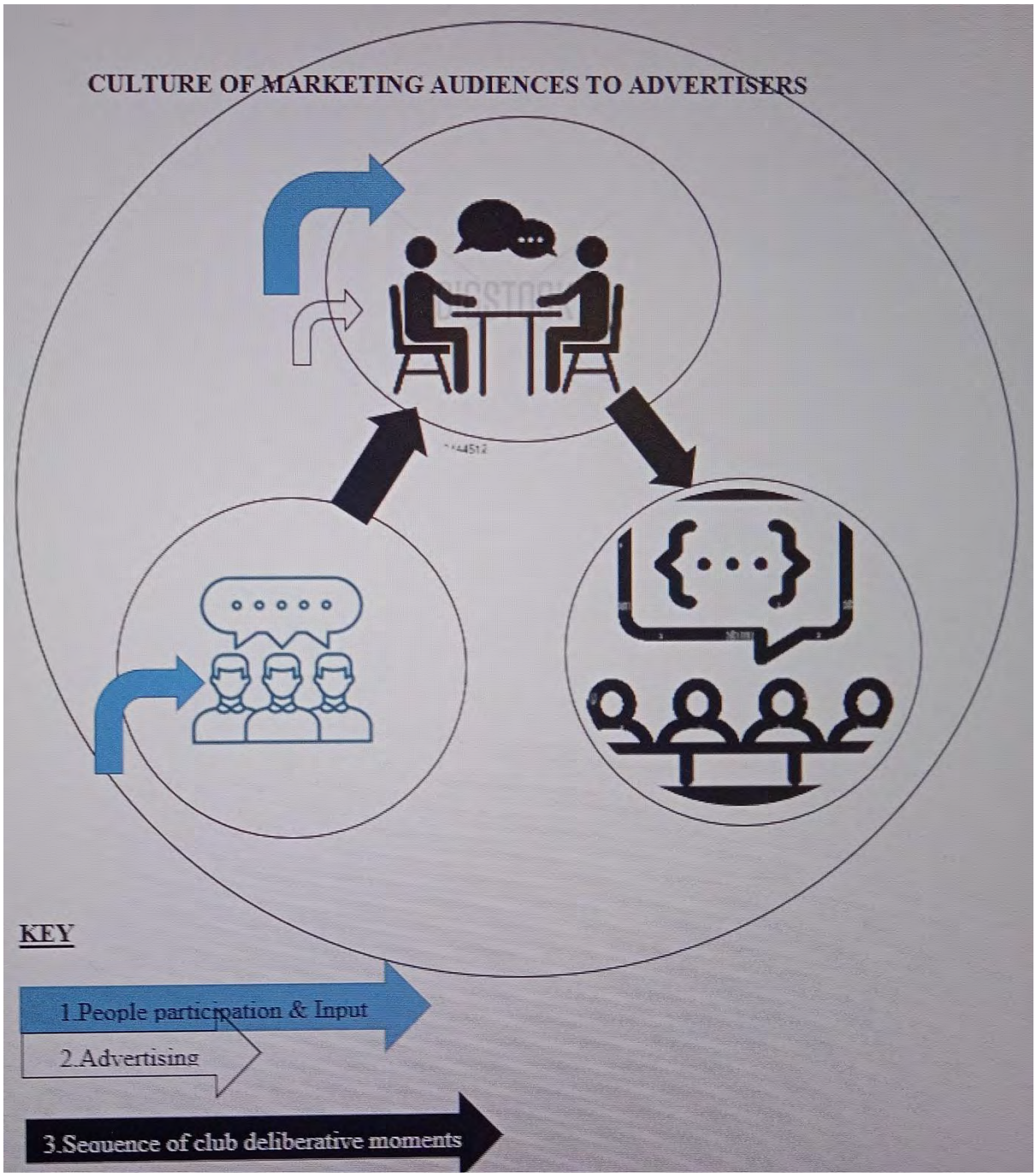

Figure 12. An illustration of the moments of the communication processes of radio listening clubs in commercial radio and how they differ from similar processes in public radio and community radio. Note the specific icon of discussion that are usually concluded as opinions in the second moment of deliberations. Also note the break in the flow sequence of the impact of deliberations between the second and third moment in this context.

CHAPTER EIGHT: LISTENER CLUBS IN MALAWI IN THE CONTEXT OF COMMUNITY RADIO

Introduction

We saw in Chapter Two that, since community radio first emerged in the 1940s in Latin America, its primary social purpose has always been that of contributing to the empowerment and development of local communities with a particular focus on marginalised people. One way in which it achieves this goal is by involving its target communities in processes of public deliberation. Within this relationship, such communities take ownership of problem-solving processes. Chapter Two traced the global circulation and implementation of this conceptualisation of radio. We saw that the community radio movement spread beyond western countries and finally emerged in African environments in the 1990s. It was further noted that the establishment of community radio on this continent was typically made possible through the intervention of international donors and local non-governmental organisations. These groups partnered with community stations as part of communication strategies that enabled them to further their development agendas.

In Chapter Four, we saw that community radio emerged in Malawi in the late 1990s. Licencing for such radio coincided with the arrival of democracy in this country, and was understood to form part of a strategy to liberalise the media. It was noted that community radio stations in Malawi have a long history of working with listener clubs. This has helped to ensure the establishment of a stable and vibrant listener club culture in this country. It was argued in Chapter Four that, due to the fundamental commitment of community radio to participatory communication and community ownership, it has provided a rich and supportive environment for growth in listener clubs in Malawi.

This final chapter focuses on a listener club at Gaka, a community radio established in Malawi in 2015. The club was introduced in the same year that the radio station itself was established. As noted in Chapter Five, the membership of the club is drawn from listeners based in villages around the Bangula trading centre, where the station is also located. The club conducts discussions that are featured in Gaka FM programmes that analyse social issues of relevance to local communities and those that engage with development projects based in the immediate catchment area of the station.

In my visit to this station, I was mindful of my plan to gain insight into the role that club discussions play within the particular context of community radio. I also intended to examine the implications of the review of discussions that members conduct as part of an

assessment of their performance. I hoped to be able to compare such operations to what I have observed in state-controlled and commercial radio. I expected, in particular, to be able to see how such a club operates within the close relationship that typically exists between a community radio station and the community that it serves.

1 The first moment: club discussions prior to the on-air programme

The radio listener club at Gaka meets on a monthly basis. It is managed by Charity Dzongwe, the club coordinator, with the assistance of Agalatiya Kamangira, the club chair. Club members are mostly young people and include a balanced representation of both males and females. While I was visiting the station, I soon learnt that the majority of these members are drawn from the immediate surrounding villages, who represent the primary target audience of Gaka FM.

The members of this listener club note that, at their monthly discussions, Charity typically asks Agalatiya to handle the recordings. They point out that this provides Agalatiya with an opportunity to familiarise himself with basic techniques for operating a recorder. However, Charity is always available to supervise the recording because the club chairperson admits that he still experiences challenges in the process of operating the gadget:

> *Ma recorder anyuwaniwa amandipomboneza, amathimathima ukangodinadina mofoila*. *Koma ndijaila pompano* [the operation for the recorder we are using now is confusing for me because it is a bit advanced ... but I have hope that I can master the technique over time] (Participant D, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

Charity notes that he is introducing Agalatiya as well as other members of the club to a new recorder which is more sophisticated than the device that the club had previously used. He explains that the previous chairperson of the club, who has recently relocated to another area, was the one who was familiar with the recorder currently in use.

The club members generally express appreciation for the atmosphere of friendliness and encouragement that Charity establishes at the monthly meetings. They explain that this atmosphere helps to motivate the more reserved members. They gain confidence and, as a result, begin to contribute more equally to the discussions:

> Sometimes we do have members who don't speak up at first because they are new or shy. These members begin to say something when they see that we the old members are friendly and free to speak our minds even right before we start recoding the discussion (Participant B, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

The club members also explain that discussions at these meetings depend on cordial relationships amongst those present. They note that Charity helps to build such relationships by requiring all of them to encourage each other to participate. They demonstrated this culture in practice by enacting it for me:

> When we see that someone is too quiet, we deliberately push the next question to that person so that he or she speaks first or at least says something. We say to that person … 'we have noticed you are not saying anything, so the next question is for you to answer'. So, the rest of us are told to keep quiet until that particular member says a word. We literally plead with that person to say, please! say something…' (Participant E, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).
>
> *[At this point, the participant who was speaking knelt and placed both his palms on his chest to demonstrate how the encouragement is done, drawing laughter from the whole group in the process]*.

The club members also spared the time to express their opinions about the quality and significance of their own contributions in the discussions. They were confident enough to describe their own input as mature and relevant, and explain that this enables them to address the collective concerns of the club and the local community. They express a general sense of achievement with regards to the work they are doing in this context**:**

> Our discussions like this here are important because they help us to talk about what we see around us, we don't just meet to discuss anything out of nowhere, we choose real-life issues from our communities. Then we say, guys this is a serious issue, let's take it further so that people should know what is happening (Participant E, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

The members also express satisfaction with the manner in which the coordinator manages the monthly discussions. They describe the approach that he adopts as *'mophunzitsana'* [an enlightening process of engagement]. They refer, in particular, to the way he interjects in order to help in defining concepts that members find challenging to comprehend:

> When the recording of the discussions is in progress Charity also talks to us, asking questions. For example, when we are talking about drug abuse, we see that sometimes he just chooses one person and asks that person to say the meaning of drug abuse. Then he asks another person to clarify the idea *mophunzitsana choncho* [the coordinator maintains this engaging pattern throughout] before explaining the answer (Participant F, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

They add that Charity helps members to focus on one issue at a time so that they are able to deal with that issue in depth:

> He makes sure that we don't bring issues that are not connected, like talking about security for the community … or unemployment in this area, and at the same time requesting the construction of a community center … He says, No! let's focus on one thing at a time... (Participant D, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

The members cite a range of issues that they believe are of significance to their communities and, therefore, of importance for discussion in their club. This includes the impact of climate change on their environment; the experiences of children with disabilities in their community; the increasing number of children who live on the streets in their communities; and the importance of sexual reproductive health services for young people in these communities. They also mention the importance of dealing with harmful cultural practices associated with the Sena tribe in Nsanje district. They refer to examples of such practices, such as *Kupitakufa* [adopting the wife of a relative who has passed on] and *Kutchimbilisa* [a ceremony that forces initiation into adulthood of underage boys and girls]. They describe the choice of these topics as informed by what they experience as threats to their everyday quality of life and progress in their communities. In my observation, the issues that these young people mention are all of real significance within the local environment.

The members refer, as one example of a topic that they have addressed in their monthly meetings, to a discussion of the plight of local people during the annual flooding caused by the nearby Shire River. They explain that this discussion focused on how the club can assist communities in better understanding the relationship between such flooding and climate change. They argue that local communities need to acknowledge the role that human activity plays in escalating climate change. This, they suggest, will enable community members to become more sensitive to the role that they can play in mitigating the effects of climate change within the local context.

Another example cited by the club members was a discussion of strategies that local communities in the Bangula area could adopt to prevent the outbreak of diseases such as cholera during the rainy season:

> For example, if there is a cholera outbreak, like the one we had last year, we talk about what we can do as a group. So, we look at the issue, and when we have finished discussing we tell Charity that we have noted that this issue is getting out of hand and maybe let's contact health authorities for support as a way forward (Participant F, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

Figure 13: Gaka Community radio listening club member in a brainstorming session before the on-air programme at the radio studio in Bangula, Nsanje district.

The members explain that, as part of these discussions, they identify potential guests for the Gaka FM *Social Accountability Programme*. This often includes social welfare officers and councillors who can be asked to comment on the issues identified for discussion. Charity also sometimes takes responsibility for inviting such guests to the discussions, where they can bring valuable perspectives to the exploration of issues:

> Since Charity is the one who has contacts for most of the duty-bearers, we usually ask him to invite them to come here (Participant C, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

One member provided an instance in which she felt that the presence of such a guest enabled the club to discuss the conduct of the youth that had become a question of concern for members of the community in Bangula:

> He [Charity] was able to contact a mental health advisor to come and answer on views from our discussion about the growing drug abuse by the youth in our area. I remember it was a drug counselling expert who came here to join our discussion about drug abuse because there are a lot of boys *osuta chamba* [who smoke weed] in our community. The expert helped us to understand how we can assist someone who is abusing drugs **(**Participant A, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

I interviewed Justin Makala, a nurse who acts as the services co-ordinator for a community health centre and also attended the Gaka listener club session to contribute to such a discussion.

He described himself as a reliable source of information on public health services in the area. His contribution to the listener club discussion provided him with an opportunity to share knowledge with young people from the local community:

> We have so far focused on sensitising the community about the youth health services that we offer at our hospital. So, I concentrate on telling the youth about how they can access sexual reproductive health services for example. We also talk about other services available such as those about mental health (Justin Makala, Gaka RLC guest, interview, 27 September 2023).

Makala feels that he has been able to make the most of this opportunity, providing relevant responses to the concerns of the club members:

> I feel that I have answered very well all the questions that members bring to me in the discussions. I also think my pieces of advice on the youth health matters have been helpful to the group … I have been able to offer necessary counsel especially on issues of stress because that's part of my area of expertise (Justin Makala, Gaka RLC guest, interview 27 September 2023).

He also commented on the value of being able to engage in an open and critical dialogue with the club members in order to explore possible solutions to the challenges faced by local communities:

> The heated debates that we do have with the clubs help us to dig deep and understand the hardships of the people in this area so that together we identify solutions to these problems. In the end, both of us are able to draw valuable lessons from the meeting (Justin Makala, Gaka RLC guest, interview, 27 September 2023).

The insights shared with me by these club members about the first moment in the operation of their club enabled me to compare this to the same moment as it exists in the state radio and commercial radio clubs that I observed. Each of these clubs differ in terms of the overall profile of the members who are present at their club meetings. The Gaka FM club consists of young adults; the commercial radio club is made up of women; while the public radio club is far more diverse. In each case, these membership profiles influence the topics that are chosen for discussions. However, the way that the discussions are facilitated are remarkably similar, and they are informed by similar values and interests. In each case, members are able to develop a consensual understanding of the issues under discussion, while acknowledging the diversity of perspectives within the group. In each case, the shared understanding is that the focus of discussion is on the achievement of public good and more particularly the realisation of benefits for people living in their immediate environment.

At the same time, I observed a greater similarity in context of this first moment in the operation of clubs between the practices adopted by the state radio and community radio club,

in contrast to the commercial radio club. One example can be observed in the conversations at the public radio and community radio clubs, in which members of the club were encouraged to take charge of recording the discussion. This enabled them to take ownership of the process in a way that was not evident in the case of the commercial radio club. I also observed that it was more convenient for members of the Gaka community radio club to conduct their discussions because the station is located within close proximity to the communities in which members are based. Members can respond quickly to an invitation to attend a meeting, after hearing announcements on the radio. This is in contrast to the clubs at MIJ and MBC, where participants are based in relatively distant locations. The close proximity of listeners to a station is, of course, typical of a community radio station, which often defines its own purpose in terms of service to people living in its immediate environment. This is one sense, then, in which community radio stations are particularly suited to making the most of the affordances of listener clubs. I believe that it allows this listener club to achieve the Freirean approach to engagement with audience, within the first moment of its operation.

2 The second moment: club discussion during on-air programming

At the second moment in the operation of this community radio club, Gaka FM broadcasts an hour-long weekly show focusing on the club's discussions, entitled the *Gaka Social Accountability Programme*. This show is sponsored by the Foundation for Active Civic Education [FACE] Malawi, with assistance from All-We-Can organisation from the United Kingdom. Charity presents the show and also takes responsibility for selecting the recorded content and selecting studio guests. I observed that Charity typically requests a duty-bearer to be present as a guest on the show, based on the recommendations of club members. As was the case with the coordinators from public and commercial radio stations, Charity provided me with two more different copies as samples of the club programmes at Gaka FM. I also identified the specific programme featured here for analysis.

I also observed that Charity ensures that the club chairperson and at least some members of the club are always present during the on-air programming to contribute to the on-going discussions at Gaka. He also provides a phone number and invites listeners to call in or send text messages during the live broadcast. As part of this, Charity encourages listeners to comment on the discussion through the Gaka Radio Facebook page. He then asks the guests to respond to the phone contributions and text messages after reading them out. Guests for the programme includes local duty-bearers such as chiefs, village headmen and councillors. Higher

public officials such a member of parliament and the district commissioner are also invited in the programme. Sometimes communication officers and officials from organisations implementing development projects in the area are invited to sensitise listeners about their campaigns. Often, the show starts with a recording of the preliminary discussions of the club members followed by the live conversation as a response to the recording.

I was impressed with the way Charity ensures that the recorded excerpts from club discussions and the in-studio responses from guests are then systematically juxtaposed in the programme. I understood that this is the standard way of drawing on statements and questions from club members generated in club discussions in order to integrate them in an on-air show. The structure ensures that the content of the programme is primarily organised around the interests of these club members. In his reflection about the structure, Charity explains that it enables him to maintain a logical flow of discussion:

> We always start with a song and thereafter bring in the discussions. In these discussions, I make sure that I match the questions of the members with responses from the duty-bearers … mostly we take the recorded concerns to the duty-bearers and make a programme later in the studio … like that we are able to have a clear order of our discussions (Gaka club coordinator, interview, 27 September 2023).

In my view, Charity's juxtaposition of the club members questions and comments with responses from studio guests allowed for a coherent approach to the facilitation of discussion. It enables listeners to easily keep track of the issues that are discussed so that they can note which ones have been adequately addressed and which have been left unattended by the end of the programme. In this way, the programme operates as a vehicle for the empowerment of club members and listeners more generally. It enables them, for example, to scrutinise the way government officials discharge their duties.

As noted previously, while I was at Gaka, I interviewed Justin Makala, a health services advisor who often features as a guest in the club discussions. Makala was appreciative of the role that the show plays as a platform where club members can participate publicly in solving community challenges. He also feels that the show provides government and relief agencies with direction on how best to respond to these challenges:

> These programmes help government and donors to improve on their ways of conducting business especially when the issues affect a lot of people here.

Makala shared an example of a situation in which the government was initially blaming community members for staying in flood prone areas. Discussion on the Gaka FM show

revealed that local people are not given enough information as to when floods are likely to occur:

> When the club discussed the issue with officials from government on radio, they started to send weather updates and warning messages about the floods so that Gaka should be announcing (Justin Makala, Gaka RLC guest, interview, 27 September 2023).

Makala acknowledged the significant role that Charity plays in ensuring that both the members of the club at Gaka and the guests are enabled to clarify issues during the broadcasts:

> I think he [Charity] works in an orderly way. Sometimes he comes to my office to explain the topic before we listen to the recorded discussion together. He then records my views. Sometimes we go to the studio and discuss with the members while the coordinator does his recording. Sometimes we do the programme live on air. So, I don't really struggle to explain my views in the club discussions (Justin Makala, Gaka RLC guest, interview, 27 September 2023).

The club members shared their own example of the way Charity guides them during the programme and facilitates the interaction with the guests:

> Sometimes he takes us along to the recording studio to meet the duty-bearers and explain our issue. He makes sure that we are able to speak with these duty-bearers and maybe ask them some questions (Participant C, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

They express high regard for Charity's management of the show and for the structure and content of the show. They explain that the airing of the views from the club discussions followed by the responses of the guests enable members to keep a record of the specific manner in which their concerns are resolved in the programme:

> When we hear our views being aired, we feel satisfied. When we hear a duty-bearer answering our questions in the programme, there *timachetchera khutu ndi chiyembekezo kuti tipeza mayankho mve mve mve! kuchokere kwa adindo athu osati kumvera kwaena chifukwa zakumva zakunjira zimapweteketsa mutu!* [We stay alert and glued to the radio in anticipation of getting the right responses from our duty-bearers…right from the horses' mouth, and not the unconfirmed stories from the grapevine!] (Participant E, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

They also provided an example in which the programme contributed to the implementation of a local initiative to improve the safety of road users who reside along the main road that passes through Bangula trading centre:

> We listened to a programme discussion in which we convinced our MP to consider improving safety on the main road here because children were struggling to cross

> properly when going to a school across the road. The MP assured us that he would push for the painting of Zebra crossings as well as the mounting of rumble surfaces on both sides of the zebra crossing there (Participant E, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

In this way, the second moment in the operation of the club enabled club members to confront a public official and present a legitimate demand for equal allocation of public resources. It also provided an opportunity for the club members to elaborate and justify their suggestions.

The episode of this show that I selected for close examination focused on concerns within the surrounding community about the lapse of security in their area. In the recorded content of the club discussion that was included, members of the club demanded support for the establishment of a police unit that could be based in the Phokera area in Nsanje district (See Gaka RLC Programme Transcript, Appendix 6c). They spoke about the persistent lack of security in the area which created an unstable environment for peaceful human existence and also meant that local businesses could not thrive. The club members were convinced that the presence of a functioning police unit in the area would be the solution to the security challenges. They argued that if these challenges could be overcome, investors could be attracted to the area. In the recorded content included in this show, they specify that they "… want a police unit nearby just like our friends in other trading centres who have their own police unit where they go to without travelling a long distance" (Village Development Committee [VDC] chairperson, *Gaka Social Accountability programme,* 27 September 2023). Charity had invited two studio guests to comment on this recorded content, including a local councillor and a member of parliament.

Throughout the show, Charity adopts a confident and professional tone that puts guests at ease and convinces them to provide decisive responses about the next course of action in dealing with challenges that club participants have placed on the agenda. In the example below, the coordinator persuades the guest MP to reflect on the concerns of citizens about the attitude of indifference that public officials tend to display when ordinary people follow up on development projects in their areas:

> Charity: *Madam MP, sichipongwe, koma timaona adindo ngati inuyo,makamaka a ndalenu mukulonjeza zitukuko kuti anthu akuvotereni koma mapeto ako osabweletsanso zitukuko zija. Simukungowapusitsanso anthu pankhani imeneyi?* [With due respect honourable MP, we see that duty-bearers like yourself, especially you politicians tend to say too many promises but do not do anything in the end. Are you not just taking the people of Phokera for a ride in this case again so that they should just vote

you into the hot seat and then you abandon these people later?]

MP Gladys Ganda: *(Mild laughter)* No! no! no…the people should hear from me. I will see to it that the construction of the Phokera police unit is completed as soon as possible using funds from the CDF [Community Development Fund]. I know that the development of a police unit is very important in preventing the theft of *ziweto* [livestock] and other properties in those areas. *Mverani mawu angawa a Dzongwe*! [Just listen to what am saying Mr Dzongwe!]. I can promise that construction work will be completed before the end of this year my friend! (Gaka RLC on-air programme transcript, 27 September 2023).

In the above conversation, it is possible to observe how the presenter politely reminds the parliamentarian about her responsibility to represent the interests of people from her constituency, and her duty towards projects of relevance to their needs.

In this episode, the councillor for the area was in the studio to respond to the club members' concerns about rising crime in the area as a result of the lapses in security. In the excerpt below, Charity challenges the councillor to explain the delay in the construction of a police unit. But the councillor answers evasively:

Charity: Councillor Nangwale, as you have heard, we members of Gaka club would like to know what is happening. Why is the completion of the building of our police unit taking too long?

Councillor Cassim Ngwale: Let me thank you for doing this programme to follow up on the construction of Phokera police unit. This project was started in 2017 by the late Sam Ganda, the former MP for this area. Then another MP was elected from 2017 to 2019. When we were elected into our current positions in 2019, that's when we started to investigate why our project was stalling. We were told that the contractor was delaying because he had a project here in Nsanje Lalanje constituency and another one in Mlonda Ward. (Gaka RLC on-air programme transcript, 27 September 2023).

Charity follows up with further questioning, designed to hold the councillor accountable to the concerns of the club members. He asks the councillor to provide clear details about the resumption of the construction works at the unfinished police unit:

Charity:	Councillor Nangwale, the people here want to hear your plan for solving the security problem here. When are we going to see the work towards finishing the project?
Councillor Cassim Ngwale:	Well, as you can see the contractor had two projects at the same time. So, he assured us that as soon as he completes the work in Mlonda Ward, he would come back to finish the work here at Phokera police unit (Gaka RLC on-air programme transcript, 27 September 2023).

There were other moments in the show when a club participant, who was present in the studio, engaged the councillor in order to probe the underlying reasons for the delay of the construction of the police unit:

Charity:	Who was or who is this contractor?
Councillor Cassim Ngwale**:**	This contractor was…. [He hesitates]. I think they call him, Tithandizane…Tithandizane Building contractors.
Participant K:	But me I have a question. How was it possible that one contractor was given all this work alone?
Agalatiya:	Yes! how was it possible that one contractor should win all these tenders for these development projects?
Councillor Cassim Ngwale:	Well, I can't say much on that because this happened in the years back when we were not councilors. Maybe every contractor was being awarded a contract depending on their ability. So, we don't know the type of capacity this contractor had. But you can see that that the people in this area at that time had no idea that the contractor had other projects to work on with the CDF [Community Development Fund] (Gaka RLC on-air programme transcript, 27 September, 2023).

In the example above, the club members (represented by the chair, two ordinary members and the coordinator) could interrogate the duty-bearer to provide relevant details about the process of awarding a contract for an important community project. Accessing information for the procurement process for a construction project in Malawi is within the rights and interest of members of the public such as those that engage in the club discussions. In this way, the show discussion provided the members with the opportunity to conduct a close examination of information of relevance to the building of the Phokera police unit.

The show host/club coordinator also sometimes includes guests by means of a phone-in, when they are unable to come to the studio. In the example of the show that I assessed at Gaka FM, Charity first played a recording of a phone conversation that he had conducted with

the District Council spokesperson Mr Steven Naima. He then talked to the main guest (Gladys Ganda, a member of parliament [MP] for Mbenje constituency in Nsanje district) who was present on a phone line. Charity had called the MP in order to ask for her responses to questions from club members about the delay in the presence of police in their neighbourhood:

> Charity: We have heard from the councillor and the District Council spokesperson Mr Naima that the issue about the delays to complete the project, is in the hands of Mbenje Area Development committee [ADC] as well as the Member of parliament for this constituency. Therefore, we at the Social Accountability Desk of Gaka FM followed the issue further called the Member of Parliament of this area Mrs Gladys Ganda to find out *kuti pakhota mchira nyani ndipati kuti ntchito isisitike?* [where exactly is the stumbling block for the completion of the police unit?] and when should the people of this area expect to have a police unit? (Gaka RLC on-air programme transcript, 27 September, 2023).

The phone conversation that followed enabled Charity to collect updated information from a relevant public official about progress on the construction of the police unit. The recording of the response from the member of parliament provided an opportunity for club members to appraise the commitment of their parliamentarian on the issue that they were discussing. In the example of the response below, the parliamentarian was pressured to provide a definitive statement about the construction of the police unit as this is reflected in the official plans of development works for the area:

> MP Gladys Ganda: *[Phone conversation]* It is true that the project of constructing this police unit has delayed due to some problems. There was some misunderstanding between the council and the contractor for the project. However, I can now gladly say that all misunderstandings that were causing the delays have been resolved. So, in this year's CDF [Community Development Fund] plan we have included the Phokera police unit construction project as a priority (Gaka RLC on-air programme transcript, 27 September, 2023).

I also noticed that Charity mentioned the names of the sponsors at the start of the programme and expressed gratitude for their support before closing the programme. However, these two points were the only moments in which such mention was made. Otherwise, the show content comprised only of recorded extracts from the listener club meeting and the responses from studio guests, facilitated by Charity as the presenter. Programming guidelines were, therefore, clearly designed to magnify the voices of community members rather than promoting the identities of the external sponsors. Charity also explained to me that there is a diversity of

development programmes on the station that receive external sponsorship, and some of these shows will focus on the agendas of such sponsors. However, the station management draws a clear distinction between such shows and those in which listener club discussions are featured. In this way, the integrity of club discussions remains protected:

> …we also have programmes sponsored by the Ministry of Health about sexual reproductive health where they explain why and how people around here can access contraceptives. There is also one from the Ministry of Disaster Preparedness, that one is about how we can avoid floods by going to upland areas or other ways ... but those are separate from our programmes about radio listening clubs even though we also discuss these issues in our clubs (Gaka RLC coordinator, interview, 27 September, 2023).

Charity also explained that sponsors often stipulate which studio guests should be included in shows, identifying officials who can comment on the issues explored. This means that they have some control in steering the direction of the discussions, in line with their organisational agendas. In this way, programming on Gaka FM operates in support of the public health and human rights campaigns that form part of the communication strategies of their sponsors. Such sponsored programming includes an emphasis on issues such as safe motherhood and constitutional rights. In my observation, the agency of the station's audience is limited within such programming since communication experts that are endorsed by the sponsors pre-determine the focus of content. In contrast, members of the audience for Gaka are enabled to examine the same issues on their own terms when they are presented as topics for discussion in the club programmes.

Finally, I observed an enhanced use of mobile phone technology in the example of the on-air club programme at Gaka FM, particularly as a way of connecting with duty-bearers that are reluctant to come to the studio for recordings. In Chapter Three, it was noted that the digital era offers opportunities for enabling audience participation in developing countries. In my view, Gaka FM is making good use of such affordance, in order to ensure interactive engagement between their listeners and responsible officials. To a lesser extent, mobile phones are sometimes also utilised to enable audience participation for members of the clubs at MBC and MIJ. I also noted a sense of encouragement about the use of the station's social media platform to enable listeners to comment on the live club programming for Gaka when compared to the programmes at MBC and MIJ. In all these examples, we see the potential at the second moment in the operation of the clubs to utilise the affordances of digital technology in order to facilitate communication processes that achieve social change.

In my analysis of the second moment of the operation of the Gaka FM club, as represented in its on-air programme, I observed similarities to the same moment in the operation of the clubs at MBC and MIJ. As in the case of the other two clubs, the programme at Gaka enabled members of the club to engage with duty-bearers and service providers on a public forum. In each case, the coordinator assumes the role of a presenter and in this capacity plays a significant role in mediating the relationship between club members and studio guests, and enabling a deliberative discussion to take place between them.

However one important difference between Gaka and MBC, when compared to MIJ FM, is that the first two clubs place a stronger emphasis on protecting the interests of the club members from the influence of sponsors. In contrast, there is less resistance to the influence of sponsors in the example of the club programme at MIJ. For these reasons, I am arguing that the second moment of club operation as this exists at Gaka and MBC are more fully representative of a Freirean engagement process than could be observed at MIJ FM. Indeed, I would propose that it is within the context of community radio that this Freirean ideal becomes most fully realised, where it was only partially achieved in state-controlled radio. One reason for this, I believe, is the status of Gaka as a community radio station that is in close proximity to its audience. This enables the coordinator to facilitate easy participation of the guests and members of the club in the live programmes. This has important implications fort the quality of broadcast content that becomes possible in context of this club. I observed, for example, a greater emphasis on the presence of guests and members of the club during the live programme discussion at Gaka than is the case of either MBC or MIJ programmes.

Figure 14: A Gaka radio listening club coordinator presenting an on-air programme with a duty-bearer partially visible in the adjacent cubicle for guests.

3 The third moment: club discussions post-programming

In my observation of the operation of the Gaka FM club, I was able to identify strong evidence of the third moment in its operation. This moment is represented by a weekly post-production review of the *Gaka Social Accountability Programme*, facilitated by Charity as the club coordinator. Charity explains that he uses this post-production meeting to reflect both on the show itself and on any feedback that he received from participants after the broadcast:

> After the programme, I take time to think about how we all performed in the programme. I also receive views from our listeners on the discussion. Some listeners send text messages on my phone. Others come straight here to say we liked the programme or the topic. Sometimes they ask why we didn't ask a duty-bearer a particular question, for example, why is the MP not here most of the time? Or they suggest a different issue for discussion. So, I use such feedback to discuss with the members how we can improve (Gaka club coordinator, interview, 27 September 2023).

Charity notes that this post-production meeting plays an important role in the overall operation of each cycle of the club. It enables members to reflect on their achievements in the show and, in particular, to consider whether officials and duty-bearers who were present in studio had fulfilled their obligations and acted on their promises:

> The purpose of the programme is not just *kunyazitsa* (to embarrass anyone) but to make sure that we expose and correct what is going wrong now. That's why even after we have aired the programmes, we also hold open meetings to ask the members *kuti kodi titani ngati adindo sanatithandize mpakana chinthu chioneke mathero ake* (We again ask the members after the on-air programme whether we should repeat the programme or do another one until there is action from authorities) (Gaka club coordinator, interview, 27 September 2023).

Charity provides an example of a case in which the post-production review enabled the club to influence the introduction of special amenities for young people at a health center that serves the Bangula community:

> For example, the youth services at our Kalemba Health Centre here were introduced after Gaka radio aired two discussion programmes one after another on the same issue of calling for such services … the club members voted after the first programme that we do another programme, we did that and it worked for us (Gaka club coordinator, interview, 27 September 2023).

Charity explained that Gaka FM sometimes repeat shows dealing with club discussions when members request this after the first airing. Such requests occur when club members feel that the issue under discussion is a persistent community challenge.

The members also recognise that the post production review of the *Gaka Social Accountability Programme* represents a significant moment in the operation of their club, ensuring that they successfully achieve their underlying purpose. They note, firstly, that these meetings enable members to reflect on their own individual contributions in the programme. Second, the reviews ensure that they do not sit back and leave issues unresolved. Members explain that they often unanimously agree to "bring back unresolved issues into the next discussion" (Participant C, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023). In this way, they demonstrate their understanding of a shared responsibility with the duty-bearers to pursue issues until there is a decisive action that can benefit the whole community. One member explains how the discussion of the building of safety infrastructure on a nearby road is brought back for discussion repeatedly, because it is yet to be resolved:

> We talked about the issue, [the absence of a rumble surface meant to slow down over-speeding traffic on the nearby road] … the issue went to the ADC [Area Development Committee], the MP [Member of Parliament] responded that he would do something about it, but nothing has happened. We still bring the issue in our discussions to try to remind the MP about the issue again. So sometimes the authorities respond positively but they don't take action, that's when we come back here (Participant E, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023).

The club members are often frustrated by the lack of tangible action from duty-bearers that they invite as studio guests but they also cite instances in which show discussions have produced benefits for their communities. They speak, in particular, of a reduction in instances of harmful cultural practices such as those that involve forcing underaged girls to enter into early marriages. They also note that the club discussions dealing with the theft of relief items for victims of floods produced positive results when "…some people who took items such as blankets and cooking oil were forced to bring back these items" (Participant D, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023). One participant explained how "…a relative who used to stay in Makhanga [a flood-prone area on the banks of the Shire River] relocated to a safer place before the floods after hearing on Gaka radio that there was a possibility of flooding last year" (Participant C, Gaka RLC FGD, 27 September 2023). They point to a review of a programme that influenced action on the construction of security infrastructure in the area:

> I can talk about how we managed to intervene when the process of building Phokera police unit delayed for a long time. Our radio listening club followed the issue and discussed it. We followed it up and met with the VDC [Village Development Committee] as well as the councillor all the way to the MP [Member of Parliament] and the building of the unit was resumed (Participant A, Gaka RLC FDG, 27 September 2023).

In my judgement, the third moment in the club's operation plays a crucial role in ensuring achievement of its Freirean purpose. It empowers club members to scrutinise and challenge the actions of duty-bearers and to hold them accountable to their obligations. It does so more successfully than could be observed in the case of MIJ FM and is comparable in its effectiveness to the Nanjili club. As argued already, I believe this is made possible by the fact that community radio stations are in themselves defined by a Freirean approach to audience engagement.

Conclusion

It is demonstrated in this chapter that all three moments in the classic operation of a listener club are strongly present in the operation of the listener club located at Gaka FM. As illustrated in Figure 15 below, each of these moments contribute effectively towards the involvement of the station's audience in a deliberative process that is geared towards their empowerment.

The first moment enables the members of the club at Gaka to discuss significant social development issues such as the lack of health services and security infrastructure. It also enables the members to engage about these issues with duty-bearers based in their local

community. In this way, the first moment creates a convenient space for open discussions of a diversity of community challenges and an opportunity for members to access information from local authorities first-hand. In the second moment, club members are enabled to engage with higher authorities in real-time on a public forum. Members of the club, as well as the wider audience of Gaka FM, are provided an opportunity to interrogate officials on-air and obtain relevant responses on development projects in their community. In the third and final moment, members are enabled to reflect on the outcomes of the discussions that formed part of the previous two moments in the cycle of the club. They can probe unresolved issues further in order to strategise how to achieve the goals of the club and ensure that duty-bearers are held accountable to their promises.

There is strong evidence, then, that these three distinct moments in the operation of the club at Gaka FM combine to empower ordinary citizens to engage in meaningful deliberation with duty-bearers and service providers at both the local and higher levels of authority. Within the general programming of community radio, audiences can participate in programing through feedback letters and phone-in broadcasts. However, as demonstrated in this chapter, a listener club can enhance such participation in a way that ensures that rational deliberation on community concerns can lead to significant and concrete outcomes for the local community.

The role that the club can be seen to play in this respect is comparable to that of the MBC club described in Chapter Six. In both cases, these clubs ensure the involvement of club members in a deliberative process that continues seamlessly from one moment in the operation of the club to the next. Both allow for completed cycles of deliberation, in which participants can reflect on the benefits gained and strategise ways of building on these achievements in the next cycle. The potential for each of the clubs at Gaka and MBC to achieve this successful cycle is illustrated in Figure 8 in Chapter Six and Figure 15 below. This is in contrast to the commercial radio club, in which the final moment of deliberation in the cycle remains underdeveloped. This means that club members are not fully empowered to hold duty-bearers to account for their obligations towards serving local communities. In this sense, then, the MBC club and the Gaka FM club are better able to realise their social purpose.

I am also proposing based on the observations captured in this chapter that the Gaka FM club is, in fact, more successful in achieving this purpose than the MBC club. The location of Gaka as community radio means that club members are more enabled to conduct discussions and access the premises without the often undue and bureaucratic restrictions associated with state radio in Malawi. In this way, both members and studio guests at Gaka conveniently participate in the live programmes about the club discussions. It was observed in Chapter Six

that members of the club at MBC operate from a distant location from the main broadcasting studios for the state broadcaster. The depiction of a relatively higher number of people present within the moment of the club in community radio, as shown in Figure 15, is demonstrative of its potential to enable more convenient audience participation when compared with clubs in both a public and commercial radio.

One could argue that this fullest realisation of the Freirean ideal is made possible by the fact that community radio itself traditionally operates within the Freirean model. In the case of Nanjili and MIJ, listener clubs operated as an intervention in the broadcast culture of a state-controlled and commercial station respectively. As we have seen in Chapter Two, both of these broadcast cutures are invested in social control. In contrast, at Gaka, the station's general broadcast culture is that of a community radio station. We have seen that such radio comes from a tradition of practice that is aligned with the Freirean ideal of social emancipation and empowerment. In contrast to the other two stations, the operation of the listener club is thus enhanced by the broadcast culture in which it is located.

The discussion of the three distinct moments of the club and their illustration in Figure 15 represent the valuable contribution of such moments to the overall communication process of these structures. It provides evidence about the immense participatory potential of a club in community radio as a result of the ease of access and proximity to its audience when compared to the parallel contexts of the clubs at MBC and MIJ radio stations. It also illustrates how the moments of deliberation for the clubs at Gaka combine to produce a coherent flow of community discussions of issues of relevance to the public**.** The benefits of the reflexive moment of programming in the club context of Gaka community radio confirms the reputation of the discussions as the precise model for the most successful implementation of the Freirean ideal.

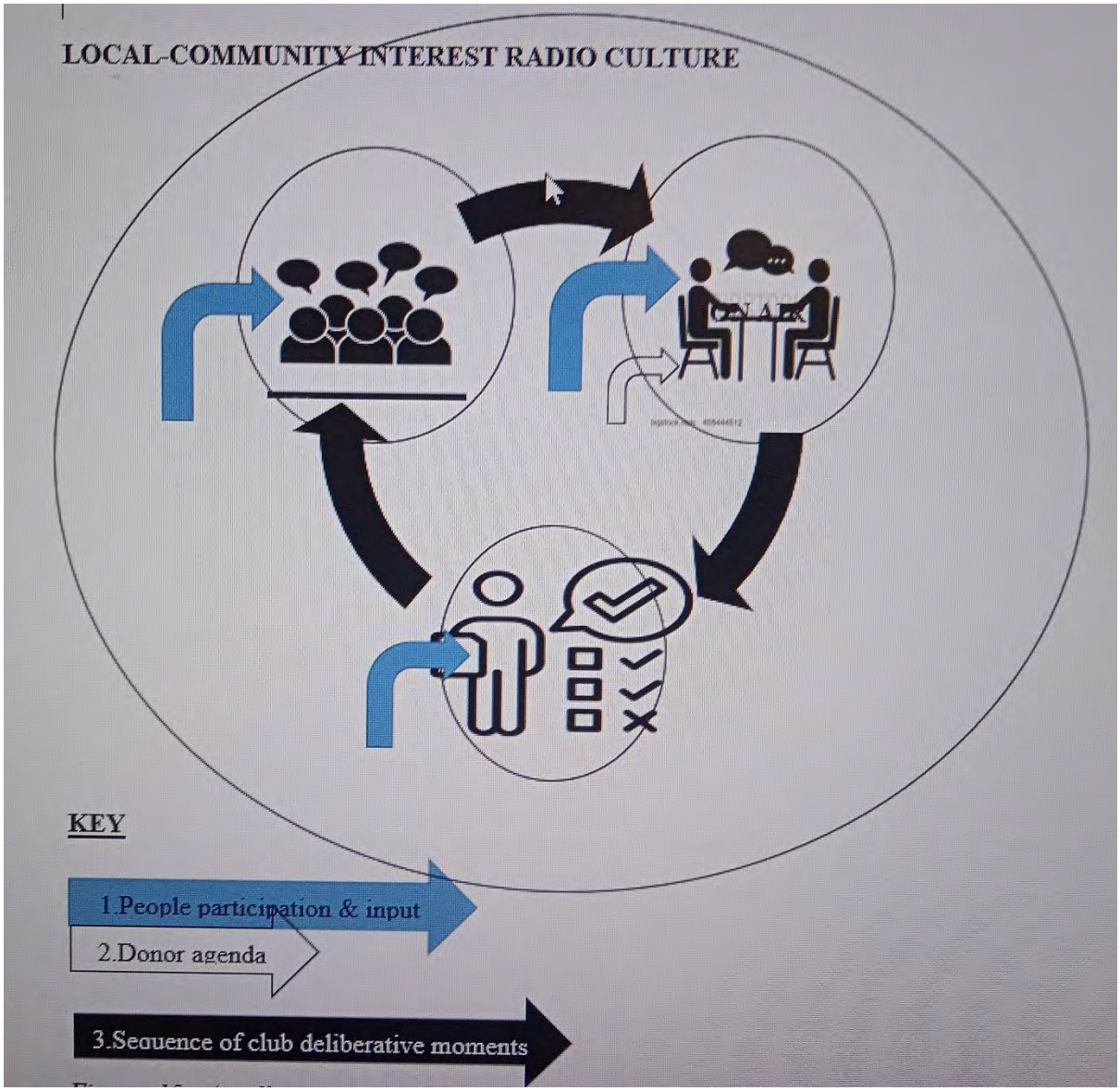

Figure 15. An illustration of the relationship among the three main moments of the communication processes of radio listening clubs in enhancing audience participation in community radio. Note the increased number of the icons for participants in the first moment of deliberations in the local setting in comparison to the same moment in public and commercial radio.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This dissertation investigated the role that radio listener clubs can play to facilitate community-based deliberation of issues that are of relevance to the public good in Malawi. The study deals with listener clubs as they have come to exist in Malawi because such structures have a well-established history in this country. The discussion below reflects on the achievements and potential benefits of the study. Section One returns to the two main research aims of the empirical component of the study in order to comment on the extent to which they have been realised. It does so through a brief review of the three final chapters of the dissertation, which deal with the findings of the empirical study. The findings and conclusions of each aspect of the study are already discussed in detail within each of those chapters. The purpose of these final remarks is therefore only to comment very broadly on their significance and value. Section Two presents recommendations that can be seen to emerge from the study, both with regards to future approaches that might be adopted to working with listener clubs in Malawi and future research opportunities.

1.1 Summary of the findings chapters

As explained in Chapter Five, one aim of the empirical component of this study was to gain insight into the role that listener clubs can play in the contemporary Malawian context by examining how they operate within each tier of the country's radio landscape. The focus was on establishing and describing the distinct nature of the conceptualisation of audience that one can observe in context of each of these clubs. As terms of reference for this assessment, I identified three categories for such conceptualisation based on my reading of literature dealing with the global history of radio audiences. This included on one hand what I have termed the Sarnoffian approach to audiences, informed by an interest in social control. On the other hand, it included the Brechtian and Freirean approach, informed by an interest in emancipation. I have explained that the Brechtian approach is defined simply by its commitment to emancipation, while the Freirean builds on this commitment through the articulation of rigorous practices that can help to achieve emancipation. My assumption was that all clubs, due to the nature of their social purpose, would strive for the achievement of an emancipatory relationship with audiences. I hoped to identify those instances in which the achievement of such a relationship could be said to approximate not only a Brechtian approach but rather the Freirean ideal.

The second aim was to explore the extent to which the adoption of these conceptions of radio audiences in Malawi can be described as evidence of the relationship of influence that exists between this local history of radio and its global history. Here I start from the assumption that the existence in Malawi of the three tiers of radio (state-controlled, commercial and community) provide concrete evidence of the influence of global traditions of radio within the local context. As such, an exploration of the way in which the broadcast culture associated with each tier impacts on the operation of listener clubs and vice versa enable me to explore the way those global traditions manifest within the local context. An examination of the way listener clubs operate within each of these tiers can, in other words, assist me in exploring the intersection between the global and local trajectories of approaches to radio audiences as this can be observed in Malawi.

In order to engage with these aims, the final three chapters of this dissertation dealt with the empirical study of three listener clubs that are each located in one of the three tiers of broadcasting within the Malawi radio landscape. Each of these chapters is organised around discussion of the three 'moments' in the operation of the clubs, as described in Chapter Five: the pre-broadcast moment when club members first gather for a discussion; the broadcast moment when content from that discussion in integrated into station programming and the post broadcast moment when club members reconvene to reflect on the outcomes of the broadcast. In each radio station, the researcher examined the extent to which these three moments enable the realisation of either a "Brechtian" conceptualisation of radio and its relationship to audience (in which emancipatory ideals are only partly realised) or "Freirean" conceptualisation (in which these ideals are more fully realised, particularly due to the presence of rigorous methodologies of practice).

Chapters Six discussed these findings as they emerged in the case study of a listener club located in state-controlled radio. The discussion focuses on the Nanjili MBC Listening Club, based in the Lunzu Area, North West of Blantyre City. It was noted that the club's discussions form part of a programme on MBC called *Tigwirane Manja [Let's hold hands]*. A key finding, as captured in Chapters Six, was that the first, second and third moments in the operation of this club all significantly enable the involvement of club members in methodical deliberations about the public good. As such, the operation of this club succeeds in facilitating a process of conscientisation, in which members of local communities become conscientised about the reality of their state of oppression. Furthermore, in each of its moments of operation, the club enables its members to hold duty-bearers accountable for their responsibilities towards local communities. This ensure that progress is made with regards to the responsibilities in

ways that have concrete benefits for local communities. The club members are, in other words, empowered to challenge oppressive structures and to become agents of their own change.

I believe that the club achieved these goals because it succeeded in the realisation of a Freirean engagement with audience. This could be observed in the detailed supportive systems that were put in place to facilitate the club discussions, which enabled members to equally participate at each moment of the club discussions. Of particular significance is the sustained attention to such support systems in the third moment, so that club participants are also empowered to follow up on issues with duty-bearers when they identify questions that have not fully been addressed. Such follow-up operates as an important check-point, which can ensure ongoing accountability. Based on such evidence, the chapter concluded that the listener club in this state-owned radio station significantly enables ordinary people to meaningfully participate in issues of relevance to the public good in Malawi.

Chapter Seven discussed the operation of a club in a commercial radio, focusing on the example of MIJ FM, a commercial station based in Blantyre. It is observed that in the first and second moments in the operation of this club, members are able to conduct in-depth deliberations on social issues of relevance to the public good. However, in the third moment, the club does not operate as effectively to hold government officials accountable as was the case in Nanjili. It was noted that the club at MIJ FM has far fewer resources to work with, which means that it is unable to follow through methodically on holding decision-makers and officials accountable. It was further noted that the commercial identity of MIF FM may be constraining its ability to realise the potential role that the club can play in this respect. Significantly, when the club's operation interferes with the station's commitment to advertisers, through the scheduling of sponsored show content that clashes with the time of listener club shows, the interests of advertisers are pioritised.

We saw in Chapter Four that in the African context, and in Malawi as part of this, commercial radio typically claims to provide a space for emancipatory audience deliberation. It is indeed possible that MIJ's incorporation of a listener club is informed by the station's commitment to this emancipatory role. However, it is the impression of the researcher that the station applies this commitment unevenly. Indeed, the successful operation of a listener club remains a secondary concern, of lesser importance than its commiments to profit. Like the MBC club, MIJ is attempting to introduce emancipatory radio practices within a broadcast culture that is generally Sarnoffian in nature. Also like the MBC club, it attempts the achievement of these emancipatory goals only within the listener club show itself, rather than in the station's programming as a whole. However, unlike the MBC club, it is unable to follow

through on the realisation of the emancipatory ideals even in context of the listener club show. For this reason it is concluded in Chapter Seven that the MIF FM club may be demonstrative of a Brechtian commitment to emancipation, but does not achieve the Freirean ideal.

Chapter Eight dealt with a listener club based in a community radio station, drawing on the example of Gaka FM. The discussion demonstrated that in each moment of the operation of this club, there is a strong similarity to the club observed in the state-controlled radio. Crucially, this includes the third and final moment, where members are enabled to reflect on the outcomes of the discussions that formed part of the previous two moments in the cycle of the club. They can probe unresolved issues further in order to strategise how to achieve the goals of the club and ensure that duty-bearers are held accountable to their promises. In both instances, the clubs are well-resourced and closely supported by coordinators. In all of these ways, then, the clubs in state-controlled and community radio serve very similar purposes.

There are, however, also important differences. Firstly, members of the club at Gaka community radio have easier access to programming because the station is located within close proximity to the communities that it serves. Secondly, unlike the commercial and state-controlled broadcasters, the community radio station itself generally operates for the purpose of the emancipation and empowerment of its audience. It is in this context that we see the fullest realisation of the Freirean concept of transformative audience participation.

The study concludes, then, that in the Malawian context, listener clubs have a valuable role to play within each tier of broadcasting and, in each case, broadcasters are making progress in realising their emancipatory potential. However, the degree to which such purpose is achieved is dependent on the values and interests that inform each tier of broadcasting, and that gives shape to its general broadcasting culture. It is through the influence of such broadcast culture that the international history of radio continues to influence and shape the way listener clubs are taken up within the local context of Malawi. The adoption of the three distinct conceptualisations of the relationship between radio and its audiences as observed in context of the operating moments of listener clubs in each of the broadcasting tiers represents the closest intersection between these global and local trajectories of ideas about radio. The influence of ideas emerging from the global North remain foregrounded in the state-controlled and commercial tiers of broadcasting, and they place constraints on the achievement of a Freirean ideal. At the same time, the influence of ideas emerging from the global South find their expression in community radio and operate to enhance the achievement of that ideal.

1.2 Recommendations

In conclusion, I would, firstly, propose recommendations for enhancing the management of clubs that are of particular relevance to state radio. The state broadcaster should invest in training to improve the cognitive and communication competencies of members of the clubs. Such an intervention would enhance the capacity of the members to articulate their own solutions to social challenges. The broadcaster can achieve this goal through an introduction of periodic training sessions about the conduct of critical discussions. Such awareness would enable participants to confidently negotiate their community development proposals in their interaction with duty-bearers and service providers. Although the MBC conducts an orientation training for participants, it is my opinion that these sessions would be impactful if followed by refreshers and reviews about their success.

Furthermore, the state broadcaster should consider revising the technical support for the clubs. It should start providing the clubs with digital recorders with the ability to record voices from all directions. I observed that the monitor of the club at MBC was using a unidirectional recorder to reach out and capture the voices of the speakers during the discussion. In some instances, the monitor was overwhelmed with the double roles of handling the recording and moderating the discussion. I am convinced that the monitors would be enabled to organise their tasks better with the use of an all-directional recorder. Although the coordinator clarified that staff members of the DBU work with omnidirectional recorders as shown in Figure 7, I suggest that the participants be enabled to also enhance their own recording of the discussions with the provision of better technology.

The state broadcaster should also commit to re-broadcast programmes with content about the issues that duty-bearers have not acted on until there is evidence of their redress. At the moment, the clubs are arguably the most realistic spaces for enhancing the participation of ordinary people on state-controlled radio. By extension, the support for the clubs is the most practical way of enhancing the relationship between MBC and its local audiences, even in the presence of a sustained authoritative broadcasting culture. It is a worthwhile investment for the state broadcaster to sustain the clubs as participatory forums for its audience.

On their part, club members should explore practical approaches to ensure that duty-bearers are abiding by their obligations. One suggestion could be the introduction of commitment forms for participants in the discussion. The clubs should convince the guests to sign a binding agreement as evidence of their commitment to implement their decisions. This

will enable the clubs to have documented reference for such commitment apart from the verbal assurance that duty-bearers provide in the radio programmes.

Secondly, in the case of the club in the commercial radio, the study proposes that members should be provided with an equal share of the autonomy to moderate and record discussions on their own. In this way, they will be empowered to conduct effective deliberations and enhance their sense of ownership for the clubs. At the moment, the powers to control the discussions swing highly in favour of the coordinator, who handles the recording of the discussions. This contrasts with the practice in the instances of clubs in public and community radio, where some members are empowered to assume the role of both recording and mediating the discussions. Also, MIJ should consider investing in institutional support for basic training of the members of the club to enable them to conduct successful discussions. It is the view of the researcher that the club in the commercial radio can benefit from the model of the club that the DBU supports in the state radio. In this way, this commercial radio could measure up to the self-representation of such radio as an alternative platform for implementing public service broadcasting.

Thirdly, for the club in a community radio, the study equally proposes the maintenance of the standard operation of the existing radio listening structures in this context. However, the researcher suggests the potential for Gaka to expand and balance the membership with an equal number of adult participants. This can be achieved for example, by conducting outreach campaigns to sensitise listeners and duty-bearers on the significance of participating in the club discussions. The study also proposes the introduction of consistent training sessions for the members of the club about critical participatory communication. As recommended for clubs in state radio, community clubs could benefit from the introduction of signed agreements with duty-bearers about their commitment to act on their promises.

The researcher sees potential for further research in future about the impact of the clubs on the diverse programming philosophies for each of the three broadcasting tiers in Malawi. Recent experiences of journalists working in agricultural programming in public radio point to the existence of fair audience participation on issues such as climate change (Kapiri, 2017). It is possible that the existence of the listening clubs in the three tiers of radio provides more opportunities for exploring answers to questions about their influence on wider programming issues in Malawi. Hopefully, this study can serve as a resource for the further pursuance of such research.

REFERENCES

Abbey-Mensah, S., 2001. Rural broadcasting in Ghana. *FAO. International Workshop on Farm Radio Broadcasting, Rome, Italy.* Retrieved 10 April 2024 from https://www.fao.org/3/x6721e/x6721e12.htm#P20_2835.

Lopes, C, A. and Srinivasan, S., 2014. Africa's Voices: Using mobile phones and radio to foster mediated public discussion and to gather public opinions in Africa. *CGHR Working Paper 9.* Cambridge: University of Cambridge Centre of Governance and Human Rights.

Abubakar, A. T., 2016. Audience participation and BBC's digital quest in Nigeria. In: Williams, W. and Mano, W., eds. *Everyday Media Culture in Africa.* London: Routledge, pp. 154-174.

Acharya, A., 2018. 'Idea-shift': how ideas from the rest are reshaping global order. In: Weiss, T.G. and Roy, P. eds., *The UN and the Global South, 1945 and 2015.* London: Routledge, pp. 10-24.

Action Aid., 2019. *Malawi Annual Report.* Retrieved 11 April 2024 from https://malawi.actionaid.org/publications/2020/actionaid-malawi-2019-annual-report#downloads

Adams, M., 2015. *The Radio Boys and Girls: Radio, Telegraph, Telephone and Wireless Adventures for Juvenile Readers, 1890-1945*. McFarland.

Adena, M., Enikolopov, R., Petrova, M., Santarosa, V. and Zhuravskaya, E., 2015. Radio and the Rise of the Nazis in Prewar Germany. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *130*(4), 1885-1939.

Adesina, J. O., 2002. Sociology and Yoruba Studies: epistemic intervention or doing sociology in the 'vernacular'? *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, *6*(1), 91-114.African Media Barometer., 2012. *Malawi.* Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) Media Project Southern Africa. Windhoek: FES.

African Farm Radio Research Initiative., 2010. What We Did and Learnt About Participatory Farm Radio Programming. *Dissemination paper presented during the district-level dissemination workshops*. Ottawa: Farm Radio International.

Agba, J. U. and Bassey Duke, V., 2014. Integrating social media in Development Broadcast in Nigeria. *CRUTECH Journal of Science, Engineering and Technology*, 35-44.

Agger, B., 1998. *Critical social theories: An introduction.* Boulder, CO: Westview.

Agger, B., 2006. *Critical social theories*. VA: Paradigm Publishers.

Aitken, H. G., 2014. *The continuous wave: Technology and American radio, 1900-1932* (Vol. 54). Princeton University Press.

Akhter, R., and Md Syed, M. A., 2021. Women's empowerment through strategic disobedience: A study of community radio in rural Bangladesh. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, *27*(1), 46-65.

Akìwọ̀wọ̀, A., 1990. Contributions to the Sociology of Knowledge from an African Oral Poetry. In: Albrow, M. and King, E. eds., *Globalization, Knowledge and Society.* London: SAGE Publications, pp. 103–117.

Ali, A., 2015. Media ownership and control versus press freedom in a democratic Africa. *Journal of mass communication and journalism*, *5*(239), 1-5.

Alia, V., 2004. Indigenous radio in Canada. In: Crisell, A. ed., *More than a music box: Radio cultures and communities in a multi-media world*. Berghahn Books, pp. 77-94.

Albert, H., 2015. Karl Popper, critical rationalism, and the Positivist Dispute. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, *15*(2), 209-219.

Alharahsheh, H. H., & Pius, A., 2020. A review of key paradigms: Positivism VS interpretivism. *Global Academic Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, *2*(3), 39-43.

Ali, H., & Chowdhury, M. F., 2015. Positivism in understanding the contemporary social world: A critical discussion. *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, *11*(2).

Allen, G., 2018. Canada before Television: Radio, Taste, and the Struggle for Cultural Democracy by Len Kuffert. *University of Toronto Quarterly* 87(3), 400-402.

Aman, R., 2015. Why Interculturalidad is not Interculturality: Colonial remains and paradoxes in translation between indigenous social movements and supranational bodies. *Cultural Studies*, *29*(2), 205-228.

Amin, H. et al., 2000. *De-Westernizing media studies*. New York: Routledge.

Amoakohene, M. I., 2004. Researching radio audiences in an emerging pluralistic media environment: A case for the focus group discussion (FGD) method. *Africa Media Review*, *12*(2), 25-40.

Ampiah, K., 2007. The political and moral imperatives of the Bandung conference of 1955: the reactions of the US, UK and Japan. Brill.

Amundsen, I., 2017. Country Evaluation Brief: Malawi. *Norad Country Evaluation Brief*, *Report 4* CHR Michelson Institute.

Anderson, H., Backhaus, B., Fox, J. and Bedford, C., 2020. Fifty Years of Resistance and Representation: A Historical Account of Australian Community Radio. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *27*(2), 234-254.

Anderson, G. L., 2007. Media's impact on educational policies and practices: Political spectacle and social control. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *82*(1), 103-120.

Anderson, L., 2011. Demystifying the Arab spring: parsing the differences between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. *Foreign Aff.*, *90*, 2.

Anderson, J. N., 2013. Radio broadcasting's digital dilemma. *Convergence*, *19*(2), 177-199.

Anderson, H., and Rodríguez, C., 2019. Is community radio in crisis in the Global North?: Lessons from Australia and the United States. *Journal of Alternative & Community Media*, *4*(4), 51-65.

Anderson, T., & Stewart, J. B., 2007. *Introduction to African American studies: Transdisciplinary approaches and implications*. Black Classic Press.

Ang, I., 1996. *Living room wars. Rethinking media audiences for postmodern world.* London: Routledge.

Ang, I., 2001. On the politics of empirical audience research. In Duran, M. and Kellner, D. Eds., *Media and cultural studies: Keyworks*. London: Blackwell: 177-197.

Ani, E. I., 2013. Africa and the prospects of deliberative democracy. *South African Journal of Philosophy*, *32*(3), 207-219.

Arbuckle, M. R., 2001. *Herbert Hoover's national radio conferences and the origin of public interest content regulation of United States broadcasting: 1922--1925*. Southern Illinois: University at Carbondale.

Arbuckle, M. R., 2008. Evolving Communications Marketplace: Rethinking Broadcast Fairness Two Decades after Syracuse Peace Council. *Media L. & Pol'y*, *18*: 69.

Ardielli, E., 2017. Usage of ICT in EU culture sector as a tool of cultural participation. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Knowledge.* Issue 2/2017, Volume 5.

Arndt, C., 2019. The Politics of Public Broadcasters in Africa. In: Thompson, W.R. ed., *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Arnstein, S. R., 1969. 'A ladder of citizen participation', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 216-224.

Attallah, P., 2000. Public broadcasting in Canada: Legitimation crisis and the loss of audience. *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)*, *62*(3-4), 177-203.

Armour, C., 1984. The BBC and the development of broadcasting in British Colonial Africa 1946-1956. *African Affairs*, *83*(332), 359-402.

Armstrong, R., 2016. *Broadcasting policy in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ashby-King, D. T., and Aragón, A. N., 2022. Reinforcing and challenging whiteness through crisis communication: Proposing a discourse of community repair. *Public Relations Review*, *48*(1), 102139.

Ashley, S., 2014. A Historical Comparison of the Social Origins of Broadcasting Policy, 1896–1920. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *21*(1), 134-148.

Asimeng-Boahene, L., 2012. African Traditional Education And Citizenship Development. *Contemporary Voices From The Margin: African Educators On African And American Education*, 67-83.

Atkins, G., 1990. Farm Radio in Developing Countries. *Development*, *2*.

Atkin, J. L., and McCardle, M., 2015. Old dog, new tricks: Staying relevant in the digital era. *Journal of Critical Incidents,* 8. 77-81.

Atton, C., 2009. Alternative journalism: Ideology and practice. In: Atton, C. ed., *The Routledge companion to news and journalism.* London: Routledge: pp. 169-178.

Atton, C., and Mabweazara, H., 2011. New media and journalism practice in Africa: An agenda for research. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism* 12(6): 667–673.

Avenier, M. J., and Thomas, C., 2015. Finding one's way around various methodological guidelines for doing rigorous case studies: A comparison of four epistemological frameworks. *Systèmes d'information et management*, *20*(1), 61-98.

Avle, S., 2016. 'Radio locked on@ Citi973': Twitter use by FM radio listeners in Ghana. In: Williams, W. and Mano, W., eds. *Everyday Media Culture in Africa.* London: Routledge, pp. 175-193. Babbie, E. and Mouton, J., 2001. *The Practice of Social Research.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Babbie, E. and Mouton, J. 2007. *The Practice of Social Research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Babou, C. A., 2010. Decolonization or national liberation: Debating the end of British colonial rule in Africa. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *632*(1), 41-54.

Baffoe, M., Asimeng-Boahene, L. and Buster, B., 2014. Their way or no way:"Whiteness" as agent for marginalizing and silencing minority voices in academic research and publication. *European journal of sustainable development*, *3*(1), 13-13.

Balbi, G., 2017. Wireless's "critical flaw": The Marconi company, corporation mentalities, and the broadcasting option. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *94*(4), 1239-1260.

Banda, F., 2003. *Community Radio Broadcasting in Zambia: A policy perspective.* PhD Thesis (Unpublished). Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Banda, F. 2005. *The Broadcasting Landscape: Malawi.* Panos Southern Africa.

Banda, F., 2006. Negotiating distant influences: globalization and broadcasting policy reforms in Zambia and South Africa. *Canadian Journal of Communication.* Vol.31 (2), p. 459-467.

Banda, F., 2007. Radio listening clubs in Malawi and Zambia: Towards a participatory model of broadcasting. *Communicare: Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*, *26*(1), 130-148.

Banda, F., 2009a. Kasoma's Afriethics: A reappraisal. *International Communication Gazette*, *71*(4), 227-242.

Banda, F., 2009b. Exploring media education as civic praxis in Africa. *Comunicar: Revista Científica de Comunicacíon y Educacíon*, *16*(32), 225-242.

Banda, P. C., 2020. *The State, Counterinsurgency, and Political Policing in Colonial and Postcolonial Malawi, 1891-1994*. Lexington Books.

Banda, P. C., 2021. Ruling Minds: The Media and State Propaganda in British-Ruled Nyasaland, 1945–1964. *Re-imagining Communication in Africa and the Caribbean: Global South Issues in Media, Culture and Technology*, 309-326.

Banik, D., 2010. Support for human rights-based development: reflections on the Malawian experience. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, *14*(1), 34-50.

Baran, S., 2004. *Introduction to Mass Communication: Updated Media-Enhanced Third Edition* Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Baran, S.J., and Davis, D.K., 2003. *Mass Communication Theory*. Belmount CA. Wadsworth.

Baran, S.J., and Davis, D.K., 2012. *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment and Future.* Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Barau, A. A., and Afrad, M. S. I., 2017. An overview of social media use in agricultural extension service delivery. *Journal of Agricultural Informatics*, *8*(3).

Barber, B., 1989. Radio: Audio Art's Frightful Parent. *Border/Lines*, (15).

Barber, K., 1997. Preliminary Notes on Audiences in Africa. *Africa* 67 (3): 347–62.

Barber, B., and Miller, C., 2019. Propaganda and combat motivation: Radio broadcasts and German soldiers' performance in World War II. *World Politics*, *71*(3), 457-502.

Barbrook, R., 1992. Choice or participation? British radio in the 1990s. *Science as Culture*, *3*(2), 240-262.

Barclay, S., 2022. The BBC school broadcasting council and the education system 1935–1971. *Media History*, *28*(2), 214-229.

Bardgett, S., Kind-Kovács, F. and Kuitenbrouwer, V., 2019. The act of listening: radio monitoring, 1930–1990. *Media History*, *25*(4), 391-399.

Barranquero, A., 2019. Praxis in Latin American communication thought: A critical appraisal. *Citizen Media and Practice*, 57-72.

Barrouillet, P., 2015. Theories of cognitive development: From Piaget to today. *Developmental Review*, *38*, 1-12.

Bartlett, R. A., 2015. *The world of ham radio, 1901-1950: A social history*. McFarland.

Baruah, U. L., 2017. *This is All India Radio*. Publications Division Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.

Bathgate, G. (2020). *Radio broadcasting: A history of the airwaves*. Pen and Sword History.

Baxter, P. & Jack, S., 2008. Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. *The Qualitative Report* Vol. 13(4), 544. Retrieved from http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol13/iss4/2

Beattie, E., 1999. *Public education in the mass media: National Farm Radio Forum on CBC radio.* PhD Thesis. Concordia University.

Beatty, B., 2017. The 'best kept secret': The (re) articulation of Plains FM 96.9 and community radio in New Zealand. *The Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, *15*(2), 155-172.

Beatty, B., and Pauling, B., 2021. A unique and forward-looking sector': Reflecting on 30 years of community access radio in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 28(1), 67–85.

Bello, F.G., Lovelock, B. and Carr, N., 2017. Constraints of community participation in protected area-based tourism planning: The case of Malawi. *Journal of Ecotourism*, *16*(2), 131-151.

Benjamin, L., 1998. Working it out together: Radio policy from Hoover to the Radio Act of 1927. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media,* 42 (2), 221-236.

Benjamin, L.M., 1993, In search of the Sarnofff "radio music box" memo. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 37 (30, 325-335.

Benjamin, L. M., 2009. *The NBC Advisory Council and radio programming, 1926-1945*. SIU Press.

Bennet, N., 2002. Connecting farmers world wide through radio. *Magazine on Low External Input and Sustainable Agriculture (LEISA)*, *18*(2), 20-21.

Bennett, A., 2004. Case study methods: Design, use, and comparative advantages. *Models, numbers, and cases: Methods for studying international relations*, *2*(1), 19-55.

Bensman, M. R., 2015. *The beginning of broadcast regulation in the twentieth century*. McFarland.

Bentley, J., Van Mele, P., Chadare, F. and Chander, M., 2022. Videos on agroecology for a global audience of farmers: an online survey of Access Agriculture. *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability*, *20*(6), 1100-1116.

Benton, T., and Craib, I., 2023. *Philosophy of social science: The philosophical foundations of social thought*. Houndmills: Palgrave.

Berg, J. S., 1999. *On the short waves, 1923-1945: Broadcast listening in the pioneer days of radio*. McFarland.

Berelson, B.R., Lazarsfeld, P.F. and McPhee, W.N., 1954. *Voting. A study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign*. University of Chicago Press.

Berger, P. L., and Luckmann, T., 1966. The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge. *Garden City, NY: First Anchor*.

Berger, G., 2012. Theorising African communications: The bad news signalled by broadcast digital migration policy. *Communicatio* 38 (2), 135-146. Berrigan, F., 1979. *Community Communications. Role of community media in development*. France: UNESCO Press.

Berry, R., 2015. Serial and Ten years of Podcasting: Has The Medium Finally Grown Up. In: Oliveira, M. and Ribeiro, F. (eds). *Radio, sound and Internet.* LASICS, Braga, Portugal: pp. 299-309.

Berry, R., 2016. Part of the establishment: Reflecting on 10 years of podcasting as an audio medium. *Convergence*, *22*(6), 661-671.

Bertram, C. & Christiansen, I., 2020. *Understanding Research. An Introduction to reading research.* 2nd Edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Beverley, J., & Sanders, J., 1997. Negotiating with the disciplines. A conversation on Latin American Subaltern studies. *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, *6*(2), 233-257.

Bhabha, H.K., 1994. *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge.

Bhattacharya, A., 2013. Adult education and film/television. In: English, L.M. and Mayo,P. eds., *Learning with Adults.* Brill: pp 175-183.

Birn, A. E., 2014. Philanthrocapitalism, past and present: The Rockefeller Foundation, the Gates Foundation, and the setting (s) of the international/global health agenda. *Hypothesis*, *12*(1), e8.

Bliss Jr, E., 2010. *Now the news: The story of broadcast journalism*. Columbia University Press.

Bodroghkozy, A., (Ed.). 2018. *A companion to the history of American broadcasting*. John Wiley & Sons.

Bonini, T. 2014. Introduction: the listener as producer: the rise of the networked listener. In: Bonini, T., and Monclús, B. eds., *Radio audiences and participation in the age of network society.* Abingdon: Routledge: pp. 1-36.

Bordenave, J. D., 1994. Participative communication as a part of building the participative society. In White, S. A., (ed.). *Participatory communication: Working for change and development.* Beverly Hills: Sage, pp. 35-48.

Bosch, T., 2014. Community radio. In: Wilkins, K.G., Tufte, T., and Obregon, R. eds., *The handbook of development communication and social change*. Wiley: pp. 426-438.

Bosch, T., 2016. Social media and radio journalism in South Africa. In: Franklin, B., and Eldridge, S.A., eds., *The Routledge Companion to Digital Journalism Studies.* London: Routledge: pp. 520-527.

Bosch, T., 2018. Rethinking media research in Africa. In: Mutsvairo, B. ed., *The Palgrave handbook of media and communication research in Africa*. Palgrave: pp. 413-425.

Bottomley, A. J., 2015. Podcasting: A decade in the life of a “new” audio medium: Introduction. *Journal of radio & audio media*, *22*(2), 164-169.

Bourne, L. S., and Rose, D., 2001. The changing face of Canada: The uneven geographies of population and social change. *Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, *45*(1), 105-119.

Bowden, S., Clayton, D. and Pereira, A., 2012. Extending Access To Information, Education And Entertainment In The Developing Economies: Broadcast Technologies In The British Empire, 1951 To 1962. *Journal of International Development*, *24*(7), 922-945.

Boyd, D. A., 1983. Radio free America: The US government's reaction to pirate radio, *Communication Studies.* 34(3) 203-209.

Boyle, J. R., 1964. *A Historical And Descriptive Study Of Noncommercial Educational Frequencymodulation Broadcasting In Indiana. January, 1944, To July, 1963*. Michigan: University of Michigan.

Braun, V., and Clarke, V., 2012. *Thematic analysis*. American Psychological Association.

Brecht, B., 1964. *The Radio as an Apparatus of Communication.* Brecht on Theatre. Translated and edited by John Willet. New York: Hill and Wang.

Brecht, B., 1993. “The Radio as a Communication Apparatus.” In *Radiotext* (e). Ed. Neil Strauss and David Mandl, 15–17. New York: Autonomedia.

Brecht, B., 2001 [1932] The Radio as a Communications Apparatus.In: Silberman, M. (Ed.), *Brecht on Film and Radio*, London: Methuen.Briggs, A., 1995. *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, vol. V: Competition 1955–1974.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Broido, E. M., 2000. Constructing identity: The nature and meaning of lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities. In: Perez, R. M., DeBord, K. A., and Bieschke, K. J. (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling and psychotherapy with lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association: pp. 13-33.

Brooke, P., 2021. Transnational News Audiences and the Limits of Cultural Decolonisation in Zambia: Media Coverage of the Soweto Uprising of 1976. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 47 (4): 587–603.

Brown, J. A., 1989. Struggle against commercialism: The 1934 “Harney Lobby” for nonprofit frequency allocations. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *33*(3), 273-291.

Bruns, A., 2008. Life beyond the public sphere: Towards a networked model for political deliberation. *Information polity*, *13*(1-2), 71-85.

Bryman, A., 1988. *Quantity and Quality in Social Research.* London: Unwin Hyman

Bryman, A., 2008. *Social Research Methods.* Oxford University Press.

Buchwitz, L. A., 2018. A model of periodization of radio and internet advertising history. *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, *10*(2), 130-150.

Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor., 2008. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - Malawi,* United States Department of State, 25 February 2009. Retrived on 10 April, 2024 from https://www.refworld.org/reference/annualreport/usdos/2009/en/66130

Craig. S., 2009. *Out of the Dark: A History of Radio and Rural America*. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press.

Bussey, G., 1990. *Wireless, the Crucial Decade: History of the British Wireless Industry, 1924-34* (Vol. 13). IET.

Butsch, R., 2013. Audiences: publics, crowds, mass. In: Simonson, P., Peck, J., Craig, R.T., and Jackson, J. eds., *The Handbook of Communication History.* London: Routledge: pp. 93-108.

Butsch, R., and Heyer, P., 2000. The making of American audiences: From stage to television, 1750-1990. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, *25*(4), 571.

Butsch, R., and Livingstone, S., 2013. *Meanings of Audiences*. Routledge.

Calafell, B. M., and Acrey, N. C., 2023. Livin'la Vida Marimacha: Post Borderlands and Queerness in Starz's Vida. In: Nakayama, T.K., and Halualani, R.T. eds., *The Handbook of Critical Intercultural Communication*. Wiley: pp. 167-176.

Calhoun, M., and Starbuck, W. H., 2003. Barriers to creating knowledge. In: Easterby-Smith, M., and Lyles, M.A. eds., *Handbook of Organizational Learning and Knowledge. Blackwell*. Wiley: pp. 471-490.Cammack, D., 2019. The democratic transition in Malawi: from single-party rule to a multi-party state. In: Daniel, J., Southall, R., and Szeftel, M., eds., *Voting for Democracy.* London: Routledge: pp. 183-205.Campbell, B. B., & Campbell, B. B., 2019. Technology and the Radio Hobby Mature, 1927–1929. In: Campbell, B.B., ed., *The Radio Hobby, Private Associations, and the Challenge of Modernity in Germany*. Palgrave MacMillan: pp. 91-141.

Carah, N., and Louw, E., 2015. *Media and society: Production, content and participation*. Sage.

Cardiff, D., 1980. The serious and the popular: aspects of the evolution of style in the radio talk I928-I939. *Media, Culture & Society*, *2*(1), 29-47.

Carpentier, N., Lie, R., and Servaes, J., 2003. Making community media work. *Approaches to development: studies on communication for development.* Paris: UNESCO, Cap, 15.

Carpentier, N., 2011a. New configurations of the audience? The challenges of user-generated content for audience theory and media participation. *The handbook of media audiences*, 190-212.

Carpentier, N., 2011b. Contextualising Author-Audience Convergences: 'New'technologies' claims to increased participation, novelty and uniqueness. *Cultural studies*, *25*(4-5), 517-533.

Carpentier, N., 2011c. 'The concept of participation: If they have access and interact, do they really participate?' *Communication Management Quarterly*, No. 21, pp. 13-36.

Carter, B., 2016. *Infomediaries and accountability. (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1347). Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.*

Carter, L., 2021. Rhoda Power, BBC Radio, and Mass Education, 1922-1957. *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique. French Journal of British Studies*, *26*(XXVI-1).

Carter, S., and Henderson, L., 2005. Approaches to qualitative data collection in social science. *Handbook of health research methods: Investigation, measurement and analysis*, *1*, 215-230.

Carvajal, E. S., 2020. The Radio, Getting Smarter Everyday Thanks to Artificial Intelligence. *Telefónica Tech. February*, *13*.

CBC., 2003. *The Canadian Broadcasting Broadcasting Corporation's Annual Report.* Retrieved 7 April 2024 from: https://site-cbc.radio-canada.ca/documents/impact-and-accountability/finances/2002-2003-ar.pdf.

Chadha, K., and Kavoori, A., 2000. Media imperialism revisited: Some findings from the Asian case. *Media, culture & society*, *22*(4), 415-432.

Chalcraft, J., 2008. Question: What Are the Fruitful New Directions in Subaltern Studies, and How Can Those Working in Middle East Studies Most Productively Engage With Them?: Pensée 1: Of Horses and Ponies. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *40*(3), 376-378.

Chandler, D., 1994. *The transmission model of communication*. Retrived on 22 April 2020 from: http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel//Documents/short/trans.html

Chaney, D., 2013. Audience research and the BBC in the 1930s: a mass medium comes into being. In *Impacts and influences* (pp. 259-277). Routledge.

Chapman, R., Blench, R., Kranjac-Berisavljevic, G. and Zakariah, A.B.T., 2003. Rural radio in agricultural extension: the example of vernacular radio programmes on soil and water conservation in N. Ghana. *AgREN Network Paper*, *127*(2), 456-489.

Chapota, R., 2009. *National Policy Dialogue Synthesis Report: True Contribution of Agriculture to Economic Growth and Development in Malawi and its Policy Implications on Extension and Radio Programming*. Food, Agriculture, and Natural Resources Policy Analysis Network (FANRPAN). Retrieved 17 November 2016 from: http://www.farnpan.org/documents/MalawiSynthesisReportonTrueContributionofAgriculture.pdf.

Chapota, R., Fatch, P. and Mthinda, C., 2014. The Role of Radio in Agricultural Extension and Advisory Services–Experiences and Lessons from Farm Radio Programming in Malawi. *MEAS Case Study*, *8*. Retrieved 2 May 2020 from: https://publications.farmradio.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/MEAS-CS-Malawi-Farm-Radio-Chapota-Fatch-Mthinda-Feb-2014.pdf.

Chaputula, A. H., and Mutula, S., 2018. Factors impacting library-related uses of mobile phones by students in public universities in Malawi. *South African Journal of Libraries and Information Science*, *84*(1), 35-46.

Chasi, C., and Rodny-Gumede, Y., 2018. Decolonising communication studies: Advancing the Discipline through Fermenting Participation studies. In Mutsvairo, B. (Ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Media and Communication Research in Africa.* Palgrave Macmillan: pp. 55–71.

Chasukwa, M., Chiweza, A.L. and Chikapa-Jamali, M., 2014. Public Participation in Local Councils in Malawi in the Absence of Local Elected Representatives-Political Eliticism or Pluralism? *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *49*(6), 705-720.

Chibita, M. B., 2010. Ugandan radio as a political space and the regulation thereof. In: Election Processes, Liberation Movements and Democratic Change in Africa Conference, Maputo, Mozambique: pp 8-11.

Chikaipa, V., 2023. Preserving indigenous minority languages through community radio in development programmes in Malawi. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, *41*(3), 298-314.

Chikaipa, V., and Gunde, A. M., 2021. The role of community radio in promotion of indigenous minority languages and cultures in Malawi. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *28*(2), 327-343.

Chikalipo., C. 2020. *Radio programming for MIJ Radio.*Personal interview. 11 September, Blantyre.

Chikunkhuzeni, F. C. N., 1999. *Towards an understanding of the role of commercialisation in programming at the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation from 1995 to 1998: a case study.* PhD Thesis. Rhodes University.

Chimala, H., and Chikapa, C., 2010. The Role of Radio in creating better responses to Climate Change: The Development Broadcasting Unit in Malawi. In Reid, H., Huq, S. and Murray, L.A., eds., *Community Champions: Adapting to Climate Challenges.* London: International Institute for Environment and Development: p. 67.

Chijere-Chirwa, W., Kayanula, E. and Lijenda, B., 2000. *The Development Broadcasting Unit, Malawi Broadcasting Corporation: A tracer study of Kanthu N'khama radio programe.* Blantyre: DBU/MBC. Unpublished.

Chinsinga, B., 2008. Decentralization and Poverty Reduction in Malawi–A Critical Appraisal. In: Crawford, G., and Hartmann, C. eds., *Decentralisation in Africa: A pathway out of poverty and conflict.* Amsterdam University Press: pp. 73-106.

Chirwa, D. M., 2003. Democratisation in Malawi 1994-2002: Completing the Vicious Circle?. *South African Journal on Human Rights*, *19*(2), 316-338.

Chirwa, J., 2020a. *MBC Development Broadcasting Unit still runs vibrant Radio Listening Clubs.* Personal Interview. n 9 March,Blantyre.

Chirwa, J. 2023. *The role of the MBC DBU during the period of Covid.*Personal Interview. 3 November Blantyre.

Chirwa, M. N., 2008. *Trill maintenance and replacement in Chichewa: a study on newsreaders' speech from three radio stations in Malawi.* Masters Thesis: University of Cape Town.

Chirwa, W.C., 2014. *Malawi. Democracy and Political Participation. A review by AfriMAP and the Open Society for Southern Africa.* Jonhannesburg: Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa.

Chirwa, D. M., and Chenwi, L. (Eds.)., 2016. *The protection of economic, social and cultural rights in Africa: international, regional and national perspectives*. Cambridge University Press.

Chisama, B. F., 2016. *Farmers' use of mobile phone technology for agricultural information services in Lilongwe District, Malawi.* PhD Thesis. Purdue University.

Chitnis, K., 2010. The duality of development: recasting participatory communication for development using structuration theory. *Investigación & Desarrollo*, *13*(2). Retrieved on 27 April 2020 from http://rcientificas.uninorte.edu.co/index.php/investigacion/article/viewFile/997/622.

Chiumbu, S. H., 2014. 'The world is our community': Rethinking community radio in the digital age. *Journal of African Media Studies*, *6*(3), 249-264.

Chiumbu, S. H., and Ligaga, D., 2013. "Communities of strangerhoods?": Internet, mobile phones and the changing nature of radio cultures in South Africa. *Telematics and Informatics*, *30*(3), 242-251.

Chiyamwaka, B., 2009. *The media: Political players or honest brokers*. Ott, M. and Kanyongolo, FE.

Chowdhury, P. P., 2019a. Role of use of social media on effective buying decision process: a study of consumer buying behavior in the context of Bangladesh market. *Asian Journal of Management*, *10*(1), 53-60.

Chowdhury, A. H., 2019b. *Impact of new media on traditional radio*. Internship Report: Brac University.

Chowdhury, E. K., and Reza, T., 2013. Diagnostic Study on Interactive Ads and Its Response towards the FM Radio. *International Journal of Research in Commerce, IT and Management* Vol (3)2.

Christians, G. C., Glasser, T.L., McQuail, D., Nordenstreng, K., and White, R.A., 2009. *Normative Theories of the Media: Journalism in Democratic Societies.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Chuquillanqui, M.E.S., Garcia, A.J.L., Curasma, R.P. and Ataucuri, D.D., 2015. Study of emergency warning broadcasting systems. In *2015 IEEE International Symposium on Broadband Multimedia Systems and Broadcasting* (pp. 1-6). IEEE.

Clarke, G., 2006. *The politics of NGOs in Southeast Asia: Participation and protest in the Philippines*. Routledge.

Coase, R. H., 1947. The origin of the monopoly of broadcasting in Great Britain. *Economica*, *14*(55), 189-210.

Cocker, A., 1994. Broadcasting myths and political realities: New Zealand's experience in comparative perspective. *Political Science*, *46*(2), 234-254.

Cohen, L., 2004. A consumers' republic: The politics of mass consumption in postwar America. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *31*(1), 236-239.

Cohen, D., and Crabtree, B., 2006. *Qualitative research guidelines project*. Retrieved on 4 May 2020 from: https://sswm.info/sites/default/files/reference_attachments/COHEN%202006%20Semistructured%20Interview.pdf.

Collins, H., 2018. *Creative research: the theory and practice of research for the creative industries*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Colpani, G., Mascat, J.M. and Smiet, K., 2022. Postcolonial responses to decolonial interventions. *Postcolonial Studies*, *25*(1), 1-16.

Comrie, M., & Fountaine, S., 2005. Retrieving public service broadcasting: Treading a fine line at TVNZ. *Media, Culture & Society*, *27*(1), 101-118.

Connell, R., 2007. The heart of the problem: South African intellectual workers, globalization and social change. *Sociology*, *41*(1), 11-28.

Connell, R., 2018. Decolonizing sociology. *Contemporary Sociology*, *47*(4), 399-407.

Conrad, E., Cassar, L.F., Christie, M. and Fazey, I., 2011. Hearing but not listening? A participatory assessment of public participation in planning. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, *29*(5), pp.761-782.

Cordeiro, P., 2012. Radio becoming r@dio: Convergence, interactivity and broadcasting trends in perspective. *Participations*, *9*(2), 492-510.

Cornwall, A., 2008. Unpacking 'Participation': models, meanings and practices. *Community Development Journal,* 43(3), 269 – 283.

Cox, J., 2013. *Radio After the Golden Age: The Evolution of American Broadcasting Since 1960*. McFarland.

Craig, S., 2001. The Farmer's Friend: Radio Comes to Rural America, 1920–1927. *Journal of Radio Studies*, *8*(2), 330-346.

Craig, S., 2006a. The More They Listen; the More They Buy. Radio and the Modernizing of Rural America, 1930–1939. *Agricultural history*, *80*(1), 1-16.

Craig, S. 2006b. *Toward a "Satisfactory and Regular Service": The United States Department of Agriculture and the Campaign for High Power Radio, 1922-1928*. Retrieved on 22 March 2020 from: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Steve-

Creswell, J. W., 2003. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches (2nd ed.).* California: Sage.

Creswell, J. W., 2013. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches.* California: Sage Publications

Crisell, A., 2005. *An introductory history of British broadcasting*. Routledge.

Croidieu, G., and Kim, P. H., 2018. Labor of love: Amateurs and lay-expertise legitimation in the early US radio field. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *63*(1), 1-42.

Cross II, C. F., & Cross, C. F., 1999. *Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the land-grant colleges*. MSU Press.

Croucher, S. M., and Cronn-Mills, D., 2014. *Understanding communication research methods: A theoretical and practical approach*. Routledge.

Crow, D., and Boykoff, M., 2014. *Culture, politics and climate change: how information shapes our common future*. Routledge.

Curran, J., 1990. The new revisionism in mass communication research: A reappraisal. *European journal of communication*, *5*(2), 135-164.

Curran, J., and Park, M-J., 2000. Beyond globalization theory. In J. Curran & M.-J. Park (Eds.), *De-Westernizing media studies* (pp. 3–8). London: Routledge.

Curran, J., and Ward, S., 2010. *The unknown nation: Australia after empire*. Melbourne Univ. Publishing.

Da Costa, P., 2012. The growing pains of community radio in Africa. *Nordicom Review*, *33*(Special-Issue), 135-147.

Dagron, A.G., Bleck, C., Dagron, G. and Dagron, A.G., 2001. *Making waves.* New York: Rockefeller Foundation.

Dale, A., and Naylor, T., 2005. Dialogue and public space: An exploration of radio and information communications technologies. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, *38*(1), 203-225.

Dankoski, M. E., 2000. What makes research feminist? *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy*, *12*(1), 3-19.

Damome, E., 2020. Committed Listener Groups and Media Participation in Francophone West Africa. *International Journal of Communication*, *14*, 18.

Darwin, J. G., 1987. The end of empire. *Contemporary Record*, *1*(3), 51-55.

Davison, G., 1979. Australian urban history: a progress report. *Urban History*, *6*, 100-109.

Da-Wariboko, B., 2005. *Investigating the Effects of the Proliferation of Commercial Broadcasting on Public Service Broadcasting: The Case of Rivers State of Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation.* PhD Thesis: Rhodes University.

Day, P., 2000. *Voice and Vision: A history of broadcasting in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

DeCillia, B., and McCurdy, P., 2016. The sound of silence: the absence of public service values in Canadian media discourse about the CBC. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, *41*(4).

Dempsey, J. M., and Gruver, E., 2012. The public interest must dominate: Herbert Hoover and the public interest, convenience, and necessity. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *19*(1), 96-109.

Dekker, M., 2010. *The Malawian view on Community Participation in School Development: a qualatitive program evaluation in the south of Malawi.* MA Thesis: Utrecht University.

Delanty, G., 1997. *Social science: Beyond constructivism and realism*. University of Minnesota Press.

Delanty, G., 2001. The university in the knowledge society. *Organization*, *8*(2), 149-153.

Desta, T., 2018. ICT Innovations, entrepreneurship and hubs in East Africa: The case of Ethiopia. *African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation and Development*, *10*(6), 655-664.

Deuze, M. (2001). Online journalism: Modelling the first generation of news media on the World Wide Web. *First Monday*, 6(10).

Devlin, J. P., 2018. *From Analogue to Digital Radio: Competition and Cooperation in the UK Radio Industry*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Dias, J., & Medboe, H., 2014. Improvisation in the digital age: New narratives in jazz promotion and dissemination. *First Monday*, *19*(10).

Diedong, A. L., 2014. The relevance of integrating models of radio into development process. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, *4*(5), 1-10.

Diel, S., 2017. New media, legacy media and misperceptions regarding sourcing. *KOME: An International Journal of Pure Communication Inquiry*, *5*(1), 104-120.

Diop, C. A., 1974. *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality, Mercer Cook (trans.).* Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill.

Dissanayake, W., 2003. Asian approaches to human communication: Retrospect and prospect. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, *12*(4), 17-38.

Doerksen, C. J., 1999. Serving the masses, not the classes: Station WHN, pioneer of commercial broadcasting of the 1920s. *Journal of Radio Studies*, *6*(1), 81-100.

Dolber, B., and Dolber, B., 2017. Moving Forward on the Air: The Birth of WEVD and the Rise of Commercial Broadcasting. In: Bekken, J., ed., *Media and Culture in the US Jewish Labor Movement: Sweating for Democracy in the Interwar Era*. Taylor & Francis: pp. 89-116.

Doris, J.B., Kurgatand Sr, K. and Nabushawo, J., 2019. Analysis of Long'et ab kabatik programme on crop farming practices among households in Mosop Sub-County: Nandi County. *Int. J. of Multidisciplinary and Current research*, *7*.

Douglas, S. J., 2013. *Listening in: Radio and the American imagination*. Minneapolis: Univeristy of Minnesota Press.

Douglas, S. J., 2018. Early radio. In: Crowley, D., and Heyer, P. eds., *Communication in History.* Routledge: pp. 203-210.

Downing, J., 1996. *Internationalizing media theory: Transition, power, culture: Reflections on media in Russia, Poland, and Hungary, 1980-1995*.London: Sage.

Draper, J., and Carare, J., 1998. Selected chronology of adult education in Canada. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 44-76.

Dubber, A., 2014. *Radio in the digital age*. John Wiley & Sons.

Du Gay, P. (Ed.)., 1997. *Production of culture/cultures of production*. London: Sage.

Dulani, B., 2008. 7 Nurtured From The Pulpit: The Emergence And Growth Of Malawi's Democracy Movement. *Movers and Shakers, Vol 8,* 138-155.

Duncombe, R. A., 2014. Understanding the impact of mobile phones on livelihoods in developing countries. *Development Policy Review*, *32*(5), 567-588.

Dutta, M. J., and Pal, M., 2020. Theorizing from the global south: Dismantling, resisting, and transforming communication theory. *Communication Theory*, *30*(4), 349-369.

Du Toit, J. E. 2013. *Journalism education in universities: The global and local migration of concepts between discipline and practice.* PhD Thesis: Stellenbosch University

Dwyer, T., 2010. *Media convergence*. McGraw-Hill Education.

d' Haenens, L. & Bink, S., 2021. Digital Convergence. The Development of a New Media Market in Europe. In d'Haenens, L., & Saeys, F. (Eds.). *Western Broadcasting at the Dawn of the 21st Century:(Mouton textbook)* (Vol. 4). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG: pp. 125-146.

Dzanku, F.M., Osei, R.D., Nkegbe, P.K. and Osei-Akoto, I., 2022. Information delivery channels and agricultural technology uptake: experimental evidence from Ghana. *European Review of Agricultural Economics*, *49*(1), 82-120.

Eaman, R. A., 2015. "The Story Is Only the Platter On Which the Personality Is Served": The Debate Over Media Integrity on CBC Radio's Literary Arts Programming, 1948–1985. *Canadian Journal of Communication 40*(3), pp.519-536.

Edwards, T. 2012. *Erotics and politics: Gay male sexuality, masculinity and feminism*. Routledge.

Efstathiou, N. D., 2020. *Assessing the influence of radio advertising on consumer purchasing decisions.* PhD Thesis: North-West University.

Eko, L. 2000. Public broadcasting in a changing political & regulatory environment: The case of Africa. *Ecquid Novi*, *21*(1), 85-100.

Eko, L. S., 2016. Between globalization and democratization: Governmental public broadcasting in Africa. In: McCauley, M.P., Artz, B.L., Halleck, D. and Peterson, P.E., eds., *Public broadcasting and the public interest.* Routledge: pp. 175-191.

Eko, L., and Eko, L., 2019. One Country, Two Journalistic Cultures: The Charlie Hebdo Affair in the Bi-cultural Journalistic Field of Canada. In: Eko, L. ed., *The Charlie Hebdo Affair and Comparative Journalistic Cultures: Human Rights Versus Religious Rites*. Springer Nature, pp: 347-380.

Ellis, F., Kutengule, M. and Nyasulu, A., 2003. Livelihoods and rural poverty reduction in Malawi. *World Development*, *31*(9), 1495-1510.

Elmer, G., 2017. A new medium goes public: The financialization of Marconi's Wireless Telegraph & Signal Company. *New Media & Society*, *19*(11), 1829-1847.

Emeagwali, G., 2014. Intersections between Africa's indigenous knowledge systems and history. In: Emeagwali, G., George, J. and Dei, S. eds., *African indigenous knowledge and the disciplines.* Brill: pp. 1-17.

Englund, H., 2011. *Human Rights and African Airwaves: mediating equality on the Chichewa radio*. Indiana University Press.

Englund, H., 2019. Radio as a political medium in Africa. In: Thompson, W.R. ed., *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Eversole, R., 2012. Remaking participation: challenges for community development practice. *Community development journal*, *47*(1), pp.29-41.

Factor, R. A., and Turner, S. P., 1977. The critique of positivist social science in Leo Strauss and Jürgen Habermas. *Sociological Analysis and Theory. A Discussion Journal of Research and Ideas anc Sociological Analysis London*, *7*(3), 185-206.

Faisal, A. M., and Alhassan, A., 2018. Community access and participation in community radio broadcast: Case of Radio Gaakii, Ghana. *Journal of Development and Communication Studies*, *5*(2), 85-102.

Farm Radio International (FRI)., 2011. *Participatory campaigns and food security: How radio can help farmers make informed decisions. African Farm Radio Research Initiative*. Farm Radio International: Ottawa. Retrieved on 6 April 2024 from: https://farmradio.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/farmradio-prcreport20111-1.pdf

Farm Radio International, 2021-2022. *Annual Report.* Retrieved on 6 April 2024 from: https://farmradio.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Annual-report-2021-2022.pdf

Farm Radio International. (FRI), 2024. *Our history.* Retrieved on 9 April, 2024 from: https://farmradio.org/our-history/

Febres Cordero Intriago, M. B., 2015. *Radio Beyond Voice: Understanding Community Radio Stations in Ecuador Through Performance.*MA Thesis: Simon Fraser University.

Feichtinger, J., Fillafer, F.L. and Surman, J. eds., 2018. *The worlds of positivism: A global intellectual history, 1770–1930*. Springer.

Fejes, F., 1981. Media imperialism: An assessment. *Media, Culture & Society*, *3*(3), 281-289.

Feldman, G., 2011. If ethnography is more than participant-observation, then relations are more than connections: The case for nonlocal ethnography in a world of apparatuses. *Anthropological theory*, *11*(4), 375-395.

Fenton, N., 2007. Bridging the mythical divide: Political economy and cultural studies approaches to the analysis of the media. *Media studies: Key issues and debates*, 7-31.

Feutl, R., 1983. Radio teaching Third World farmers. *IDRC feature; F258e*.

Fleming, P. J., 1980. *Radio broadcasting in Palmerston North, 1924-1937*. Bachelor of Arts with Honours in History Thesis: Massey University.

Food & Agriculture-Dimitra Project. 2011. *Guidelines for Creating Community Listerners' Clubs.* In *Community Listerners' Clubs Stepping Stones for Action in Rural Areas.* FAO.

Fountaine, S. L., 1998. *Reporting rural news: perspectives on public radio restructuring: a thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Business Studies at Massey University.* PhD Thesis: Massey University.

Fountaine, S., L., 1999. Farming on air: New Zealand farmers and rural radio programming. *Media International Australia*, *92*(1), 117-129.

Fourie, P. J., 2003. The future of public service broadcasting in South Africa: The need to return to basic principles. *Communicatio, 29*(1/2), 148-181.

Fourie, P. J. 2015. The media's" image" of society: A semiotic perspective. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, *55*(4), 570-583.

Franklin, I., 2019. Between Public and Private, Britain and Canada: Newfoundland Radio 1934-1949. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, *39*(3), 532-552.

Franz, K., and Smulyan, S., 2017. Reprint Retrospective: Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1920–1934. *Advertising & Society Quarterly*, *18*(2).

Fraser, C., and Estrada, S. R., 2001. *Community radio handbook*. Paris: Unesco.

Freire, P., 1970. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder & Herder.

Freire, P., 2020. Pedagogy of the oppressed. In *Toward a sociology of education.* Routledge: pp. 374-386.

Fröhlich, J., Däschle, D., Geerts, A., and Jannusch, S. 2012. *Community Participation at Local and Community Radio Stations. An Explorative Study in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific.* Catholic Media Council. Retrieved on 20 May 2020 from: https://www.cameco.org/media/general_report_final.pdfFrost, E. C., 2008. Babble On: Walter Benjamin and Bertolt Brecht on the Radio as Medium, Method, Message, and Metaphor. *New Politics*, *11*(4), 117.

Frost, G. L., 2010. *Early FM radio: Incremental technology in twentieth-century America*. JHU Press.

Funk, C., 1998. The Art in America radio programs, 1934–1935. *Studies in Art Education*, *40*(1), 31-45.

Gadotti, M., and Torres, C. A., 2009. Paulo Freire: education for development. *Development and change*, *40*(6), 1255-1267.

Gagliardone, I., 2016. 'Can you hear me?' Mobile–radio interactions and governance in Africa. *new media & society*, *18*(9), 2080-2095.

Gakuru, M., Winters, K. and Stepman, F., 2009. Innovative farmer advisory services using ICT. *W3C Workshop "Africa perspective on the role of mobile technologies in fostering social development".* Maputo, Mozambique, pp. 1-2.

Garnham, N., 2006. Contribution to a political economy of mass-communication. *Media and cultural studies: Keyworks*, 201-229.

George, N., 1993. Using radio for community mobilization: Experiences in Zimbabwe and Kenya. *Africa Media Review*, *7*(2), 52-68.

Gebremichael, M. D., and Jackson, J. W., 2006. Bridging the gap in Sub-Saharan Africa: A holistic look at information poverty and the region's digital divide. *Government Information Quarterly*, *23*(2), 267-280.

Geertz, C., 1973. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Gilberds, H., and Myers, M., 2012. Radio, ICT convergence and knowledge brokerage: lessons from sub-Saharan Africa. *IDS Bulletin*, *43*(5), 76-83.

Gitlin, T., 1978. Media sociology: The dominant paradigm. *Theory and society*, *6*(2), 205-253.

Giddens, A., 1979. *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure, and contradiction in social analysis* (Vol. 241). University of California Press.

Glander, T., 1999. *Origins of mass communications research during the American Cold War: Educational effects and contemporary implications*. Routledge.

Glander, T., 2000. *Origins of mass communications research during the American Cold War: Educational effects and contemporary implications.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Glück, J., 2018. Measuring wisdom: Existing approaches, continuing challenges, and new developments. *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B*, *73*(8), 1393-1403.

Goodman, D., 2016. A transnational history of radio listening groups I: the United Kingdom and United States. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, *36*(3), 436-465.

Goodman, D., and Hayes, J. E., 2022. *New deal radio: The educational radio project*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

GoM, 2016. *The Malawi Communications Act 2016*. Malawi Government Printer. Zomba.

GoM, 1998. *The Ministry of Information, Communication Sector Policy 1998*. Malawi Government Printer. Zomba.

Gordon, E., Campbell, L., Hay, J., Maclagan, M., Sudbury, A. and Trudgill, P., 2004. *New Zealand English: its origins and evolution*. Cambridge University Press.

Govender, E.M., Durden, E. and Reddy, S., 2010. How participatory is "participatory communication" for HIV/AIDS awareness in South Africa. *African Communication Research*, *3*(2), 281-303.

Graham, S., 2014. *As Canadian as Possible: The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1936-1939.* PhD Thesis: Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa.

Green, A., 2003. The development of mass media in Asia-Pacific. *International Journal of Advertising*, *22*(2), 1-29.

Greco, A. N., and Greco, A. N., 2020. The US Government and the Advertising, Radio, Newspaper, and Magazine Industries Confront the War. In: Greco, A.N. ed., *The Marketing of World War II in the US, 1939-1946: A Business History of the US Government and the Media and Entertainment Industries*. Palgrave Macmillan: pp. 31-70.

Griffen, C., 1986. Towards an Urban Social History for New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of History*, *20*(2), 111-131.

Griffen-Foley, B., 2004. The birth of a hybrid: The shaping of the Australian radio industry. *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, *2*(3), 153-169.

Griffen-Foley, B., 2010a. Australian commercial radio, American influences—and the BBC. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, *30*(3), 337-355.

Griffen-Foley, B., 2010b. Henry Mayer Lecture. Voices of the People: Audience Participation in Australian Radio. *Media International Australia*, *137*(1), 5-19.

Griffen-Foley, B., 2020. Radio. In: Cunningham, S. and Turnbull, S. eds., *The media and communications in Australia*. Routledge: pp. 133-150.

Grise Jr, P. J., et al., 1974. *Educational Radio: A Review of the Literature*. Retrieved on 4 April, 2024 from https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED095904.pdf

Grossberg, L., 2013. Toward a genealogy of the state of cultural studies: The discipline of communication and the reception of cultural studies in the United States. In *Disciplinarity and dissent in cultural studies* (pp. 131-147). Routledge.

Grove, R.N., 1985. *Negotiation and social order in the therapeutic community*. PhD thesis: University of Bristol.

Guha, R., 1983. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India.* Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Ha, L., Hu, X., Fang, L., Henize, S., Park, S., Stana, A., & Zhang, X., 2015. Use of survey research in top mass communication journals 2001–2010 and the total survey error paradigm. *Review of Communication*, *15*(1), 39-59.

Habermas, J.,1971. *Knowledge and Human Interests.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Habeeb, N. E., 2018. *The Arabic Hour: Understanding Arab-American Media Activism and Community-Based Media*. PhD dissertation: Tufts University.

Hajkowski, T., 2013. The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922–53. In *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922–53*. Manchester University Press.

Hall, S., 1980. Cultural studies: Two paradigms. *Media, culture & society*, *2*(1), 57-72.

Hall, S., 1981. Cultural studies: two paradigms. In *Culture, Ideology, & Social Process,* (eds). T. Bennett, et al., London, Open UP, pp. 19-38.

Hall, S., 1992. Race, culture, and communications: looking backward and forward at cultural studies. In *Rethinking Marxism,* 5(1): 10–18. Routledge.

Hall, S., 1993/1973. 'Encoding, decoding', in During, Simon (ed) *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London: Routledge.

Halliday, J., 2013. BBC global news audience grows to record 256m. *HTTP:< http://www. guardian. co. uk/media/2013/jun/25/bbc-grows-global-newsaudience*.

Hammersley, B. 2004. Audible Revolution. *The Guardian*. Retrieved on 30 May 2020 from: http://www.theguardian.com/media/2004/feb/12/broadcasting.digitalmedia

Hammill, A. M., 2022. *A grounded theory of radio listening as company among older listeners.* PhD Thesis: Auckland University of Technology.

Hampson, K.J., Chapota, R., Emmanuel, J., Tall, A., Huggins-Rao, S., Leclair, M., Perkins, K., Kaur, H. and Hansen, J., 2015. Delivering climate services for farmers and pastoralists through interactive radio. *CCAFS Working Paper*.

Hancock, B., Ockleford, E. and Windridge, K., 2001. *An introduction to qualitative research*. London: Trent focus group.

Hardt, H., 1992. *Critical Communication Studies: Communication, history and theory in America.* New York: Routledge.

Hardwick, L., 2003. *Reception studies* (No. 33). Cambridge University Press

Haring, K., 2007. *Ham radio's technical culture*. Mit Press.

Harkavy, I., and Puckett, J. L., 1994. Lessons from Hull House for the contemporary urban university. *Social Service Review*, *68*(3), 299-321.

Harris, T., 2021. John Reith and the BBC 1922-1939: Building an Empire of the Air?. *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique. French Journal of British Studies*, *26*(XXVI-1).

Hart, T., 2011. *Community radio: the beat that develops the soul of the people? a case study of XK fm as a SABC owned community radio station and its role as a facilitator of community-based development*. PhD Thesis: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal.

Hartley, J., 2000. Radiocracy: Sound and citizenship. *International journal of cultural studies*, *3*(2), 153-159.

Hartmann, C., 2022. Authoritarian origins of term limit trajectories in Africa. *Democratization*, *29*(1), 57-73.

Hartsock, N. C., 2017. The feminist standpoint: Developing the ground for a specifically feminist historical materialism. In *Karl Marx* (pp. 565-592). Routledge.

Hayes, J. E., 2018. Community media and translocalism in Latin America: cultural production at a Mexican community radio station. *Media, Culture & Society*, *40*(2), 267-284.

He, B. & Warren, M.E., 2017. Authoritarian Deliberation in China. *Daedalus,* 146 (3); 155-166.

He, B., 2014. Deliberative culture and politics: The persistence of authoritarian deliberation in China. *Political Theory*, *42*(1), 58-81.

Head, S. W., 1979. British colonial broadcasting policies: the case of the Gold Coast. *African Studies Review*, *22*(2), 39-47.

Heath, C.W., 1986. *Broadcasting in Kenya: Policy and Politics, 1928-1984. (Africa, Radio, Television).* PhD Thesis: University of Illionois. (Phd Disseration). Retrieved on 20 May 2020 from https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/broadcasting-kenya-policy-politics-1928-1984/docview/303482533/se-2

Heath, C. W., 2001. Regional radio: A response by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation to democratization and competition. *Canadian journal of communication*, *26*(1), 89-106.

Heinze, R., 2012. *Promoting National Unity: The Role of Radio Broadcasting in the Process of Decolonisation in Namibia and Zambia.* PhD Thesis: University of Konstanz.

Heinze, R., 2016. 'The African Listener': State-Controlled Radio, Subjectivity, and Agency in Colonial and Post-Colonial Zambia. In: Willems, W. and Mano, W., eds., *Everyday Media Culture in Africa.* Routledge: pp. 61-84.

Heinze, R., 2019. Dialogue between absentees? Liberation radio engages its audiences, Namibia, 1978-1989. *Participations: Journal of Audience & Reception Studies*, *16*(2), 489-510.

Hennink, M., Hutter, I. and Bailey, A., 2020. *Qualitative research methods*. Sage.

Hess, D. J., 1997. *Science studies: An advanced introduction*. NYU press.

Hesse, A., Glenna, L., Hinrichs, C., Chiles, R. and Sachs, C., 2019. Qualitative research ethics in the big data era. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *63*(5), 560-583.

Hevia, J. L., 2012. *The imperial security state: British colonial knowledge and empire-building in Asia*. Cambridge University Press.

Hill, F. E., 1940. *The groups tune in*. Washington D.C.: Federal Radio Education Committee.

Hill, F. E., and Williams, W. E., 1941. *Radio's Listening Groups: The United States and Great Britain*. Columbia University Press.

Hilliard, R. L., and Keith, M. C., 2012. *The broadcast century and beyond: a biography of American broadcasting*. Routledge.

Hilmes, M., 1997. *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting,* 1922–1952, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Hilmes, M., 2012. *Network nations: A transnational history of British and American broadcasting*. Routledge.

Hilmes, M. 2013. The New Materiality of Radio: Sound on Screens 1. In: Loviglio, J. and Hilmes, M., eds., *Radio's new wave*. Routledge: pp. 43-61.

Hinkle, R. C., 1963. Antecedents of the action orientation in American sociology before 1935. *American Sociological Review*, 705-715.

Hirschmeier, S., Tilly, R. and Beule, V., 2019. *Digital transformation of radio broadcasting: An exploratory analysis of challenges and solutions for new digital radio services*. Proceedings of the 52nd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences. Retrieved 30 May 2020 from: https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/items/409c4361-d829-4662-ad35-3a9ab01d69f0

Hochscherf, T., Legay, R. and Wagner, H., 2019. Radio beyond boundaries: An introduction. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, *39*(3), 431-438.

Hodgkinson, D., 2019. The Mnangagwa era? Periodisation and politics in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *45*(5), 981-992.

Holman, G., 2019. *Broadcasting Brass Bands: the early years.* Humanities Commons.

Holt, J., 2018. A history of broadcast regulations: Principles and perspectives. *A companion to the history of American broadcasting*, 169-192

Home, R., 2013. *Of planting and planning: The making of British colonial cities*. Routledge.

Hopf, C., 2004. Research ethics and qualitative research. *A companion to qualitative research*, 334-339.

Horten, G., 2003. *Radio goes to war: The cultural politics of propaganda during World War II*. University of California Press.

Horkheimer, M., 1972. The latest attack on metaphysics. *Critical theory: Selected essays*, 132-187.

Hudson, H.E., Leclair, M., Pelletier, B. and Sullivan, B., 2017. Using radio and interactive ICTs to improve food security among smallholder farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Telecommunications Policy*, *41*(7-8), 670-684.

Hung, J., Hampton, M., Ortoleva, P., van Eijnatten, J. and Weibull, L., 2019. Modernization, Democratization and Politicization: Mass Media in 1920s Europe. In: Arnold, K., Preston, P. and Kinnebrock, S. eds., *The Handbook of European Communication History*. Wiley & Sons: pp. 115-133.

Hussein, M. K., 2003. Good governance and decentralisation at the local level: The case of Malawi. *Politeia*, *22*(2), 78-93.

Hussain, F., 2007. Community Radio for Knowledge Network Development in South Asia: A Report from the Field. In *Annual Proceedings from the Transcending Boundaries Conference* (p. 32).

Hussain, F., & Tongia, R., 2007. Community radio for development in South Asia: A sustainability study. In *2007 International Conference on Information and Communication Technologies and Development* (pp. 1-13). IEEE.

Hutchinson, J., & Hutchinson, J., 2017. New Media Technologies and Platforms that Engage Audience Participation. *Cultural Intermediaries: Audience Participation in Media Organisations*, 135-157.

Ibrahim, A.M., Yar'Adua, S.M. and Maikaba, B., 2019. Political Economy of Public Broadcasting in Nigeria: A Review on Influence of Deregulation and Commercialisation in Public Access and Participation. *New Media and Mass Communication*, *84*, 1-13.

Ilboudo, J. P., & del Castello, R., 2003. Linking rural radio to new ICTs in Africa: Bridging the rural digital divide. *The one to watch radio, new ICTs and interactivity*, 45-61.

Inglis, A. F., 1990. Am Radio Broadcasting. In: Inglis, A.F., ed., *Behind the Tube*. Routledge: pp. 57-112.

Inglis, K., 2006. *Whose ABC?: The Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1983-2006*. Black Inc..

Jackson, D. J., and Vipond, M., 2003. The public/private tension in broadcasting: The Canadian experience with convergence. In G.F. Lowe & T. Hujanen (Eds.), *Broadcasting & Convergence: New Articulations of the Public Service Remit* (pp. 69-82). Goteborg: Nordicom.

Jacobs, R. D., 2003. The Role of Advertising Agencies in Radio's Evolution as a Commercial Medium: Comparing the US and UK. In *Proceedings of the Conference on Historical Analysis and Research in Marketing* (Vol. 11, pp. 229-233).

Jallov, B., 2012. *Empowerent Radio - Voices Building a community*. Gudhjem: Empowerhouse.

Javuru, K., 2011. Community Radio in East Africa; For or by the community? *Community Radio in the Twenty First Century*.

Jawad, G., et al., 2022. Convinience sampling. *International Journal of Education & Language Studies* 1 (2), 72-77.

Jensen, K. B., and Helles, R., (2011. The Internet as a cultural forum: Implications for research. *New Media & Society,* 13(4), 517–533.

Jensen, S. Q., and Christensen, A. D., 2012. Territorial stigmatization and local belonging: A study of the Danish neighbourhood Aalborg East. *City*, *16*(1-2), 74-92.

Jensen, S. Q., 2011.Othering, Identity Formation and Agency. *Qualitative Studies*, 2 (2): 63-78

Jensen, K. B., and Rosengren, K. E., 1990. Five traditions in search of the audience. *European journal of communication*, *5*(2), 207-238.

Jensen, K. B., 2022. *Media convergence: The three degrees of network, mass, and interpersonal communication*. Routledge.

Jensen, M., 1999. Sub-Saharan Africa. *World communication and information report*, *2000*, 180-196.

Jeřábek, H., 2017. *Paul Lazarsfeld and the origins of communications research*. Routledge.

Jędrzejewski, S., 2015. Radio in the new media environment. *Radio: The resilient medium*, 17-27.

Jerome, C., Su-Hie, T. and Perry, E.J., 2022. Rethinking visions of" Unity" and" Belonging": Insights into audience responses towards popular music of Malaysia's indigenous ethnic communities-A case of Iban pop song. *Kajian Malaysia: Journal of Malaysian Studies*, *40*(1).

Jimu, I. M., 2008. Community development: a cross-examination of theory and practice using experiences in rural Malawi. *Africa Development*, *33*(2).

Johnson, L., 1981. Radio and everyday life. The early years of broadcasting in Australia, 1922-1945. *Media, Culture & Society*, *3*(2), 167-178.

Johnson, R.., 1986. What is cultural studies anyway? *Social text*, (16), 38-80.

Johnson, R., 2013. The emergence of the infomercial in New Zealand 1993–1997. *The Political Economy of Communication*, *1*(1).

Johnson, A. J., 2014. *Jazz and radio in the United States: Mediation, genre, and patronage*. Columbia University.

Johnston, G., & Robertson, E., 2019. One Voice, Many Accents? The BBC and Empire After the Second World War. *BBC World Service: Overseas Broadcasting, 1932–2018*, 223-279.

Johnston, G., Robertson, E., Johnston, G. and Robertson, E., 2019. From Empire to world service: An introduction. *BBC World Service: Overseas Broadcasting, 1932–2018*, 1-22.

Kainja, J., 2022. The Media and Freedom of Expression in Democratic Malawi: A Formality or Reality? In: Adeola, A. and Mutua, M. eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of Democracy, Governance and Justice in Africa* Springer International Publishing: pp. 279-293.

Kaiser, W., 2012. Radio Mob: Broadcasting Culture and the Question of Fascism in America, 1920-1945. *NeoAmericanist*, *6*(1), 1-14.

Kalyango, Y., and Adu-Kumi, B., 2013. Impact of social media on political mobilization in East and West Africa. *Global Media Journal*, *12*(22), 1-20.

Kameme, W. S., 2011. *Politics, democracy and governance in independent Malawi: the dichotomy between promises and reality* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham).

Kameme, W. S., 2015. *The Vertical and Horizontal Accountability in the Malawi Parliamentary Democracy* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Hull).

Kamkwamba D., 2020. *The 1990 experiences of the MBC personel on a Media educational tour of radio listener clubs in Zimbabwe in the 1990s.* Blantyre: Personal Interview. 5 December

Kamlongera, M. I., 2022. Radio edutainment and participatory communication for social change: A case of lived reality among a rural Malawian audience. *Journal of African Media Studies*, *14*(2), 309-325.

Kammer, A., 2013. Audience participation in the production of online news: towards a typology. *Nordicom Review*, *34*(s1), 113-126.

Kamwendo, G., 2008. Globalization, linguistic diversity, and information dissemination in Malawi. *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, *7*(3-4), 271-280.

Kamwendo, G. H., 2015. Language Policy transformation and Democratization in Malawi. *Loyola Journal of Social Sciences*, *29*(1).

Kankuzi, S. F., 2013. One step forward, two steps backwards: A Freirean post-mortem of an aborted reform process at Malawi Broadcasting Corporation in the 1990s. *Journal of Humanities*, *23*, 1-21.

Kankuzi, S. F., 2017. The Role of Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Staffers in Mediating Malawi's Ideological Nation-Building Project: The Case of Speak Out. *African Journalism Studies*, *38*(2), 141-158.

Kanyongolo F. E., CATIA 1d Media Policy Development Project, Panos Southern Africa, and AMARC Africa., 2005. *The broadcasting landscape: Malawi*. Panos Southern Africa; AMARC Africa: CATIA.

Kapasule, W.M. and Chikoti. V., 2012. *The impact of christian radio stations in spreading church doctrines and behaviour change in Malawi; the case of Seventh-Day Adventist radio.* Diploma mini-thesis. University of Malawi.

Kapiri, F., 2017. *Producing journalism about climate change for news and agricultural radio: a case study of Malawi's public broadcaster*. Unpublished Masters Thesis: Rhodes University.

Kapindu, R. E., 2013. Courts and the enforcement of socio-economic rights in Malawi: Jurisprudential trends, challenges and opportunities. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, *13*(1), 125-151.

Kardes et al., 2014. *Consumer behaviour*. New York: Sage

Kasoma, F., 1996. 'The Foundations of African Ethics (Afriethics) and the Professional Practice of Journalism: The Case for Society-Centred Media Morality', *Africa Media Review* 10(3): 93–116,

Kasoma, F., 2000. *The press and multiparty politics in Africa*. Finland: Tampere University Press.

Kasser, J. E., 1995. Amateur radio: Past, present and future. *International conference on 100 years of radio, 120-127.*

Katz, J. 2009. Time for new urban ethnographies. *Ethnography* 10 (2-3), 283-303

Katz, E., 1957. The two-step flow of communication: An up-to-date report on an hypothesis. *Public opinion quarterly*, *21*(1), 61-78.

Katz, E., 1987. Communications research since Lazarsfeld. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *51*, S25-S45.

Katz, E., and P. F. Lazarsfeld., 1955. *Personal influence: The part played by people in the flow of mass communication.* New York: The Free Press.

Katz, E., and Wedell, G., 1977. *Broadcasting in the Third World: Promise and performance*. Harvard University Press.

Kayanula-Banda, F. K. N. T., 2010. *Role of legislature in the democratization process in Malawi* (Doctoral dissertation, Monterey, California. Naval Postgraduate School).

Kayuni, H. M., 2005. *The role of party politics in local participation and representation: challenges and prospects in Malawi's local assemblies* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch).

Keat, R., 1979. Positivism and statistics in social science. *Demystifying social statistics*, 75-86.

Keat, R., 1980. The critique of positivism. *British Sociological Association, University of Lancaster*.

Keat, R., & Keat, R., 2000. Consumer sovereignty and the integrity of practices. *Cultural Goods and the Limits of the Market*, 19-32.

Keeler, A., 2017. A certain stigma of educational radio: Judith Waller and public service broadcasting. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *34*(5), 495-508.

Kellner, D. 1989. *Critical theory, Marxism, and modernity*. UK: Cambridge.

Kellner, D., 1998. Multiple literacies and critical pedagogy in a multicultural society. *Educational theory*, *48*(1), 103.

Kellner, D., 2002. The Frankfurt School and British cultural studies: The missed articulation. *Rethinking the Frankfurt School: Alternative legacies of cultural critique*, *31*.

Kellner, D., 2011. Cultural studies, multiculturalism, and media culture. *Gender, race, and class in media: A critical reader*, *3*, 7-18.

Kellner, D. M., and Durham, M. G., 2001. Adventures in media and cultural studies: Introducing the keyworks. *Media and cultural studies: Keyworks*, 1-29.

Keltie, E., 2017. *The culture industry and participatory audiences*. Springer.

Kerr, C., Pettit, B., Roland, K., Steffens, C., Tunning, M. and Whitsett, A. , 2007. *Communications channels in the Sahel using Mauritania, Mali, Niger, and Chad as a case study* (p. 0108). USSTRATCOM Global Innovation and Strategy Center (GISC).

Khondker, H. H., 2011. Role of the new media in the Arab Spring. *Globalizations*, *8*(5), 675-679.

Khonje, Z., 2011. *Participatory Radio and The Public Sphere. The Case of Climate Change Communication in Malawi.* Unpublished Thesis. School of International Development of the University of East Anglia.

Khumalo, N. B., and Baloyi, C., 2017. African indigenous knowledge: An underutilised and neglected resource for development. *Library Philosophy and Practice*, *1663*, 1-15.

King, G., 2017. History of struggle: The global story of community broadcasting practices, or a brief history of community radio. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, *12*(2).

King, G., and Rahemtullah, O. S., 2019. Community radio contradictions in Canada: Learning from volunteers impacted by commercialising policies and practices. *Journal of Alternative & Community Media*, *4*(4), 20-36.

Killingray, D., 1986. The maintenance of law and order in British colonial Africa. *African Affairs*, *85*(340), 411-437.

Killingray, D., and Plaut, M., 2012. *Fighting for Britain: African soldiers in the second world war*. Boydell & Brewer Ltd.

Kilson, M. L., 1963. Authoritarian and single-party tendencies in African politics. *World Politics*, *15*(2), 262-294.

Kirkendall, A. J., 2010. *Paulo Freire and the cold war politics of literacy*. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Kjeldsen, J. E., 2018. Audience analysis and reception studies of rhetoric. *Rhetorical audience studies and reception of rhetoric: Exploring audiences empirically*, 1-42.

Kolawole, O. D., 2012. Intersecting western and local knowledge: critical issues for development research in Africa. *Journal of Knowledge Globalization,* 5(2), pp. 1-23.

Komodromos, M., 2021. Interactive radio, social network sites and development in Africa: a literature review study. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, *15*(2), 282-295.

Krattenmaker, T.G. and Powe Jr., 1994. *Regulating Broadcast Programming.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Krieg von Bellikon, S. M., 2022. *Decolonising audience theory: Opportunities and challenges for teaching mātauranga Māori-informed media literacy.* PhD Thesis: , ResearchSpace@ Auckland).

Krüger, F., Monji, R. and Smurthwaite, M., 2013. The healthy community radio station. *Wits Radio Academy and Osisa*.

Krysko, M. A., 2018. American Radio and Technological Transformation from Invention to Broadcasting, 1900–1945. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*.

Kuffert, L., 2009. 'WHAT DO YOU EXPECT OF THIS FRIEND?' Canadian radio and the intimacy of broadcasting. *Media History*, *15*(3), 303-319.

Lafollette, M. C., 2002. A survey of science content in US radio broadcasting, 1920s through 1940s: Scientists speak in their own voices. *Science Communication*, *24*(1), 4-33.

LaFollette, M. C., 2007. Taking science to the marketplace: Examples of science service's presentation of chemistry during the 1930s. In: Schummer, J., Bensaude-Vincent, B., and Van Tiggelen, B., eds., *The public image of chemistry.* World Scientific: pp. 259-295.

Laher, S., Fynn, A. and Kramer, S., 2019. Trends in social science research in Africa: Rigour, relevance and responsibility. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, 393.

Land, J., 1999. *Active radio: Pacifica's brash experiment* (Vol. 1). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Langlois, A., Sakolsky, R. and Van der Zon, M., 2010. *Islands of resistance: Pirate radio in Canada*. New Star Books.

Laor, T., 2020. Milestones in the development of educational radio in Israel. *Israel Affairs*, *26*(5), 716-738.

Laor, T., 2022. Radio on demand: New habits of consuming radio content. *Global media and communication*, *18*(1), 25-48.

Langer, J., 1989. Radio. *Metro Magazine: Media & Education Magazine*, (79).

Lash, J., 1944. Educational Implications of the Negro College Radio Program. *Journal of Negro Education*, 162-168.

Lasar, M., 2016. *Radio 2.0: Uploading the first broadcast medium*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

Lathrop, D. and Ruma, L., 2010. *Open government: Collaboration, transparency, and participation in practice*. "O'Reilly Media, Inc.".

Law, K., and Jackson, A. 2016. Influence in British Colonial Africa. *British Propaganda and Wars of Empire*, 97-121.

Lawrie, A., 2019. The BBC, Group Listening, and 'The Changing World'. *Media History*, *25*(3), 279-291.

Lax, S., 2014. The failure of a'success story': Digital radio policy in the UK. *Australian Journalism Review*, *36*(2), 103-115.

Lax, S., 2017. *Media and communications technologies: a critical introduction*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Layder, D., 2021. Social sciences, social reality and the false division between theory and method: some implications for social research. *SN Social Sciences*, *1*(2), 47.

Lăzăroiu, G., 2010. The development of online news production and the empowering of the audience in digital media. *Economics, Management, and Financial Markets*, *5*(4), 194-201.

Lazarsfeld, P.F., Berelson, B. and Gaudet, H., 1944. *The People's Choice*. *How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign.* New York: Columbia University.

Lazarus, N., 2004. Introducing postcolonial studies. *The Cambridge companion to postcolonial literary studies*, *1*(5).

Lebel, J., and McLean, R., 2018. *A better measure of research from the global south*. (pp. 23-26). Macmillan Publishers Limited.

Lechman, E., 2016. *ICT diffusion in developing countries*. Springer International PU.

Lembo, R., and Tucker Jr, K. H., 1990. Culture, television, and opposition: Rethinking cultural studies. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *7*(2), 97-116.

Lengyel, P., 2017. *International Social Science: Unesco Experience*. Routledge.

Lewis, P. M., 2015. Discursive absence: the case for community radio. *Quaderns del CAC*, *41*(XVIII), 5-10.

Lewis, P. M., and Booth, J., 1989. Third World Radio: Development and Struggle. *The Invisible Medium: Public, Commercial and Community Radio*, 163-185.

Lim, W. M., 2024. What is qualitative research? An overview and guidelines. *Australasian Marketing Journal*, 14413582241264619.

Lincoln, Y. S. and Guba, E. G., 2000. 'Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences', in Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. [Eds.] *The Handbook of Qualitative Research,* Sage, Beverly Hills, CA. pp. 163-188

Linfoot, M., 2011. *A history of BBC local radio in England: c1960–1980* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Westminster).

Linfoot, M., 2019. BBC Experiments in Local Radio Broadcasting 1961–62. *Media History*, *25*(3), 324-335.

Lingela, M. B., 2008. Community broadcasting in SADC: An overview. *Gender and media diversity Journal*.

Lipari, L., 2014. *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age*, by Kate Lacey: Cambridge, England: Polity, 2013. 239 pp. $24.95 paper. *Political Communication*, *31*(1), 184–187. Retrived on 23 May, 2020 from https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2014.865477

Lippmann, S., 2007. The institutional context of industry consolidation: Radio broadcasting in the United States, 1920–1934. *Social Forces*, *86*(2), 467-495.

Livingstone, S., 1997. Changing Audiences for Changing Media: A Social Psychological Perspective. *New horizons in media psychology: Research cooperation and projects in Europe*, 56-72.

Livingstone, S., 2002. Relationships between media and audiences: prospects for audience reception studies. In *Media, ritual and identity* (pp. 237-255). Routledge.

Livingstone, S., and Das, R., 2013. The end of audiences? Theoretical echoes of reception amid the uncertainties of use. *A companion to new media dynamics*, 104-121.

Lochte, B., 2004. US Public Radio: What Is It--and for Whom?. *More Than a Music Box: Radio Cultures and Communities in a Multi Media World. Ed. Andrew Crisell. New York: Berghahn Books*, 39-55.

Löffelholz, M., and Weaver, D. (Eds.)., 2008. *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Lucas, F. F. B., 1999. A radio broadcasting model for rural women and farm households. *RAP Publication*, *8*.

Lundgren, R. E., and McMakin, A. H., 2018. *Risk communication: A handbook for communicating environmental, safety, and health risks*. John Wiley & Sons.

Lunga, C. M., and Musvipwa, R. K. 2023. Radio Production in the Digital Era: Lessons From South Africa. In: Modise, A., ed., *100 Years of Radio in South Africa, Volume 2: Community Radio, Digital Radio and the Future of Radio in South Africa*. Springer Nature Switzerland: pp. 123-141.

Lwanda, J., 2014. 'Chattering Classes: Radio, Rhythm and Resistance in 'multi-party' Malawi, 1994 – 2014'. *The Society of Malawi Journal* Vol. 67, No. 2 (2014), pp. 19-33. Retrieved on 8 March, 2020 from https://www.jstor.org/stable/24332679?seq=7#metadata_info_tab_contents

Lozano, J. C., and Frankenberg, L., 2009. Theoretical approaches and methodological strategies in Latin American empirical research on television audiences: 1992—2007. *Global Media and Communication*, *5*(2), 149-176.

Lyotard, J., 1984. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mabweazara, H. M., 2015. African journalism in the 'digital era': Charting a research agenda. *African Journalism Studies*, *36*(1), 11-17.

Macra, 2014. 'Radio Listenership Survey'. *Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority Website.* Retrieved on 2 May, 2020 from https://www.macra.org.mw/?page_id=12023

Macra., 2023. List of Broadcasting Licensees. Retrieved on 8 April 2024 from https://macra.mw/broadcasting-licensees/

MACRA & NSO., 2020. *Survey on Radio Listenership Patterns in Malawi*. Zomba: Malawi.

Macra & National Statistical Office (NSO) Report., 2023. *National Survey on Access and Use of Information and Communication Technologies by Household and Individuals in Malawi*. Zomba: Malawi.

Mackie, R., 1968. *Citizens' Forum; Its Origins and Development, 1943-1963*. Masters Thesis. University of Toronto.

Mackie, W. E., 1971. *Radio Broadcasting in Malawi: a search for Identity and Service*. University of Missouri-Columbia.

Maccoby, M., 1971. Literacy for the Favelas [Review of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed; Cultural Action for Freedom*, by P. Freire & M. B. Ramos]. *Science*, *172*(3984), 671–673. Retrived on 26 May, 2020 from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1732009

MacLennan, A. F., 2013. Learning to listen: Developing the Canadian radio audience in the 1930s. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *20*(2), 311-326.

MacLennan, A. F., 2022. Forming networks: National radio networks− public, state, and commercial. In *The Routledge Companion to Radio and Podcast Studies* (pp. 99-107). Routledge.

Maia, J. M., 2014. History of sociology and the quest for intellectual autonomy in the Global South: the cases of Alberto Guerreiro Ramos and Syed Hussein Alatas. *Current Sociology*, *62*(7), 1097-1115.

Maharey, S., 2004. Celebrating community access radio. In *Community Access Broadcasters Conference, Invercargill* (Vol. 15). Retrieved 4 April, 2024 from: https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/celebrating-community-access-radio

Mankhambera, R., 2020. *Radio Programming for MIJ Radio.* Personal interview. 10 September, Blantyre.

McMillion, M., 1960. *The Sources of Information and Factors Which Influence Farmers in Adopting Recommended Practices in Two New Zealand Counties*. Lincoln College: University of New Zealand.

Mahmood, A., Wajid, S. and Sherazi, T.Z., 2020. Impact of Arab Spring on Egypt: an analysis of opportunities and challenges. *Journal of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences (JHSMS)*, *1*(1), 30-43.

Makoka, D., 2011. *Tobacco advertising, promotion and sponsorship: a Malawi research agenda towards MPOWER no. 5; final technical report*. International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

Makungu, K., 2004a. *The State of the Media in Zambia from the Colonial Era to December 2003.* Lusaka: MISA.

Makungu, K, 2004b. The media struggles in Zambia: The need for a unified policy on press freedom. *Africa media review*, *12*(1), 13-26.

MHRC, 2009. *Malawi Human rights commission: 'a report on the advocacy Visits to State Broadcasters and the Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority (Macra)', January 2008.* Lilongwe: Malawi Human Right Commission.

Mambulasa, M., 2017. Access to Information in Malawi: The Journey to Date and a Quick Survey of the ATI Bill of 2016. *Southern Africa Litigation Center*.

Manda, L.Z., 2005. Malawi. *So this is Democracy?* Namibia: Media Institute of Southern Africa.

Manda, L. Z., 2006. *National Broadcasting in Malawi. Recommendations for the transformation of MBC and TVM into Public Broadcasters.* Blantyre: Misa Malawi.

Manda, L. Z., 2007. Media in the Political Process. In Patel, N. & Svasand L., (eds.), *Government and Politics in Malawi.* Zomba: Kachere.

Manda. L.Z., 2015. 'What Makes Radio Listening Clubs as a Participatory Communication Platform Work? A Case Study of Monkey Bay, Malawi'. *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*. Vol: 5. Issue: 4. Retrieved on 21 March, 2020 from https://www.academia.edu/16484862/What_Makes_Radio_Listening_Clubs_as_a_Participatory_Communication_for_Development_Platform_Work_A_Case_Study_of_Monkey_Bay_Malawi

Manda, L. Z., 2018. Journalism education and training in Malawi: A case for a national policy. *Journal of Development and Communication Studies*, *5*(2), 35-53.

Manda, L. Z., & Wozniak, J., 2015. Farmer participation in radio campaigns for technology adoption: Lessons from AFFRI's hybrid maize campaign in Mangochi, Malawi. *Journal of Development and Communication Studies*, *4*(1), 2-17.

Manjawira, E. and Mitunda, P., 2011. Origins, Growth and Development of Broadacasting Industry in Malawi. In Kondowe, E. et al., (eds.). *Jornalism Practice in Malawi. History Progress and Prospects.* Lilongwe: UNESCO.

Manyozo, L., 2004. Hegemony, ideology and political journalism in democratic Malawi's broadcasting media. *Africa media review*, *12*(2), 73-92.

Manyozo, L., 2005. *Rural radio and the promotion of people-centred development in Africa: Radio Listening Clubs and community development in Malawi.* Paper presented at the Codesria 11 General Assembly-Rethinking African Development Beyond impasse, towards alternatives, Maputo, Mozambique, 6-10 December, 2005.

Manyozo, L., 2008. Communication for development: An historical overview. *UNESCO, Media, Communication, Information: Celebrating*, *50*, 31-53.

Manyozo, L., 2007. Method and practice in participatory radio: Rural radio forums in Malawi. *Ecquid novi*, *28*(1_2), 11-29.

Manyozo, L., 2009. Mobilizing rural and community radio in Africa. *Ecquid novi*, *30*(1), 1-23.

Manyozo, L., 2010, Researching developmental uses and formats of rural radio: A development broadcasting approach. *The Radio Journal – International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media* 8: 2, pp. 141–159, doi: 10.1386/rajo.8.2. 141_1

Manyozo, L., 2012. *People's radio: Communicating change across Africa*. Penang: Southbound.

Manyozo, L., Nassanga, G. and Lopes, C., 2011. The Implication of ICTs in the Political Economy of Community Radio Broadcasting in Africa: A Comparative Investigation into the Listenership to, Content Production for and Management of Community Radio Broadcasters in Mali, Mozambique and Uganda. *Content Production for and Management of Community Radio Broadcasters in Mali, Mozambique (and Uganda) F*.

Manyozo, L., Linda, G.N. and Lopes, C., 2012. Models of and approaches to the station management of six African community radio broadcasters. *MedieKultur: Journal of media and communication research*, *28*(52), 21-p.

Manjawira, E., & Mitunda, P., 2011. Origin, growth and development of the broadcasting industry in Malawi. *Journalism practice in Malawi: History, progress, and prospects*, 15-33.

Mano, W., 2016. The state and public broadcasting: Continuity and change in Zimbabwe. In *Global media and national policies: The return of the state* (pp. 190-205). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Maputseni, C., 2006. Using radio for advocacy and communication of issues affecting farm communities in Zimbabwe. *Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the International Masters in Communication for Development course at Malmo University's School of Arts and Communications.*

Marc, D., 2000. What was broadcasting?. *Television: The Critical View*, 629-648.

Mare, A., 2013. New media, pirate radio and the creative appropriation of technology in Zimbabwe: Case of Radio Voice of the People. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, *25*(1), 30-41.

Marshall, P. J., 1979. The Decline of British Colonial Power. *India International Centre Quarterly*, *6*(1), 28-38.

Matteo, N., and Martina, T., 2017. Societal engagement, democratic transition, and constitutional implementation in Malawi. In: Abbiate, T., Böckenförde, M. and Federico, V. eds., *Public Participation in African Constitutionalism.* Routledge: pp. 243-257.

Martin-Barbero, J. 1993. *Communication, culture and hegemony: from the media to mediations.* Translated by Elizabeth Fox and Robert A. White; with an introduction by Philip Schlesinger. Sage Publications.

Marquis, A. G., 1984. Written on the Wind: The Impact of Radio during the 1930s. *Journal of Contemporary History*, *19*(3), 385-415.

Mason, J., 2006. Mixing methods in a qualitatively driven way. *Qualitative research*, *6*(1), 9-25.

Matanga, R. J., 2018. *Perceptions of women's freedom of movement in the Avenues suburb in Zimbabwe* (Doctoral dissertation). University of South Africa.

Matelski, M.J., 1995: Resilient Radio. *In: Radio: The Forgotten Medium*. Edward C. Pease; Dennis E. Everette (eds.). New Brunswick, London: Transaction Publishers.

Matewa, C.E.F., 2002. *Media and the Empowerment of Communities for Social Change – A thesis submitted to the Universsity of Manchester for the degree of Phd in the Faculty of Education* rettrived from http://www.comminit.com/socialchange/idmatewa/sld-2241.html

Matonga, M., 2024. *Malawi media: Refelecting on three decades of democracy.* The Daily Times. Times Group. Blantyre

Mazwi, F., Chemura, A., Mudimu, G.T. and Chambati, W., 2019. Political economy of command agriculture in Zimbabwe: A state-led contract farming model. *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*, *8*(1-2), 232-257.

Mazzone, G., 2019. Public service broadcasting. *The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies*, 1-8.

Mbangweta, P., 2012. *The role of the private media in Zambian Society: Cases of Radio Phoenix, Hot FM and Q-FM* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Zambia.

Mbano-Mweso, N., 2023. Gender and REDD+ Governance in Malawi: Enhancing Women's Right to Participation. In *Implementing REDD+ in Africa: A Human Rights Perspective* (pp. 123-150). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Mbembe, A., 2001. *On the postcolony* (Vol. 41). University of California Press.

Mbilu, E. M., 2019. *Non-Formal Education and Quality Basic Education for All in Tanzania: A study of the Effectiveness of Non-Formal Education Programs for Children of School-going Age in Korogwe District* (Master's thesis). University of Oslo.

McAnany, E. G., 1973. *Radio's role in development: Five strategies of use* (Vol. 4). Washington, DC: Information Center on Instructional Technology, Academy for Educational Development.

McAnany, E. G., and La Pastina, A. C., 1994. Telenovela audiences: A review and methodological critique of Latin America research. *Communication Research*, *21*(6), 828-849.

McCain, T. A., and Lowe, G. F. 1990. Localism in Western European radio broadcasting: Untangling the wireless. *Journal of Communication*, *40*(1), 86-101.

McChesney, R. W., 1995. *Telecommunications, mass media, and democracy: The battle for the control of US broadcasting, 1928-1935*. Oxford University Press.

McChesney, R. W., 2001. Global media, neoliberalism, and imperialism. *MONTHLY REVIEW-NEW YORK-*, *52*(10), 1-19.

McCracken, J., 1998. Democracy and nationalism in historical perspective: The case of Malawi. *African Affairs*, *97*(387), 231-249.

McCracken, D. P., and Teer-Tomaselli, R. E., 2013. Communication in colonial and post-colonial southern Africa. In *The handbook of communication history* (pp. 424-439). Routledge.

Menduni, E., 2007. Four steps in innovative radio broadcasting: From QuickTime to podcasting. *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, *5*(1), 9-18.

McDonald, K., and Starkey, G., 2016. Consolidation in the UK commercial radio sector: The impact on newsroom practice of recent changes in regulation, ownership and local content requirement. *The Radio Journal–International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, *14*(1), 123-135.

Mchakulu, J. E. J., 2007. Youth participation in radio listening clubs in Malawi. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *33*(2), 251-265.

Mchombu, K., Evans, G., Bruton, K. and Cocks, A., 2004. *Sharing knowledge for community development and transformation: A handbook*. (2nd ed.). Canada: Oxfam.

McQuail, D., 1985. *Communication.* New York: Longman.

McQuail, D., 2009. Roles of news media in democracy. In C. G. Christians, T. L. Glasser, D. McQuail, K. Nordenstreng, & R. A. White (Eds.), *Normative theories of the media: Journalism in democratic societies* (pp. 114–138). University of Illinois Press.

McQuail, D., and Windahl, S. 2015. *Communication models for the study of mass communications*. Routledge.

McQuiggin, K. W. L., 2001. *Amateur radio and innovation in telecommunications technology*. Simon Fraser University.

Meadows, M., 2015. Blackfella listening to Blackfella: Theorising indigenous community broadcasting. In *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media* (pp. 144-154). Routledge.

Meadows, M., and Molnar, H., 2002. Bridging the gaps: Towards a history of indigenous media in Australia. *Media History*, *8*(1), 9-20.

Medlin, R. C., 1969. *Amateur radio: an examination of its history and its contributions to society.* Masters Thesis. Kansas State University.

Megwa, E. R., 2007. Community radio stations as community technology centers: An evaluation of the development impact of technological hybridization on stakeholder communities in South Africa. *Journal of Radio Studies*, *14*(1), 49-66.

Meinhardt, H., and Patel, N., 2003. *Malawi's process of democratic transition: an analysis of political developments between 1990 and 2003*. Lilongwe: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

Merton, R.K., 1949. Patterns of influence: A study of interpersonal influence and of communications behaviour in a local community. In P.F. Lazarsfeld and F.N. Stanton (Eds), *Communications Research, 1948-1949* (pp.180-219). New York: Harper & Brothers.

Merton, R. K., 1973. *The sociology of science: Theoretical and empirical investigations*. University of Chicago press.

Meyers, C. B., 2013. *A word from our sponsor: Admen, advertising, and the golden age of radio*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Meyers, C. B., 2018. The March of Time radio docudrama: Time magazine, BBDO, and radio sponsors, 1931–39. *American Journalism*, *35*(4), 420-443.

Mhagama, P., 2015. 'Donor Funding to Community Radio Stations in Malawi and its Impact on their Performance.' *Journal of Southern African Studies.* Vol. 41. Issue 6. Pp. 1301-1314. Retrieve on 20 March, 2020 from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03057070.2015.1116233

Menduini, E., 2007. Four steps in innovative radio broadcasting: From Quick Time to podcasting. *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 5 (1), 9-18.Mhagama, P., 2018. Radio Listening Clubs in Malawi and How they Contribute to Expanding Ordinary People's Capabilities. In *International Conference on Multidisciplinary Research* (Vol. 2018, pp. 206-223).

Miragliotta, N., and Errington, W., 2012. The rise and fall and rise again of public broadcasting? The case of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, *71*(1), 55-64.

Mirando, J. A., 2001. Embracing objectivity early on: Journalism textbooks of the 1800s. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *16*(1), 23-32.

Miracle, G. E., and Nevett, T., 1988. A Comparative History of Advertising Self-regulation in the UK and the USA. *European Journal of Marketing*, *22*(4), 7-23.

Mitchell, J. W., 2005. *Listener supported: The culture and history of public radio*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

Michel, A. J. L., 2022. On the critical approach of advertising communication broadcast in private non-commercial radio stations in Côte d'Ivoire. A study of local radios stations in the district of Abidjan. *African Scientific Journal*, *3*(14), 250-250.

Mignolo, W. D., 1994. Are subaltern studies postmodern or postcolonial? The politics and sensibilities of geo-cultural locations. *dispositio*, *19*(46), 45-73.

Mignolo, W. D. 2008. Preamble: The historical foundation of modernity/coloniality and the emergence of decolonial thinking. *A companion to Latin American literature and culture*, 12-52.

Mignolo, W. D., 2011. *The Darker Side of Modernity. Global Futures, Decolonial Options.* Durham/ London: Duke University Press.

Mignolo, W. D., 2018. Decoloniality and phenomenology: The geopolitics of knowing and epistemic/ontological colonial differences. *JSP: Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, *32*(3), 360-387.

MIJ Website, 2024. *Mij radio programme schedule* retrieved from www.mijmw.com/mij-radio/

Miller, E. D., 2003a. *Worlds apart: modernity through the prism of the local*. Routledge.

Miller, E. D., 2003b. *Emergency broadcasting and 1930s American radio*. Temple University Press.

Miller, E., 2003c. *British television coverage of the global South: case studies in content and audience reception* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Glasgow).

Miller, L. S., 2017. Paradigm shift: why radio must adapt to the rise of digital. *Ent. & Sports Law.*, *34*, 28.

Mills, J. S., 1969 [1865]. Auguste Comte and Positivism, ed. J. M. Robson. 33 vols. Vol. 10, *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill.* Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press and Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Mills, T., 2020. *The BBC: Myth of a public service*. London: Verso Books.

MISA., 1997. *So this is Democracy? State of Media Freedom in Southern Africa*, Windhoek: Media Institute of Southern Africa.

MISA, 2019. *Misa awards winners.* Lilongwe: Malawi Institute of Southern Africa (Malawi Chapter).

Mishra, S., 2005. Audio, radio and interactive radio. *Educational Media in Asia*, *71*.

Mirrlees, T., 2020. Global culture. In *Reimagining communication: meaning* (pp. 117-133). Routledge.

Mlotshwa, K., 2023. My journey with western theory in the university in Africa. *Media, Culture & Society*, *45*(2), 413-420.

Mloza, C., 2020. *Radio programming on Zodiak Radio.*Personal phone interview.15 September, Blantyre.

Modleski, T., 1986. Feminism and the power of interpretation: Some critical readings. In *Feminist studies/critical studies* (pp. 121-138). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Moe, H. and Syvertsen, T., 2009. Researching Public Service Broadcasting. In: Wahl-Jorgensen, K. and Hanitzsch, T. (Eds), *Handbook of Journalism Studies*, New York: Routledge, pp. 398-412.

Mohammed, W. F., 2021. Decolonizing African media studies. *Howard Journal of Communications*, *32*(2), 123-138.

Mohammed, W. F., 2022. Bilchiinsi philosophy: Decolonizing methodologies in media studies. *Review of Communication*, *22*(1), 7-24.

Mohan, S., Parameswaran, R. and Rao, P., 2022. Locating cultural studies: The limits of translation in knowledge production. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *25*(5), 481-491.

MoICT., 2009. *Digital Migration Strategy: A Consulation Document.*Molosi, K. and Dipholo, K., 2016. Power relations and the paradox of community participation among the San in Khwee and Sehunong. *Journal of Public Administration and Development Alternatives (JPADA)*, *1*(1), pp.45-58.

Moola, S., and Sibango, B., 2022. Intercultural Communication: A Decolonised and Africanised Curriculum Focus on Higher Institutions. *Cognition, Emotion and Consciousness in Modernist Storyworlds: The Feel of Experience*, 43.

Moore, L.K., 2010. *The emergency alert system (EAS) and all-hazard warnings*. Congressional Information Service: Library of Congress.

Morley, D., 2003. *Television, audiences and cultural studies*. Routledge.

Morley, D., 1980. *The 'Nationwide' Audience: Structure and Decoding.* London: British Film Institute.

Morley, D., 1998. So-called cultural studies: Dead ends and reinvented wheels. *Cultural studies*, *12*(4), 476-497.

Morley, D. 2006a. What's "home" got to do with it? Contradictory dynamics in the domestication of technology and the dislocation of domesticity. *Domestication of media and technology*, 21-39.

Morley, D., 2006b. Unanswered questions in audience research. *The Communication Review*, *9*(2), 101-121.

Morley, D., 2013. Changing paradigms in audience studies. In *Remote control* (pp. 16-43). Routledge.

Morley, D. and Chen., 1996. (eds.). *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge

Morley, D., & Silverstone, R., 2002. Media audiences: Communication and context: Ethnographic perspectives on the media audience. In *A handbook of qualitative methodologies for mass communication research* (pp. 149-162). Routledge.

Mortensen, C. D., 1972. *Communication: The Study of Human Communication*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Chapter 2, "Communication Models."

Morozov, E. 2009. The Internet: A room of our own? *Dissent 56 (3), pp 80-85.*

Mort, S., 2020. Harnessing the potential of the "demotic turn" to authoritarian ends: Caller participation and weaponized communication on US conservative talk radio programs. *French perspectives on media, participation and audiences*, 19-44.

Mosia, L., Riddle, C. and Zaffiro, J., 1994. From revolutionary to regime radio: Three decades of nationalist broadcasting in Southern Africa. *Africa Media Review*, *8*(1), 1-24.

Mosime, S. T., 2015. Media control, colonialism and the making of an authoritarian postcolonial African state: The case of Botswana. *African Journalism Studies*, *36*(2), 45-58.

Motsaathebe, G., 2023. Evolving Trends in Radio Broadcasting in South Africa: The Case of Podcast and Chill with MacG. In *100 Years of Radio in South Africa, Volume 2: Community Radio, Digital Radio and the Future of Radio in South Africa* (pp. 161-177). Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland.

Mostert, J. D., 2018. *The job to be done for the FM and digital radio audience* (Master's thesis, University of Pretoria (South Africa).

Moyo, M., 1990. Development through Radio: The Zimbabwe Experience'. *Communication Processes: Alternative Channels and Strategies for Development Support*, 16-20.

Moyo, M., 1991. Development through radio. *Community Development Journal*, *26*(3), 227-232.

Moyo, L., 2003. Status of media in Zimbabwe. *Encyclopedia of international media and communication*, *4*, 667-681.

Moyo, D., 2010. Reincarnating clandestine radio in post-independent Zimbabwe. *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, *8*(1), 23-36.

Moyo, L., 2012. The digital turn in radio: A Critique of institutional and organizational modelling of new radio practices and cultures. *Telematics and Informatics Journal 30 (2013) pp.214–222.*

Moyo, L. 2013. The digital turn in radio: A critique of institutional and organizational modeling of new radio practices and cultures. *Telematics and Informatics*, *30*(3), 214-222.

Moyo, L., 2014. Converging technologies, converging spaces, converging practices: The shaping of digital cultures and practices on radio. In *Online Journalism in Africa* (pp. 49-64). Routledge.

Moyo, L., 2020. *The decolonial turn in media studies in Africa and the Global South*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Moyo, D., & Moyo, K., 2020. *Power, Endurance and the Significance of Radio Voice*. Retrieved on 4 April 2024 from https://www.mediale-stimmen.de/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/SR_DG_NRW_07-Mediale_Stimmentwuerfe12_Moyo.pdf

Moyo, L,. and Mutsvairo, B., 2018. Can the subaltern think? The decolonial turn in media research in Africa. In Bruce Mutsvairo (ed), *Palgrave handbook for media and communication research in Africa.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 19–40.

Mphaka, P. L. L., 2006. *The impact of community radio on sustainable rural development: A case of Dzimwe and Nkhotakota community radio stations*. Masters Thesis: The Polytechnic, University of Malawi.

Mpondi, D., 2015. The institutionalization of one-man rule and the politics of succession and patronage in Zimbabwe. *International relations and diplomacy*, *3*(8), 511-519.

Msindo, E., 2009. 'Winning hearts and minds': Crisis and Propaganda in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1962–1970. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *35*(3), 663-681.

Msiska, F.B., Mtimuni, B., Kabambe, O. and Mchakulu, J.E., 2018. Knowledge, attitude and practice on infant and young child feeding: a comparative study of radio listening club members and non-members of Mudzi Wathu community radio in Mchinji District, Malawi. *Journal of Development and Communication Studies*, *5*(2), 22-34.

Mtelera, P., 2013. *Exploring barriers to citizen participation in development: a case study of a participatory broadcasting project in rural Malawi*. Unpublished Masters Thesis. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Mtimde, L., 2000. Radio broadcasting in South Africa: an overview. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *3*(2), 173-179.

Mudavanhu, S. L., 2021. Propositions for Decolonising African Journalism and Media Research. *African Journalism Studies*, *42*(2), 126-131.

Mudhai, O. F., 2010. Survival of 'radio culture'in a converged networked new media environment. In *Popular media, democracy and development in Africa* (pp. 269-284). Routledge.

Mundia, M., 2017. *The role of ZNBC radio one in influencing rural populations: a case of political communication on democracy in Katuba ward, Central Province of Zambia* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Zambia).

Munthali, K. B., 2018. *Malawi-Culture Smart!: The Essential Guide to Customs & Culture*. Kuperard.

Mumby, D. K. 2014. Critical theory and postmodernism. *The SAGE handbook of organizational communication: Advances in theory, research, and methods*, 101-126.

Munoriyarwa, A., and Moyo, D. 2023. Retheorizing African Digital Journalism in the 21st Century. In *The Routledge Companion to Journalism in the Global South* (pp. 89-98). Routledge.

Murphy, K., 2014. From Women's Hour to Other Women's Lives: BBC Talks for Women and the Women Who Made Them, 1923–39. In *Women and the Media* (pp. 31-45). Routledge.

Murphy, P. D., and Kraidy, M. M., 2003. International communication, ethnography, and the challenge of globalization. *Communication theory*, *13*(3), 304-323.

Murray, G., 2003. *Nothing on but the Radio: A Look Back at Radio in Canada and how it Changed the World*. Dundurn.

Mutsvairo, B., and Ragnedda, M., 2019. Does digital exclusion undermine social media's democratizing capacity?. *New Global Studies*, *13*(3), 357-364.

Mwalukasa, N., 2013. Agricultural information sources used for climate change adaptation in Tanzania. *Library Review*, *62*(4/5), 266-292.

Mwaniki, F.N., Gichuki, C., Mwangi, M., Mburia, P. and Wandago, B., 2017. Addressing challenges in communicating adaptation practices to smallholder farmers in Kenya through a radio intervention. *Journal of Agriculture and Environment for International Development - JAEID*, 111 (2): 279 – 322.

Myers, M., 2008. Radio and development in Africa. *A concept paper prepared for the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada*.

Myers, M., 2009. *Radio and development in Africa: A concept paper*. Retrieved on 22 May 2020 from https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/c872806b-e873-4531-b5e8-6d4e7cdab2ab/content

Myers, M., 2010. Why radio matters. *Developing Radio Partners, Washington, DC*.

Myers, M., 2011. *Voices from Villages: Community Radio in the Developing World: A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance.* Washington: Center for International Media Assistance.

Myers, T et al., 2013. The relationship between personal experience and belief in the reality of global warming. *Nature climate change*, *3*(4), pp.343-347.

Myers, M., 2014. Africa's media boom: The role of international aid. *CIMA, National Endowment for Democracy*.

Myers, M. E., 2018. *Cooperative partnerships between early radio broadcasting educators and commercial radio stations: The Hoosier schoolmaster of the air* (Doctoral dissertation, Regent University).

Myers, M. E., 2022. The birth of educational radio broadcasting at Indiana State University: The Hoosier schoolmaster of the air. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *29*(2), 233-255.

Nafiz, A. Z., 2012. *Reaching the community through community radio: readjusting to the new realities: a case study investigating the changing nature of community access and participation in three community radio stations in three countries, New Zealand, Nepal and Sri Lanka*.PhD Thesis: University of Canterbury.

Naidoo, L., 2010. *The participatory development communication approach of Thusong service centres in Tshwane* (Doctoral dissertation, North-West University).

Nankhuni, F. J., 2017. *Agricultural Extension And Advisory Service Delivery In Malawi: Historical Background And A Review Of Assessments.* Michigan State University: Department of Agricultural, Food, and Resource Economics.

National Statistical Office (NSO) Report., 2014. *Survey on access and usage of ICT services in Malawi.* Zomba: NSO.

National Statistical Office (NSO) Report., 2020. *Survey on Radio Listenership Patterns in Malawi*. Zomba: Malawi.

National Statistical Office (NSO) Report., 2023. *National Survey on Access and Use of Information and Communication Technologies by Household and Individuals in Malawi*. Zomba: Malawi.

Ncube, B. J., 2017. Diasporic online radio and the mediation of Zimbabwean conflict/crisis. *Media, Diaspora and Conflict*, 89-103.

Ndagala, D. K., 1985. Attempts to develop the Hadzabe of Tanzania. *Nomadic Peoples*, 17-26.

Ndirangu, F. I., 2014. *The contribution of community radio in promoting good governance through public participation in Murang'a county: a case study of Kangema Ranet Fm.* PhD Thesis: University of Nairobi.

Ndlovu, E., 2015. Three waves of media repression in Zimbabwe. *African Journalism Studies*, *36*(2), 25-44.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J., 2012a. Daniel Compagnon. A Predictable Tragedy: Robert Mugabe and the Collapse of Zimbabwe. *African Studies Review*, *55*(1), 221-223.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J., 2012b. Coloniality of power in development studies and the impact of global imperial designs on Africa. *Australasian Review of African Studies, The*, *33*(2), 48-73.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J., 2012c. Fiftieth anniversary of decolonisation in Africa: a moment of celebration or critical reflection?. *Third World Quarterly*, *33*(1), 71-89.

Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, S., 2017. The long struggle for an African university: the unfinished business of decolonisation. In *Seminar*.

Nell, M., and Shapiro, J., 2001. First Footprints of the African Renaissance: An Evaluation of Training Provision in the Community Radio Sector in South Africa 1997–2001. *Unpublished report commissioned by the British Council, CAF, the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, NiZA and Open Society Foundation for South Africa*.

Nemec, S., 2021. Can an indigenous media model enrol wider non-Indigenous audiences in alternative perspectives to the 'mainstream'. *Ethnicities*, *21*(6), 997-1025.

Nothias, T., 2020. Access granted: Facebook's free basics in Africa. *Media, Culture & Society*, *42*(3), 329-348.

Neuman, W., L., 2003. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (5th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Nieckarz, J. P. P., and Hickey, A. A., 2023. Live from Here: Comparing the Programming of Rural and Urban Public Radio Stations. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 1-25.

Nielsen, R. K., and Schrøder, K. C., 2014. The relative importance of social media for accessing, finding, and engaging with news: An eight-country cross-media comparison. *Digital journalism*, *2*(4), 472-489.

Nightingale, V., 2003. The cultural revolution in audience research. *A companion to media studies*, 360-381.

Nirmala, Y., 2015. The role of community radio in empowering women in India. *Media Asia,* 42(1–2), 41–46.

Njoku, G., 2019. *The political economy of deregulation and commercialization of radio broadcasting in Nigeria, 1992-2017: An assessment of access, participation, content and peacebuilding*. PhD Thesis: Unversitat Autonoma de Barcelona Spain.

Nkata, H., 2016. *The 1990 experiences of the MBC personel on a Media educational tour of radio listener clubs in Zimbabwe in the 1990s.* Personal Interview 16 December, 2016, Blantyre.

Ntelera, P., 2020. The history of MBC Development Broadcasting Unit and its support for radio listener clubs. Personal Interview 12 November, 2020.

Nordenstreng, K., 2004. Ferment in the field: Notes on the evolution of communication studies and its disciplinary nature. *Javnost-The Public*, *11*(3), 5-17.

Nordenstreng, K., and Schiller, H. (eds). 1979. *National Sovereignty and International Communication*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Nwaerondu, N. G., and Thompson, G., 1987. The use of educational radio in developing countries: Lessons from the past. *Journal of Distance Education*, *2*(2), 43-54.

Nwankwo, S., Chaharbaghi, K. and Boyd, D., 2009. Sustainable development in sub-Saharan Africa: Issues of knowledge development and agenda setting. *International Journal of Development Issues*, *8*(2), 119-133.

Nyamnjoh, F. B., 2004a. Media ownership and control in Africa in the age of globalization. *Who owns the media*, 119-134?

Nyamnjoh, F. B., 2004b. Global and local trends in media ownership and control: Implications for cultural creativity in Africa. *Situating globality: African agency in the appropriation of global culture*, 57-89.

Nyamnjoh, F. B., 2010. Re-thinking communication research and development in Africa. In *Proceedings of the 4th IDIA (International Development Informatics Association) Conference*.

Nyareza, S., and Dick, A. L., 2012. Use of community radio to communicate agricultural information to Zimbabwe's peasant farmers. In *Aslib Proceedings* (Vol. 64, No. 5, pp. 494-508). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Nyirenda, D., Makawa, T.C., Chapita, G., Mdalla, C., Nkolokosa, M., O'byrne, T., Heyderman, R. and Desmond, N., 2018. Public engagement in Malawi through a health-talk radio programme 'Umoyo nkukambirana': A mixed-methods. *Public understanding of science (Bristol, England)*, *27*(2), 229–242. Retrieved on 6 March, 2020 from https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662516656110

Nyre, L., 2007. Minimum Journanlism: Experimental procedures for democratic participation in sound media. *Journalism Studies,* 8(3), 397-413.

O'Barr, W. M., 2010. A brief history of advertising in America. *Advertising & Society Review*, *11*(1).

Oberschall, A., 1978. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and the history of empirical social research. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, *14*(3), 199-206.

Ochichi, J. P., 2014. *An assessment of community radio in the context of rural development in Kenya.* Phd Dissertation: University of Nairobi.

Odhiambo, L. O., 2002. The media environment in Kenya since 1990. *African studies*, *61*(2), 295-318.

Ogilvie, J., 1983. *Community radio in Quebec: perspectives in conflict*. Masters Thesis. McGill University.

Ogola, G., 2014. "Our Listeners Would Rather Call than Post Messages on Facebook" 1: New Media and Community Radio in Kenya. In *Online Journalism in Africa* (pp. 222-236). Routledge.

Ohliger, J., 1968. What happened to the Canadian Farm Radio Forum? *Adult Education Journal,* 18(3), 176-187.

Ohliger, J., 1969. The listening group. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *13*(2), 153-162.

Ohliger, J. F., 1971. The Power Plants of Democracy Recent Applications of the Listening Group in Adult Education. *Educational Technology*, *11*(7), 24-27.

Okada, N., 1986. The process of mass communication: A review of studies of the two-step flow of communication hypothesis. *Studies of Broadcasting*, *22*, 57-78.

Nyareza, S. and Dick, A.L., 2012, September. Use of community radio to communicate agricultural information to Zimbabwe's peasant farmers. In *Aslib Proceedings* (Vol. 64, No. 5, pp. 494-508). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Olorunnisola, A. A, 1997. Radio and African rural communities: Structural strategies for social mobilization, *Journal of Radio Studies*, 4(1), 242-257,

Olorunnisola, A. A., 2002. Community radio: Participatory communication in postapartheid South Africa. *Journal of Radio Studies*, 9(1), 126-145.

O'Malley, T., 2014. The decline of public service broadcasting in the UK 1979–2000. In *No news is bad news* (pp. 28-45). Routledge.

Omobowale, A.O., Sawadogo, N., Sawadodo-Compaoré, E.M. and Ugbem, C.E., 2013. Globalization and Scholarly Publishing in West Africa: A Comparative Study of Burkina Faso and Nigeria. *International journal of sociology*, *43*(1), 8-26.

Onwuzuruigbo, I., 2018. Indigenising Eurocentric sociology: The 'captive mind'and five decades of sociology in Nigeria. *Current Sociology*, *66*(6), 831-848.

Opoku-Mensah, A., 1998. *Up in the air: The state of broadcasting in Southern Africa*. Panos Southern Africa.

Order, S., 2013. Community radio in Western Australia: Notions of value. In *Annual Conference. Australian and New Zealand Communication Association (ANZCA) 2013*.

Ormerod, R.., 2020. The history and ideas of sociological functionalism: Talcott Parsons, modern sociological theory, and the relevance for OR. *Journal of the Operational Research Society*, *71*(12), 1873-1899.

Osei, W. K., 2023. *The effect of global media on Ghanaian local media: A study of selected television stations* (Master's thesis). Norway: NLA University College.

O'Shei, T., 2008. *Marconi and Tesla: Pioneers of Radio Communication*. Enslow Publishers, Inc.

Osman, A. S., 2008. Is community radio promoting social change in Malawi? *Unpublished Master of Arts Dissertation, University of Leicester*.

Otite, O., 1993. *Advances Made in Sociology in Nigeria (1960-1993).* A report commissioned by the Board of Trustees of the Ngerian National Merit Award, Ibadan.

Outhwaite, W., and Turner, S. (Eds.).,2017. *The SAGE Handbook of Political Sociology, 2v*. Sage.

Owusu, M., 1978. Ethnography of Africa: the usefulness of the useless. *American Anthropologist*, *80*(2), 310-334.

Pachauri, M., 2001. Consumer behaviour: a literature review. *The Marketing Review*, *2*(3), 319-355.

Page, S., and Page, S., 2019. The development aid situation in Malawi. *Development, sexual cultural practices and HIV/AIDS in Africa*, 43-60.

Palys, T., and Atchison, C., 2021. *Research methods in the social and health sciences: Making research decisions*. Sage Publications.

PSAf., 2013. *Radio Platform for Community Development Project*. Unpublished Final Narrative Report submitted to OSISA. Lusaka: Panos Southern Africa.

PSAf., 2003. *Development Through Radio: A Guide to Setting Up Radio Listening Clubs*. Lusaka: Panos Southern Africa.

Parker, R. G., and Gagnon, J. H., 2013. *Conceiving sexuality: Approaches to sex research in a postmodern world*. Routledge.

Parsons, T., 2017. The present status of "structural-functional" theory in sociology. In *The idea of social structure* (pp. 67-84). Routledge.

Parsons, T., and Shils, E. A. (Eds.). 1951. *Toward a general theory of action*. Harvard University Press.

Pasiona, S.P., Nidoy, M.G.M. and Manalo IV, J.A., 2021. Modified listening group method as a knowledge-sharing and learning mechanism in agricultural communities in the Philippines. *The Journal of Agricultural Education and Extension*, *27*(1), 89-106.

Pathak, B., 2019. The Community Radio Movement in India: Challenges and Opportunities. *International Journal of Communication and Media Studies (IJCMS)*, *9*(2), 1-8.

Patel N., 2000. Media in the Democratic and Electoral Process. In *Malawi's Second Democratic Elections: Process, Problems, and Prospects*, (eds.), Martin O, et al. Blantyre: Kachere Series.

Patel, N., 2013. Media in Malawi's democracy: One step forward two steps backwards. *The Lamp Magazine,* September-October, 104, 4-5.

Patel, S., 2021. Sociology's encounter with the decolonial: The problematique of indigenous vs that of coloniality, extraversion and colonial modernity. *Current Sociology*, *69*(3), 372-388.

Pauling, B., and Ayton, S., 2009. Radio Diversity, A Handbook for New Zealand Community Access Radio. *Wellington: New Zealand On Air*.

Pavarala, V., and Malik, K. K., 2021. Community radio for social change: Restoring decentralized democratic discursive spaces. In *Handbook of communication and development* (pp. 190-212). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Peña Fernández, S., Pérez Dasilva, J.Á., Meso Ayerdi, K. and Larrondo Ureta, A., 2021. Social participation in the media: The dialogue of digital journalists with audiences. *European Public & Social Innovation Review* (6) 1.

Pearson, A. J., 2023. *"We certainly got about the world"–BBC Radio Programming and Britain's Diminishing Empire, 1945-1951* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Huddersfield).

Peters, J. D., 2018. The Public Voice of Radio. In *Communication in History* (pp. 197-201). Routledge.

Peterson, V., 2000. A 'Gendered Global Hierarchy'?. In: Fry, G. and O'Hagan, J. eds., *Contending Images of World Politics.* Palgrave: pp. 199-213.

Phiri, I., 2010. Groping for a new national communication policy in Zambia. *African Communication Research*, *3*, 185-206.

Picard, R. G., 2011. Business and market challenges and their effects on the foundations and trajectory of US broadcast policy. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, *8*(2), 45-62.

Picone, I., 2017. Conceptualizing media users across media: The case for 'media user/use'as analytical concepts. *Convergence*, *23*(4), 378-390.

Pilsworth, M., and Ruddock, R., 1975. Some criticisms of survey research methods in adult education. *Convergence*, *8*(2), 33.

Pinar, W. F. and Bowers, C., 1992. Politics of curriculum: origins, controversies, and significance of critical perspectives. In G. Grant (ed.), *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 18 (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association), 163±190.

Pinkerton, A., 2008. Radio and the Raj: broadcasting in British India (1920–1940) 1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *18*(2), 167-191.

Platt, J., 1983. The development of the "participant observation" method in sociology: Origin myth and history. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, *19*(4), 379-393.

Platt, J., 2002. The history of the interview. *Handbook of interview research: Context and method*, 33-54.

Pooley, J. D., 2006. *An accident of memory: Edward Shils, Paul Lazarsfeld and the history of American mass communication research*. Columbia University.

Pooley, J. D., 2016. Communication theory and the disciplines. *The international encyclopedia of communication theory and philosophy*, 1-16.

Potter, S. J., 2008. Who listened when London called? Reactions to the BBC empire service in Canada, Australia and New zealand, 1932–1939. *Historical journal of film, radio and television*, *28*(4), 475-487.

Potter, S. J., 2012a. *Broadcasting empire: The BBC and the British world, 1922-1970*. Oxford University Press.

Potter, S., 2012b. From'Take it or Leave it'to take it from here: BBC Transcriptions in Australia and New Zealand, 1932-1970. *Australasian Sound Archive, The*, (37), 79-98.

Potter, S. J., 2013. The colonisation of the BBC: Diasporic Britons at the BBC External Services, c. 1932–1956 1. In *Diasporas and Diplomacy* (pp. 40-56). Routledge.

Potter, S. J. 2020. *Wireless internationalism and distant listening: Britain, Propaganda, and the Invention of Global Radio, 1920-1939*. Oxford University Press.

Prasad, K., 2008. The false promise of media liberalisation in India. In George C. (Ed.), *Free markets, free media*. *Reflections on the Political economy of the Press in India*. Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC) and Wee Kim Wee School of Communication and Information Nangyan Technological University (WKWSCI-NTU).

Prasad, A. (Ed.)., 2012. *Against the grain: Advances in postcolonial organization studies* (Vol. 28). Copenhagen Business School Press DK.

Price-Davies, E., and Tacchi, J., 2001. *Community radio in a global context: A comparative analysis*. Sheffield: Community Media Association.

Prosser, D., 2019. Marconi proposes: Why it's time to rethink the birth of the BBC. *Media History*, *25*(3), 265-278.

Quintero, P., Figueira, P., and Elizalde, P., 2019. A brief history of decolonial studies. *Masp afterall.*

Raboy, M., 1990. *Missed opportunities: The story of Canada's broadcasting policy*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

Raboy, M., 2016. *Marconi: The man who networked the world*. Oxford University Press.

Rachmawati, M. A., and Afifi, S., 2022. The integrated marketing communication in digital environment: a case study of local radio in Yogyakarta. *The Indonesian Journal of Communication Studies*, *14*(2), 105-119.

Rådelius, E., 2015. *Community Radio 2.0-Reinventing Participation, Empowerment and Community in Converging Public Spheres*. Masters Thesis. Malmo University. Retrived on 6 April 2024 from https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1483007/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Ragasa, C., and Niu, C., 2017. *The state of agricultural extension and advisory services provision in Malawi: Insights from household and community surveys*. Intl Food Policy Res Inst.

Ramalho, R., Adams, P., Huggard, P. and Hoare, K., 2015. Literature review and constructivist grounded theory methodology. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 16, No. 3).

Ramsay, A., 2018. Positivism. In *The Sage Handbook of Frankfurt School Critical Theory* / [ed] Beverly Bst, Werner Bonefeld & Chris O'Kane, London: Sage, p. 1179-1192.

Randall, V., 1993. The media and democratisation in the Third World. *Third world quarterly*, *14*(3), 625-646.

Rao, C. S., 2012. *Sociology*. New Dehli: S. Chand Publishing.

Rao, S., 2018. Using radio in agricultural extension. *What works in rural advisory services*, *99*.

Rawnsley, G. D. 2016. *Cold-War propaganda in the 1950s*. Springer.

Raymond, R. K., 2016. Managing college radio: Understanding American college stations through their management practices. *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, *14*(2), 193-211.

Razlogova, E., 2004. *The voice of the listener: Americans and the radio industry, 1920–1950*. George Phd Thesis: Mason University.

Razlogova, E., 2011. *The listener's voice: Early radio and the American public*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Rees, Y., 2019. Making Waves across the Pacific: Women, Radio Broadcasting, and Australian-US Relations. *Feminist Media Histories*, *5*(3), 85-113.

Resnick, P., 2005. *The European roots of Canadian identity*. University of Toronto Press.

Regal, B., 2005. *Radio: The Life Story of a Technology*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group

Rehbein, B., 2015. *Critical theory after the rise of the Global South: Kaleidoscopic dialectic*. Routledge.

Richardson, T. R., and Johanningmeier, E. V., 2006. Educational radio, childhood, and philanthropy: A new role for the humanities in popular culture, 1924–1941. *Journal of Radio Studies*, *13*(1), 1-18.

Riismandel, P., Hilmes, M. and Loviglio, J., 2002. Radio by and for the public. *The radio studies reader*, 423-450.

Rikitianskaia, M., 2018. *A transnational approach to radio amateurism in the 1910s*. (pp. 133-141) Transcript.

Riley, D., 2007. Factors affecting the pursuit of standards: a theoretical framework. *The Marketing Review*, *7*(2), 139-154.

Ritter, C., 2021. *Imperial Encore: The Cultural Project of the Late British Empire* (Vol. 18). Univ of California Press.

Rixon, P., 2018. *Radio critics and popular culture: A history of British radio criticism*. Springer.

Robinson, J. P. 1976. Interpersonal influence in election campaigns: Two step-flow hypotheses. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *40*(3), 304-319.

Robertson, E., 2013. 'It is a real joy to get listening of any kind from the homeland': BBC radio and British diasporic audiences in the 1930s 1. In *Diasporas and Diplomacy* (pp. 23-39). Routledge.

Rodrguez, J. M. R.., 2005. Indigenous radio stations in Mexico: A catalyst for social cohesion and cultural strength. *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, *3*(3), 155-169.

Rogers, E. M., and Singhal, A., 2003. Empowerment and communication: Lessons learned from organizing for social change. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, *27*(1), 67-85.

Rogers, E. et al., 1977. Radio forums: A strategy for rural development. In: P. Spain, D. Jamison, and E. McAnany (eds), *Radio for Education and Development: Case Studies,* World Bank Staff Working Paper 266. Washington, DC: World Bank, pp. 361–81

Rogers, E.M. and Shoemaker, M.F., 1971. *Communication of Innovations: A Cross- Cultural Approach.* New York: Free Press.

Romanosky, J., and Chetty, M., 2018. Understanding the use and impact of the zero-rated free basics platform in South Africa. In *Proceedings of the 2018 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 1-13).

Rønning, H., & Kupe, T., 2005. The dual legacy of democracy and authoritarianism: The media and the state in Zimbabwe 1. In *De-Westernizing media studies* (pp. 138-156). Routledge.

Rosales, R. G., 2013. Citizen participation and the uses of mobile technology in radio broadcasting. *Telematics and Informatics*, *30*(3), 252-257.

Rothenbuhler, E. and McCourt, T., 2002. Radio redefines itself, 1947–1962. In: M. Hilmes and J. Loviglio (eds.), *Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio,* New York: Routledge, pp. 367–87.

Royston, R. A., 2023. Podcasts and new orality in the African mediascape. *new media & society*, *25*(9), 2455-2474.

Rudin, R., 2007. The politics of the introduction of commercial radio in the UK: A clash of ideologies produces a troublesome birth. *Southern Review: Communication, Politics & Culture*, *39*(3), 93-110.

Ruddock, A., 1998. Doing it by numbers. *Critical Arts*, *12*(1-2), 115-137.

Rupavatharam, S., Kennepohl, A., Kummer, B. and Parimi, V., 2018. Automated plant disease diagnosis using innovative android App (Plantix) for farmers in Indian state of Andhra Pradesh. *Phytopathology (TSI)*, *108*(10).

Sackel, M., Morrison, J. and Liao-Troth, M., 2008. *Pacifica Foundation: The Battle Over the Airwaves*. University of Washington, Evans School of Public Policy & Governance.

Saito, K. A., and Weidemann, C. J., 1990. *Agricultural extension for women farmers in Africa* (No. 103). World Bank Publications.

Sandwell, R. W., 2012. 'Read, Listen, Discuss, Act': Adult Education, Rural Citizenship and the Canadian National Farm Radio Forum. *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*. 24 (1). https://doi.org/10.32316/hse/rhe.v24i1.4256.

Sandram, D., 2020. *Radio Programming for MIJ Radio.* Personal interview. 19 September, Blantyre.

Sangaré, O., 2001. Impact of radio broadcasts in the Mali-south region: Follow-up and evaluation. In *International Workshop on Farm Radio Broadcasting: Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) Servicing Farm Radio: New Contents, New Partnerships* (pp. 19-22).

Sarkar, B., 2019. Theory stranded at the borders, or, cultural studies from the southern fringes. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, *16*(3), 219-240.

Šakić Trogrlić, R., Wright, G.B., Duncan, M.J., van den Homberg, M.J., Adeloye, A.J., Mwale, F.D. and Mwafulirwa, J., 2019. Characterising local knowledge across the flood risk management cycle: A case study of Southern Malawi. *Sustainability*, *11*(6), 1681.

Sarmah, B., and Lama, S., 2017. *Radio as an Educational Tool in Developing Countries: Its Evolution and Current Usages.* Paper presented at International Conference on Developmental Interventions and Open Learning for Empowering and Transforming Society. Guwahati, India. Retrieved on 20 March, 2021 from http://dlkkhsou.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/321/1/p25.pdf

Sapienza, Z.S., Veenstra, A.S., Kirtiklis, K. and Giannino, S.S., 2016. The transmission model of communication: Toward a multidisciplinary explication. *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, *73*(4), 321-341.

Sekhar, P. C., 2018. *All India Radio's Rural Broadcasting a Social Change Agent: A Past Still Present since 1923*. Retrieved on 4 April, 2024 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323612988_All_India_Radio's_Rural_Broadcasting_a_Social_Change_Agent_A_Past_Still_Present_since_1923.pdf

Sharra, A., 2020. Eyes of the Society. How Malawian journalists utilise question time during political party press briefings. *African Journalism Studies* 41 (3), 49-64.

Sharma, L. N., 1975. *Impact of an Agricultural Radio Broadcast Upon Knowledge and Attitude of Farmers: An Experimental Study in Eight Villages of Central India*. University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

Schugurensky, D., 2006. Adult citizenship education: An overview of the field. In T. Fenwick, N. Nesbit, & B. Spencer (Eds.) *Contexts of adult education: Canadian perspectives.* Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc.

Srivastava, M. K., and Sekhar, P. C. 2017. *Innovations in educational broadcasts by All India Radio. Conference Paper.* Retrieved on 10 April, 2024 from file:///C:/Users/g15k1582/Downloads/InnovationsinEducationalBroadcastsbyAllIndiaRadio1.pdf

Sanga, C., Kalungwizi, V.J. and Msuya, C.P., 2014. Bridging gender gaps in provision of agricultural extension service using ICT: experiences from Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) Farmer Voice Radio (FVR) Project in Tanzania. *International Journal of ICT Research and Development in Africa (IJICTRDA)*, *4*(1), 1-19.

Sanga, C., Kalungwizi, V. and Msuya, C., 2013. Building agricultural extension services system supported by ICTs in Tanzania: Progress made, challenges remain. *International journal of education and development using ICT*, *9*(1), 80-99.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A., 2012. *Research methods for business students.* Pearson.

Savage, M. E., and Spence, P. R., 2014. Will you listen? An examination of parasocial interaction and credibility in radio. *Journal of radio & audio media*, *21*(1), 3-19.

Sawe, J. 2022. No Room for Marginalization: Recognizing the Importance of Local Knowledge For Weather Forecasting in Mbogwe District, Tanzania. *Tanzania Journal for Population studies and Development*, *29*(2), 1-21.

Sawhney, H., 2019. Global economy and international telecommunications networks. *Global Communication: A Multicultural Perspective*, 21.

Scambary, J., 2004. *UNDP report on community radio*. UNDP

Scannell, P., 2005. Public service broadcasting: The history of a concept. In *Understanding television* (pp. 11-29). Routledge.

Schlosser, N. J., 2011. Creating an 'Atmosphere of Objectivity': Radio in the American sector, objectivity and the United States' propaganda campaign against the German Democratic Republic, 1945–1961. *German History*, *29*(4), 610-627.

Schoon, A., Mabweazara, H.M., Bosch, T. and Dugmore, H., 2020. Decolonising digital media research methods: Positioning African digital experiences as epistemic sites of knowledge production. *African Journalism Studies*, *41*(4), 1-15.

Scifo, S., 2014. Community Radio and Participation: Listeners as Productive Publics. In *Radio audiences and participation in the age of network society* (pp. 226-244). Routledge.

Scott, P., 2012. The determinants of competitive success in the interwar British radio industry 1. *The Economic History Review*, *65*(4), 1303-1325.

Scott, J., and Craig-Lees, M., 2010. Audience engagement and its effects on product placement recognition. *Journal of Promotion Management*, *16*(1-2), 39-58.

Shah, H., 1996. Modernization, marginalization, and emancipation: Toward a normative model of journalism and national development. *Communication theory*, *6*(2), 143-166.

Schramm, W., 1962. Mass communication. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *13*(1), 251-284.

Schroeder, P. B., 1954. The radio amateur in international legislation and administration. *American Journal of International Law*, *48*(3), 421-433.

Schwarzkopf, S., 2015. Marketing history from below: towards a paradigm shift in marketing historical research. *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, *7*(3), 295-309.

Schwoch, J., 1990. *The American radio industry and its Latin American activities, 1900-1939*. University of Illinois Press.

Schwass, R.,1972. *National farm radio forum: The history of an educational institution in rural Canada.* University of Toronto (Canada) ProQuest Dissertations Publishing. NK27971.

Schwyter, J. R., 2008. Setting a standard: Early BBC language policy and the advisory committee on spoken English. *AAA: Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, *33*(2), 217-250.

Scotland, J., 2012. Exploring the philosophical underpinnings of research: Relating ontology and epistemology to the methodology and methods of the scientific, interpretive, and critical research paradigms. *English language teaching*, *5*(9), 9-16.

Segal, P. M., 1931. The Regulation of Amateur Radio Communication. *Air L. Rev.*, *2*, 153.

Seidman, S., 2004. *Contested Knowledge: Social Theory Today.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Selcer, P., 2011. Patterns of science: developing knowledge for a world community at Unesco. *PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania*, 19-35.

Seneviratne, K., 2011. Community radio via public service broadcasting: The Kothmale model. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 18(1), 129-138.

Servaes, J. 1999. *Communication for development: One world, multiple cultures*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Servaes, J., 2008. Communication for development approaches of some governmental and non-governmental agencies. *Communication for development and social change*, *201*.

Servaes, L., and Servaes, J., 2021. Participatory communication for social change. In *Handbook of communication and development* (pp. 120-141). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Servaes, J. and Malikhao, P., 2005. Participatory communication: The new paradigm. *Media & global change. Rethinking communication for development*, pp.91-103.

Seshadri, K., 2000. *The pre-occupation of postcolonial studies*. North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Shannon, C. E. & Weaver, W., 1949. *The Mathematical Theory of communication*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Shaffer, T. J., 2019. Democracy in the air: Radio as a complement to face-to-face discussion in the New Deal. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 26(1), 21-34.

Shahzalal, M., 2017. Community Radio for Sustainability in Rural Areas: Listeners' Perception. *New Media and Mass Communication,* 65(1), 37-46.

Shapiro, S., 2014. *After the goldrush: the history of popular music funding in Canada* (Doctoral dissertation, Birkbeck, University of London).

Shepperson, A., and Tomaselli, K.G., 2002. Cultural Studies and Africa: Excavating the Subject Matter. *African Communication Scholars Association*. 4(1). (pp.32-7).

Sherwood, A., 2015. *(Re) Connecting With Listeners: How Radio Stations are Reaching Beyond the Dial (and Their Competitors) to Connect With Their Audience*. Rochester Institute of Technology.

Shirk, J. et al., 2012. Public participation in scientific research: a framework for deliberate design. *Ecology and society*, *17*(2).

Shome, R., 2019. Thinking culture and cultural studies—from/of the Global South. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, *16*(3), 196-218.

Siakacha, C., 2015. *Access to Commuinty Radio and its role in alleviating poverty in Zambia: A case study of Mazabuka Community Radio* (Doctoral dissertation).

Simonson, P., 2012. The rise and fall of the limited effects model. *The International Encyclopedia of Media Studies*.

Simuja, C., 2012. Using mobile phone-based market information services to link smallholder farmers to markets in Malawi. *Zomba. Malawi: University of Malawi*.

Singh, S., 2006. *Selected success stories on agricultural information systems*. APAARI.

Sibalwa, D., 2000. Zambia: Radio farm forums. *Case studies of non-formal education by distance and open learning*, 114-132.

Sidanius, J. et al., 2001. 13 Legitimizing Ideologies. The Social Dominance Approach. *The psychology of legitimacy: Emerging perspectives on ideology, justice, and intergroup relations*, 307.

Sidel, M. K., 1976. *A historical analysis of american short wave broadcasting 1916-1942*. Northwestern University.

Silberman, M., 1987. The politics of representation: Brecht and the media. *Theatre Journal*, *39*(4), 448-460.

Singh, J. P., 2008. Paulo Freire: Possibilities for dialogic communication in a market-driven information age. *Information, Communication & Society*, *11*(5), 699-726.

Sinton, M., 2021. *Sounding out the long-time listener: A study of the talkback radio audience that doesn't talk back in Aotearoa New Zealand.* PhD Thesis: Auckland University of Technology.

Sisya, S., 2003. Radio campaign for social change through Kanthu N'Khama. In *Kucheza: Chancellor College Newsletter on Development Communication Research and Advocacy*, Issue Number 1, September, 3-4.

Sitto, K., & Lubinga, E., 2021. Radio and digital convergence in South Africa. In *Radio, Public Life and Citizen Deliberation in South Africa* (pp. 176-195). Routledge.

Slack, J. D., 2006. The theory and method of articulation in cultural studies. In *Stuart Hall* (pp. 124-140). Routledge.

Slotten, H., 2000. *Radio and Television Regulation: Broadcast Technology in the United States, 1920-1960.* Johns Hopkins: Baltimore, MD.

Slotten, H. R., 2006. Universities, public service experimentation, and the origins of radio broadcasting in the United States, 1900–1920. *Historical journal of film, radio and television*, *26*(4), 485-504.

Slotten, H. R., 2008. Radio's hidden voice: Noncommercial broadcasting, extension education, and state universities during the 1920s. *Technology and Culture*, *49*(1), 1-20.

Slotten, H. R., 2009. *Radio's hidden voice: The origins of public broadcasting in the United States*. University of Illinois Press.

Smillie, I., 2017. The retirement project of George Stuart Atkins: development radio in the time of cybernetics. *Development in Practice*, *27*(8), 1133-1140.

Smith, P., 2019. Radio. In *The British Media Industries* (pp. 101-115). Routledge.

Smith, D., 2009. New media: Where is radio going in Africa? In Mdlongwa, F, (Ed), *Doing digital media in Africa: Prospects, Promises and Problems*. pp. 44-47. Johannesburg: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

Smith, P., and Steemers, J., 2007. BBC to the rescue! Digital switchover and the reinvention of public service broadcasting in Britain. *Javnost-the public*, *14*(1), 39-55.

Smith, G. H., 2000. Protecting and respecting Indigenous knowledge. *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision*, 209-224.

Smith, D., 1987. The limits of positivism in social work research. *The British Journal of Social Work*, *17*(4), 401-416.

Smulyan, S., 1994. *Selling radio: The commercialization of American broadcasting, 1920-1934.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Smyth, R., 1984. War propaganda during the second world war in Northern Rhodesia. *African Affairs*, *83*(332), 345-358.

Smyth, R., 2001. The genesis of public relations in British colonial practice. *Public Relations Review*, *27*(2), 149-161.

Socolow, M., 2004. Psyche and society: Radio advertising and social psychology in America, 1923-1936. *Historical Journal of Film, radio and television*, *24*(4), 517-534.

Socolow, M. J., 2021. Comparing Australian, British, Canadian, and U.S. Broadcasting: The 1934 Radio Reports Compiled by Australian Broadcasting Commissioner E.M.R. Couchman. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *28*(1), 86–106. Retrieved on 4 April, 2024 from https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2020.1844204

Sokoya, A.A., Onifade, F.N. and Alabi, A.O., 22012. Establishing connections and networking: the role of social media in agricultural research in Nigeria. In *World Library and Information Congress: 78th IFLA General Conference and Assembly*.

Sood, S., Sengupta, M., Mishra, P.R. and Jacoby, C., 2004. 'Come Gather Around Together' An Examination of Radio Listening Groups in Fulbari, Nepal. *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)*, *66*(1), 63-86.

Sow, F., 2014. *Women's community radio in Africa: The case study of Gindiku FM in Senegal* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon).

Spivak, G., 1990. *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, (ed.). S Harasym. New York: Routledge.

Squiers, A., 2012. *The social and political philosophy of Bertolt Brecht*. Western Michigan University.

Srinivas, L., 2013. Active Audiences and the Experience of Cinema 1. In *Routledge handbook of Indian cinemas* (pp. 376-390). Routledge.

Srinivasan, S., and Diepeveen, S., 2018. The power of the "audience-public": Interactive radio in Africa. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *23*(3), 389-412.

Srinivasan, S. and Diepeveen, S., 2019. Communication technology and African politics. In: Thompson, W.R. ed., *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press:

Stacey, J., & Thorne, B., 1985. The missing feminist revolution in sociology. *Social problems*, *32*(4), 301-316.

Stadel, L., 2016. Radio/television/sound: Radio aesthetics and perceptual technics in early american television. *Journal of e-Media Studies*, *5*(1).

Stańczyk, P., 2019. *Didactics and politics in Paulo Freire's philosophy of education: On the abandonment of the concept of conscientization.* Retrived on 5 May, 2020 from https://repozytorium.ukw.edu.pl/handle/item/6474

Statistics Canada., 2002. *Labour Force Historical Review*. Catalogue 71F0004XCB (CDROM). Statistics Canada, Ottawa.

Staiger, J., 2005. *Media reception studies*. NYU Press.

Stark, B., and Weichselbaum, P., 2013. What attracts listeners to Web radio? A case study from Germany. *The Radio Journal–International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, *11*(2), 185-202.

Steinfeld, N., and Laor, T., 2019. New arenas or more of the same? Public and commercial radio stations on Facebook. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *26*(2), 194-209.

Steinmetz, G., 2005. The genealogy of a positivist haunting: Comparing prewar and postwar US sociology. *boundary 2*, *32*(2), 109-135.

Steinkuehler, C., & Squire, K., 2009. Virtual worlds and learning. *On the horizon*, *17*(1), 8-11.

Stepan, A., 2018. Towards a 'Democracy with Democrats' in Tunisia. *Revisiting the Arab Uprisings, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)*, 9-28.

Sterling, C. H., and O'Dell, C., 2010. *The concise encyclopaedia of American radio*. Routledge.

Sharra, A., 2020. *Watchdog Role: How Malawian media utilise question time during press briefings.* Johannesburg: KAS Media Programme Subhara Africa.

Sterling, C., and Kittross, J. M., 2001. *Stay tuned: A history of American broadcasting*. Routledge.

Stevenson, N., 2002. Understanding media cultures: Social theory and mass communication. *Understanding Media Cultures*, 1-256.

Stockman-Shomron, I. (Ed.)., 1984. *Israel, the Middle East, and the Great Powers*. Transaction Publishers.

Stokes, J., 2021. How to do media and cultural studies. *How to Do Media and Cultural Studies*, 1-408.

Strelitz, L., 2000. Approaches to understanding the relationship between texts and audiences. *Communicatio: South African Journal of Communication Theory and Research*, *26*(1), 37-51.

Strelitz, L., 2002. Media consumption and identity formation: the case of the 'homeland' viewers. *Media, Culture and Society* 24(4): 459-479.

Sultan, N., 2013. Al Jazeera: reflections on the Arab spring. *Journal of Arabian studies*, *3*(2), 249-264.

Sullivan, J. L., 2018. Podcast movement: Aspirational labour and the formalisation of podcasting as a cultural industry. *Podcasting: New aural cultures and digital media*, 35-56.

Sullivan, B., 2019. The new age of radio: How ICTs are changing rural radio in Africa. *Gates Open Res*, *3*(1171), 1171.

Sutherland, E., 2020. *A short history of UK telecommunications manufacturing.* University of the Witwatersland.

Swidler, A., and Watkins, S. C., 2015. Practices of deliberation in rural Malawi. *B Results Under Alternative Topic Model Specifications To ensure that the main results for agenda setting power and state responsiveness are not sensitive to a particular topic model specification, we re-run our topic model with K*, *20*, 133-166.

Swingewood, A., and Swingewood, A., 1984. Critique of positivism: I Durkheim. *A Short History of Sociological Thought*, 97-128.

Takahashi, T., 2009. *Audience studies: A Japanese perspective*. Routledge.

Takirambudde, P. N. 1995. Media freedom and the transition to democracy in Africa. *Afr. J. Int'l & Comp. L.*, *7*, 18.

Tambini, D., 2016. Can the new charter protect BBC independence? *Media Policy Blog*.

Tambulasi, R.I.C, and Kayuni, H., 2005. Can African Feet Divorce Western Shoes? A Case of 'Ubuntu' and Democratic Governance in Malawi. *Nordic Journal of African Studies,* 14(2), 157-161.

Tan, S. S., and Acharya, A., (Eds.). 2008. *Bandung revisited: the legacy of the 1955 Asian-African conference for international order*. Nus Press.

Tebbutt, M., 2017. Listening to youth? BBC youth broadcasts during the 1930s and the Second World War. In *History Workshop Journal* (Vol. 84, pp. 214-233). Oxford University Press.

Teer-Tomaselli, R., 2015. Broadcasting in southern and eastern Africa. *African Journalism Studies*, *36*(2), 1-4.

Teer-Tomaselli, R., 2017. Empire and broadcasting in the interwar years: Towards a consideration of public broadcasting in the British dominions. In *Media and the Empire* (pp. 115-136). Routledge.

Teer-Tomaselli, R., 2018. 'The Four-Leafed Clover: Political Economy as a Method of Analysis'. In Mutsvairo B. (ed.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Media and Communication Research in Africa.* Springer International: Switzerland.

Teklemicael, H., 2004. *Ownership and control in community radio: a case study of Highway Radio and Radio Maritzburg* (Doctoral dissertation).

Tembo, J., 2022. Do African postcolonial theories need an epistemic decolonial turn?. *Postcolonial Studies*, *25*(1), 35-53.

Thangalimodzi, P. L., & Phiri, P. I., 2014. *Dissemination and visualization of agricultural statistics in Malawi: Unravelling the potential role of the media community*. Retrieved on 9 April, 2024 from https://www.istat.it/storage/icas2016/h46-pangapanga.pdf

The Malawi Gazette., 2016. *Communications Act No. 34 of 2016*. Government Press

Theyyan, B., 2018. Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation: A Critical Discussion. In *Asian Academic Research Journal of Multidisciplinary.* Vol.2 (7) pp. (241-247). Retrieved on 22 April, 2020 from www.asianacademicresearch.org

Thiranagama, S., 2010. Partitioning the BBC: from colonial to postcolonial broadcaster. *South Asian Diaspora*, *2*(1), 39-55.

Thomas, G., 2015. *How to do your case study*. Sage.

Thomas, A., 2001. *An historical ethnography of music in the town of Hawera in 1946: from the recordings of the Mobile Unit of the New Zealand Broadcasting Service and oral histories of musicians* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Otago).

Thompson, J. B., 1990. *Ideology and modern culture: Critical social theory in the era of mass communication.* Cambridge: Polity.

Thompson, J. B., 2013a. *Ideology and modern culture: Critical social theory in the era of mass communication*. John Wiley & Sons.

Thompson, A., 2013b. Exploring radio, convergence and development in Africa. *Nokoko*, *3*, 1-14.

Thuranira, I. S., 2020. Growth of Community Radio and Rural Development in Africa. *London Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science.* Vol.20 (16)1.

Thussu, D. K., 2009. *Internationalizing Media Studies.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Thussu, D., 2011. *Popular media, democracy and development in Africa* (p. 1). H. Wasserman (Ed.). London: Routledge.

Tietaah, G, et al., 2019. Radio redux: audience participation and the reincarnation of radio for development in Africa. *Journal of Developing Societies*, *35*(2), 282-302.

Tomaselli, K. G., 2009. (Afri) ethics, communitarianism and libertarianism. *International Communication Gazette*, *71*(7), 577-594.

Tötösy de Zepetnek, S., 2002. *Constructivism and Comparative Cultural Studies*. Retrieved on 24 April, 2020 from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1015&context=clcweblibrary

Tracy, S. J., 2024. *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact*. John Wiley & Sons.

Trappel, J., and Tomaz, T., 2021. *Democratic performance of news media: Dimensions and indicators for comparative studies.* Retrived on 9 April, 2024 from https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1557348/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Tripp, A. M., 2004. The changing face of authoritarianism in Africa: The case of Uganda. *Africa Today*, 3-26.

Tsarwe, S., 2020. Understanding Zimbabwe's Political Culture: Media and Civil Society. *The History and Political Transition of Zimbabwe: From Mugabe to Mnangagwa*, 117-132.

Tufte, T., and Mefalopulos, P., 2009. *Participatory communication: A practical guide* (Vol. 170). World Bank Publications.

Tunstall, J., 2010. The BBC and UK public service broadcasting. In: Iosifidis, P. ed., *Reinventing public service communication: European broadcasters and beyond*. Palgrave Macmillan UK: pp. 145-157.

Turner, J. H., 1989. A positivist's reflections on the problems and prospects of general theory in sociology. *International Review of Sociology*, *3*(2), 79-106.

Turner, J., and Reynolds, K., 2003. Why social dominance theory has been falsified. *British Journal of Social Psychology,* 42(2), 199–206.

Tuhiwai, S.L., 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (2nd ed.). London: Zed.

Tworek, H. J., 2015. The savior of the nation? Regulating radio in the interwar period. *Journal of Policy History*, *27*(3), 465-491.

Uimonen, H., 2017. Celebrity guitars: Musical instruments as luxury items. *Rock Music Studies*, *4*(2), 117-135.

UNESCO., 2022. *Assessment of media development in Malawi: based on UNESCO's Media Development Indicators*. Harare: UNESCO.

van der Merwe, R. L., 2021. Africa on demand: The production and distribution of African narratives through podcasting. In *Routledge Handbook of African Media and Communication Studies* (pp. 126-140). Routledge.

van Vuuren, K., 2006. Commercial trends in community radio: Sponsorship, advertising and John Laws. *Southern Review: Communication, Politics & Culture*, *39*(2), 26-43.

Vanclay, F., Baines, J.T. and Taylor, C.N., 2013. Principles for ethical research involving humans: ethical professional practice in impact assessment Part I. *Impact assessment and project appraisal*, *31*(4), 243-253.

Vaughan, J. R., 2002. *The Anglo-American relationship and propaganda strategies in the Middle-East, 1953-1957*. United Kingdom: University College London.

Venter, D., 2002. Malawi The transition to multi-party politics. In *Democracy and political change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (pp. 164-204). Routledge.

Villarraza, M., and Milagro, M., 2018. Listening to radio theatre in Argentina in the 1950s:"The town became a ghost town when it was radio theatre time". *Master's Thesis*. Soderton University. Stockholm.

Vipond, M., 1992. *Listening in: The first decade of Canadian broadcasting, 1922-1932*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

Vipond, M., 2004. British or American?: Canada's 'mixed'broadcasting system in the 1930s. *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, *2*(2), 89-100.

Vipond, M., 2009. GOING THEIR OWN WAY: The relationship between the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission and the BBC, 1933–36. *Media History*, *15*(1), 71-83.

Vipond, M., 2013. What's a New Public Broadcaster To Do?: The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission's Programs in Transnational Context, 1932–1936. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, *20*(2), 295-310.

Wabwire, J., 2013. The role of community radio in development of the rural poor. *New Media and Mass Communication*, *10*, 40-47.

Wade, W. C., 2015. The Public Voice of Radio. *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, Society*, 190.

Wahl-Jorgensen, K., 2013. The Chicago School of sociology and mass communication research. *The International Encyclopedia of Media Studies*.

Waisbord, S., 2008. The institutional challenges of participatory communication in international aid. *Social identities*, *14*(4), 505-522.

Waits, J. C., 2015. From wireless experiments to streaming: The secret history and changing role of college radio at Haverford College 1923–2014. *Interactions: Studies in Communication & Culture*, *6*(1), 65-85.

Walker, J., 2004. *Rebels on the air: An alternative history of radio in America*. NYU Press.

Waller, J. C. 1943. *Broadcasting in the public service.* Chicago: John C. Swift Company.

Wang, G. (ed.)., 2013. *De-Westernizing Communication Research: Altering Questions and Changing Frameworks.* London: Routledge.

Warnock, K., 2001. DTR radio listening clubs, Zambia: Impact evaluation report. *Panos Southern Africa: Zambia Radio Clubs Evaluation Report*.

Wasserman, G. P., 2014. *Modality on trek: Diachronic changes in written South African English across text and context* (Doctoral dissertation, North West University).

Wasserman, H., and de Beer, A. S., 2009. Towards de-westernizing journalism studies. In *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 448-458). Routledge.

Watkins, J., Kitner, K.R. and Mehta, D., 2012. Mobile and smartphone use in urban and rural India. *Continuum*, *26*(5), 685-697.

Weber, M., 1949. *The Methodology of the Social Science*. New York: Free Press.

Weber, R., 2004. Editor's comments: the rhetoric of positivism versus interpretivism: a personal view. *MIS quarterly*, 28 (1), 3-7.

Webster, F., 2004. Cultural studies and sociology at, and after, the closure of the Birmingham school. *Cultural studies*, *18*(6), 847-862.

Wedler, E., 2010. *The Media System of Malawi* (Doctoral dissertation, Hochschule Mittweida).

Weimann, G., 1982. On the importance of marginality: One more step into the two-step flow of communication. *American Sociological Review*, 764-773.

Weiner, M. F., 2018. Decolonial sociology: WEB Du Bois's foundational theoretical and methodological contributions. *Sociology Compass*, *12*(8), e12601.

Westkott, M., 2019. Feminist criticism of the social sciences. In *Feminist research methods* (pp. 58-68). Routledge.

White, T. H., 2003. United States early radio history. *at: earlyradiohistory. us/index. html (last consulted 2 June 2008)*.

Willems, W., and Mano, W., 2016. Decolonizing and provincializing audience and internet studies: Contextual approaches from African vantage points. In *Everyday Media Culture in Africa* (pp. 15-40). Routledge.

Willems, W., and Mano, W., 2017. *Everyday Media Culture in Africa: Audiences and Users.* New York; Oxon: Routledge.

Willems, W., 2013. Participation–in what? Radio, convergence and the corporate logic of audience input through new media in Zambia. *Telematics and Informatics*, *30*(3), 223-231.

Willems, W., 2014. Provincializing hegemonic histories of media and communication studies: Toward a genealogy of epistemic resistance in Africa. *Communication Theory*, *24*(4), 415-434.

Willems, W., 2016. Beyond Free Basics: Facebook, data bundles and Zambia's social media internet. *Africa at LSE.*

Williams, J. B., 2017. *The electronics revolution: inventing the future*. Chichester, UK: Springer.

Williams, A., Wardle, C. and Wahl-Jorgensen, K., 2011. Have they got news for us? Audience revolution or business as usual at the BBC?. *Journalism Practice*, *5*(1), 85-99.

Windover, M., 2015. Designing Public Radio in Canada. *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne*, *40*(2), 42-56.

Winseck, D., 2014. Broadcasting Empire: The BBC and The British World, 1922–1970. *Media History*, *20*(3), 326-330.

Witschge, T., 2014. Passive accomplice or active disruptor: The role of audiences in the mediatization of politics. *Journalism Practice*, *8*(3), 342-356.

World Health Organization, 2015. *Enhanced capacity building training for frontline staff on building trust and communication: facilitator's guide, July 2015* (No. WHO/EVD/GCR/CE/15.1). World Health Organization.

Wood, C. E., 2010. *Engaging Communities with Farm Radio in Malawi*. Retrieved on 9 April, 2024 from https://oasis.col.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/9dfab977-289e-4828-8915-a32034fe4e5f/content

Workneh, T. W., and Steeves, H. L., 2019. State monopoly of telecommunications in Ethiopia: Revisiting natural monopoly in the era of deregulation. In *Political economy of media industries* (pp. 127-147). Routledge.

Wright-Isak, C., and Prensky, D., 1993. Early marketing research: Science and application. *Marketing Research*, *5*(4), 16.

Wykle, S. S., 2016. The public will vs. the public trust: Early American radio as a public information resource. *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, *53*(1), 1-10.

Xiaoming, H., 2012. Asian journal of communication: Communication research with an Asian focus for a global audience. *Review of Communication*, *12*(3), 257-266.

Yeandle, A., 2021. Does public broadcasting increase voter turnout? Evidence from the roll out of BBC radio in the 1920s. *Electoral Studies*, *74*, 102407.

Yeates, R., 2020. Serial fiction podcasting and participatory culture: Fan influence and representation in The Adventure Zone. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *23*(2), 223-243.

Yin, R. K., 2013. *Case study research: Design and methods.* Sage publications.

Yin, R.K., 2003. *Case study research: Design and Methods.* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Young, C., 2012. *The postcolonial state in Africa: Fifty years of independence, 1960–2010*. University of Wisconsin Pres.

Zakariah, A. T., 2008. *Assessing the potential of local radio for agricultural communication in Ghana*. University of Leicester (United Kingdom).

Zakaria, M., & Ofori-Birikorang, A., 2018. Social media and radio news production: A study of selected radio stations in Ghana. *International Journal of New Media and Mass Communication*, *68*.

Zatzman, J., 2023. *Comparing Canada's Antigonish Movement and Farm Radio Forum: Economic, Technological, and Social Factors.* PhD Thesis: University of Toronto (Canada).

Zavala, M., 2013. What do we mean by decolonizing research strategies? Lessons from decolonizing, Indigenous research projects in New Zealand and Latin America. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 2(1), 55 – 71.

Zeleza, P. T., 2009. The media in social development in contemporary Africa. *Media and identity in Africa*, 19-35.

Ziai, A. et al., 2020. Decolonizing knowledge orders, research methodology and the academia: An introduction. *D. Bendix, F. Müller, F., & A. Ziai (Eds.), Beyond the Master's Tool*, 1-16.

Zidana, E., 2020. *Agricultural extension radio programming on MBC in the 1990s.* Personal Interview. 7 December Lilongwe.

APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS: INTERVIEW GUIDES

Appendix 1a: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RADIO LISTENER CLUB COORDINATORS

Section One: General background and experience in coordinating radio listening clubs.

a) Please tell me a little bit about yourself.

a) Briefly, what is your educational background and your professional training?

b) Briefly, tell me about the kind of work you have been involved in before coming to this station.

c) When did you join the station and how did this come about?

d) What type of work have you been involved with at the station?

e) How did you become a radio listening club coordinator for this radio station?

f) How many years have you worked as a radio listening club coordinator?

Section Two: Background on station's definition of purpose, programming goals and conceptualisation of audience

a) Please tell me about the core purpose of your station. What does it set out to achieve?

b) As part of this purpose, what is the station's target audience?

c) How does the station aim to serve that audience?

d) In order to achieve this aim, what kind of programming does the station carry?

e) How would you describe the kind of relationship that the station aims to establish with that audience, and why?

f) In your view, what is the relationship between the station and its audience really like? How does this compare to the kind of relationship the station wants with its audience?

g) Tell me briefly about the programme for which you are responsible. How does it contribute to all of these aims?

Section Three: The club / clubs at your station and the role they are ideally supposed to play

a) What do you understand to be the reason why the club / clubs were established?

b) How is the club / are the clubs supposed to contribute to the overall purpose of the station?

c) Is the club / are the clubs supposed to contribute to creating the kind of relationship that the station wants to have with its audience? If so, please elaborate.
d) How are the clubs supposed to work? Please explain this. *(**Possible prompts***: what should happen in the club meetings? How often are they supposed to take place, who is supposed to participate, and how many people? How long are the discussions supposed to be?)
e) What kind of issues and topics are the clubs ideally supposed to discuss? Why are these topics important?
f) Please describe to me how the radio programmes are ideally supposed to work. ***(Possible prompts***: what is their purpose and how are they supposed to achieve this? How are they structured, who is involved in producing them, what kind of content do they contain, and what kind of guests are supposed to feature in the programmes?)
g) What kind of conversations should ideally take place in context of these programmes, and how should these relate to the discussions in the club meetings?
h) What is your role as coordinator supposed to be in all of this? What principles are you supposed to follow to ensure that the clubs and programmes operate effectively?

Section Four: How the clubs work out in practice

a) Now please tell me how these guidelines work out in practice, beginning with the club meetings. ***(Possible prompts***: Do they work in the way that they are intended? How often are the sessions, who comes to them, and how many people attend? How long are the sessions?)
b) Please describe how participation takes place in these discussions. Does everyone participate, or do some people speak more? If so, who speaks more, and who speaks less?
c) How does all of this affect the kind of conversations that take place in the club meetings? Does it mean that some topics and points of view get more attention than others? Explain how?
d) What do you do to make the club meeting discussions work well?
e) Now please tell me more about how the radio programmes work out in practice. Do they work in the way that is intended? ***(Possible prompts***: How are they produced? What kind of content do they include from the club discussions? What kind of guests are featured?)

f) What happens during the on-air discussions? What kind of topics are discussed, and what kind of points of view are mostly expressed?
g) What do you do to make these programme discussions work well?
h)

Section Five: The importance of the club discussions for the audience and the radio station

a) Based on what you have said, how successful would you say the clubs are in achieving their purpose, as you have described it to me?
b) What do you observe as the actual achievements of the clubs for the communities they serve?
c) In your opinion does the resulting programming have an impact on public debate, and on the formulation of public policy? In what ways?
d) In practice, how does your station benefit from the clubs?
e) What challenges do the clubs face in achieving their purpose?
f) How should the stations deal with the challenges you have mentioned?
g) What do you think should be done for the clubs to work better than is the case now?

Appendix 1b: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RADIO PROGRAMME GUESTS

Section One: General background and experience of radio guest

a) Please tell me briefly about yourself.
b) What is your educational background?
c) Please tell me about your professional occupation and your areas of expertise.
d) How did you become a guest in the club discussions, and for what purpose?
e) Since when have you appeared as a guest in the club discussions? How many programmes have you contributed to?

Section Two: Conceptualisation of the clubs and programmes and own roles in this

a) What do you understand to be the purpose of the station?
b) Who do you understand to be the station's target audience, and how does it aim to serve this audience?
c) As you understand it, what role are the club / clubs supposed to play in contributing to this purpose?
d) What do you understand to be the purpose of including content from the listener club discussions in the programmes?
e) What is therefore the expectation from the station regarding the kind of issues that guests should ideally come to speak about in the programmes?
f) What do you understand to be the role that you are expected to play as a guest in the programmes? What is the contribution that the station wants you to make?

Section Three: Description of the programmes as they work out in practice

a) Tell me about the on-air programmes you have participated in, starting with the content that is included from the club discussions. What sort of topics were covered in this material?
b) What kind of conversations took place live on air, in response to this material? Tell me about this.
c) What did the club moderator do during the programme, in order to facilitate the discussion? How well did this work?
d) What was your experience of contributing to the discussion? How did you experience responding to the recorded material and to questions posed to you by the club moderator? Did you feel as if you were able to fulfill your required role as a guest?

e) Share some examples of your responses on important discussions by the clubs. Why do you think these examples are important?

Section Four: Assessment of the clubs and programmes: strengths and weaknesses

a) Having participated in the listener club programmes, how successful would you say the programmes are in achieving their purpose?
b) How would you say they affect the kind of relationship that the station has with its audience?
c) What do you observe as achievements of the clubs for the communities they serve?
d) In your opinion does such programming have an impact on public debate, and on the formulation of public policy? In what ways?
e) What would you say are the challenges to the achievement of the goals of this kind of programming?
f) What should be done to ensure the full potential of this kind of programming can be realized?

Appendix 1c: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR LISTENER CLUB FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Section One: General background and experience of listener club members

a) Please can each of you tell me something about yourself. How would you describe yourself?
b) How did you become a listener club member? Why did you decide to join?
c) For how long have you been a listener club member?

Section Two: Conceptualisation of the purpose of the clubs

a) What do you understand to be the aim of the club discussions?
b) What are you supposed to do in the club discussions? What is expected of you?
c) What is the role of the club moderator? What are they supposed to do to make the discussions work well?
d) What do you understand to be the purpose of including content from the club discussions in the radio programmes?
e) What do you understand to be the contribution that guests are supposed to make to the discussions in the programmes?
f) What do you understand to be the purpose of the resulting discussions that take place on the radio programme?

Section Three: Actual experience of the clubs and programmes

a) Now talk to me about how the listener clubs actually work.
b) How would you describe the nature of participation in the discussions? Do some people participate more? If so, why is this the case?
d) Do you yourself participate a lot? Or not much? Why is this? What could be done to encourage participation?
c) What type of issues issues/topics are discussed in the clubs? Why is this? What could also be included?
d) What do you think of the way the club moderator manages the discussion?
e) Please share some examples of club discussions that are memorable to you. Why are they memorable?
f) What do you think of the way the recorded content from club discussions are shared in the radio programmes? Is this well done? Please explain.

g) What do you think of the way the contents of the club discussions are dealt with in the radio programmes?
h) What do you think of the role that guests play on the programmes? Does this work well? Please explain.
i) Please share some examples of radio programme discussions that are important to you. Why are they important?

Section Four: Evaluating the process of the clubs and programmes

a) What do you think of the discussions that take place in the radio programmes? Are they valuable to you? Why?
b) What do you think of the contributions made by guests? Are they relevant? How?
c) What could work better about the radio programmes?

Section Five: Evaluating the impact and benefit of the clubs and shows

a) In what ways would you say the discussions that take place in the clubs and programmes have benefitted you and your community?
b) Can you provide me with examples of such benefits?
c) Would you say there are ways in which the club discussions should be improving the quality of life of your community but fail to do so? How so?
d) What do you think needs to happen for the discussions to achieve their purpose better?

Appendix 1d: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PRELIMINARY RESEARCH INFORMANTS

Section One: General background and experience in radio listening clubs.

b) Please tell me a little bit about yourself.
g) Briefly, what is your educational background and your professional training?
h) Briefly, tell me about the kind of work you were involved in when you worked with radio listening clubs.
i) When did you join the station and how did this come about?
j) What type of work were involved in at the station?
k) How did you become involved in radio listening clubs?
l) How many years did you worked with radio listening clubs?

Section Two: Insight on background and purpose of clubs.

h) Tell me when and how the clubs were established?
i) Explain how the clubs functioned?
j) What type of internal support was there to the functioning of the clubs?
k) What type external support was there to the functioning of the clubs?
l) What did the clubs aim to achieve?
m) How successful were the clubs during your time?
n) What made the clubs successful?
o) What were the challenges that you observed that may have affected the successful functioning of the clubs?
p) Who participated in the club discussions?
q) How were the club programmes produced?
r) What kind of issues and topics did the clubs deal with during the time you worked at this station or with the clubs?
s) What was your role?
t) What did you observe to be the actual achievement of the clubs for the communities they served?

Appendix 2: CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEET FOR RADIO LISTENER CLUB PROGRAM DISCUSSIONS AND ON-AIR OR RECORDED PROGRAMMES

FIELDWORK MATERIAL	MATERIAL DESCRIPTION	OBSERVATION	ANALYTICAL COMMENT
1	Coordinator moderation		
2	Level of participation		
3	Language used		
4	Encouragement on participation		
5	Domination of discussion		
6	Level of interaction		
7	Topics of discussion.		
8	Sources of suggestions on solutions to issues		
9	Duration of discussion		

Appendix 3: OBSERVATION QUESTION LIST FOR RADIO LISTENER CLUB DISCUSSIONS

Name of radio listening club……

Host radio station…….

Date of conducting observation……

Location……

FIELDWORK MATERIAL	QUESTION DESCRIPTION	OBSERVATION	ANALYTICAL COMMENT
1	Location/environment setup.		
2	Sitting arrangement.		
3	Nature of moderation.		
4	Level of interaction.		
5	Level of participation		
6	Topics/issues under discussion		
7	Suggestions on the way forward.		
8	Length of discussions.		
9	Pattern of discussions.		

Appendix 4: OBSERVATIONAL CHECKLIST FOR ON-AIR PROGRAMMES

Name of radio listening club……

Host radio station…….

Date of conducting observation/listening exercise…….

Location……

FIELDWORK MATERIAL	QUESTION DESCRIPTION	OBSERVATION	ANALYTICAL COMMENT
1	Format of programme		
2	Sitting arrangement and order of contributions.		
3	Level of moderation.		
4	Level of interaction.		

5	Domination of discussion		
6	Topics/issues under discussion		
7	Nature of responses from programme guests		
8	Nature of suggestions on way forward		
9	Duration of discussions		
10	Pattern of discussions		

Appendix 4: LIST OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

(a) MBC Nanjili Radio Listener Club

Name	**Gender**	**Designation**
1. Dorah Danga	Female	Chairperson
2. Dorothy Phiri	Female	Vice chairperson
3. Loveness Kamanga	Female	Secretary
4. Regina Chinkhamba	Female	Vice secretary
5. Jenipher Zungu	Female	Monitor
6. Dyna Chitutu	Female	Vice monitor
7. Loveness Kamanga	Female	Secretary
8. Amina George	Female	Treasurer
9. Mkumba	Male	Group Village Headman
10. Chombo	Male	Group Village Headman
11. Malenga	Male	Group Village Headman
12. Stanford Symon	Male	Member
13. Esime Chauwa	Female	Member
14. James Bwanali	Male	Member
15. Emmanuel Kalimwayi	Male	Member
16. Richard Khofi	Male	Member
17. Raphael Brighton	Male	Member
18. Yapatula Nyirenda	Female	MBC RLC Coordinator

19. James Bodole	Male	Director of Public Works in the Ministry Public Works (Programme Guest)

(b) MIJ Radio Listening Club

Name	Gender	Designation
1. Getrude Hawa Hassan	Female	Chairperson
2. Hannah Malika	Female	Member
3. Elizabeth Grant	Female	Member
4. Sellina Phiri	Female	Member
5. Brandina Manganganja	Female	Member
6. Mwakhere Kalyande	Female	MIJ FM RLC Coordinator
7. Lucy Nkhoma	Female	Menstrual hygiene health management activist and gender expert (Programme guest)

(c) Gaka Community Radio Listening Club

Name	Gender	Designation
1. Galatiya Kamangira	Male	Chairperson
2. Hilda Chikonde	Female	Secretary
3. Donias Mota	Female	Vice secretary
4. Pilirani Simbi	Male	Treasurer
5. Alex Pheto	Male	Member
6. Chawama Jere	Male	Member
7. Charity Dzongwe	Male	Gaka RLC Coordinator
8. Justin Makala	Male	Youth friendly services focal for Kalemba Community hospital, Bangula Nsanje. Member of Christian Health Association

		of Malawi (Programme guest).

Appendix 5: LIST OF PRELIMINARY RESEARCH INFORMANTS

1. Mavuto Kapyepye, former project manager of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Development Broadcasting Unit (MBC DBU).
2. David Kamkwamba, former radio listening club coordinator at Malawi Broadcasting Corporation. Member of the MBC staff that went to Zimbabwe in 1999 on a study tour of radio listening clubs in that country.
3. Prince Mtelera, former project manager at Malawi Broadcasting Corporation DBU. Current director of Development Communication Trust, a local non-governmental organization involved in development broadcasting consultancy.
4. Joshua Chirwa. Director of MBC Development Broadcasting Unit.
5. Richard Bande, former producer, and studio engineer for Malawi Broadcasting Corporation.
6. Roselyn Mankhambera, Malawi Institute of Journalism (MIJ FM) Broadcasting Services manager.
7. Mphatso Chikalipo, programmes producer at MIJ FM.
8. Deus Sandram, former programmes producer MIJ FM.
9. Chancy Mloza. Programmes producer at Zodiak Private National radio.
10. Gizex Gizai, former station manager for Gaka Community radio.

Appendix 6: RADIO PROGRAMME TRANSCRIPTS

Appendix 6a: MBC radio programme transcript

Station: MBC Radio 1

Name of Programme: *Tigwirane Manja (Let's unite/let's hold hands)*

Duration: 28 Minutes

Sig. Tune: Up…up…fade out.

Lyrics in the song entitled *Tigwirane Manja* by Fumbi Jazz Band used as sigtune;

Amalawi tigwirane manja, x2 (Malawians let's hold hands) x2
Pothetsa mavuto akukumana nawo amayi, (In the fight against the challenges women face…)
Chifukwa cha matenda a Edzi. (…as a result of HIV/AIDS)
Azimayiwa amagolamulidwaaaa (These women are just forced into some cultural practices)
kulowa kufa amangolamulidwaaaa (To marry a relative of their dead husband, it's out force)
*Kupimbira amamgolamulidwaaa (*For a girl to marry an older man, it's out of force)
Mwambo wa chokolo amangolamulidwaa (To marry a relative of their dead husband, it's force)
Mwambo wa fisi amangolamulidwaaaa (To have sex with a hired sex cleanser/hyena, it's force)
Zomwe zimachititsa azimayiwa (In the end, these cultural practices put the women at risk…)
Kutenga matenda a Edziiii (…of contracting HIV/AIDS)

Chorus
Inu aboma, tigwirane manjaaa (Government, let's hold hands)
Ma NGO, tigwirane manjaaa (NGOs, let's hold hands)
Inu andale, tigwirane manjaaa (Politicians, let's hold hands)
Amipingo, tigwirane manjaaa (Religious groupings, let's hold hands)
Atolankhani tigwirane manjaaa (Media people, let's hold hands)
Ma Mp, tigwirane manjaaa (Members of parliament, let's hold hands)
Inu a Malawi, tigwirane manjaa (Malawians, let's hold hands)
Ife oyimba, tigwirane manjaa (Fellow musicians, let's hold hands)
Tonse a Malawi, tigwirane manjaa (Fellow Malawians, let's hold hands)
Repeat first verse

MBC Presenter/Coordinator: There are two things that a lot of people really want to have, do you know these things? Welcome me this afternoon dear listener to our program *Tigwirane Manja* from MBC Radio 1 but we have produced through the Development Broadcasting Unit (DBU), with the aim of encouraging good practices on how to fight HIV /Aids. You are with me Yapatula Nyirenda.

Do we know the two things those human beings really need to have in life? For you to try answering this question, I think it will take you the whole day. However, a group of Nanjiri radio listening club members from Mkumba Village, T/A Lundu in Blantyre says according to them the things are, food and family or we can say, marriages. These two things are also

contributing in making the fight against HIV, which requires one to be taking medication and to be following the prescription strictly, to be difficult. *Inetu ndisatchole nkhwani* (Let me not pre-empt the story at the beginning) because that is the duty of the monitor who is leading this discussion.

Monitor: Let me welcome you here at Nanjiri radio listening club, at Group Village Headman Mkumba, T/A Lundu in Blantyre. Today we have met and we are discussing the problem that a lot of people are not taking their ARV medicine. Why is this problem arising and what is the cause of this problem? You are with me James Bwanali

Members: (*hands clapping*)

Monitor: Do you think we have this problem here that people are not taking their medication as prescribed?

Members: Yes, it is happening! That's true!

Monitor: What do you think is making a lot of people not to take the ARV medication as prescribed?

Participant A: My name is Loness Kamanga from here at Group Village Headman Mkumba MBC radio listening club in Blantyre T/A Lundu.

To my side, I think this problem is happening here because of the following reasons. One, lack of food as a result of the hunger outbreak that has struck this place here at Mkumba. You may find that a person receives the ARV medicine and you are supposed to take medicine in the morning but there is no food to eat at home. So what is happening is that in the end you are forced to take the medicine and what follows is that people become dizzy and some people end up breaking their legs while working in their crop fields as a result of the dizziness. So because of this people are deciding to stop taking the medicine which at the end is bringing complications to their health because once you stop taking medicine you compromise your body and health system since all the viruses and infections that were weakened now resurrect and start attacking you again. So for you to resume taking the medication becomes another problem. In the end a person dies, leaving children behind as orphans.

Members: (*hands clapping*)

Participant B: My name is Dorothy Phiri. I come from Kuchombo the area of Village Group Village Headman Mkumba, T/A Lundu Blantyre. I want to add my comment on the issue of the prescription of the medicine. The efforts to follow the prescription are facing a lot of challenges in our area because even marriages are disturbing how people should follow this prescription. Some men here are proposing women that are taking ARV's but sometimes the women are not being honest enough to tell the men about the medication they take, not revealing their HIV status which is wrong and because the man is not aware that the woman has stopped taking medicine the woman may become sick and die and this affects the children. The man who is not aware of his status then proceeds to marry another woman who does not know her status as well and they proceed to marry without going for HIV testing to know their status. This affects the families and mostly leads to death and sometimes when one person dies the other one proceeds to marry again and infect more people and spread the disease. This is affecting a lot of people here because people are not able to follow the prescription of the medicine.

Members: (*hands clapping and ululation*)

Participant C: I am Dyna Chitutu from Mkwanda village. I want to add on what Loness has said about the change of prescription because a person would take the medicine in the morning and take a hoe and go to the fields which are far away and mostly take an hour or two hours for a person to reach. And these people arrive at the fields already tired and weak and they cannot manage to cultivate. In the end they collapse and it is often their relatives or other people that help them to get back home. The main cause of this problem is hunger because sometimes it may happen that the previous night the person went to bed hungry but in the morning they are supposed to take medicine on an empty stomach and this leads to dizziness and they end up collapsing due to unconsciousness.

Members: (*hands clapping*)

Participant D: I am Edna Assani from Chombo from Group Village Headman Mkumba Area. I also want to add on the issue of taking the ARV medication. This medicine is taking by everyone who has been diagnosed even children who go to school and sometimes children take it in the morning when they have nothing to eat. When they go to school mostly they return home because they are weak and sick since they are hungry and this affects their education, thank you.

Members: (*hands clapping*)

Monitor: Now on the issue of not being honest, not telling your partner that you are on HIV treatment or you are taking the ARVs and hiding it somewhere in the house so that your partner should not find out, what do you think is really causing men or women not to be honest about this?

Participant E: I am Jenipher Dzungu. It's true that there is indeed a big problem there because if a woman like myself is not married and I don't have food at home but am on treatment that needs food and a certain man is showing interest to help me buy food and marry me, I will definitely accept him so that he marries me and assist me to get food. If I am on treatment, it is hard to open up to the partner that am HIV positive because it is obvious the man will end the marriage (*hands clapping and ululation*). At this point no matter what I will dig a hole and hide the bottle of medicine so that I protect my marriage and get food, so because I have done these two things, I have hidden something so that my life should proceed, I have stopped taking the medication and it is because I want to get food by getting married, and for me to keep this marriage I have to hide the medicine though this is a big burden that leaves me feeling guilty conscious. So, it is true that we want to take care of our new families so that we find food because we care struggling with the hunger outbreak and we cannot take medicine when we are hungry, it is not possible. If we take the medicine, we feel uncomfortable because there is a lot that goes through our minds during this moment. We have to think about how to find food and how to look after your children. At the same time, our bodies are slowly becoming weak. So, you get confused and the only solution that we see at this stage is to hide the medication so that we save our marriages (*hands clapping*).

At the end of all these things we find ourselves sick and because of hiding from your relatives you die and leave the kids with them because all these practices of hiding the medicine so that your partner should not see it leave you feeling guilty every day. But if you do your research, you find out that the main reason why all these things are happening is what my friends have

already said, the hunger outbreak that has hit our area here at Mkumba. We have no food and we have hunger problems because the rains were erratic during the previous rainy season, so we did not have bumper harvests from our fields.

Members: (*hands clapping*)

Participant F: I am the Chairlady Dolla Tanga. Indeed, it's true and I want to comment on what the deputy monitor Mrs Dzungu has said. What really happens when a woman who was hiding the ARV so that her partner should not see them has died, the widowed husband expects to move on. So, he may propose another lady. Sometimes even if the man finds out that his wife died due to non-adherence to the ARV medication prescription, he still goes ahead and marry and continues to keep his status a secret and this becomes a big problem. This practice of keeping the HIV status and the ARV treatment a secret comes because people want to be married for security purposes but instead, they end up bringing more problems in their lives and also endangering the lives of other people by infecting them. In this way, instead of fighting against the disease, we are continuing to spread it.

Members: (*hands clapping*)

Participant A: This is Loness Kamanga again. If I check properly the problem is not only the woman that struggles but what happens is that some men when they see that they cannot manage to feed the family since the wife has 7 kids but somewhere there is a single woman who has food at her home, they proceed to marry her and create a polygamous family so that the man gets food from the second wife. So, what happens is that for this man to get food from that woman, he hides that he is on ARV treatment at his home with his wife. In a polygamous marriage they agree to give each other turns where one week he spends with another woman and the other with another woman so most of the times when he is with the new wife, he stops taking the medication as prescribed which leads to a lot of health problems. He puts himself at risk of causing his own death. When he is dead, he leaves a big responsibility to the widow to take care of the 7 children and sometimes the widow would choose to get a new partner to assist her raising the kids and sometimes she may hide her status to the new partner. This tendency of hiding the status is increasing the spreading of HIV and this is mainly caused by the lack of food in households.

Members: (*They all sing a song as an interlude*).

MBC moderator: (*song fades*). You are listening to *Tigwirane Manja* program here on MBC Radio 1 but we have produced the programme from the Development Broadcasting Unit (DBU). Today we are at Nanjiri radio listening club in Mkumba village, in the area of Tradition Authority Lundu in Blantyre district. The people in this area are complaining that hunger or lack of food and the interest to stay married is forcing a lot of people to stop taking their medication as prescribed. Our dear listener, if you are interested to say something in the programme right now or later, please you can do so by calling or sending a text message on this number 0999306979 and I will take your calls or read your views in the texts. Now let's back to our monitor, how do you proceed with the program?

Monitor: We are indeed here at Nanjiri radio listening club. You have explained a lot that the problems and the reasons that make people to stop following the prescription of ARV medicine are hunger and secrets in marriages where partners hide the truth about their medication from each other. So, as citizens, residents from this area, what have we done to end this problem?

Participant F: My name is Rashid Chiwala from Saidi Village in the area of Group Village Headman Mkumba T/A Lundu Blantyre. Mine is a comment on the issue that we have been discussing and my comment is for all Malawians because I am also a Malawian. We have highlighted all the problems, but we have not discussed the solution which means the problems will still go on if we do not talk about the prevention of these things. In a community we have different leaders that are approached before the marriage starts, so I would like to urge the leaders to implement the HIV testing procedure for couples who want to get married. For those that were already married but they are no longer with their partner but they want to remarry they should be forced to undergo the testing process and in so doing we will end these problems. This is the big problem that I have seen and it will never end if we don't follow what I have just said. Otherwise, we will just be going round in circles discussing issues like these, the real problem may not end. We already have hunger problems and we only focus on fighting against hunger and in the process, people contract HIV which usually cuts their lives as they say *chachidule chimadula moyo (*shortcuts always cut short life).

Members: (*clapping hands*)

Participant G: I am Marriam Yazi from Chiwanda village. When a man proposes, we should always go to our parents to introduce them before we start cohabitation so that the parents should order us to go for HIV testing. In so doing, we will be able to know each other's status and build trust between us, but if we fail to do that, we will end up infecting each other.

Members: (*clapping hands*)

Participant E: I am Jenipher Dzungu. You are saying we should be going for testing before getting married, are you sure you know how critical the hunger outbreak is? A man approaches me asking for marriage and ready to give me food and you expect me to go for HIV testing, are you sure?

Participant H: I am Raphael Brighton from Osman Village but I am the VDC chairman at Mkumba village. I agree with what the monitor has said that we have a serious hunger problem and people are just entering into marriages anyhow. This is what I can suggest, it is better to struggle for few days while you force the man to go for HIV testing so that you protect yourself today and tomorrow but if you rush to get married at the end you are digging your own grave and leaving your kids with so many problems.

Members: (*clapping hands*).

Participant F: I am Rashid Chiwala again, the chairman for VDC. It seems *nkhani yamanga nthenje (*the issue is getting hot here). I want to urge all the people listening to this discussion, well-wishers or any organisation listening now to help us here in senior group village Nkumba area because we are struggling with hunger and things are not easy at all, we need help, thank you.

Members: (*clapping hands*).

Participant H: My name is Agness Juma from Gunde Village and I am a VDC member at Mkumba Village. I agree with what Jenipher said, you are saying when we find a man we should first go for VCT yet we do not have food at home and they say we should go again after 3 months, so you mean we should be waiting for 3 months for another test? Where do you think I will get food to feed my children?

Participant B: I am Dorothy Phiri. I would have loved if all the people affected especially those of us who are on treatment would be considered to be part of the people that receive soya mealie meal just like those that have lost weight, since we are all suffering from the same disease and receive the same treatment. The porridge made from soya could give us strength to work in our fields. It is okay if they do not give us the same quantity with others but they have to consider giving us the porridge because that porridge is nutritious and gives energy. We are certain that once we eat the porridge in the morning then we can manage to skip lunch and eat supper and still be energetic the following morning to work in our respective fields because if we fail to go to fields then we are provoking more problems in our life.

Participant A: I am Loness Kamanga. I would have loved if traditional leaders could be calling for village meetings where health personnel could come and teach us on how we can take care of our lives and health because sometimes we stop taking the ARV medicine because we don't know the consequences of that (*Clapping hands*). If the health personnel visit us and call for meeting and teach us, then a lot of people would learn and know what to do.

Members: (*clapping hands*)

Participant F/Chairlady: I am Dolla Tanga. I want to comment on what Loness Kamanga said. Indeed, we are saying there is shortage of food out there but somehow we have to take the responsibility of taking care of our lives because we are not only responsible for our lives but other people's lives too. So despite that things are hard, but we cannot be reckless with our lives with the way we struggle and if we get sick it affects the whole family. If the Group Village Headman calls for a meeting and invites the health personnel to talk to the people and encourage them to take medicine, then people will be convinced and follow what they have been told to do because they are aware of the consequences of not following the prescription. In addition to what Dorothy Phiri has said, health workers who give out assistance know that we are all diagnosed but when it comes to giving out the Soya mealie meal, there some bias that happens. Those people that look healthy are not given the porridge but only those that look *monyentchela* (frail and unhealthy) but yet the disease affects all of us the same way and we take the same medication. They could have been saying that those who have lost weight should receive more and those who look healthy should receive half of it (*clapping hands*). This maybe could have helped us to have a healthy life because if a person is healthy and they eat that healthy porridge then they will boost their immunity and health of the body and help to fight against the diseases in the body. This means that if there is any development or community work then people will be able to take part without any problem but if the porridge is only given to the people who are considered unhealthy, then will they be able to go and work alone without us, I thought we all participate in developments projects?

Members: (*clapping hands, and commenting, zoona!* (true! true!)

Participant I: I am Yasin Makawa from Mkwanda VDC. I would have loved if there was an established rule that if you have found a partner that you want to marry then before marriage you have to go for HIV testing (*clapping hands, true true*) but the challenge is that when a child comes to you and says, 'uncle I have found a partner' mostly it happens that they have already had sex (*clapping hands and ululation*). So this is one of the big problems that will not end because most of the time when they tell us, it means they have had sex already. Thank you.

Members: (*clapping hands*)

Participant H: I am Raphael Brighton from Osman Village. I would have loved if the VDC leaders and chiefs could take part because we receive donations like food from different organisations but when the want to write down a list of beneficiaries for the donations, some people's names are omitted and they do not receive anything (*clapping hands and ululation*). My request to my fellow VDC members, the chiefs and the senior group village headmen in our area is that when we receive donations let us give it to all these people equally because they struggle to find food yet somewhere a person who is not needy is enjoying the donations (*clapping hands and ululation*). If we take 3 or 4 people from every village then we can assist almost 20 people to get food and fight hunger and other daily problems.

Members: (*clapping hands*).

Participant J: My name is Ellen Collen from the area of Group Village Headman Mkumba T/A Lundu, Blantyre district. I think this problem will never end because of poverty because even if the organisations come here, they promise to give us donations for 5 months but they actually do this maybe for one month only. Where do the donations for the other 4 months go? (*clapping hands*). Sometime back, they introduced a project called *Mtukula pakhomo* (developing village households project) in our area. They came here and wrote down names of all of us in the village but only few villagers received the help saying other names were skipped in the computer. Now let me ask you, *kompyuta ili ndi miyendo* (do computers have legs to skip over us)? (*Clapping hands*). With this kind of life, I feel like there is a lot of corruption within organisations because some people are being sidelined in development projects in their communities. That's why you will see that we have high poverty levels. So am urging our senior chief Nkumba and the MP as well to take part in fighting against this behavior. Thank you.

Members: (*clapping hands*)

Participant E: Thank you, I am Jenipher Dzungu. This problem for the past years was minimized, it was not traceable for some time because there was a program introduced by WFP called *Magobo* (local slang for piecework) where people got paid for doing some work (*clapping hands*). The money was basically adequate to us although it was not that much. It was 14,400 Kwacha. We were expected to work for 14 days and thereafter receive the money. We were able to budget for the money once we got paid and we could even afford to buy food for ourselves. We could budget to buy a bag of maize, relish and the remaining money we could buy clothes for children (*clapping hands*). Then on Tuesday we could go to the hospital to get treatment while we have kept some money to pay at the *chigayo* (maize milling machine centre). Once we have received the medicine we could go home and prepare food for ourselves. Even in the morning we could afford porridge and we were not complaining at all because we were certain that we will get money from WFP. Since the *Magobo* program ended here at Mkumba let me be honest with you people we are suffering so much (*clapping hands*). It happens that people are taking the medication in secret, secondly others have stopped taking the medicine and thirdly others are afraid to take it without food because they are afraid of collapsing since the withdrawal of the WFP program.

If there were more organisations that could come and give us work to do and pay us the little money like in the past, then it could be better because through the payment we could afford some food and take our medicine properly (*clapping hands*). So my request is if there are more organisations that can give us work to do, even to carry sand from the river to a school block

for us to get paid then we are ready for the work so that we are able to afford food and manage to take our medicine properly (*clapping hands*). We are ready to be working as long as they will be paying us so that we should be able to fight against hunger and we will be comfortable to be taking our medicine without fear of collapsing with the effects of medicine since will be able to support ourselves.

Members: (*clapping hands*)

Monitor: This is how people from here in Mkumba village are discussing the issue of people who are failing to take ARV medicine as prescribed, but how dangerous is this practice to the villagers?

Participant F/Chairlady: I am Dolla Thanga from Group Village Headman Mkumba area. There is a high risk for people here because if there is any small development work and a person is feeling dizzy once he takes the medicine, then how will they participate in the development work? (*Clapping hands*). This means that every development work that comes will be hard for this person to work on and this will affect the development in the Mkumba village because people who were supposed to work are not physically fit for the work.

Participant J: The situation is bad here at Group Village Headman Mkumba. People are plucking fresh mangoes from the trees. If you check around, you will find a lot of mangoes are not there because they pluck and boil them as food and add juice and drink like juice, or eat like porridge. Now if the mangoes finish, *tigwira mtengo wanji?* (What other option will be there as food for people to eat?

Members: (*clapping hands*)

Participant K: I sense there is so much danger for people who are taking the medicine without food as there are so many chances that they can die because of hunger. The main request is what we have already said earlier on, that organisations should to come here and help us with donations or offer some piece works here at Mkumba village so that people can afford food for their homes (*clapping hands*). Let must just add on the same issue of organisations, there is an organisation that came here to help us but they are asking people to pay 2000 Kwacha as registration fee. Now my question is if people cannot afford to buy food for their houses where will they get the 2000 Kwacha money to pay?

Members: (*clapping hands*)

Participant L: I am Edina Assani. The kids that are left at home are at high risk because they will become malnourished. Thank you.

Members: (*clapping hands*)

Participant L: My name is Fatima Wajabu from Chimwala village. I am a VDC member here in of Group Village Headman Mkumba area, T/A Lundu. I feel like there is great danger here at Mkumba village because once people stop taking the medicine because of hunger, there is a high likelihood that they will die and leave the kids without care since no one will be able to take care of them.

Members: (*clapping hands*)

Monitor: We have seen the risks and dangers that are here at Mkumba village on the issue of non-adherence to ARV prescription. So now who do you think can help us solve this problem?

Participant B: I feel like we can take our problems to the councilor who is supposed to be responsible for the problems of the community.

Participant D: This problem can indeed be directed to the councilor. But I think the MP as well should take our problems and present them to government because he is 'our eyes'. He is our representative to the government and he can take our problems to organisations and tell them how much we are struggling here with 'serious' hunger. The problem also is that our MP does not come here often, we just hear on the radio that he is in Lilongwe the capital city. We need him to come here problems that are coming up suddenly like this. He must hear from us. If he can't come one day, we will organise a march to Lilongwe and meet him! Otherwise, why does he avoid us?

MBC presenter/coordinator: We have a few messages here. Steven Maganga from Lunzu says *anthuwo agwira njakata pamenepo chifukwa aboma sakuwathandiza. Apapa mpofunika kuti boma lilowerepo.* [The government is doing nothing to help the people in this case, that is why the people are choosing to do as they wish. So, the people must not be blamed. Government must do something]. *Chikondi Chikumbenji says zonsensi zikhoza kuja ngati athuwo atachillimika ndikutsana ndondomeko za makhalawo chifukwa moyowo ndiwawo.* [The problem of non-adherenec e to the ARVs can be reduced if the people become serious on their own because it is a issues about personal health]. Thank you for the text messages, Mr Steven Maganga and Chikondi Chikumbenji. Now, the Nanjiri radio listening club is based within Group Village Headman Mkumba area. I wanted to find out from the chief if hunger and marriage are the factors that are making people to stop taking medication as prescribed? Here are the comments made by the chiefs on the issue:

GVH Mkumba: Yes, there is hunger here. And it is true people have stopped taking ARV's because of hunger, it's very true. But as a chief, I will engage my fellow chiefs so that we call for a meeting and invite people to encourage them not to stop taking ARV's. I will also be visiting the support groups that are around here to encourage them not to stop taking the medicine. On issues of food, I can say the problem has come because of the heavy rainfall that we had last year. The rains destroyed a lot of crops and caused a lot of people to have no food in their houses. In the past years, people depended on the money they received from the FISD project who engaged people to work and receive about 14 thousand Kwacha as payment. The people could buy food for their homes, but as for now people are not getting paid, they are working as volunteers so there is hunger. As for the marriages, we have a procedure whereby when people want to get married, they are supposed to come to the chiefs and register their marriage in a file in the Chiefs book.

MBC presenter/Coordinator: Chief Nkumba, you say you have an established procedure for the marriage process, then why is it that people are not following it, and the situation has reached a point where people are just getting married anyhow?

GVH Nkumba: This is all happening because of personal problems in the community. You know, when people are struggling, they do things which they think are right even though such things are wrong. But we will try to put strategies that will help people to follow the right

procedures when they want to get married. If a person stops taking ARV's there will be a fine for them to pay so that people should be encouraged to take medicine because if they stop, they are destroying their lives and they will die. So *kuomba mkota kwake ndingonena kuti* (to summarise it all) things are not fine in the villages as some people are depending on mangoes for their supper. Imagine someone taking medicine and depending on mangoes as food, I think that is not helpful at all. My request is for government to step up and distribute food to people so that they should be eating and taking their medicine properly after eating a healthy meal.

MBC presenter/Coordinator: The request from GVH Mkumba to the Government and organisations is that it should give people food so that they should be able to take their medicine properly without any hindrance by giving them some piece work to do, get paid and buy something to eat.

Monitor: This is how we have interacted with people from Group Village Headman Mkumba T/A Lundu in Blantyre on the problem of people who stop taking ARVs. Mwachidule [In a nutshell] we are saying that problems that are making people not to take ARVs include hunger and sometimes issues of polygamous marriages. And on how we can end the problems people from this area think that health personnel should arrange meetings with chiefs and people in the villages. Our friends from the VDC [Village Development Committee] have also assured us that they will be on the forefront to make sure that people should benefit from every donation that comes in the villages, that every village member will be included. The people have also asked duty bearers such as the councilor who is responsible for development projects and the MP for the area to take part in helping these people to fight against hunger so that families should not be affected and people should not stop taking ARVs and make their lives better My name is James Bwanali, monitor for Nanjiri radio listening club. Thank you.

Members: (*clapping hands*)

MBC presenter/Coordinator: In order to get to the root of the problems highlighted in the discussion the DBU together with Nanjili listerner club invited the Member of Parliament for Blantyre North East Honorable Christopher Chiundiza to discuss the issue with members of Nanjiri radio listening club. This is how the main part of discussion went:

Guest MP for BT North East Christopher Chiundiza: Well, I know that we have hunger problems in the country including in my constituency but I seriously did not know that we have this challenge of reluctance to take ARV treatment and this hunger is contributing to that in the Nanjiri area.

MBC presenter/Coordinator; In other words, you rarely physically meet people in your constituency.

Guest MP for BT Christoher Chiundiza: Well, I do find time sometimes.

MBC presenter/Coordinator: So, what do you say?

Guest MP for BT North East Christopher Chiundiza: My immediate reaction is that this is a very fortunate situation. I would like to encourage the people living with HIV/AIDS here in this constituency to be strong and continue taking the ARV treatment because stopping to take the treatment will not solve anything. It will just make their situation worse. I must say the Nanjili area is indeed one of the areas under my constituency. Now that I have concrete evidence of the problem on the ground, I will definitely make time to go to the Ministry of

Agriculture so that I will make time to meet the line minister hounourable Sam Kalonga to request assistance of food, especially maize so that my area should be treated as one of the areas heavily affected by the hunger situation in the country. I know they are distributing the food in areas that were heavily affected by Cyclone Freddy here in the South but I think what I have heard about the effects of hunger in that part of my constituency, especially for the people living with HIV/AIDS, is also something that we need to address.

Club participant C: *Olemekeza athu a MP* (Our honourable member of parliament), now that you have heard why people are not taking the ARV medicines, you can see that it's *njala bwana, mutithandiza bwanji pamenepa?* [its' because people are hungry, they have no food, how are you going to help us?]

Guest MP for BT North East Christopher Chiundiza: I have heard that issue properly…I can assure you that I will discuss with my colleagues honourable Sam Kalonga, our minister of agriculture and Khumba Kasitika, the health minister so that we can consider the Nanjiri constituency as an area that needs urgent support in terms of food, maize to be particular. And the health part, we also need to speak with a lot of people about the importance taking the ARV in the right way.

Club participant B: *Koma vutoli lafika pothina panopa, mupanga liti zimenezi? Anthu afe kaye? (Handclapping and ululation)* [But this issue is now worsening here, how soon are you going to help us? Are you going to wait for more people to die first?]

Guest MP for BT North East; Christopher Chiundiza; *(He hesitates).* No, I have seen that the hunger situation and the ARV issue is a huge problem indeed, so this am treating this as a serious issue. *(He hesitates)* Well, as you may be aware my constituency of Lunzu South is very big. As a result, it is not always easy for us MPs with big constituencies to visit all the areas physically. But it does not mean that I don't care for the people in my constutuecy, I do and I connect with areas only that maybe some people think I have overlooked the Nanjiri area. I have also not been able to visit other areas. One main reason is that we had been attending to the parliamentary sessions on the national budget in parliament. But let me assure the people in Nanjiri that I have heard their concerns on how people in the area are affected by the hunger situation generally and how this is also affecting the taking of ARV treatment for people living with HIV/AIDS in the area. Yeah, so I will take up the issue with the Ministry of Agriculture on the matter. And possibly I should seriously talk with the Ministry of Health as well to see how we can deal with the problem. Maybe they can help us with more sensistisation on the importance of strictly adhering to the ARV prescriptions and the dangers of skipping the treatment…and of course taking the medication without food. Am certain I can convince the health ministry to arrange for such visits to my area in Nanjili because the people there also deserve such health sensitization as citizens of this country.

MBC presenter/Coordinator: That was honorable Christopher Chiundiza, Member of Parliament for Lunzu South area, which is part of Blantyre North East Constituency where the MBC Nanjili radio listener clubs is based. Honourable Chiundiza was one of the duty bearers that the club invited to respond to the concerns about the growing problem of non-adherence to ARV treatment that members of Nanjili radio listening clubs brought forward. This is where we end *Tigwirane Manja* programe from MBC Radio 1. This program was produced by the Nanjiri Radio Listening Club from Mkumba village in Traditional Authority Lundu in Blantyre district. In the next programme we will find out if indeed the MP as a duty bearer dealt with

the problem or took the issue forward the way he has promised in the programme. We will also hear what the radio listening club members think about the response and promises that the MP made in the programme and what course of action they will take should the problems that people in Nanjili are facing still not be solved. Make sure you tune in to the programme next time. You were with me Yapatula Nyirenda.

Sig. Tune. Up…fade…out.

THE END.

Appendix 6b: MIJ radio programme transcript

Name of Programme: *Amayi Mwakonzanji (What Women have prepared) (What is it that women are set to talk about today?)*

Duration: 55 minutes.

Date of broadcast: 26 October, 2023

Sig. Tune: Up…up…fade out.

Presenter/RLC coordinator: Hie and welcome to today programe of *Amayi Mwakonzanji* here on MIJ FM. I am Mwakhere Kaliande. In this programme we hear what our women group has prepared, whether it is a discussion on the issues that affect us as women, a visit to an orphanage, a trip or anything that they have done and is worth sharing. In today's programme we hear the discussions that members of *Amayi Mwakonzanji* radio listening club from Chilomoni and Chilobwe held during their meeting on 26 October 2023. The main topic that the women will discuss is about the abuse that children and women are facing in their communities. *Ena amati domestic violence kapena tinene kuti Gender based violence*. (Some people also call these acts Domestic Violence or Gender Based Violence). The women will also discuss what they think when men and children also become victims of how such abuse can also be seen to be done towards men in our communities. *Musatalikire kuti tigawazane zomwe azimayi a gulu lomvera waiyiles la Amwayi Mwakonzanji atitengera* (Stay tuned so that we hear together what these women from Amayi Mwakonzanji radio listening club have in store for us). But before we hear from the discussions, let us listen to this song from Eli Njuchi entitled *Ma Ine*

Insert 1: Music. *Ma Ine* by Eli Njuchi

That song done by Eli Njuchi entitled *Ma Ine* opening our programme *Amayi Mwakonzanji* here on MIJ FM.

Insert 2 Adverts: Advert from United Purpose herbals.

Now to our main issue for today in the programme. Like I said at the beginning members of Amayi Mwakonzanji radio listening clubs met on 26 October to discuss the issue of *Nkhanza zomwe amayi ndi ana amachititilidwa m'makomomu* (gender-based violence or domestic violence that men and children are facing in our communities). This is how the discussion went:

Monitor/ Participant A: Welcome my fellow women to today's discussions and feel free. My name is Mrs Dorice Kalyati. Today we will talk about how children, women and sometimes men are facing abuse in our communities. But before we do that, I would like each member present to introduce themselves.

Participant B: I am Anne Mtetemera.

Participant C: I am Catherine Madeya.

Participant D: Ruth Kululanga.

Participant E: Mercy Pangani.

Participant F: Tinashe K, or I should say Tinashe Kaunyolo.

Chairperson/Participant A: Well…today our topic is a discussion on the abuse that children, women and in some cases, men are noted to be experiencing in our locations. We want to look at these abuses, how they happen, why and how we can reduce such practices. So, what causes child or women abuse in our families? Let's start with Mrs. Ruth Kululanga. How do you see this issue? What causes all this?

Participant D: It is true that mostly children and women and sometimes women get abused in some families in our communities. I think the main cause sometimes is that some of us as women do not understand that these abuses can happen to anyone. For example, some men are getting abused and suffering silently. This is because most men are shy, they don't want to come out in the open and say, well am being abused by a woman in my marriage. In the end, they resort to committing suicide, strangling themselves or taking poison so that they die. So yes, the abuses are there for all of us, but the men are suffering silently. In the case of children, for example if we ask a child to go fetch water for me to take a bathe and the child refuses, it is wrong to punish that child by denying him/her food for that day, that is serious child abuse! Are we being fair there? Let me stop there for now.

Participant C: Let me talk about the abuse that women get from what men do. Some men are barring their wives from joining women groups, chat or have friends. What the men want is to find a woman alone at home while they themselves go around enjoying with their male friends. When a woman tries to go maybe to a neighbor's house for a chat, the man will beat up that woman. They would slap that woman and some cases break a woman's fingers. These type of abuses in which men beat their wives are on the increase in our communities nowadays. You know what is supposed to happen is that the men should also allow the women some space to make friends because the men themselves are also not always available in the home, they always go out to drink with their friends. And when they return from their drinking spree, they start question the women, where have you been? They say you are not supposed to go anywhere, and then start beating her. Or even when they find she went somewhere, they say where are you? Why are you late? Why didn't you cook? You went to flirt with other men! When actually the woman was doing none of such things. So, such type of abuse towards women is on the increase.

Participant E: As for me I will talk about the abuse that men face. Men are also being abused in the homesteads. For example, some women get angry when their husbands also have a lot of friends and do not allow them to chat with their friends. Maybe the husband came late from chatting with friends or working late or doing some hard hustle somewhere, some women lock the house telling them to sleep outside or go back to where they went. Some men even get beaten by their wives in the homesteads, but then the abuses that men go through are not widely exposed as compared to the abuse that women get.

Participant F: It is true that men are being abused in some families. But for the men to speak up about or tell their friends becomes difficult. Women are able to speak about such abuses because as a tradition, men are taught to be strong, not to cry anyhow. So, when they are being abused, I have never heard a man complain, maybe my friends here you have seen that, but for me no! I have never heard that there is an organisation that helps men that are being abused by women in any way. But for us as women we do have organisations that look into abuses that women face. But for men they have nowhere to channel their problems such as being abused

in families. So, it doesn't mean that men are not abused, they are, only that they don't talk about it.

But then sometime we as women are the causes of such abuses towards men. For example, maybe we get too jealousy or too suspicious of our husbands. When a man is late from work, we think they have a girlfriend or they were with another woman when actually they were looking for money to feed the family. So, the issue is that, men have nowhere to complain about the abuse they face, it's not that they don't get abused.

So maybe, we as women need to slow down, give the men a breather and support their efforts to support their families as opposed to giving them unnecessary pressure through our nagging. We need to understand the men because sometimes they also face a lot of difficulties to support us. Because sometimes when the men have nowhere to complain, that's when you hear that they have strangled themselves, others have taken *Termic* (a brand of rat poison), and some have jumped into a river and died, you know.

Participant F: Let me add. Yes, it is true that there are some abuses happening in the families and the women and children are the most affected because the husbands are failing to fulfil their responsibility of supporting the children and the wife. They leave all that responsibility to the woman. So nowadays when the women talk back when being shouted at, the men complain that the women are rude and they are behaving like that because nowadays women also do have some money which they get after engaging in small scale businesses. But that's not the reason for such behavior by women, this is actually a reaction to the men's failure to stand up and support the family, that's what I can say.

Insert 3: Advert from *Maldeco* Fisheries

Chairperson/Participant A: Based on the views that you have given on today's topic so far, like the way you, Mrs Kaunyolo, has explained, it seems indeed some men are being abused but they have nowhere to report. But also, Mrs Pangani, you talked about the abuse that women and children get from men or husbands. And then Mrs. Ruth Seyani talked about other types of abuse. Mrs. Mtetemera, you talked about the abuse that men do towards women. So now *apapa tiunguzeunguze* (let's dig deeper) so that we can understand the problem because it shows that the abuse is happening on both sides, among women and children on one hand, and among men on the other hand. So why are the abuses happening on both sides?

Participant B: For me I think the abuses are happening because mainly we lack the spirit of love among ourselves. Yes of course a person can do something wrong to us, but being rude towards that person or abusing them is not a solution at all. We need to teach that person by approaching them in a friendly way, show them love, talk to them nicely, advise them, discuss the problem. It's not good to say hey, today my husband has done something bad and therefore I will sleep with clothes on so that he should not touch me. If we talk to each other in a friendly way, the abuses can be reduced.

Participant C: For me I see that a lot of men are suffering because women are too jealousy, they feel insecure and start suspecting the behavior of the men when they stay out of the house for too long. A man my honestly go to look for some piecework or food and take time there. When they come back late, we think they went out to cheat. So, women are being too jealousy.

Participant D: I agree, but let me also say that the suspicions that women have about men is also becoming too much, exceeding the suspicions that men may have about us as women. When a man goes out, we start asking question about why where he is going. When he returns, we bombard him with questions about where he has been, we don't even think of giving him water or food first or at least finding out about his wellbeing, no. So, we then deny him food as punishment. Some women even have the tendency to put covered empty plates on the table as an angry way of telling the husband that he did not buy food, there is no relish for *nsima* (Staple food made from mealie meal), instead of politely telling him that he should buy the relish. They then tell the husband that 'food is ready'. When the husband goes to sit by the table to eat, he finds that the plates are empty, there is no food, yet he is very hungry. That type of behavior is also a form of abuse that men face from women, a lot of women are doing this, we see this in our communities.

Participant E: In my view, the abusing of women and children and also men is increasing because firstly people don't love each other. Am saying this because in most cases, families don't sit down together to discuss issues as people that love each other. They are not open to each other. So, if a husband is not open towards his wife in a family, to say, I have these struggles that are making it difficult for me to provide for this family, then the woman starts thinking that he doesn't care about the family when there is no food. The woman has the right to suspect that the husbands is selfish or just doesn't want to shoulder his responsibility to provide for the family. But if the two discuss their problems, then they together can find ways to solve their family problems. But if they don't discuss, that's when everyone does whatever they want thereby creating chaos in the family and this is not good.

So, I would just like to appeal that husband should be open to discuss with their wives, the problems that they are facing in their businesses or at work so that the women should understand what the men are going through. For example, it's possible that if a husband doesn't say that his salary is as low as K50,000, the woman will just be assuming that her husband gets a better salary. So, when he fails to provide for the family, we as women suspect that the husband is spending money on other women. So, if the men are honest about such issues, I think it would help us understand some of these issues and also reduce the abuse that we see.

In addition, since we see a lot of groups and activists that talk about women rights, I think there should equally be other such groups that should talk about the abuses that men face and how these can be dealt with. This will help the men to know where to forward their complaints when they are being abused by women. Because we as women we have a lot of doors to knock on, so the men should also be considered so that they don't suffer silently.

Participant F: I think for us to end these types of abusive behavior; we need to be tolerant towards each other, as a family between the husband, the wife and children. There should be love in the family because if you love each other, there is no way you can think of abusing each other.

Insert 4: Advert from Heck Fish

Chaireperson/Participant A: We have heard the views on the topic and we have also heard the views about each side, that a man, a woman and children are being abused and this is happening in our families. So, what should we as women do so that the abuse should end completely especially considering that cases of men committing suicide is also increasing and

we as women are said contributing to this increase? Mrs Madeya, what can you say? What should be done? What can you do?

Participant C: I think the biggest call should be a plea, I would like to see interventions from activists or organisations. These organisations should help men to be able to discuss the problems that they face in their families.

And also, the men should stop the habit of trying to appear strong or courageous in the families, trying to persevere and not share their problems, keeping all the problems to themselves. This is not helping us because we see men committing suicide, leaving behind widows and orphans, all this because the men have nowhere to present their inner problems.

Chaireperson/Participant A: Let's be free my fellow women, lets speak up on the issue please. Mrs Mtetemera what can you say on how the abuse can end?

Participant B: I think the marriage counsellors should also be coming in and do something about the abuses that are happening in the families. I know sometimes the marriage counsellors may be have come in and the abuses are continuing. In that case, I agree with the suggestion that Mrs Madeya gave that we should also have groups or organisations that should look into these issues for men so that they should also be able to go there and seek help. In that way we as women will also be cautious because we will know that men also have somewhere to complain if we beat the men or abuse them in any way. For now, we have organisations where we run to so that they look into our complaints when men abuse us, but for the men, they are always afraid of being laughed at if they openly complain about being beaten or abused by their wives. So, organisations should come in because the men are failing to cope. I have not heard many cases where a woman has committed suicide because the husband was abusing her, but for the men, we have a lot of such incident, you go there you hear a man has committed suicide, you go that side you hear a man has committed suicide. So having organisations to help the men can be a good idea.

Chairperson/Participant A: Thank you. Now Mrs. Kululanga, we have also heard here that children are also abused in families, what should we do to end the abuse of children so that they also enjoy their rights peacefully?

Participant D: I think here we need to be tolerant towards each other. We need to accept the children's weaknesses. They are our children, when they make a mistake, we should correct them in a loving manner and not mistreating them. We also see in our communities that a certain woman is abusing their children, we need to be vigilant and discourage such women or report them to authorities such as the police. When we see a woman denying their children food, or not allowing their children to go to school but instead stay at home and work, we need to approach such women and try to explain to them that what they are doing is wrong.

Chairperosn/Participant A: Mrs. Pangani, we also heard you explaining that some men run away from their responsibilities and leave everything for the woman to do, and this is a type of abuse. What can we do so that men should see the need to be supportive in the families, to be able to share the responsibility with women?

Participant E: What is needed is that the family should discuss and do things together. If there is no mealie meal in the house, the wife should tell the husband not stay quiet as a woman yet you know there is no food in the house. And then when it's time for supper you start saying

there is no food. So, you must do the budget together, discuss how to bring up the children, what clothes to buy for the children, issues of their school fees and all that, discuss all these as a family.

Chairperson/Participant A: Thank you. I noticed that Mrs. Kaunyolo your comments have consistently focused on the abuse that women do towards men. What can you tell your fellow women here so that they should reduce or end the abuse towards men? And also, what can you tell the men, that when they face abuse from women, they should not persevere or be shy but come out in the open so that this practice should come to an end in this country?

Participant F: Yes, it's true that my eyes are glued on the abuse that men face coming from women. What I would like to encourage my fellow women in our communities or in some families is that let's be people that respect each other. People that tolerate each other. We must discuss our problems together as a family. If you as a woman you run a business and your husband works at a company, both of you should respect what their partner is doing and contributing in running the family. And then both of you should be open about your earnings or profits, bring those things together and make expenditure plans together. Because sometimes it is us as women who give too much pressure to our husbands by bringing unnecessary demands and then the men are forced to engage in illegal businesses in order to fulfill those demands or lifestyle. So, the husband should be open to the wife so that together you make a budget that you can afford.

And a specific advice to the men is that they should not be shy or persevere, nobody persevere problems forever, they be open, they should speak up. We all have problems, so the men should learn to share their problems with friends.

And let me also appeal to duty bearers in our communities such as chiefs and police officers not to mock men who approach them with problems about the abuse they are getting from their wives. Instead, they should treat such complaints as serious cases. If they laugh at the men, then the abusive practices will continue because people will not be opening up on these issues. If you check in our communities, women rarely commit suicide from marital problems because we choose to share our problems rather than keep them inside our minds. So, women should also learn to be strong in sharing problems in order to get the necessary advice.

Insert 5: Advert by Classic Foods

Insert 6: Music. *Tingathe* by Sangie

Chairperson/Participant A: Okay…we have looked deep into this issue about how on both sides, women and children, and men are being abused especially within families in our areas of residence. The main point that we have agreed upon is that when we return to our families, we must be the first to act when we see anyone mistreating a child. If that fails, then we need to ask duty bearers in our locations to help us when we return to our communities, our families, we should not just stay idle, watching such abuses happening. We have to be the first to condemn when we see a parent or anyone abusing or mistreating a child. We should report such parents to duty bearers in our communities. We have chiefs, religious leaders and the police where we can go to and say, I have seen these types of abuses in such a family.

We know the police service has various department and sections, they do have a domestic violence unit, criminal investigation unit, child victim support, they can direct us to a relevant

unit to look into our complaint. That is why in our next edition we want the Police Commissioner from Blantyre Police to respond to the issues and example of domestic violence cases that club members have spoken about to day. We have the confidence that he will provide us with the solutions and the way forward. We should not be afraid to approach these duty bearers and the police service. These duty bearers will call the parents or anyone who is abusing a child. If it is a woman who is being abused, let's bring the issue in the open, let's approach the woman and help her.

As for men, like you have said, we need to help them come out in the open and report the abuses they face. They should share their problems with their friends. You also suggested the need to have groups where men can report the abuses the way that various organisations support women rights. In this way, we will have better communities that do not tolerate any form of abuse towards women, children and men and we will also have a better Malawi in future.

Let me thank the members of the club who were present today, Mrs. Kaunyolo, Mrs. Pangani, Mrs Mtetemera, Mrs. Madeya, Mrs Kululanga, for making yourself available today for the discussion. Thank you for your contributions about how we can deal with this problem where women, children and men are increasingly getting abused in our families, in our communities.

And to you that are listening to the programme, I should say please be free to discuss similar issues wherever you are, try to approach the dusty bearers if you notice that women, children and also men are being abused in your community. In that way we will together deal with the problem of women, children and men abuse in our communities.

Presenter/RLC Coordinator: In the programme we also have Lucy Nkhoma, a human expert to comment on the issues that members of *Amayi Mwakonzanji* listener club discussed. What can you say on what on the issue and what the women from our club have said?

Programme Guest Lucy Nkhoma: Issue of domestic abuse must not be left to happen in our communities. We all need to unite and fight against abuse against women and children. As for the discussion that the *Amayi Mwakonzanji* women group conducted, all I can say is, keep it up. You don't have to fear because our constitution provides for a redress form abuse as a human right for everyone. You should also encourage each other to be fearless about speaking on any type of abuse on you as a person. You can also report to the police or women rights organisations to help you take such issues to court if necessary

Presenter/RLC Coordinator: What remedies are available for problems of domestic violence? How can the complaints put forward in the discussion be resolved?

There are a lot ways that we can solve this huge problem as a society. Am sure you know *amabungwe* (civil rights organisations) are all over in Malawi now. We have a child rights organisations in Chitawira called *Eye of the Child*, we have the Human Rights Commission as an umbrella body that oversee adherence to human rights abuses and receives complaints on the same. So, members of the clubs like Amayi Mwakonzanji radio listerner clubs are free to approach these organisations and I believe they will get the necessary remedies. But generally, it is encouraging to hear that some women are now speaking up on issues of domestic violence as a group like this. What the club members here are doing is very commendable. As activists, …we are always available to offer counselling and financial support for court procedures so that perpetrators are prosecuted

Presenter/RLC Coordinator: This is how we end today's programe of *Amayi Mwakonzanji* here on MIJ FM. We heard members of Amayi *Mwakonzanji* radio listening club discussing the topic about the increase in women, children and also men abuse cases at their meeting on 26 October 2023. They also suggested how such abuse can be dealt with in their communities. We also heard the advice from Lucy Nkhoma, our expert guest who is conversant with issues of women and human rights. If you have any comments or questions, you can send them to the producer of the programme through the number 0882700227 and we will definitely read your comments in the programme. I invite you to tune in again to the next progarmme of *Amayi Mwakonzanji* when the club will discuss another topic. My name is Mwakhere Kalyande.

Sig. Tune. Up…fade…out.

THE END

Appendix 6c: Gaka community radio programme transcript

Station: Gaka FM

Location: Bangula. Nsanje district.

Name of Programme: Gaka FACE Social Accountability Programme

Duration: 40 minutes

Date: 27 September 2023

Sig. Tune: Up…up…fade out. *(The Sigtune for the programme is a song sang by women.*

Sigtune lyrics

Chitukuko ndimachifunaaa (I really want development; I wish I could take part in development)
All*: eeeh koma matendawa, ndangokhala zangovuta* (But am always sick from diseases, so I just sit back, I just sit back, It's unfortunate)

Presenter/coordinator: We welcome you our dear listener to this special program called *Gaka Social Accountability Programme*, brought to you by Foundation for Active Civic Education (FACE) Malawi with assistance from All We Can organisation from the United Kingdom. The aim of this program is to follow up on some of the developmental projects being carried out in the area of Traditional Authority Mbenje in Nsanje district. On behalf of Gaka Social accountability desk, you are with me Charity Dzongwe.

One of government's social responsibility is the provision of security to its citizen. The Malawi government established the Malawi Police Service in order to fulfil this responsibility of providing security to its citizens. Despite these government efforts, the number of police personnel is not enough to provide security to all citizens due to high population. According to research conducted by National statistics Office (NSO) in 2018, it was revealed that the population of people in this country is 17 million but the number of police personnel is very small and the police offices are located very far from each other which create fear and insecurity among the people. Since the duties of the police service is to provide security to the lives and properties of the citizens but people are still losing their lives and properties due to crimes. The people of Phokera in Nsanje district understood the importance of security to their area they therefore sat down, organised themselves and agreed to build a police unit. They, therefore, started building a police unit in 2017. This brought happiness among the people of Phokera because in this area *nkhani za Umbanda kumeneku zinali ngati kholophethe kubala kwa nyemba*) (there were a lot of issues of crimes happening in the area people, got killed and properties were stolen).

Since that time, almost six years have gone by and the police unit building project has not yet been completed. Now the question is, why is the project delaying after all those years and yet every year the area receives the development funds from Constituency Development Funds (CDF)? The years that have passed here are quite many, *apa mwana wabadwa ndipo wayambanso sukulu ali standard 1* (the period is long enough for a woman to bear a child and even enrol that child in the first grade). The people in this area are complaining and they would want this project to be completed as soon as possible. Upon feeling corned with the issue,

members of Gaka community radio listening club organised a meeting to discuss the issue. They also invited some duty bearers in the area to the discussion. This is what the members discussed in the meeting. We will first hear from the chairperson of the village development committee of Nembe Village Development Committee (VDC), Mr Vision Vinti;

VDC chairperson Vision Vinti: It is indeed true that the project of building a police unit in our area of Phokera has taken a long time to finish. So, we the people in this area are being affected by this because there are a lot of cases and crimes happening in our area such as stealing of livestock, properties and committing of murder, things that the police would have helped us reduce if we had it in our area. And some people do not respect chiefs in this area, they hurl insults at the chiefs, had it been that there is a police unit we would have been assisted on some of these issues. This is affecting us badly. This is why we want the building of a police unit should finish as soon as possible.

We sat down and agreed that we should have the police unit in our area considering a lot of crimes being committed in our area, stealing of livestock and properties and murder because seeking assistances from Bangula Police unit was a taking too long because that police unit is very far. So we want our police unit to be completed so that when crimes are committed in our area should be dealt with quickly with our police unit than going to Bangula Police Unit.

Presenter/coordinator: Do you get assistance from Bangula Police unit when you report your cases? How soon do you get such assistance?

VDC Chairperson Vision Vinti: To say they truth, when we report our cases to Bangula police unit that our area has some crime cases they come to help us yes, but they usually take too long to assist us, so sometimes they arrive when we have lost hope. If we report the issues during night hours, they come in the morning to act on the crime reported, in such case we see that we are not safe here, that is why we want a police unit at least nearby in our area just like our friends in Bangula Trading Centre who have their own police unit where they go to without travelling a long distance.

Presenter/coordinator: When did this project of building the police unit start?

VDC Chairperson Vision Vinti: This project started in 2016 with our late MP Honourable Ganda, that's when it started and till to today it has not yet been completed

Presenter/coordinator: What was the plan? How long was the building project supposed to take?

VDC Chairperson Vision Vinti: According to us the project was supposed to last for 1 year considering that the funds were from Constituency Development Funds and it was supposed to be finished. The budgeted amount for this project was Fourteen Million Kwacha (MK14,000.000.00)

Presenter/coordinator: So far there have been three members of parliament being elected and being voted out in this area since the project started. What is the current progress of the building project so far?

VDC Chairperson Vision Vinti: Currently the project of building the police unit is at a stage where the roofing has been done but windows and doors have not yet been installed. The builders then started plastering and the work of plastering has not continued up to today.

Presenter/coordinator: How would you want the government to assist you? Let's hear from other members.

Participant D: Am Agalatiya Kamangira, chairperson of Bangula Gala radio listening club. We would like the government to assist us by finishing the building of the police unit project at least before December this year because we desperately need the police unit here. There a lot of crimes being committed here. Other projects can come later but as of now all people of Nembe, including the chiefs and other stakeholders here we have agreed that we do not want any projects introduced in our area until the building of the Phokera police unit is completed. In such a case the government and us will get along.

Participant B: My name is Donias Nota. I think the government should come in quickly to finish the Phokera police unit project. It the issue is about money, then we cannot be convinced because the money was budgeted for in the CDF. We have been complaining about the slow progress of the project for a long time in our meetings in the past. That's why we want government to treat the police unit as a priority because it is important for the security of our livestock, our property. That's why we are saying, don't think of giving us any development project soon until you are done with the police unit.

Presenter/coordinator: This is what you have agreed as a resolution for now?

VDC Chairperson Vision Vinti: Yes, this is what we have agreed as all concerned people, the chiefs and everyone. We agreed the last time when we met at the ADC as people from Nembe.

Presenter/coordinator: What are the most items that are being stolen in the area?

Participant C: Am Pheto alex. Here in our area most the items that are being stolen are livestock such as goats and cattle these are mainly targeted by the thieves as a result, they are posing risk to our livestock farming in the area. A week does not pass without thieves stealing our livestock, had it been we have a police unit in our area may be this malpractice of stealing livestock could have been lessened. But as of now or animal farming activities are currently facing a lot challenges due to thieves who are stealing our goats and cattle.

Presenter/coordinator: Now coming back to you, the chairperson of the village development committee of Nembe Village Development Committee, you explained that there is a lot of crimes being committed here could you please give us a picture of your claims and provide evidence on this?

VDC Chairperson Vision Vinti: This kind of crimes are indeed happening in our area and the evidence is there. I remember last year when we found a dead body dumped on the lower side of Shire River where the crime was committed. Investigations were done but were not successful. In addition, a crime was also committed sometime back, a herdsman was also killed at Mphala and was buried in the ground to hide him. These crimes are common here and they are being committed in our area because there is no police unit in our area had it been that we had a police unit within this area, then these crimes could have been reduced.

Presenter/coordinator: So, what should be done?

VDC Chairperson Vision Vinti: l would like to urge our honourable Member of Parliament of this area and the District Council please ensure that this year this project of constructing a

police unit is finished as soon as possible. If this project is finished it would help to reduce the crimes committed in our area so that the livestock farming, we are doing would not face a lot of challenges of being stolen if the police is nearby. This also goes to all well-wishers if you see that our honourable member of parliament and District council seems not to assist us we urge you all to make all means to assist us so that the project of building the police unit is finished. If this project does not finish it means that most the developments of this area would be affected due to insecurity.

Presenter/coordinator: Other members also commented on the same issues as follows;

Participant D: My name is Amon Sagwanti from village headman M'bwesa. Am also a village adviser. We also look into issues of farming as well as livestock. The reason why we want a police post here at Membe is because we have been facing insecurity problems here at Membe for a long time. If we are going to have a police post nearby, we will have somewhere close to report our problems. So, the chiefs and the people from this area sat down and agreed, they also linked up with our honourable member of parliament, that our area needs a police station so they can help us deal with the problems we are facing. My last words to all Malawians and all the member from Membe area is to say that we should sit down and discuss these issues together with the VDCs, the ones that help us ask for development projects from our honourable member of parliament, who is Gradys Ganda so that she can speak on our behalf and present our problems in parliament especially on this issues about a police post so that when government starts disbursing funds from the national budget, our pleas for a police post should be considered so that the security in this area should improve. So that maybe this area of Membe should develop in terms of general farming and livestock farming.

Participant E: My name is Hawa Rashid. I come from Mathas village. The development of a police station is very important for this area. Because the distance from Bangula to Phakera is long because there are a lot of thieves here. We want to see that when people arrest the thieves, they should take them right here at Phokera police unit. At the moment, if thieves steal our cattle, maybe 5 or 6 of the cattle, they are taken to Bangula police unit which is very far away. As a result, the people just start taking the law in their hands on the way to Bangula, beating the thieves all the way, punishing the thieves themselves or sometimes burning them with fire using car tyres. So, we are requesting that our police post here should be completed.

Presenter/coordinator: *(asks a follow-up question to Hawa Rashid).* If the police unit here is completed and opened, how do you think that will help you as women from this area?

Participant E/Hawa Rashid: The police unit will help us women for example if we are involved in a disagreement in our families, if we have been beaten by our husbands, we can go to the police there to seek assistance when it's nearby.

Participant F: My name is Kingsley Mithanje. I come from Mithanje village under group village Mchacha her in Nembe area. We are very in need of the police unit here because there are a lot of cases which happens here such as domestic violence and disagreement or conflicts arising from livestock encroaching other fields or feeding on the maize there. I am also, for example, am a committee chairperson at Bale scheme where we hear so many disputes about people's livestock trespassing or destroy other peoples' properties. So to present those cases to police it takes time because the next police unit is too far. So if the police unit is nearby it

would be easier for us to present our complaints and get them resolved quickly and we move on with our lives.

Presenter/coordinator: We have heard that so many years have passed and this project is not being completed, how are these delays affecting you?

Participant F/Kingsley Mithanje: For example, I as a citizen of this area am affected because the building of this police project did not come here accidentally, it was on the official plans by responsible authorities. Of course, we do try to talk to those authorities responsible for the project so that they should try to help us by completing the police unit project. Nevertheless, we continue attending the project meetings but we do get worried when such kind of projects gets delayed and we are still urging those responsible for this project to ensure that this police unit project is completed so that our problem of lacking a police unit is resolved.

Participant K: I am Angellina Mhango. I live in the village of Masamba at Phokera. We people of Mphokera saw this as a good development that the building of police unit is happening in our area considering that there are a lot of problems faced or crimes that are happening in our area that need the intervention of the police. For example, there is a lot of theft and domestic violence cases here. So, when we heard the news about the coming of this police unit, we felt honoured that we would have somewhere to report whenever we are faced with such kind of problems here at Phokera.

Presenter/coordinator: So now, how is the delay of this project affecting you?

Participant K/Angellina Mhango: The delay of this project is affecting us badly because the problems of insecurity that we are facing here are piling up now. Had it been that this development came a bit earlier, definitely some of these crimes affecting us badly such as theft could have been reduced. In addition, the domestic violence cases that we are facing in some families could also have been reduced if the police post was built here.

Song insert: *(Song by local artist, Billy Kaunda. Title: Ndilire. The song is about the dangers of the rise of crimes, theft in communities, despising those involved is such crimes, and encouraging the police to help in curbing such crimes)*

Song lyrics

Ndilire ine, ndilire ine, ndilire ine pano sin'dzachoka.x2 *(Let me cry, let me cry, but I'll never leave this village) x2*

Nkaganiza, nkaganiza, kumene ndachokera (*When I think about where am coming from)*
Kuti ndigule katundu mn'yumba ineee *(To buy the property in my house)*
Thukuta langa, ndalama zangaaaa *(All that sweat, all that money!)*
Wina angobwera tsiku limodzi *(And then someone comes one day)*
Kundilanda kundiberaaa *(To take it away, to steal from me)*
Amabwera ndi usiku, ndi mfuti ndizikwanje eeeh (*They come at night, with guns and pangas)*
Angolanda ngati ngongole, *(They take the property as if it they are collecting debts)*
Zopweteka zolilitsa *(This hurts a lot; it makes one cry)*
Akakusiya uli ndi moyo iweee *(If they sometimes spare your life)*
Mwayi wako udzipemphera *(It's your luck day, keep praying)*

Ndilire ine, ndilire ine, ndilire ine pano sin'dzachoka.x2 (*Let me cry, let me cry, but I'll never leave this village) x2.*

Eeeh! Eeeeh! Eeeeh! Eeeeh!
Ndilire inee *(Let me cry)*
Eeeh! Eeeeh! Eeeeh! Eeeeh!
Ndilire inee *(Let me cry)*
Eeeh! Eeeeh! Eeeeh! Eeeeh!
Ndilire inee *(Let me cry)*

Ndilire inee, dilire inee (*Let me cry, let me cry)*
Kodi nkamange nyumba ku polisi x2 *(Should I build my house near a police station?) x2.*

Awomba mfutiyo ndindani? *(Who's that one shooting a gun?)*
Anzangaaa tikugonaa eeh *(Come on, it's time to sleep please!)*
Kulakalaka ntasanduka khoswe *(I wish I could turn into a rat)*
Ndithawe eeh nkabisale eeeh *(So I can run and hide)*
Athyola kale zitseko anzangaaa *(They have already broken the doors)*
Ati nonse gonani pansiii *(Ordering us to lay on the floor)*
Atenga mayi kumgwiririra *(They rape the woman)*
Ana ndi bambo akuona eeh *(While the man and children watch helplessly)*
Bambo uja kumuomberanso *(Sometimes they also shoot the man)*
Atenganso katundu yense *(They also take all the property)*
Bwanji m'kaba muzitisiya *(Maybe you should just steal and not hurt us?)*
Musamatiphe osamatipha *(Please don't kill us, don't kill us!)*

Repeat verse 1

Presenter/coordinator continues the programme: Phokera is located in Nsanje Lalanje constituency in Mlonda ward where Gladys Ganda is the MP and the councilor for the area is Cassim Ngwale. The duty of these dutybeares is to fast-track development projects in the area like the one about building this particular police unit. We invited councillor Cassim Ngwale to meet the Gaka club members in order to respond to their complaints. This is how the meeting went:

Gaka Club Chairperson: Councillor Nangwale, as you have heard, we members of Gaka club would like to know what is happening. Why is the completion of the building of our police unit taking too long?

Councilor Cassim Ngwale: Firstly, let me thank you for doing this programme to help people from our area that they should follow up on Phokera police unit. But let me also take you back a little bit before I comment on the unit because this is a project that started in 2017. It was started by the late Sam Ganda, our former MP in this area, may his soul rest in peace. Then another MP was elected from 2017 to 2019. So, the work had been progressing during this time. When we were elected into our current positions in 2019, that's when we started to investigate why our project was stalling. When we investigated further that's when we were told that we had already given the contractor half of the money that we had agreed with him, so the project had stopped because we are waiting for the contractor to finish the work, that's

when we would provide the balance. We were also happy with the arrangement and we also talked to the contractor because he had two other projects here in Nsanje Lalanje constituency, one was in Lalanje ward while the other was in Mlonda ward.

Gaka Club Chairperson: Councilor Nangwale, the people here want to hear your plan for solving the security problem here? When are we going to see the work towards finishing the project?

Councilor Cassim Ngwale: Well, as you can see the contactor had two projects at the same time. So, he assured us that a soon as he completes the work in Mlonda Ward, he would come back to finish the work here at Phokera police unit. He was telling us that as soon as he completes the work in Lalanje ward, he would come back here. So, when he had finished in Lalanje ward where he was constructing teachers houses at Dande primary school, that's when he was given his money because the source of funds for all these projects was CDF (Community Development Fund). So, we gave him the money for the complete project in Dande to convince him to come down to Phokera.

We waited for some times hoping that the contractor would come to Phokera but we noticed that the contractor was not coming. We then also that this particular contractor several other projects all over Nsanje. He had projects at Fatima, so we heard that he moved next to Fatima where he run out of his money for the work. He was told that he would be given more money as part payment for the work at Fatima, so we don't know what happened because, as you know the hurdles that happen within government systems, because we don't know where they disagreed but the government apparently failed to give him the money. As a result, the work on the police unit at Phokera stopped.
After sometime, we held discussions at the ADC (Area Development Committee) and agreed that we should take the issue to the council so that maybe we can get the funds from the DDF (District Development Funds) to pay him. The council approved and when we came back, we noticed that there we also several other development projects that needed our attention here in Nsanje Lalanje constituency. So, we thought we should include those projects because they had already been passed in the previous year's budget. So, we felt that it was important that we allocated this 10 million kwacha from the DDF to the Nsanje Lalanje projects, we should approve that, while we should again use the CDF, we shouldn't go very far, to finish the Phokera police unit project.

So, when we discussed at ADC level, that's when we agreed that we should write a request letter to the council so that they should approve that the money from the DDF should go to Nsanje Lalanje and be used on the tap water project and that we should use our money from the CDF to finish constructing the police unit.

The council then get us a condition that the police unit project should be finished within this year, it should not go into the next financial year. So, we agreed to these conditions as members of the council, and the MP also agreed that if the ADC agreed to these conditions, then it's better to still take it to the CDF. And now we are just waiting for the council to send us a public works officer who is supposed to evaluate and give as the value of the money needed to complete the project or indeed how much money should the CDF take out.

There are several reasons why we need this evaluation because in the initial plan, it was shown that the police unit had no electricity but now we want the unit to have electricity. We also hear that there was no plan for toilets and we want that to be included. So, want the works officer to

do all this for us but at once say how much money will be reflected in the POP and what is needed is this, this and this so that we see how we should move forward. That's why now we have stopped but we are expecting that the project will be finished this year because the CDF is ours. And the MP also said he will make sure that this project must end so that the people in Phokera are assisted because this project has stalled for a long time and when a government project takes too long to complete, it starts to depreciate. So, we don't want our money to go down the drain because someone is sleeping on duty. But we are hoping that we will do this work using the current budget and we want to contact the DCs office to say, when will the public works officer arrive here?

Presenter/coordinator: Who was or who is this contractor?

Councilor Cassim Ngwale: This contractor was…. *(He hesitates)* …mmmmh…I think they call him, Tithandizane…Tithandizane Building contractors.

Participant K/Angellina Mhango: But me I have a question. How was it possible that one contractor was given all this work alone?

Gaka Club Chairperson: Yes! how was it possible that one contractor should win all these tenders for these development projects?

Councilor Cassim Ngwale: Well, I can't say much on that because this happened in the years back when we were not councillors. That time maybe every contractor was being awarded a contract depending on their ability. So, we don't know the type of capacity this contractor had. But you can see that that the people in this area at that time had no idea that the contractor had other projects to work on with the CDF [Community Development Fund]. So, since people in the village have the right to say something on the CDF, but in this case the people kept quiet, the ended up not knowing that this contractor is also busy with other projects. But generally, on that one like I said, I can't give you concrete information because we were not there.

Presenter/coordinator: Now to you as a councilor. In your opinion, what are the disadvantages of awarding too many development projects like what happened here to one contractor? What can go wrong?

Councilor Cassim Ngwale: There are a lot of things that can go wrong because these contractors have different capabilities. There is some contractor that perfectly work on several projects at the same time because they have that big capacity to do so, while it becomes a challenge for others with low capacity. So, when the contractors with low capacity are awarded a contract, they try to be withdrawing the money for the work frequently to be working and also solve their other problems. If they are not given the money they struggle or do shoddy work. For example, the contractor we had here had four other projects at the same time. On those projects, I think he has finished only one and he is remaining with three to complete and we as a council we are having problems with him to finish. So, the problem is that we failed as a council at the beginning, to do a proper assessment of the actual capacity of this contractor. I think he was awarded the contract on a quick basis that he was once involved in similar work before but now what is coming out, the way we see it is that he doesn't have the full capacity, like the financial capacity to do work of this magnitude. For example, the budget for Phokera police was at 15.5 million kwachas. We gave the contractor 10.5 million kwacha. We are left with 4.8 million Kwacha to give him and he is failing finish the project yet most of the time when we give a contractor such amounts and we are left such a small balance, the contractor is

able to finish a particular project. So, the main problem that arises when you award contracts to companies with low capacity, they fail to complete the work.

Presenter/coordinator: Maybe you have more messages about the state of security in this area, especially the issue of crime, burglary in your area, what is the state of affairs in this regard?

Councilor Cassim Ngwale: We generally, I can say that as Munda ward we have a lot of problems affecting us mainly here at Phokera because this place is very far away from nearest police unit, that's Bangula police Unit. The problems we have been facing here is the theft of our properties as you know most of the people here at Phokera, it is where we keep a lot of livestock so we do not have any security to safe guard our livestock. So even if we try to catch a thief or thieves here it becomes a challenge without the support of the police or a police unit. A police unit nearby a sign of security because it also scares potential thieves from stealing. Even if the police personnel are not working but their presences become a sign of security because people do fear to commit crimes when there are police nearby. But now the next police unit is very far away from our area. Now, because we do not have a police unit nearby that's why a lot of our properties are being stolen or a lot of crimes are being committed here. For example, myself I was once assaulted, I was hit by a stone by some people at Kaluphye. When we called the Bangula Police unit asking them to help us and follow the issue, they just said we are coming, we are coming but it took them a lot of time to eventually come. But had it been the construction of Phokera police unit was completed we could have been assisted because Kaluphye is located just about a ten-minute drive from Phokera so the police could have come quickly to assist us. The insecurity issue here is a very big problem and the Phokera we had some years back is different from the one we have now because the population then was low compared to today where there is high population of people. So, all these people need security, without security things will not progress because lack of security is a big threat to our development, to our business and a lot of things can't progress in such a situation. So, we as citizens, as residents who have grown up here, we will make sure that this project of constructing the police unit is completed

Presenter/coordinator: Are you sure that people should expect to see that this project will be completed this year?

Councilor Cassim Ngwale: We have all hopes that this project would be completed this year by December because the government fiscal year ends in the month of April. And we are hopeful that when the government fiscal year is approaching the end that's when our funds will be completely spent by that time and our construction project will be completed. While on other side we will also be discussing with Officer in charge of Bangula police to deploy some police personnel to work at our police unit.

Presenter/coordinator: In his response, councilor Ngwale has talked about finances from the District Development funds (DDF)and Community Development Fund (CDF). These funds are found at the office of the District Commissioner at the District Council offices. So what are the officials from this office saying about the construction of Phokera police unit? Spokesperson of Nsanje District Council Mr. Robert Nyanja explains about this project.

DC Spokesperson Robert Nyanja: During the time we were making the Annual Investment plan under the District Development Funds (DDF), the council allocated 9 million Kwacha for

the completion of Phokera Police unit and those funds were approved by the council. But on 13th April, people from Mbenje through the Area Development Committee wrote a letter to the office of District Council that they would like to change this project. Instead, they said that they now wanted these funds to be allocated to a water project so that the District Council office should not complete the construction of the police unit saying that the completion of police unit will be done using funds from Constituency Development Funds (CDF). So as of now the Council also approved that these changes be made so that these funds should be diverted to the water project in the Phokera area. So as of now it is expected that the completion of the police unit will be done using funds from the CDF according to the wish of the people. So, if you would like to ask me when would this project of police unit be completed I would not be able to answer you but the Member of parliament and ADC officials of this area would be in a better position to answer you as to when the construction of this police unit will be completed.

Insert Song: Song by Joseph Nkasa titled *Mphuno Salota*. (*The song encourages people to never hesitate when they have a problem but ask for help, look for a solution, go to the hospital when sick. Overall, it points out that life is full of problems, but people must strive to solve the problems because they are part of life. It uses a variety of local traditional expressions to deliver such a message to the listener. Some of the expressions are; Mphuno salota* (You can never dream what will happen tomorrow so you must always be prepared for any eventuality in life*), Lungalunga ndipobadwa koma chilema chichita kudza usana* (You may be perfect on birth but scars still come later in life/ Problems will always be there in life).

Presenter/Coordinator: We have heard from the District Council spokesperson Mr Naima that the issue about the completion of the construction of Phokera police unit and all the finger pointing about the delays to complete the project, is in the hands of the committee which looks at developments issues in the area called the Mbenje Area Development committees (ADC) as well as the Member of parliament for this constituency. Therefore, the Social Accountability Desk of Gaka FM took the issue, followed it up and we called the Member of Parliament of this area Mrs Gladys Ganda to find out what is it that is delaying the completion of the police unit (*mpati pakhota mchira nyani kuti ntchito isisitike*) and when should the people of this area expect to have a police unit?

MP Gladys Ganda: *(Phone conversation)* As an MP for this area, all I can say now is that, it's true that the project of constructing this police unit has delayed due to some problems. There was some misunderstanding between the council and the contractor for the project. However, I can now gladly say that all misunderstandings that were causing the delays have been resolved. So, in this year's CDF [Community Development Fund] plan we have included the Phokera police unit construction project as a priority.

Presenter/Coordinator*: Komano madam MP, sichipongwe, koma timaona adindo ngati inuyo, makamaka a ndalenu mukulonjeza zitukuko kuti anthu akuvotereni koma mapeto ako osabweletsanso zitukuko zija. Simukungowapusitsanso anthu pankhani imeneyi?* [With due respect honourable MP, we see that duty bearers like yourself, especially you politicians tend to say too many promises but do not do anything in the end. Are you not just taking the people of Phokera for a ride in this case again so that they should just vote you into the hot seat and then you abandon these people later?] *(Gaka RLC on-air programme transcript 2023).*

MP Gladys Ganda: *(Mild laughter*) No! no! no… the people should hear from me. I will make sure that the construction of this police unit is completed as soon as possible using funds from the CDF [Community Development Fund] through the District Council because the development of a police unit is very important in preventing the theft of *ziweto* [goats and cattle] other properties in those areas. *Mverani mawu angawa* Mr Dzongwe. (Just listen to me Mr Dzongwe). I can promise the people of Phokera now as they listen, that the construction of the police of unit of Phokera will be completed this time following the procedures from the district council. In the days' time the contractor will visit the construction site to do all the assessment…don't worry at all…the construction work will be completed before the end of this year my friend!

visit the construction site to come up with quotations on how much it will cost and the duration it will take to complete the construction of the police unit. Don't worry at all…the construction work will be completed soon my friend!

Presenter/Coordinator: You have heard honourable Mrs Gradys Ganda the MP herself that the completion of this police unit is likely to complete as soon as possible and we can maybe predict that the project will not to extend to the next fiscal year. As for us, we will just observe with keen interest and follow how what the MP has promised will be fulfilled. Even the eyes of the people of this area will be fixed on the promised that the MP has made. They will be waiting to see to it that the police unit would indeed be completed. People form this area will only believe when they see the completion of the project just like Thomas Deimos in the Bible, considering that it has already taken a lot of time before the project is completed just as Mrs Ganda, the MP for the area has acknowledged. Indeed, had it been that Phokera police unit was completed it could have lessened simplified the efforts of the police in ensuring the provision of security to the people. Currently people from Phokera depend on Chilomo police at Bangula Trading Center which is about eight kilometres away. We also wanted to hear from Bangula police to understand how the work of constructing the Phokera police unit could have complemented their security work in the area. Unfortunately, we were unable to talk to them through a phone call when we tried to contact them through their spokesperson, Nsanje Police Sub-inspector Agnes Dzalanje when her phone could not could not be reached even after several attempts. *(Sound of phone message indicating the unavailable of the called person' mobile).* If we can analyse the whole issue here, it shows that there has been relaxation among the decision makers responsible for implementation of this project. It also shows that the dutybeares lacked commitment to see the completion of the project. It is evident that one of the most important government rules of law, that of good governances which requires continuance engagement of all people involved in the implementation of the project was not followed on this project. Had it been there was such engagement the Phokera police unit could have not have been incomplete by this time. Can you imagine, the project is said to have started in 2017, during the late honourable Sam Ganda's reign as a member of parliament of this area, and then came the era of honourable Lawrence Mike Sitolo, then the incumbent, Mrs Gladys Ganda. We at Gaka Radio thought it wise that we should go and see for ourselves *pakuti chakumva kusokosera mwini mkhutu* (because seeing is believing).

(Car Horn indicating/imitating how the Gaka coordinator travelled to the project side)

Presenter/Coordinator: When we arrived at the spot where this police unit is being constructed, we found that there was a lot of bushes and we couldn't believe that government

development construction work was taking place here at all. Currently we cannot doubt that the place has been turned into a shelter for bats and snakes. We are just hoping that the promised made by the MP will be turned into reality soon. As for us here at Gaka, we will continue to follow-up on such issues through our radio listening club. Now we have reached the end of this program which was brought to you by the Foundation for Active and Civic Education (FACE Malawi) with support from the All We Can Organisation from the United Kingdom. On behalf of Gaka FM Social Accountability Desk, you were with me your presenter and producer Charity Dongle. Be there next time will be following another development project in this area.

Sig-tune up…. fade out.

END

Appendix 7: LETTER OF PERMISSION TO MBC RADIO

The Director General
Malawi Broadcasting Corporation
Private Bag 303, Chichiri, Blantyre 3.

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Request for permission to conduct research with radio listening club coordinators from MBC through interviews and observations of on-air shows and to hold discussions with programme guests and members of listener clubs operated by your institution.

I am Francis Kapiri, a post-graduate student number g15k182 at the School of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, pursuing a PhD in Journalism and Media Studies. As a fulfilment of my degree, it is required of me to carry out research project. I intend to carry out research on, 'AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROLE OF RADIO LISTENER CLUBS IN FACILITATING AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION IN DISCUSSION OF ISSUES THAT ARE OF RELEVANCE TO THE PUBLIC GOOD- A MALAWIAN CASE STUDY'.

I hereby humbly request your permission to conduct academic research with radio listening club coordinators from MBC through interviews and observations of on-air shows and to hold discussions with programme guests and members of listener clubs operated by your institution. The participants will be engaged outside the normal work time in order to protect their work. I plan to conduct the study for a period of about 3 months in 2023.

I am intending to purposively select participants comprising radio listening club coordinators who also host the radio broadcasts, the members of the listening clubs and the official guests of the radio programmes in form of experts and policy makers. The study will investigate how radio listener clubs facilitate public participation in discussion of issues that are of relevance to the public good in Malawi. It will explore such a role through an analysis and comparison of experiences of radio listening club members operated by state, community and commercial radio stations in this country. The aim is to gain insight into how radio listening clubs can more successfully achieve participatory communication about issues of relevance to the public.

This research has been approved by both the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee and the Rhodes University Higher Degrees Committee. During the research any concerns may be directed to Mr Siyanda Manqele, Ethics Coordinator, Research Office, Rhodes University +27 (0) 46 603 7727, s.manqele@ru.ac.za. The study is under the supervision of Doctor Jeanne Du Toit (E-mail: j.dutoit@ru.ac.za).

I would like to assure your office that, should I be granted permission, the research ethics will apply throughout the process of the study. Your favourable consideration to this request shall be appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,

Francis Kapiri (Researcher).

Appendix 8: LETTER OF PERMISSION TO MIJ RADIO

The Station Manager
MIJ 90.3 FM, Chichiri, Blantyre 3.

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Request for permission to conduct research with radio listening club coordinators from MBC through interviews and observations of on-air shows and to hold discussions with programme guests and members of listener clubs operated by your institution.

I am Francis Kapiri, a post-graduate student number g15k182 at the School of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, pursuing a PhD in Journalism and Media Studies. As a fulfilment of my degree, it is required of me to carry out research project. I intend to carry out research on, 'AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROLE OF RADIO LISTENER CLUBS IN FACILITATING AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION IN DISCUSSION OF ISSUES THAT ARE OF RELEVANCE TO THE PUBLIC GOOD- A MALAWIAN CASE STUDY'.

I hereby humbly request your permission to conduct academic research with radio listening club coordinators from MBC through interviews and observations of on-air shows and to hold discussions with programme guests and members of listener clubs operated by your institution. The participants will be engaged outside the normal work time in order to protect their work. I plan to conduct the study for a period of about 3 months in 2023.

I am intending to purposively select participants comprising radio listening club coordinators who also host the radio broadcasts, the members of the listening clubs and the official guests of the radio programmes in form of experts and policy makers. The study will investigate how radio listener clubs facilitate public participation in discussion of issues that are of relevance to the public good in Malawi. It will explore such a role through an analysis and comparison of experiences of radio listening club members operated by state, community and commercial radio stations in this country. The aim is to gain insight into how radio listening clubs can more successfully achieve participatory communication about issues of relevance to the public.

This research has been approved by both the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee and the Rhodes University Higher Degrees Committee. During the research any concerns may be directed to Mr Siyanda Manqele, Ethics Coordinator, Research Office, Rhodes University +27 (0) 46 603 7727, s.manqele@ru.ac.za. The study is under the supervision of Doctor Jeanne Du Toit (E-mail: j.dutoit@ru.ac.za).

I would like to assure your office that, should I be granted permission, the research ethics will apply throughout the process of the study. Your favourable consideration to this request shall be appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,

Francis Kapiri (Researcher).

Appendix 9: LETTER OF PERMISSION TO GAKA COMMUNITY RADIO

The Station Manager l
Gaka FM Community Radio, Bangula, Nsanje District

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Request for permission to conduct research with radio listening club coordinators from MBC through interviews and observations of on-air shows and to hold discussions with programme guests and members of listener clubs operated by your institution.

I am Francis Kapiri, a post-graduate student number g15k182 at the School of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, pursuing a PhD in Journalism and Media Studies. As a fulfilment of my degree, it is required of me to carry out research project. I intend to carry out research on, 'AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROLE OF RADIO LISTENER CLUBS IN FACILITATING AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION IN DISCUSSION OF ISSUES THAT ARE OF RELEVANCE TO THE PUBLIC GOOD- A MALAWIAN CASE STUDY'.

I hereby humbly request your permission to conduct academic research with radio listening club coordinators from MBC through interviews and observations of on-air shows and to hold discussions with programme guests and members of listener clubs operated by your institution. The participants will be engaged outside the normal work time in order to protect their work. I plan to conduct the study for a period of about 3 months in 2023.

I am intending to purposively select participants comprising radio listening club coordinators who also host the radio broadcasts, the members of the listening clubs and the official guests of the radio programmes in form of experts and policy makers. The study will investigate how radio listener clubs facilitate public participation in discussion of issues that are of relevance to the public good in Malawi. It will explore such a role through an analysis and comparison of experiences of radio listening club members operated by state, community and commercial radio stations in this country. The aim is to gain insight into how radio listening clubs can more successfully achieve participatory communication about issues of relevance to the public.

This research has been approved by both the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee and the Rhodes University Higher Degrees Committee. During the research any concerns may be directed to Mr Siyanda Manqele, Ethics Coordinator, Research Office, Rhodes University +27 (0) 46 603 7727, s.manqele@ru.ac.za. The study is under the supervision of Doctor Jeanne Du Toit (E-mail: j.dutoit@ru.ac.za).

I would like to assure your office that, should I be granted permission, the research ethics will apply throughout the process of the study. Your favourable consideration to this request shall be appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,

Francis Kapiri (Researcher).

Appendix 10: MACRA LIST OF RADIO BROADCASTING LICENSEES 2023

LICENSEE	CATEGORY	Reach	Status
1. MBC Radio 1	Public National Broadcaster	National with strong signal in all districts	Operational
2. MBC Radio 2	Public National Broadcaster	National with strong signal in all districts	Operational
3. MIJ FM	National Commercial Broadcaster	National but mostly in main cities and trading centres	Operational
4. Capital Radio	National Commercial Broadcaster	National but mostly in main cities and trading centres	Operational
5. Timveni Radio	Private National Broadcaster	National but mostly in the main cities and trading centres	Operational
6. Galaxy Radio	Private National Broadcaster	National but mostly in the main cities and trading centres	Operational
7. Times Radio	Private National Broadcaster	National but mostly in the main cities and trading centres	Operational
8. Zodiak Broadcasting Radio	Private National Broadcaster	National and signal available in all districts of Malawi	Operational
9. Ndirande FM	Regional Commercial Broadcaster	Mainly Southern region	Operational
10. Chisomo FM	Regional Commercial Broadcaster	Signal available in Salima, Nkhotakota, Dowa and some parts of Lilongwe	Operational
11. Pentecostal Life FM	National Commercial Radio	National but mostly in the main cities and trading centres	Operational
12. Angaliba FM	National Commercial Radio	National but mostly in the main cities and trading centres	Operational
13. YONECO FM	Community Of Interest Sound (National)	National but mostly in main cities and trading centres	Operational
14. Tuntufye FM	Community Of Interest Sound	Karonga, Chitipa, Mzuzu and Rumphi	Operational
15. Parliament Radio	Community Of Interest Sound	Not Operational	Licence expired
16. Radio Alinafe	Community Of Interest Sound	Kasungu, Lilongwe, Salima and parts of Dedza	Operational

17. Radio Maria	Community of Interest (Religious) National Broadcaster	National with strong signal in all districts	Operational
18. TransWorld Radio	Community of Interest (Religious) National Broadcaster	National With strong signal in some districts	Operational
19. Radio Tigabane	Community of Interest (Religious) Regional Broadcaster	Signal available in a few districts of the southern region	Operational
20. Calvary Family Radio	Community of Interest (Religious) Regional Broadcaster	Signal available in a few districts of the southern region	Operational
21. Living Waters Radio	Community of Interest (Religious) National Broadcaster	National but mostly in the main cities and trading centres	Operational
22. Radio Islam	Community of Interest (Religious) National Broadcaster	National with strong signal in most districts	Operational
23. Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Radio	Community of Interest (Religious)	National but mostly in the main cities and trading centres	Operational
24. Channel for All Nations (CAN) Radio	Community of Interest (Religious) National Broadcaster	Signal available in Lilongwe and central region districts	Operational
25. CCAP Blantyre Synod Radio	Community of Interest National Broadcaster	National but mostly in the southern region	Operational
26. CCAP Nkhoma Synod Radio	Community of Interest National Broadcaster	National but mostly in the main cities central and southern	Operational
27. CCAP Livingstonia Radio	Community of Interest National Broadcaster	National but mostly in the Northern Region	Operational
28. Nkhotakota Community Radio	Geographical Community Sound	Nkhotakota, Salima, parts of Monkey-bay	Operational
29. Mzimba Community Radio	Geographical Community Sound.	Mzimba, Mzuzu, parts of Kasungu district	Operational
30. Dzimwe Community Radio	Geographical Community Sound	Mangochi, Monkey-bay, Salima,parts of Nkhotakota.	Operational
31. Mudziwathu Community Radio	Geographical Community Sound	Mchinji and surrounding areas	Operational

32. Chancellor College Radio	Geographical Community Sound	Zomba and surrounding areas	Operational
33. Nyathepa Community Radio	Geographical Community sound	Nsanje and surrounding areas	Operational
34. Gaka FM	Community Regional	Bangula, Chikwawa, Nsanje, (parts of Mwanza, Thyolo, Zomba)	Operational
35. Umoyo FM	Geographical Community Sound	Mangochi Boma and surrounding areas	Operational
36. Chirundu FM	Geographical Community Sound	Nkhatabay Boma and surrounding areas	Operational
37. Radio Dinosaur	Geographical Community Sound	Karonga (up to Chilumba) parts of Chitipa	Operational
38. Neno FM	Geographical Community Sound	Mwanza Neno and parts of Blantyre	Operational
39. Radio Bembeke	Geographical Community Sound	Ntcheu, Dedza,parts of Balaka	Operational
40. Mzati FM	National Commercial Sound	National but mostly in the main cities and trading centres of the Southern Region	Operational
41. Likoma FM	Geographical Community Sound	Likoma and Chizumulu Islands	Operational
42. Nthalire Radio	Geographical Community Sound	50km Radius of Nthalire	Not Operational
43. Love FM	Geographical Community Sound	Salima Boma and surrounding areas	Operational
44. Lilanguka FM	Geographical Community Sound	Mangochi, Machinga and surrounding areas	Operational
45. Kasungu Community	Geographical Community Sound	Kasungu and surrounding areas	Operational
46. Rumphi FM	Geographical Community Sound	Rumphi and surrounding areas	Operational
47. Luwani FM	Geographical Community	Mwanza and surrounding areas	Not Operational
48. Hosana Radio	Community of Interest (Regional)	Regional mainly in Mzuzu.	Operational
49. Ulimi FM	National Commercial Sound	Yet to roll out	Not Operational
50. Nyungwe FM	Geographical Community Sound	Chikwawa and surrounding area	Operational
52. Chivomerezi FM	Geographical Community Sound	Ngabu and surrounding areas	Operational

53. Mobi School FM	National Commercial Sound	Rolled out in Mzuzu	Operational
54. Umunthu FM	Commercial Regional Sound	Nkhotakota and surrounding areas	Operational
55. Mthuthama FM	Commercial Regional Sound	Kasungu and surrounding areas	Operational
56. Dowa FM	Geographical Community Sound	Mponela and surrounding areas	Operational
57. Eagle FM	Geographical Community Sound	Blantyre and surrounding areas	Rolled out
58. Police Radio	National Commercial Sound	National	Not yet rolled out
59. Linga FM	National Commercial	National	Not yet rolled out
60. Parliament Radio (National Assembly – Blantyre)	National Commercial	National	Not yet rolled out
70. Kasupe FM	National Commercial	National, mainly in Lilongwe	Operational
71. Kuwala FM	Community of Interest (Regional)	Available in the Southern region	Operational
72. Litala FM	Regional Commercial Sound	Southern Region but currently signal in Mangochi	Operational
73. Yetu FM	Geographical Community Sound	Dzaleka Refugee Camp and surrounding areas	Operational
74. Jojo FM	National Commercial	Not Operational	Not yet rolled out
75. XM Radio	Regional Commercial Sound (Central)	Dedza and surrounding areas	Operational
76. Jesus 24/7 Radio	National Commercial Sound	National Commercial	Not yet rolled out
77. Education Broadcasting Station (MCDE) Radio	National Commercial Sound	National Commercial	Not yet rolled out
78. Story Club Radio	Regional Commercial Sound	Salima, Kasungu and Nkhotakota and surrounding areas	Operational
79. Sky Radio	National Commercial Sound	National Commercial	Not yet rolled out
80. Mibawa Radio	National Commercial Sound	National Commercial	Not yet rolled out
81. Malavi Community Radio	Geographical Community Sound	Luchenza	Not yet rolled out

82. Hope Education Radio	Regional Commercial Sound	Dedza and surroundings	Rolled out
83. Luanar FM	National Commercial	Lilongwe	Not yet rolled out
84. Wazilinda FM	Regional Commercial	Northern region	Not yet rolled out
85. Crecom	Geographical Community	Liwonde	Not yet rolled out
86. Ntchisi Youth FM	Geographical	Ntchisi	Not yet rolled out

Appendix 11: TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Generic illustration of the three main moments of radio listening club discussions.

Figure 2: Picture of Namikoko Maternity Wing.

Figure 3: Picture of MBC Nanjiri radio listening club discussion.

Figure 4: Picture of an MBC-DBU training session for listener club members.

Figure 5: Picture of a listener club member self-recording a discussion in a local community.

Figure 6: Picture of an MBC club coordinator presenting an on-air programme in the studio.

Figure 7: Picture of staff from the MBC-DBU recording a post-programme discussion.

Figure 8: A diagram of the three main moments of the communication processes of radio listening clubs illustrating how they operate in state radio.

Figure 9: Picture of the MIJ radio campus in Blantyre.

Figure 10: Picture of members of MIJ radio listening club.

Figure 11: Picture of a MIJ radio listening club coordinator presenting an on-air programme.

Figure 12: A diagram of the three main moments of the communication processes of radio listening clubs illustrating how they operate in a commercial radio station.

Figure 13: Picture of a Gaka radio listening club coordinator presenting an on-air programme.

Figure 14: Picture of Gaka radio listening club members in a brainstorming session