Development Discourse in Kenyan Vernacular Radio: A Case Study of Kass FM

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Abstract
Language is a major tool for governance and dissemination of information. Citizens need to participate effectively in discourse pertaining to their private and public interests and enterprises in order to understand matters of development and governance. The proliferation of vernacular radio stations in Kenya, which continues despite the absence of state moderating and promotion structures, could be an ideal platform for educating citizens. The aim of this paper is to find out the role that vernacular language as used by Kass FM radio station plays in development. The method that was used for data collection is purposive sampling. The results indicate that, vernacular radio plays a major role in creating awareness among citizens at the grassroots levels through topics revolving around education, agriculture, politics & governance and healthcare. This is done in among other ways through the borrowing and adaptation of technical words from English and Kiswahili. These stations need to be accorded direct government support in terms of diversification of programming and mainstreaming of vernacular language to achieve the Kenyan government developmental benchmarks enumerated in the vision 2030.
Keywords: language, development, governance, modernization, vernacular radio stations.

Background to the study
The inability, reluctance or failure to deal conclusively with language related problems of Africa is usually attributed to Africa's multilingualism. Heine and Nurse (2001) in Okombo (2001), note that, Africa's representation of languages in the world is almost one third. In total, there are about 2000 languages which are divided into four categories; Niger-Congo 1436 languages, Afro-Asiatic 371 languages, Nilo-Saharan 196 and Khoisan 36. They further note that, although Africa has around 54 countries, languages are distributed unevenly. Nigeria has the highest number of languages in Africa, accounting for over 400 languages while Somalia only has one.

Numerous developmental and governance problems related to multilingualism have been identified. Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) have classified these problems into four categories;
- Restricted access to knowledge and skills;
- Low productivity and ineffective performance in workplace;
- Inadequate political participation by the public, manipulation, discrimination, and exploitation by the ruling powers, national division and conflict;
- Linguistic and cultural alienation

They further noted that the problems which are language based are not necessarily language problems. They have roots in other spheres of life such as education, the economy, politics and social life, although they have a component of language since it is essential for them to occur.

Introduction
In multilingual settings, language choices and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, power relations, language ideologies, and ongoing socio-economic and political changes (Povlanko and Blackledge, 2004). The emerging challenges as brought out by urbanization, internationalization and globalization reflect the socio-political and socio-economic trends while conforming to universal expectations and rights. These issues are typically addressed by language planning as a policy matter through government legislation. In the wider field of public policy, planning deals with language as a factor in national development and governance concerns. According to Mazrui and Mazrui (1998), cited in Okombo, (2001):

> "Language planning is usually part of a wider social engineering and is used in order to achieve other goals such as political participation or national integration".

Fairclough (115) emphasizes the relationship between language and power by asserting that "nobody who has an interest in modern society, and certainly nobody who has an interest in the relationship of power and modern

society, can afford to ignore language" This paper attempts to investigate whether vernacular discourse in radio empowers listeners' at the grassroots level. The investigation and reflections that informed the study were based on the following premises put forward by Okombo (2001):

a) *Effective participation in development and governance activities requires a good degree of proficiency in the language of the market and the public platform.*

b) *Freedom of expression can be effectively exercised and enjoyed only when it can address and make sense of to the civic audience.*

c) *Citizens take control of their destiny in matters of development and governance only when they are able to participate effectively in discourse pertaining to their private and public interests and enterprises.*

d) *Inclusion in matters of development and governance presuppose participation and is curtailed by any discourse limitations that curtail effective participation*

e) *Equality in opportunity and enjoyment of services is unrealizable where such opportunities and provision of services are pegged on language requirements which can be met only by a small minority in a given population. The same can be said with regard to making choices, acquiring knowledge and having access to resources needed for a decent living.*

Involvement of the Kenyan masses in development and governance processes, and related activities cannot be achieved through a national communication network based exclusively on non-indigenous languages. This calls for development of indigenous languages to enable them cope with modern science, technology, economy and administration. It is the contention of this paper that vernacular radio stations are already taking a lead in this regard through their programming.

Relationship between development, language and education

Wolff (2006) proposes a simple model that illustrates the relationship between development, education and language. He observes that, communication integrates language, development and education. He notes that most communication between human beings is almost "exclusively verbal". The use of language in communication is, therefore, both significant and inevitable. Many issues that affect the Kenyan society, whether political, economic and, or, educational, cannot be discussed "without reference to language as an important factor'.
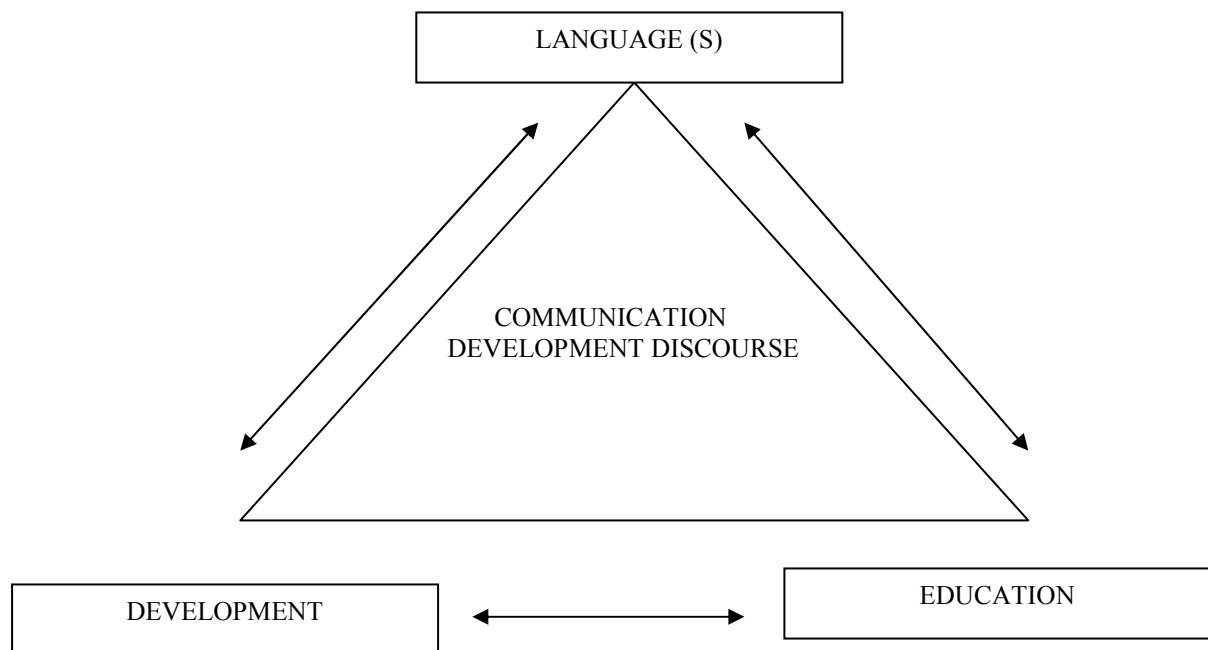
Vernacular radio discourse provides a platform for indigenous languages to be used to convey 'development discourse'. In as much as discussions in vernacular radio stations are meant to empower listeners, it is important to investigate whether it is effective in communicating development- oriented topics. Furthermore, the use of indigenous languages presents an opportunity to avoid "elite closure" and non- participation of the "masses" in democratic processes (Wolff 2006). This is the scenario that would play out in a situation where important discussions are carried out exclusively in English and Kiswahili.

Language development and governance

The common themes in research and discourse on development in Africa emphasize the importance of foreign and indigenous languages. The prevailing thinking among scholars and writers is the "richness of the linguistic diversity" in African countries. The potential value of developing indigenous languages is however a matter that is yet to receive serious attention. The major concern for African states since the independence decades (1960s and 1970s) has been the need to adopt policy frameworks that preserve and promote indigenous languages. In this regard, Swahili has attracted by far, the most attention. The Institute of Swahili Research- Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili- University of Dar es Salaam, for instance, has done a lot in an attempt to standardize the language. Since Heine (1979) (cited in Wolff, 2006) wrote on the shortcomings of the African languages in terms of 'expressional elaboration', it is still a moot question as to whether these languages have attained a level of modernization that does not encumber speakers from the 21st century.

Indigenous languages for scientific and technological needs

If efforts to improve the welfare of poor rural communities are to be successful, they should be exposed to modern science and technology, arts and education. Kwesi (1998) cited in Wolff, (2006) reveals that no language is inherently incapable of incorporating modern science and technology. He gives the Asian countries scenario where the economies have developed on the basis of indigenous languages. The implication drawn from Asian countries is that sustained development must be implemented on indigenous culture with "selection inputs and adaptation from outside".

The programmes aired on Kass FM cover modern concepts such as technological innovations and economic trends. To communicate these topics effectively various strategies such as borrowing and adaptation of words from English and Kiswahili are employed. The station has attempted to adapt Kalenjin languages so as to embrace modern technological terms.

Language in the African context

Third world countries were first exposed to modern science, technology, economy and administration through the medium of European languages. As Spencer (1985) notes, "the introduction of the colonial languages into African societies froze the opportunity for functional development of almost all African languages". In Kenya, this situation was further aggravated by the three- tiered language situation that unraveled after independence: English became the official language, Kiswahili the national language, and the various other languages were used in intra-ethnic communication. The status of English meant that it permeated practically all the domains of officialdom (administration, parliament, judiciary, and the executive arms of the government), and as a medium of instruction in schools. Kiswahili played the role of lingua franca, mainly facilitating inter-ethnic communication.

According to Shitemi (2012), policy remains silent on the various indigenous languages although they are utilized and developed informally at the grassroots. The efforts by the government of Kenya to legislate the identity, roles and functions of official language, national language, parliamentary language(s), other (indigenous) Kenyan languages, sign language and Braille in order to actualize the linguistic rights of all citizens in spite of their dispositions, observes Shitemi, "have remained stillborn". A survey by the constitution of Kenya review commission (2002) has been the most audacious effort to handle the language issue. In its report, it put forward recommendations on language aimed at the consideration and inclusion in the constitution but these proposals fell through when the draft drawn by the commission was summarily rejected in a referendum in 2005.

Okombo (2001) decries the domination by small elite of the Kenyan masses. He defines Kenya's sociolinguistic character as, "an environment in which a number of indigenous languages are spoken by the broad masses. This is controlled by a small national elite that overtly operates in a non-indigenous ex-colonial language (English) and claims links to the broad masses through a national language (Kiswahili). He however notes that the national elite and a sizeable proportion of the masses are hardly competent" in these languages. This situation violates the UNESCO Universal linguistic rights declaration (1996) which states that:

> *"...invasion, colonization, occupation and other instances of political, economic or social subordination often involve direct imposition of a foreign language or...distort perceptions of the value of languages and give rise to hierarchical linguistic attitudes which undermine the language loyalty of speakers; and that such languages could be immersed in processes of substitution as a result of policy favours the language of the former colonial and/or imperial powers". p.2*

Mtshali (1998) further observes that "the time has come to address marginalization of the indigenous languages in Africa. The linguistic disadvantages suffered by Africans who do not speak the so- called powerful languages must be addressed as a matter of urgency".

Radio in Kenya
Radio is by far the most accessible medium of communication in Kenya. According the Kenya Audience Research Foundation (KARF) report of 2011, 95% of Kenyans regularly listen to the radio. As of September 2014, 114 FM radio stations were licensed to air (Communication Authority of Kenya, Phone communication). The majority of these stations are privately owned while others are either state-run or community based local language stations. Even though many of these stations broadcast in English or Kiswahili, an increasing number are using local languages. This happens, as Shitemi (2012) observes, without state motivation and planning.

Vernacular radio stations have grown exponentially since the licensing of the first one in 2000. According to the Communications Authority of Kenya (CAK), there are over 30 stations broadcasting in languages other than English and Kiswahili. These include; Ramogi FM (Dholuo), Inooro FM and Coro FM (Kikuyu), Mulembe FM (Luhya), Musyi FM (Kamba) and Kass FM (Kalenjin), just to mention a few. Eleven of them are run by Royal Media Services (RMS), a privately owned media group; Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), a public broadcaster, runs five stations nationally and another seven regionally.

The vernacular radios are especially popular in rural areas, with a majority of listeners being older than 30 years (KARF, 2011). In the Central and Lake Regions three local language stations rank among the five top stations; in the Nairobi region it is one out of five. Countrywide, five of the ten most popular Kenyan radio stations broadcast in vernacular languages (Synovate, 2011). In interviews conducted by the Media Council of Kenya in 2011, editors and owners of vernacular radio stations emphasized the fact that local language programmes play an essential role for the development and participation of rural communities. This is especially important since a significant number of people based in rural areas do not communicate in Kiswahili or English proficiently.

Shitemi (ibid) further states:

> *"The ever- increasing grassroots endeavours as seen in language use in locutional, print and electronic media, challenges the lack of clear policy and planning on the part of the Kenyan government. This uprising is an illustration of the desire to break away from a linguistic prejudice against indigenous languages long entertained and propagated from the colonial legacies on one hand and the rise to the occasion of the prevailing current era of information and communication technology".* P. 55

Role of media in the 2007-2008 post election violence in Kenya
During the election campaign in 2007 and the subsequent post-election violence (PEV), vernacular radio stations came under scrutiny for disseminating dangerous propaganda and hate-speech through their live talk-shows and call-in programmes (Kriegler Report, 2008). The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR Report, 2008) summarized the role of the vernacular media in the post-election violence as follows:

> *"The media, and particularly local language media, influenced or facilitated the influencing of communities to hate or to be violent against other communities. Radio stations broadcasting in Kalenjin languages as well as in the Kikuyu language were culpable in this respect. Live phone-in programmes were particularly notorious for disseminating negative ethnic stereotypes, cultural chauvinism and the peddling of sheer untruths about the political situation or individual politicians."*

The Commission of Inquiry on Post Election Violence (Waki Report, 2008) agreed with the human rights report observing that victims of PEV:

> *recalled with horror, fear, and disgust the negative and inflammatory role of vernacular radio stations in their testimony and statements to the Commission. In particular, they singled out Kass FM as having contributed to a climate of hate, negative ethnicity, and having incited violence in the Rift Valley.*

The role of vernacular radio stations was tarnished during and after the PEV in 2008 as mere mouth-pieces for ethnic hatred. However, in its policy briefing paper of 2008 the British Broadcasting Corporation international charity World Service Trust pointed out the positive role that some of the FM stations had played in the aftermath of the PEV in 2007/2008:

> *"More recently, most local language stations appear to have been playing an important role in calming tension and promoting dialogue."*

It cannot be denied that Kenya´s local language radio stations played and still play a crucial role in influencing decisions and shaping emotions within their audiences. This paper seeks to find evidence from one such station, Kass FM that these stations promote consciousness and development. We listened to Kass FM's programmes and also collected views of listeners on the role that vernacular radio plays in their lives.

Although media liberalization continues to challenge norms of language use, information packaging and dissemination, radio broadcasts can be used to catalyze development in ways that were not available before. This fact is well demonstrated by the active community participation witnessed in the debates held by the various

FM radio stations. It is interesting for a linguist to study how Kenyans of all walks of life call in to express their views in vernacular languages. This study attempts to investigate whether rural poor communities benefit in regard to awareness on development, agriculture, education, social issues and politics, from these broadcasts.

This research contributes to societal development because language plays a central role in the occurrence (or lack thereof) of problems in the domains of education, the economy, politics and social life. By establishing the impact of language use in vernacular radio stations on socio-political and economic development, the researcher shall recommend ways to enhance government support and promotion of programmes that empower poor communities in Kenya.

The research aims to influence language policy in the promotion and respect of the linguistic human rights of the poor rural communities by the recognition and legislation of roles of vernacular languages. This would ensure that speakers of vernacular languages are not marginalized in matters of development.

The specific study aims are:

1. To carry out a linguistic evaluation of communication at Kass FM vernacular radio station catering for the poor rural communities.
2. To analyze Kass FM vernacular radio discourse so as to determine how national development and governance concerns are addressed.
3. To establish whether vernacular radio broadcasts have influenced listeners' understanding and comprehension of contemporary development-related issues

Research design and sampling

A case study approach was adopted since one vernacular radio station and its listeners were selected for the research. Kass FM was selected because it represented best what the research was aiming to find out; whether vernacular radio stations play a role in development. The targeted audience are of similar linguistic, demographical (rural), socio-political and economic dispositions. Data was collected over a Six month period; February – August 2014. Purposive sampling aided in selection of 45 respondents since they had to be Kalenjin speakers and listened to Kass FM. They answered a self administered questionnaire set in Kalenjin language to assess their views on Kass FM programming.

Kass FM radio station broadcasts in Kalenjin language on 90.6 FM and serves audiences predominantly in the former Rift Valley Province. Fieldwork was carried out in Nandi County is an area where Kalenjin listeners are found. The County has a population of about 752, 965 and a poverty rate of 47.2- 47.4% (Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS), 2011). It is a county that is predominantly agricultural and Nandi speakers could be found employed as workers on the farms.

Kass FM is a privately owned Kalenjin radio station based in Nairobi but serving audiences predominantly in the Rift-Valley where majority of Kalenjin speakers reside. The station that came into operation in 2005 also broadcasts to audiences in Nairobi, Coast region, parts of Western and Nyanza regions and also has an online presence. Kass FM radio sells itself as *'Tuget ab Bik ab Kalenjin'* (the voice of the Kalenjin people). According to the Media Council of Kenya monitoring report of 2011, the station has 80 staff, 50 of whom are based in Nairobi. It generates revenue primarily through advertising.

Kass FM has the slogan *'Kimnatet Naet'* which can be translated as 'Knowledge is power' or 'to know is strength'. The station's vision and mission highlights five areas of programming in which it seeks to 'bring the Kalenjin community information on economic empowerment as well as social issues'. The topics covered in programming according to the Kass FM bulletin (2009) include:

Economy- Kass explores and highlights the existing and potential business opportunities in the Rift valley and beyond and compares them to global industries and best practices in order to grow the Kenyan economy.

Agriculture- this is the economic activity that is mainstay of the Rift Valley where a vast majority of Kass FM listeners are found. Kass FM looks at agriculture in a 'modern, business oriented' way in order to raise production to internationally competitive levels, and emphasizing value addition in order to achieve better return to investment.

Education- Kass FM highlights development in Kenya, advising listeners on courses in the current education curricula that are relevant to the modern workplace.

Politics- Kass FM aims to empower the Kalenjin speaking community on their political rights, duties while providing a platform for dialogue and discussions on current development in the country on the political front'.

Healthcare- Kass FM gives listeners nutritional information, treatment of various ailments as well as the importance of healthcare insurance.

The programme selected for this particular study was *'Kass Ikimitu'* (listen to be empowered). The programme discusses different issues conveying information deemed to be economically empowering to listeners. These discussions revolve around the major areas highlighted above. The study chose the morning show which runs between 6:00am-10:00am.

Findings from Kass FM

The Kass FM shows were recorded between 6:00am- 8:00am which is the time where most of the callers had time to listen in and make their contributions before starting on their daily chores. This is considering that most of the callers were farmers. A total of 6 inconsecutive recording were done throughout the 6 month period for the study. There were a total of 91 calls made totaling to an average of 15 callers per programme. The recordings were done based on the topic being discussed (see table 1 and 2).

From the 91 calls made, 79 (86.8%) of the callers were men and 12 (13.1%) were women. The highest percentages of callers were farmers, teachers and civil servants. The callers were mostly from Uasin-Gishu, Nandi, Kericho, Bomet, Elgeyo Marakwet and Trans-Nzoia.Calls were made depending on the popularity of the presenter, the relevance of the presenter and the timing which was around 6:00am- 8:00am.

Findings from respondents

Of the total number of respondents sampled, 29 (64.4%) were men and 16 (35.6%) were female. There was uneven distribution in employment and level of education with nearly half of the participants 22 (49%) having attained secondary education. It was also noted that women did not venture into employment or education because it is only 2 (4%) who were teachers (See table 3 and 4).

All the participants said they listen to Kass FM on an average of 4 hours per day. Participants acknowledged that Kass FM had broadened their knowledge especially in farming techniques, business and or economy, education, politics and governance and health care. When asked to select the most important of the topics, 41 (91%) chose framing. This however, was not surprising since the respondents were from a predominantly agricultural region.

20 (44%) of the participants said they participated in Kass FM call-in programmes at least once.

42 (93%) of the participants agreed that they learnt a lot from presenters and callers during the programmes.

Discussion

Kenyans actively participate in debate through call-in shows in vernacular radio stations. The programming reflects elements of linguistic empowerment of rural communities. Alexander (2003) implores that languages must be treated as resources for any economic, social and cultural development initiatives. According to Girard (2001) cited in Chapman et al (2003), rural radio is a means to reach community in regard to relevance because it allows for community participation. This is particularly because of the use of language that is in the community's accent. Chapman further notes that, giving information by using vernacular radio stations makes the information not only informative but also acceptable. This was notable in the recordings since some of the terms were already adapted to the local dialect to enable listeners from the grassroots to understand the topics better. Some of the scientific and technological terms that were used in these programmes with respect to the topical issues are shown in the table below.

Surprising however, was the fact that, despite Kiswahili being touted as a national language, half the participants (51%) could fairly understand Kiswahili. Their preferred language was mother tongues.

The most notable finding was the difference in employment where most women were involved in non-educational aspects of life such as small scale trading or housewives. There were only 2 (4%) of women who were teachers. This could explain the role of women in the Kalenjin culture where men are more involved in the society (in terms of education and employment) and women taking up the role of indirect roles (such as trading, housewives).

The programmes were very popular to listeners. This was evidenced in the huge numbers of questions and contributions made by listeners with an average 15 calls per programme. However, there were differences in number of callers, with a relatively higher number of men as opposed to women, this is attributable to Kalenjin culture where women are not "highly upheld" not less their views. This is especially when it comes to opinions related to politics, education and development as the results have suggested.

Wabwire (2013) notes that other than community participation; radio stations in vernacular create a desire for accountability and transparency. This in turn affects the process carried out collectively by communities to foster leadership that is good and effective. When communities are in an environment where they can be interactive, and in a way that can be sustained, they are able to make better, more informed decisions because they are able to share information.

When communities are able to access information, they are able to play a part in the development of their communities as well as country since they know which issues affect them and have an idea of how to solve them.

Conclusion

Vernacular radio stations use indigenous languages to promote economic development, democracy and poverty eradication. It was clear that Kass FM had a distinct development and governance theme in their programming. A linguistic evaluation of communication in Kass FM radio revealed that national development and governance

concerns are addressed. This is done by use of Kalenjin languages and in cases where scientific terms were required, borrowing of such terms from English and Kiswahili was observed. Borrowing also involved the adaptation of such terms morpho-phonologically by presenters.

Listeners affirmed that Kass FM broadcasts have influenced listeners' understanding and comprehension of contemporary development related issues. This was proven by their active participation in such discourse through phone calls.

Recommendations

There is need for the government to come up with a comprehensive language policy document that governs the preservation and modernization of vernacular languages. This is to ensure that no citizens are denied political participation and opportunities for socio-economic development. The state should also institute moderating and promotion incentives for radio stations airing development oriented content.

It is worthwhile for these stations to be accorded direct government support in terms of diversification and mainstreaming of vernacular languages to achieve the developmental benchmarks enumerated in the vision 2030.

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Table 1: number of calls recorded

Programme recording	Number of calls
Week 1	17
Week 2	13
Week 3	14
Week 4	17
Week 5	11
Week 6	19
Total	**91**

The table above shows the number of calls made over a period of 6 months.

Table 2: List of topics for the recorded programmes

General area	Specific topic	Nature of discussion
Economy	Real estate (opportunities, funding, etc)	A panel of experts, listeners call in to ask questions
Agriculture	Fertilizer (pricing, alternatives such as compositing, forming SACCOS, etc)	The minister of agriculture interviewed by a radio host, listeners call in to ask questions
Education	Higher education opportunities locally and abroad (courses cost, sponsorship)	An education official interviewed by radio host
Politics	Grand coalition (governing structures)	A political analyst interviewed
Healthcare	Health insurance (benefits, different insurance packages offered in the market)	Medical doctor and an insurer are jointly interviewed

Table 3: Level of education

Education	(n)	Percentage (%)
Degree	2	4.4
Diploma	7	15.6
Secondary	22	48.9
Primary and below	14	31.1
Total	**45**	**100.0**

48.9% of the respondents had acquired secondary education, 15.6% diploma and 31.1% had primary education.

Table 4: Employment status

	Farmers	Civil servants	Teachers	Small scale traders	Housewives	Unemployed	Total
Men	17	8	4				29
%	**37.8**	**17.8**	**8.9**				**64.4**
Women			2	7	5	2	16
%			**4.4**	**15.6**	**11.1**	**4.4**	**35.6**

37.8 % of the men are farmers while a total of 26.7% are civil servants and teachers. Majority of the women 15.6% are small scale traders with only 4.4% who are teachers.

Table 5: Kiswahili language rating

Kiswahili	(n)	Percentage (%)
Good	11	24.4
Fair	23	51.1
Poor/ basic	11	24.4
Total	**45**	**100.0**

23 (51%) rated their Kiswahili language proficiency as fair while 11 (24.4%) rated their language both as good, and poor/basic.

List of terms and how they have been adopted

Table 6.1: Economy

Adapted word/ phrase in Kalenjin	English translation	Context of use
Kompunit	Company	Listeners were being urged to form registered companies to be able to bid for government tenders
Lesinit eng kansol	local authority license	Listeners being told how to apply for local authority licenses in order to legalize their businesses so as to access bank loans
Injinitab maendeleo ko piik	people drive development	Listeners were being sensitized on their role as the drivers of the economy and not the government
Mung'aretab karajisiek anan tukosiekab sipea	garage business or shops	With the influx of numerous second hand car imports, listeners were being advised that vehicle garages present a good investment opportunity or spare parts shops
Besenwogik eng pengi	Bank loans	Access to bank loans in Kenya is mostly restricted to those in formal employment. Listeners in the informal sector were informed about products available for them and how to approach banks

Table 6.2: Agriculture

Adapted word / phrase in Kalenjin	English translation	Context of use
Chamaitab kibagenge	Co-operative society	Cooperative societies in Kenya play an important role in promoting savings and advancing credit. Listeners were urged to form or join cooperative societies to save and access credit.
Tesetabtai nebo viwanda chebo chaaik	Growth of tea factories	Farmers were encouraged to sell their tea leaves directly to factories to avoid exploitation by middle men and ensure the factories thrive and employ more people
Skuataekab Mau	Squatters at Mau forest	Squatters who have lived in Mau forest were being told of a government programme to resettle them elsewhere due to the adverse effects of tree felling on climate change and food security

Table 6.3: Education

Adapted word/ phrase in Kalenjin	English translation	Context of use
Somanetab kompyuta	Online education	Listeners were told of the availability of online courses ranging from certificate, degree and post graduate courses
Kipsomainikab unifasiti	University dons	Learned members of the community were urged to use their knowledge and skills for the benefit of the community and not restrict their work to teaching at the university.
Kimnatet naet	Knowledge is power	Listeners were encouraged to educate their children to the highest possible level since knowledge is acquired through education

Table 6.4: Politics / governance

Adapted word/ phrase in Kalenjin	English translation	Context of use
Kandoiikab bolotet	Leaders who make noise	Listeners were urged to differentiate between politicians (who only make noise) and leaders who are development oriented
Serikalitab kibagenge	Coalition government	Discussions were held on how coalition governments are formed and how they can work harmoniously
Kampit ne ter	Opposing political camp	Listeners were engaged in a debate on the various political camps in the region and their political agenda
Igochi pointisiek serikalitab kibagenge	Rate the performance of the coalition government	Listeners called in to rate the performance of the coalition government in several areas, such as agriculture, healthcare and so on
Kotab bolotet	House of noise	Referring to parliament, listeners were told that it had degenerated to a house of noise with no serious debates touching on citizens

Table 5: Healthcare

Adapted word / phrase in Kalenjin	English translation	Context of use
Sibitalisiekab serikali	Government hospitals	Listeners were informed of services available at government hospitals
Kaditab membaek	Membership card	Listeners were told to register for the national hospital insurance fund so as to access healthcare at a subsidized rate
Bilisiek keruyo sibitali	Hospital bills on admission	A panel discussed the requirement for patients to pay a nominal fee upfront in order to be treated in hospitals

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