

Impact assessment of
East African Community Media Project 2000-2006
Report from Orkonerei Radio Service (ORS) in Tanzania
and selected communities

"Most significant change?

*That we have our own radio, are updated in our own language
and can communicate. You can say that:*

IT HAS GIVEN US OUR IDENTITY BACK!"



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Front page photos: Bottom right hand: Maasai family listening. Courtesy of IOPA, Top left hand: Radio producer Baraka David ole Maika in action. By: Birgitte Jallov

Front page quote: An elder in Sukuru village, Simanjaru province, Tanzania

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Foreword

Working to assess the impact of the Maasai community radio based in Terrat in Northern Tanzania was a very powerful experience, as this report documents. The radio is part of a community media department within an institute started to enhance the advancement of the pastoralist community in the dry-lands - IOPA.

This impact study documents with some depth how the Maasai people living within the area covered by the ORS FM station have experienced major, positive development changes and empowerment since the start of the radio. These changes include a strengthened sense of identity and culture, improvement in women's lives through insights and attainment of their human rights, empowerment of the Maasai community through information and communication, as well as improved livelihood in general. The report documents how poverty is seen to be diminishing both with respect to the community's power, choice and material well being.

The study furthermore examines and describes the role of the radio in creation of these "most significant changes", it covers an audit of the degree of fulfilment of information and communication needs, and it presents a series of recommendations for further enhancing the sustainability of the station – to continue the change process.

This report is the result of an impact study commissioned by the Division for Culture and Media within the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida). This assessment is one of three with the objective to identify the 'Most Significant Change' in the three communities serviced by three community radios supported by Sida through the East African Community Media Project (EACMP).

EACMP is a sub-regional initiative involving four partners: the coordinator EcoNews Africa, an NGO based in Nairobi; the Institute for Orkonerei Pastoralist's Advancement – IOPA – in Terrat, Tanzania – and their radio covered by the present study; and two other communities: the Mangelete Community in Kenya and their women's radio; as well as the Uganda Rural Development and Training Program's community radio (KKCR) in Kagadi, Uganda.

The study was carried out by a team of two consultants. The regional researcher Charles Lwanga-Ntale first visited the area and prepared a first field report. The team leader and international consultant Birgitte Jallof followed up on this field work, carried out a sustainability assessment and produced this final report.

In Arusha, in Terrat and during fieldwork in the local communities, we were greatly assisted by all categories of staff, who organized office and field meetings at which we were able to meet with a cross section of people including livestock keepers, teachers, traders, local leaders, women, men, young people, etc. We extend our thanks to the many people and organisations in Tanzania who gave their precious time in support of this study.

Birgitte Jallof, Krogegaard, Denmark, January 2007

PART I

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Box 1: The nature of Maasai people

“The Maasai are generally trusting people. Because of this characteristic, they are often taken for granted, and in many instances they are taken advantage of by other people and by a wide range of external economic and political interests. The political leaders who should be protecting the interests of the community instead engage in secret negotiations and underhand dealings to defraud the communities of, especially, their land resource.

Given that we do not have effective political representation in any of the key sectors of governance or development, and in light of the significant environmental, social, and economic threats, more creative ways have had to be found to stop the problem from growing. The radio provides with two complementary solutions to the problem, namely, creating space for dialogue and discussion among the community on one hand, and communicating our feelings to authorities and other development practitioners on the other”.

Key informant, Terrat Market

1. Background

The objective of this report and the work it presents was to “collect stories” to present and assess the impact of the community media – and especially the community *radio* - of the “Institute for the Orkonerei Pastoralist Advancement”, IOPA, created and run by and for the primarily Maasai pastoralists living in Northern Tanzania.

While the core of the report is the stories told by the listeners, users and producers of the community radio and other community media activities, the report first presents the methodology used and moves on to provide the setting of the ORS FM radio based in the small Maasai town of Terrat some 90 kms south-east of Arusha.

On the basis of the following brief history and information about the organization of the IOPA and their community media activities, the report moves on to present the stories shared about the “Most Significant Changes” (MSC) registered after the onset of the community media activities.

Concluding, the report presents the evidence gathered about *how* the radio and its producers have managed to generate the basis for the changes identified and prioritised by the community. And it discusses the important question raised in the terms of reference concerning the institutional sustainability of the community media activities: *what will it take* for the community change to continue effectively?

2. Methodology used

This report is an impact assessment based on the “Most Significant Change” methodology¹ and the objective and key purpose of the present study is thus, according to the study’s TOR, to identify the most significant, positive (and negative) changes in poverty that have occurred in the three communities in the areas of people’s livelihood, people’s participation, and in the sustainability of people’s institutions and their activities. Furthermore to assess if, how and to what extent the community media centres (radio stations) have contributed to this change in poverty.

Asking the community to identify the “most significant change(s)” that have taken place in their lives since the advent of the radio is closely linked to the core approach of the EACMP, namely to work towards overall visions and dreams, which the community and the community members have for the lives they wish to lead². With a view to this overall vision, those changes already happening – and mapped in this report - are seen as stepping stones towards the fulfilment of visions and dreams.

The assessment fell in two parts: the first thorough field work was carried out by the regional researcher, working with several communities (see below) to establish to most significant changes since the start of the community media – and especially the

¹ As presented in this guide: <http://www.mande.co.uk/docs/MSCGuide.pdf>

² This approach is among others exemplified by approaches and tools such as “appreciative inquiry” (see for instance: “Appreciative Inquiry: The Handbook” (w/CD), by David Cooperrider , Diana Whitney , Jacqueline Stavros. Crown Custom Publishing. And: <http://appreciativeinquiry.case.edu/>

community radio. Thereafter these identified change-stories were systematized and the community assisted in the important prioritisation: which is the MOST important.

After this first part of the work, the team leader one month later worked to consolidate and validate the findings, ascertaining that these were, indeed, the community changes caused by the radio. She worked with the producers to identify how and why the impact had been generated by the radio, and carried out an information and communication audit: Which are the community needs? And are they adequately met?

During the first field research process, criteria for selecting communities and segments of the population which were to be visited by the assessment team were progressively identified: first we wanted to hear as many different voices as possible. Semi-structured dialogue methods were adopted for the assessment. A combination of tools and approaches rooted in the participatory tradition were used to derive the information from IOPA staff, ORS partners and a cross-section of community groups, local governments and populations benefiting from IOPA programmes. All information was triangulated in order to gain consistency and richness.

Focus group discussions (FGDs) were used to obtain information separately from men and women, and where possible from local leaders, elders, and other specific sub-groups - all being beneficiaries or partners in the IOPA programme. Other FGDs were conducted for groups of people who listen to ORS Radio programmes to get a diversity of perceptions and in order to triangulate the information collected. Attempts were also made to obtain voices from representatives of more vulnerable categories of people, such as people with disabilities and the elderly. In all, 11 focus group discussions were held, 3 with staff, 4 with women, and 4 with men.

Direct observation was also used in the course of the consultations, taking note of any changes in the socio-economic environment of the areas that could be attributed directly/indirectly to ORS's intervention, state of well-being of people, physical infrastructure for implementation of the projects, among others. Consultations with ORS staff members involved **in-depth conversational interviews** using a semi-structured interview guide. Further consultations with staff were held in a feedback meeting, which was undertaken at the conclusion of the fieldwork.

3. About the area and its people

Geography: Information is scarce, and sometimes contradictory, about the total geographical area, which is occupied by the Maasai people. Information is also not explicit on what geographical expanse constitutes the "Maasai Community" which is currently served by ORS. In Tanzania, frequent reference is nonetheless made to the two regions of Arusha and Manyara as the geo-political regions where most Maasai-speaking peoples may be found. Overall, it is estimated that about 500,000 Maasai live in both Tanzania and Kenya, occupying an area covering approximately 160,000 square kilometres. However, with respect to coverage of ORS, most respondents to the interviews confirmed that Ilaramatak Radio was listened to in distances of up to 100 kilometres. A key challenge for this study, therefore, is in defining scope.

Traditions remain strong: As a start, it was sought to understand the “people context” in which ORS operates. This was described by different people both at ORS and in the communities themselves. The story was always consistent. Despite growing contact with the outside world, the people of Maasai land have not only been continuously marginalized but they too have persistently maintained much of their cultural heritage. Ancient rituals and customs are still observed by most tribesmen and women, and daily life largely follows a range of traditional practices. Life's most important events are birth, puberty, marriage, and death. All these are celebrated through age-old traditional ceremonies.

Maasai society is structured in an age-oriented system, where each man passes through three main life stages: boyhood, warrior-hood and elder-hood. Stage transitions are marked by individual ceremonies involving various activities that are enjoyed by the entire community. During the study and even with probing, however, no reference was made to the stages which women pass through, which might be suggestive of the “invisibility” of women in Maasai tradition and culture.

More specifically, at birth some rituals are performed which welcome the newly-born onto earth and also entrusts its life to the spirits of the fore-bearers and the gods. At puberty female circumcision, or genital mutilation, though declining, still persists. Some parents might allow their daughters to go through an alternative rite especially if they are in school, but even in such cases more conservative family members tend to insist on circumcising the girls when they return home. According to ORS staff members the efforts of the radio in stemming this practice (of female genital mutilation) have began yielding positive results. “They are not in vain”, said a group of workers. However, they add that progress sometimes seems to be slow as some community members feel that the Maasai people and culture are under constant threat from other cultures, which leads to their resistance to change.

At marriage, the custom of giving dowry is also still much respected. A Local Management Committee (LMC) member pointed out that while this practice was still cherished by most Maasai, it tended to reinforce the treatment of women as property. The practice is that the aspiring groom acquires his bride by giving cows, goats, local brew, and other gifts to his father-in-law. Dissolution of marriage after such an “exchange” is extremely difficult as “once cattle have been received by the girl’s family all efforts are to keep these cattle within the family – at all costs”. In the same vein, the practice of arranged marriages is still prevalent, although it is gradually disappearing in some places, especially in the trading centres and towns where younger people now tend to marry for love.

A pertinent issue particularly to women in Maasailand is that of “female circumcision,” also referred to as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). This refers to the removal of part, or all, of the female genitalia in a “traditional rite carried for maturing girls at their puberty stage”. Some people who this author talked to added that the practice moderates sexual desire in women. The main perpetrators of this practice are elderly women and men in the communities. FGM is therefore mainly practiced in the name of tradition and culture, as an initiation rite, the practice being one of the rituals that defines who is in the culture. The practice, which is generally done without anesthetic, is reported to have lifelong health consequences including

chronic infection. It may also lead to severe pain during urination, menstruation, sexual intercourse, or childbirth. For many young girls, FGM is also a psychologically traumatising experience. Although there are no official numbers, anecdotal information reveals that some girls actually die from the ritual, usually as a result of bleeding or infection.

It was not possible during the period of field work to establish the extent to which the practice was spread. However ORS staffers believe that one in two girls is still at risk of being subjected to FGM, although they quickly added that because of the radio programmes those who still subscribe to the practice “no longer do it in the open”. Nonetheless a vigorous campaign is being aired on radio by ORS in which community members are constantly reminded about the problems which are attendant to continuing with the practice.

Family life among the Maasai is very patriarchal. The man is the master in the home and in all family matters, although, according to some elders, the power of women in influencing important decisions in the family should never be underestimated. Most men are married to more than one wife – some were reported to have as many as 5 or 6 wives. The more economically sound a man (family) is, the more likely such a man will marry a second or even third wife. As in many other African cultures, extended family relationships are much respected. These include cousins, aunts, uncles, sisters, brothers, nieces, nephews, and even in-laws. The family clan remains a strong entity and family disputes are resolved by a panel made up of clan members, and all events, be they happy or sad, are shared by the whole clan.

Elders in Sukuro also observed that in the past, storytelling was the main source of information, learning, and reflection for especially younger people regarding Maasai culture and traditions, and about livelihood strategies. Through story telling young people learned about illustrious Maasai ancestors. Stories were often told at night or in the fields during daytime alongside the carrying out of other daily chores.

Folktales tended to feature both human beings and animals, either separately or together, and these were employed for social commentary and instruction and also served as a potent means of affirming group values while at the same time discouraging antisocial behavior. In most such tales, the animals and birds took on human characteristics of hard work, greed, jealousy, honesty, loneliness, etc. Through their behavior, many valuable lessons were learned by younger generations, and the surroundings in which the tales took place revealed the vastness of the land and educated younger people about the seasons, migrations, survival strategies, etc.

Regrettably, it was also revealed by communities, most of this tradition (of story-telling) was getting lost. The loss was attributed to a number of factors, including that of changing lifestyles. Other factors blamed for, due in part to the introduction of the cash economy, for example, meant that younger people spent less time learning from older people than they did trying to earn an income.

Box 2: Taking goats to the market:

No introduction of ORS or of its seat at Terrat is complete without a description of the 90 Km road distance between Arusha and Terrat, which makes an otherwise relatively short physical distance look perilously long – sometimes with rain from 6-10 hours – and if unlucky you may have to wait for days... In that 90-kilometre space one may find some of the characterisations of ORS as a community radio. This distance also characterises some of the key challenges which ORS encounters on a regular basis as it aims to provide the much needed (and respected) radio service to the community.

Yet the drive to Terrat is not without colour – yes real colour. At an open-air market in an area that doubles as a small trading centre, mid-way between Arusha and Terrat, young men donning red and purple *sukas* haggle about prices as their opposite number load their wares – oil tins, plastic ware, etc onto their heads. Tens of tractor trailers and pick-up vehicles – the shared taxis – prepare to set out to various locations taking people, goods and, sometimes, the odd goat or sheep that one of the passengers would have bought.

Some stay behind to quench their thirst with the local brew. I later come to learn that domestic fights – or to be precise wife battering – are common after the conclusion of a market day. The Process leading up to the fight may take any form or direction. The narrative below is a typical example:

The story about taking goats to the market is a typical one. A man leaves home with three goats destined for the market. His objective is to exchange the goats for a cow in the market. Bringing the cow home will increase the stock of cattle from which the entire household derive their livelihood. One or two of the goats may actually belong to the wife, but this should not be a problem since the cow which will be bought is expected to benefit both man and wife. But before the goats have been exchanged, a sweet-talking livestock trader has approached the man with cash in exchange for the three goats. No hard questions are asked. The language of money in exchanges such as these is now well known. Consequently, a deal is quickly sealed and soon money is changing hands. Three young women and two young men, the latter being friends to the now “rich man”, are witnesses to this transaction. It does not take long before the now fairly large and excited group are partying on local brew, and roasted meat.

Now comes the woman of the house. She wants to help her husband take their “newly acquired cow” back home. But not only is there no cow, there are also strange-looking young women giving company to her husband. All are tipsy and are speaking in very high tones. They too are not in listening mood to this woman who they believe might have just “strayed” or “gate-crashed” their party.

Maasai women are not supposed to be jealous about their husbands. But this one will not simply take it lying down. So she picks up a quarrel with the husband, whom she urges to explain where the goats or cow are. She, in any case, urges him to get back home with her as it is getting late. In no time there is commotion with the woman of the house hurling insults at her husband’s newest acquisitions. Some elderly women rush to save the situation. They persuade the incensed woman to go back home and wait for her husband there. Reluctantly she obliges leaving the party to continue from the point it had been interrupted.

But the biggest blow is yet to come. Soaked in local beer, and with neither goats, nor cow, nor money, the man goes home to confront his wife who “ashamed him in the market”. He batters her intermittently throughout the night. The following day the woman can barely walk, so she calls in two neighbours to help, and for support. After some discussion and soul-searching the two decide that the case should be shared more widely with other women over Ilaramatak Radio. The result is vibrant exchange of views and ideas by people calling in from as far as 50 kms away. But there is another immediate impact: the man who battered the wife has apologised to her and has as a sign of reconciliation decided to buy her a new dress. He will also organise for a big meal to be prepared and shared.

Livelihoods: Because they are a pastoral community, cattle are central to Maasai culture. Households depend upon their livestock for milk, blood and meat, the most important ingredients in any Maasai meal. Cattle also manifest the Maasai's cultural tradition because they are used in virtually all ceremonies, such as judicial proceedings, celebratory ceremonies, marriages, and punishment. Accordingly, the Maasai must have access to grazing areas and water. However, these commodities are becoming increasingly scarce. Regarding food, therefore, more and more households have to supplement the above traditional sources with other foodstuffs such as maize and beans.

In each herd, all animals are individually recognized and known. Cow urine is sometimes used in medicines and cow dung is commonly used for building and construction. Consequently, a large herd of cattle is acknowledged as a sign of wealth within the Maasai community. However community members in Sukuro also observed that continued sustenance of this form of livelihood was itself challenged by numerous other forces at play, for example: the changing weather patterns with droughts being more severe and more extensive; an increase in the number of animal disease epidemics; reduced access to pasturelands in other areas; etc. The changes to Maasai livelihood which have been ushered in by these developments have been made worse by inadequate compensation to the Maasai in terms of access to drinking water, health care, education, or veterinary services as a result of ecotourism. Consequently the Maasai have difficulty sustaining their way of life, and water scarcity has become an especially urgent problem.

Of significance, also, is the fact that conservation efforts, which are in part believed to be associated with Tanzania's tourism industry, have turned sizeable proportions of the Maasai's best traditional grazing lands into protected areas. Given that the parks follow a model where settlement of people (even if it is temporary) and hunting are banned, and in order to spread risk, some people in the community have in more recent times expanded their economic interests into agriculture, petty trading, and mining. A large number of young Maasai men were also reported to have migrated to urban centres in search of paid employment.

This ongoing transformation has been the subject of much debate and discussion, some people seeing the changes as a sign of progress. However, others argue that it is the market economy which is responsible for drawing the Maasai away from their cultural tradition, thus threatening the very survival of Maasai cultural institutions. These are intractable problems for any development agenda.

4. Why, how and when did the community media project start?

The “Institute of the Orkonerei Pastoralist Advancement” IOPA, was started in 1991, when a group of 21 people joined hands in the wish to find ways of helping the Maasai of the region, who were living with their livestock as they had always done, in a rhythm dividing the year into periods of (i) rain, (ii) after the rain and (iii) waiting for the rain. The Maasai in general had no idea of their rights and were threatened a variety of forces including by climatic changes and by national policy allowing cultivators and expansion of the nature reserves to take their land.

4.1 Community radio as part of a community media package – reaching out:

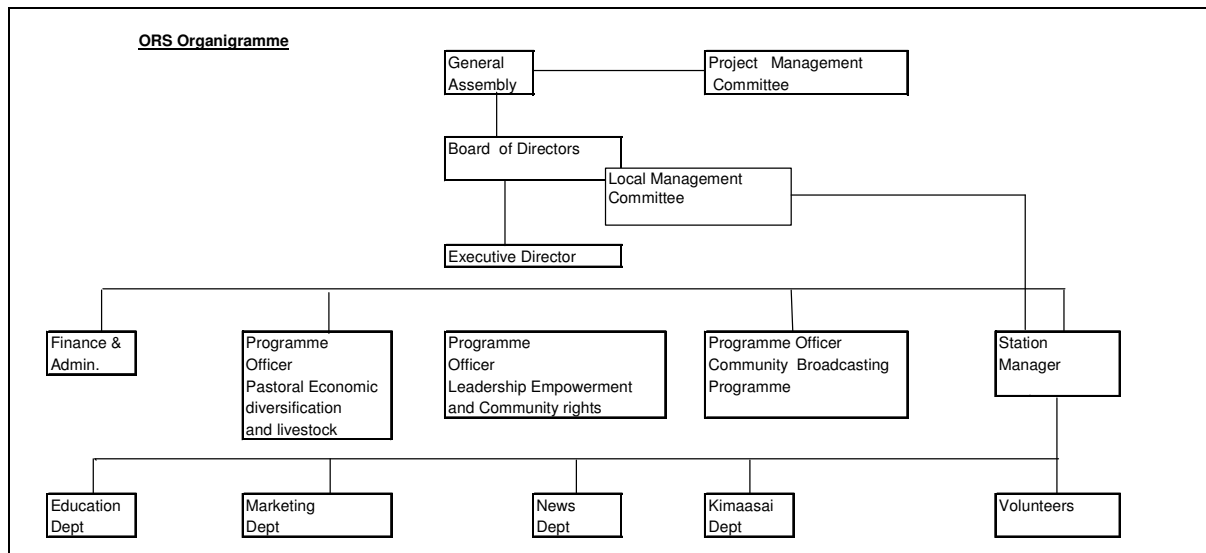
Even though it was clear from the onset that the IOPA wanted to reach further than it could physically through the institute and training centre created in Terrat, it took until June 22 2002 before the ORS FM went on air. The radio was a new development within a comprehensive ‘package’ of community media activities including resource centres, a video production facility, VHF radio communication to core centres within the Tanzanian part of the Maasai region, and international and national TV reception via satellite. While each of the earlier established community media components had – and continue to have – an important and distinct function, it was only with the advent of the radio that the reach of the general and ongoing information and communication activities speeded up.

ORS FM is seen to be the first community radio station in Tanzania, and was an inspiration when the Tanzanian Government developed their first draft Community Radio Policy – allowing others to enter this field of community communication. A national model, the “Orkonerei Radio Service FM” is first and foremost a channel of communication of IOPA. The IOPA would have a much more limited outreach without the radio, and the depth of the radio programmes would be much more limited, had it not had a broad organisation as a basis. Radio is a means to achieve most objectives of the IOPA. With illiteracy rates of an estimated 80%, radio becomes the only realistic tool for social and economic transformation: people are talking together, recording own music, vitalising language and culture. A range of concrete and powerful examples document that after the arrival of the radio, there is no longer the same threat against the Maasai culture as before. Before people felt shy to use the Maasai language for a number of reasons. Now they feel proud.

The radio contributes to creating knowledge and has opened a world to the Maasai through information about local news as well as national and international – which is all new. Also children take part in this work, and this changes also their outlook on life – Maasai children used to be even very far from this world.

4.2 Organisation and structure of ORS FM:

IOPA is in principle a membership organisation³, which functions like a service-oriented NGO. While the community radio as such is not community owned and controlled, the level of community anchorage is very strong, as verified during the two field visits to Terrat. IOPA defines community as ‘a group of people sharing the same language and history’, IOPA and its radio has – also from this angle - a very strong community mandate in all of its work.



IOPA Organigramme

The station has 9 paid staff members at present. Three left recently and a group of four new staff have been identified but had not yet started working at the station at the time of the field visits. The station started out with an intention of working with a group of volunteers, and had between 14 and 16 volunteers among the programme producers two years ago. As, however, the Maasai have to move around with their cattle we were told⁴. Only one volunteer is left, and he is only contributing irregularly.

While there is no particular focus to ensuring that all the many “communities within the community” are given special space and voice, all are welcome at any time, and it is the observation at the IOPA and ORS FM that all segments of the Maasai population and other pastoralists in the target area feel welcome and make use of the space.

Besides from the Maasai, other tribes are welcome to use the radio and in their languages. Their contributions will then be translated. This opportunity is, however, rarely used.

³ The 2002 evaluation stress that the members don't pay their dues and that the membership activities, such as annual general assembly etc are activities not presently active and functioning.

⁴ Which is still true for a part of the community

Box 3: How ORS came into being: A founder's story

According to Martin Kariongi, the founder of Orkonerei Institute for Pastoralists' Advancement, there were other frustrations as well. "Personally, I was trained as a medical professional. For several years I gave my all to this job, but after many years of this dedicated service to my then employers, I realised that year in and year out of running clinics and treating diseases in the Maasai countryside was not leading to any recognisable changes in people's health or generally their quality of life.

If anything, some things seemed to even be getting worse. For example women were talking about increased malnutrition, and Maasai elders were already talking about declining quality of pastures; vegetation was also fast disappearing; soil erosion was becoming more destructive; etc. Those of us who were working in the field of community development knew that there was a problem, which was more fundamental.

In the meantime, problems of marginalisation and exploitation themselves reached a high point during the late 1980s and early 1990s – the time when land belonging to the Maasai was being annexed and/or grabbed by "developers" whose only claim was that "Maasai pastoralists were not using the land "productively" and that this "primitive use of land had to stop".

For a long time the Maasai people were marginalised from participation in their own governance, identification and articulation of development priorities, and even in service delivery. They lacked effective representation in key public institutions and hence made little or no impact on local and national development processes which otherwise affected them as well. As a community, also, the Maasai people for a long time felt a high sense of vulnerability to economic marginalisation, cultural exploitation, and constant violation of their cultural and human rights.

However not many development organisations actually wanted to work in Maasailand. They were either uninterested or unsure how to engage with the people. Even for the few that had some interest in working with the Maasai, the terms on which they wanted to engage were often unequal. They spelt out their agenda, defined their process and implemented programmes "in the way they thought best fitted the Maasai".

"This is the time we came together as a group of concerned Maasai professionals, first to advocate for the people's land rights, and also begin a discussion among Maasai people themselves about the issue of community development in their area. Our objective was to create an informed pastoralist society, and we decided to subject all our ideas and discussions to critical analysis.

However, we soon realised that the people we were talking about were spread over a very large expanse of land, and we did not have the resources to enable us to criss-cross this massive expanse of land. Our verdict was unanimous – 'we needed a mode of communication and method of work which enabled information to travel far and wide – and very fast – but also one which promoted dialogue and discussion'. Community radio was this mode".

"The perfect opportunity presented itself during the Nairobi convention on as a follow-up to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992, whose key conclusions, on at least two out of three themes, fitted well with our own thinking. The three themes were:

- *Improved communication;*
- *Access to fair prices and fair trade; and,*
- *Greater participation of citizens in decision-making"*

4.3 Programming:

Orkonerei Radio Service (ORS), or Iaramatak Radio, is a popular brand in Maasai land, but the radio's popularity is not confined to Maasai land. It spreads beyond the "Maasai community" to all the surrounding areas of Arusha, Meru, Moshi, etc. It can be heard loud and clear on the drive from Kilimanjaro International Airport towards Arusha. On this Moshi/ Kilimanjaro side of the country, we were later to understand, ORS programmes are quite popular, especially with homemakers.

The station is on air every day for eight hours from 14 to 22. The team really wants to expand the number of hours on air, and plan to do so once Terrat receives electricity. At present the radio is run by generator power – and it is expensive.

In terms of organising the work, every day starts with an evaluation of the programme of the previous day and planning of the coming day. Both staff from the Institute and the Radio take part in this. Most staff of the institute also have their programmes and interact in the general programme. As said above: the radio is really a tool and an extension for the work of the IOPA and the other community media activities.

The eight daily hours of programming consist of a good mix of news and current affairs, debate on local issues and with messages interlinked with music taking up one third of the total programme: 35 % greetings and community messages, 26 % discussion and educational programmes on local issues, 18 % news and sport (of this 10 % in KiMasai), 13 % music programmes (Maasai music about half) and 8% religious programmes⁵.

Every week the council of Maasai elders have a regular half hour programme. But they are often involved even more, as they are invited into to debate and reflect on the many various issues.

pm	3:00	3:10	3:30	4:00	4:10	4:30	5:00	5:30	6:00	6:30	7:00	7:05	8:00	8:30	8:45	8:55	9:00	10:00
Monday	News RTD			Health prog			Greetings tel		Greetings		Greetings		News Kiswa		Music short per			
	Maasai music			Choice of DJ			Maasai mus		Educat prog		Break news		Tel & advert		Maasai news		Dialogue/discus.	
Tuesday	News RTD			Gender equit			Trad. music		Break news		Tel & advert		Maasai news		Dialogue/discus.			
	Maasai music			Old music			Tel greetings		Greetings		Greetings		News Kiswa		Maasai music			
Wednesday	Reggae time			Legal issues			Advice		Environment		Break news		Tel & advert		Maasai news		Dialogue/discus.	
	News RTD			Choice of DJ			Tel greeting		Greeting card		Greeting card		Kis News		Maasai music			
Thursday	Music beach			Choice of DJ			S.A. music		Food security		Break news		Tel & advert		Maasai news		Dialogue/discus.	
	News RTD			Trad. medic			Tel greeting		Greetings		Greetings		Kis News		Maasai music			
Friday	News RTD			Mulsim prog			Conscience		Break news		Tel & advert		Maasai news		Dialogue/discus.			
	Choice of DJ			Tel greeting			Greetings		Greetings		Kis News		Maasai music					
Saturday	News RTD			The world this week			Greetings		Greetings		Kis News		Maasai music					
	Through eyes of women			Sports			Guest of week		Break news		Tel & advert		Maasai news		Life mirror			
Sunday	Be happy w/ children			Christian songs			World wonder		Break news		Tel & advert		Maasai news		Christian songs			
	News RTD			Word from the bible			Greetings		Greetings		Kis News		Maasai music					

Weekly time table of the ORS FM (translated from Kiswahili into English by Lukas Kariongi)

⁵ The different locally active religions have half an hour each per week. On Fridays the Muslims have 30 minutes, as do the Christian churches on Sunday. Presently the Lutheran Church, the Roman Catholic and the Pentecostal community, each have half hour programmes on Sundays.

4.4 Transforming culture and tradition through community processes in radio

The content and ‘agenda’ of many programmes is most often spurred by community comments and interests, and the station was found to be an even very dynamic place with people coming and going, hanging around, repairing the bicycle that got a flat on the way there, having a cup of tea – or attending one of many training courses or community meetings⁶.

The IOPA and its radio have grown into having as one of its central roles the preservation of Maasai language, culture and tradition – and thus Maasai identity – and some components at the core of tradition is actually against their central (human) rights-based approach and ethics. One such area is the very inferior human value given to women and girls in society, including traditional practices of female genital mutilation, domestic violence, and the absence of legal – including land and property - rights for women to mention a few.

The IOPA and the radio therefore works with the community and the council of elders – also women (!) – to find ways of filling the Maasai tradition with new content, when this is needed. A girl can, for instance, traditionally not be married when not circumcised, as she is then still considered an immature girl. New initiation and transition symbols and rites then have to be identified and found for life to go on – in new ways.

Many of the comments and suggestions for programmes coming from the community relate to this area - often controversial. The above described mechanism then starts, facilitated by the IOPA programme officers and radio producers, of conducting community discussions with the council of elders and others selected groups, working to find consensus and to identify new ways.

When such a process has been successfully concluded, the programme is aired, presenting the community comment, and the process of discussion and “work” with the issue. This is usually the beginning of a long process of dialogue and debate, where community contributions are received both by phone and in person.

In the everyday of the radio the Maasai news programme often have an elder present, who comments on the news presented by the head of the Maasai programme of the radio, Baraka ole Maika, a young Maasai, who has worked with the radio less than one year⁷. The elder, Philipo, has been part of many of the transformation processes described above, and has become what could be considered a feminist in many ways, and a strong defender of human rights in all its aspects. While being a recognized elder of the community and a carrier of tradition, he has come to have an important role as transformer and educator in the society through his (representative) role in the radio and its programming.

⁶ The information of which this description of the ORS FM work with tradition and human rights is based has been received from the IOPA programme officer Mary Xxxxx, and it has been reconfirmed by the radio producers Baraka ole Maika and Lucas Karionga.

⁷ Presentation of Baraka ole Maika in Box 5 below

4.5 Language

Since independence Tanzania has enjoyed a peace that by the informants of the IOPA and by visiting radio producers from the neighbouring countries is seen to be exceptional in the region. Nyerere's policies of a united Tanzania as one people speaking one language, Kiswahili, was seen to be among the reasons for this exceptionally peaceful coexistence.

This policy however also means that the use of other languages than Kiswahili is in principle not accepted on a radio station. With only 20-30 % of the Maasai population knowing other languages than Kimaasai this policy is a problem. The radio has been allowed to have one hour of Kimaasai programming within their daily 8 hour programme. This is in principle accepted, as can be seen in the programme format here, through the first hour from 2 – 3 pm of Kimaasai programming. Kimaasai is, however, slowly floating into the other programmes as well, partly through the music programmes and partly as the callers-in will usually speak – and often be answered – in Kimaasai.

The management of IOPA have frequently met with Government officials to explain the urgency of the need of the pastoralists to receive information and news in a language that can be understood, in order to be assisted in their very cumbersome lives and desired development processes. As most of the pastoralists in the coverage area of the radio are Maasai, this ought to be the prevalent language, with other languages also being represented as required by the representation in the listenership.

It is the feeling and understanding of the IOPA management that the Government officials actually understand the arguments, and that policies are softening up. This space is naturally being used by the IOPA in their pursuance of the objectives of their organisation and radio. And the listeners have identified this to be the core opening for a better future:

In the little village of Sukuro, a group of elders could not hide their excitement about the place of ORS in their lives. As if in unison, they narrated:

“The most significant thing, which has happened in our community since ORS went on air is the fact that “we can hear ourselves”. “Yes, hearing ourselves is important. It means that first we are able to talk to one another as fellow Maasai, with the same culture, same challenges and similar destiny. Secondly, after we have talked and heard our voices on radio, we also know that other people have heard what we are saying. This enhances our image as a people”.

PART II

IMPACT ASSESSMENT:

MOST SIGNIFICANT
CHANGE?

5. What problem did the community radio seek to address ?

Box 4 – God’s chosen people

“We are God’s chosen people, and we very are proud of our way of life. Our lifestyle was handed to us by our great grandfathers. We shall pass it on to our children. We live this life for ourselves, however, we are incensed by attempts to force us to drop our culture in favour of what some people call modernization.

We are willing to consider aspects of development, which will enable us to lead a better life and to compete on the same footing as others, such as in education, health, and business. But the key to development for our area is information and choice. If we knew the options, we would choose what to pick and what to leave”.

(Elder, Tukusi)

The “Most Significant Change” methodology is a good tool to use when no consistent baseline has been developed at the outset of an activity like this community media programme. This as the question asks to the “change” that has occurred, thereby also asking what was – or was not – the situation at the starting point. And within the framework of this methodology and coupled with the appreciative inquiry approach, we also asked people to reflect directly on their visions and dreams at the time of creation of the community radio and the challenges that they, initially, were hoping to address in this way, as an additional component in the package of community media already established earlier.

Different individuals and groups of people who were interviewed by the team confirmed that the problem facing the Maasai community and which needed to be addressed was both big and complex. As already pointed out in the foregoing discussion the main issues which keep coming back include marginalization, lack of voice, challenges to cultural identity, limited awareness and participation, inequity in distribution of services and resources, poor livelihoods, and poor communication of development information. Ordinary people talked about these issues in Sukuro and Terrat markets.

A woman in Terrat market pointed out:

“In the past there was no opportunity to raise these concerns. Simply being Maasai caused some people to switch off, because none imagined that you had anything to say. Now that we have our own radio, we shall continue talking about these issues, day in day out, until someone listens”.

The Maasai are unique amongst other Tanzanian people, and they continue to proudly maintain their cultural, spiritual, and economic relationship with their ancestral lands.

In spite of their pride, the gazetting of large tracts of land for use by the Game Parks and unfavourable land tenure policies of past and present governments, coupled with low human capital have undermined both their well-being and progression. Other things were also reported to have continued to undermine Maasai spirituality, basic rights, and cultural, economic, and political viability. Threats to the remaining Maasai lands also continue to grow as successive governments, multinational and national corporations, and individual economic interests demand more land for development.

Thus the desire by other parties for “development” to happen, further pose serious threats to Maasai survival. Without land, the Maasai cannot survive physically, spiritually, or economically as it is to the community the foundation for their livelihood, spirituality, and identity. However, with little or no economic ability to seek legal redress, and lacking meaningful representation in the private, non-governmental and government sectors, the Maasai observed that they were vulnerable and could well lose more lands—and their future, dignity and culture.

The story of ORS’s Station Manager, Khadija brings in yet another dimension. She outlines:

“Overall pastoralist communities do not have much respect for women’s rights, and the case for the Maasai is no different. Because of the programmes, which we broadcast, we have had situations where girls come to the Radio Station requesting to be assisted to get into school because they are worried about being married off to older men. Sometimes we are able to help, but this is not the case in all situations. Apart from the hindrance of being married off girls also fear that in their families they may be forcibly subjected to circumcision or Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), after which they are made to believe that they are someone’s wife and hence should not be attending school”.

FGM used to be pronounced among the Maasai in the past, and there are still some families that practice it. However, the radio has made a very big difference in attitudes with respect to this practice. Those who continue to carry it out do so secretly. The trouble is we cannot tell the extent to which the secretive activity is prevailing. OIPA was able to convince Government to make a declaration and issue a statement to the effect that FGM is a practice which violates girls’ rights and is therefore illegal. But this raises a new challenge for us who manage the community radio. First, we are always at the forefront of saying that ORS is a community radio. Some community members try to test this assertion by saying to us, for example, that it is the girls themselves or their mothers who want circumcision to be carried out and that we should respect this position as a community decision”

“We know of situations where young women have been forcibly circumcised. In one specific case a young woman who was at the time carrying a pregnancy was circumcised, which led to complications and ultimately to death. Another girl was forced to marry a much older man but on reaching her new home she found the conditions of marriage at her age unbearable. She returned to her parents, whereupon her father set upon her and beat her so severely that she

later died from injuries. When you challenge community members about such happenings, they simply retort that these are only accidents”

There are times when we have had to directly intervene in certain situations of girls whose rights were being infringed upon. In one such instance a girl ran to the radio station because she knew there was a plot to forcibly marry her off. Staff at the station hid her for some days. However the father of the girl came to the radio station following leads he had got. He persuaded the radio staff to release the girl, promising to send her back to school if they did. On release, the girl was straight away taken to her new husband, something we all felt awful about. When you see these little girls struggling to get out of a situation of that nature, but not succeeding, you feel as if it is you who have failed them”

“However it is not all hopeless. In fact we believe that we have achieved a lot more than we had previously hoped to.”

6. What are the most significant changes resulting from the radio?

Moving on from the presentation of the socio-political and cultural background of the community radio as well as its organisation and programme production, let us listen to the stories shared by the community. The stories shared all underline the role and the impact of the radio for the community of Maasai pastoralists living within a 100 km radius of Terrat.

Different groups of people shared different experiences. However there was a lot of agreement on the main changes, which had happened to the community as a result of the community radio. After having collected hundreds of stories, these were systematised and discussed. For the purpose of this report, the stories are presented under their thematical headings for clarity and ease of analysis.

Change 1:

Through Maasai language to speak together, understand, and develop identity:

As referred to above in the presentation of the language issue in the ORS FM radio, the elders of Sukuru village stressed eagerly during the focus group discussion:

The most significant thing, which has happened in our community since ORS went on air is the fact that “we can hear ourselves”. “Yes, hearing ourselves is important. It means that first we are able to talk to one another as fellow Maasai, with the same culture, same challenges and similar destiny. Secondly, after we have talked and heard our voices on radio, we also know that other people have heard what we are saying. This enhances our image as a people”.

Others chipped in:

“Our ability to harness local information and to use it for both information and decision-making is a significant change which has happened since the radio started. Sometimes you hear that a child has got lost and when you do you are all

alert looking out for such a child. On other occasions you may hear someone losing their goat or donkey. In most instances, after such losses have been announced on the radio you also hear other people announcing what they have found. It saves us all time and it keeps us in touch with one another as a community. In the past one would spend several days looking for a child or goat, but the Radio has changed all that.”

However, it has not always been smooth sailing. Because of the radio, it is also believed that there is now a greater articulation of the Maasai voice, not only for purposes of development and representation but also for challenging the status quo. The latter, it was learned, is sometimes viewed as being a source of political agitation, which sometimes may not play well with all authorities.

Information sharing is another aspect of life is very cherished among the Maasai especially because of its use of the Ki-Maasai language, as mentioned by one of the representatives of the council of elders:

“Just as electricity powers households and streets in urban areas, ORS is the one which powers our local communities”

Furthermore the communication infrastructure that the radio represents for contact mediation and ‘message centre’ function was highlighted in numerous ways in our contacts with the communities. Not having to walk for days to communicate information personal, family or community news is a revelation:

“When our relatives die we can immediately share the news with those who are near and far”

Another issue, which has remained thorny for sometime is the Tanzania Government policy of discouraging local language broadcasts in order to promote Ki-Swahili as mentioned above in the background and context section of the report. The argument is that by promoting Ki-Swahili, national unity would be fostered and a potential polarization along language lines prevented. The latter could in turn lead to ethnic conflict and consequently political instability.

Change 2 – Preservation and promotion of Maasai culture and traditions:

One of the most attractive things about ORS is the radio’s theme on culture. Young and old alike are, for example, are attracted by the Maasai traditional songs and folklore which are aired on radio. It was reported to generate a sense of pride among the people and it also contributed to people’s sense of identity.

Yet some in the community said that there were a number of practices, hitherto simply referred to as cultural practices, on which there was consensus that they should be discouraged. One example of such a practice was *Esoto* the cultural dance held overnight where Maasai warriors engage in drinking alcohol and vigorous dancing with young girls – often leading to unwanted pregnancies and high rates of Sexually Transmitted Infections. This was also identified as a prime source of HIV transmission due to the promiscuous behaviour, which is associated with the dance.

Similarly, many argued that *Oloip*, another type of dance, which is undertaken outside of *bomas* (compounds) was also leading to negative consequences.

According to Martin Kariongi, the founder of IOPA, there are a number of important, but often unrecognised, changes which have happened as a result of the radio, and which changes have themselves led to further advancement in communication and development among the Maasai. A case in point is the growth of the Ki-Maasai language itself. Through continuous discussion and debate, new words, concepts and definitions have been brought into the language, which has in turn helped the people to embrace a wider set of ideas and concepts. This has had a sometimes unseen impact on what more Maasai people can embrace in terms of development.

Change 3 – Education of Maasai children – especially girl children:

A school teacher who is also a member of the LMC talked about the amazing amount of achievement and progress which had been made with respect to acquisition of knowledge and understanding. He believed that through the radio there had been a significant increase in the stock of knowledge among the people of Maasai land. This view was affirmed by all local community members who were interviewed for the study. However, the stories varied from one place to another, and they differed in content and analysis..

For example, as we drove through the rugged terrain on our return from a field visit on one of the community consultation days, a female member of staff of ORS drew my attention to several small groups of school children who were excitedly giggling and walking home, books in bags, and seemingly proud in their blue-and-white uniforms. Three out of five groups comprised of girls. She then made her statement:

“When you see those little girls going to school in much the same way as do children in other communities, you feel elated. This looks like a miracle to some of us. Only a few years ago it was almost impossible to see so many girls in Maasailand going to school in such large numbers. Even when you did, it was unlikely that they would give you the impression that they actually enjoyed what they were doing. Now all that has changed. Although we cannot claim that all these achievements are 100% due to ORS, for sure we know and we have been told by community members and the children themselves that the radio has played a very important role”.

In Sukuro village, too, elders attributed the increased interest in education for children to the work of the community radio. “Through the radio, our community has not only come to know about what other communities are doing in their lands, but also how the other communities use education to make advancements in their way of life”, said one elder. Others concurred and, almost in unison added that the three most important changes which have happened due to the community radio were:

- promotion of primary education for children, especially girl children;
- improved quality and quantity of livestock due to information shared on radio on animal diseases and livestock management; and,
- better articulation of the Maasai voice

When asked what would be missed most if the radio stopped broadcasting suddenly, a number one group of people responded thus:

“The educational and awareness raising component of the community radio would be very dearly missed. Before we started listening to ORS, it was as if we Maasai were in a world of our own. We did not know much about other peoples cultures and what they did. With the radio we now even know about the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. It makes us feel part of a bigger world where everybody else also belongs”.

Others added:

“We may not have gone to school, but radio has brought to us a new dimension of learning – one where explanations are given about difficult concepts and issues happening in the rest of the world. It has also helped in teaching the Swahili language which was previously ignored here”.

Change 4 – Increased awareness of (women’s) human rights:

The radio airs many programmes whose themes focus attention on issues of human rights in general and gender equity in particular. However uptake of messages relating to human rights and equity is slow. When different groups of men were asked why it was taking long for issues of gender equality and equity to be embraced the answers were similar:

“This is how our culture has been and we still need some time to catch up with others on this”

“We are warriors, and our women would like to see a strong man who will protect them in times of crisis. This does not allow us (men) to be soft”.

“Traditionally Maasai marry many women to signify that they are well established and that they have ability”.

However, in further discussion most men agreed that the situation had changed a lot since the radio was introduced. First, some pointed out, there was a much reduced incidence of domestic violence. Some even argued that traditional courts were now responding more positively to women’s complaints than was the case before. Still, violence against women is very common.

Working with advocacy and information, IOPA helps individual women by listening, counselling, helping to mediate – in coordination with the council of elders: Ilaigwanak. Sometimes women don’t want to find a solution through mediation and dialogue, then the IOPA helps then with legal action. Two such cases were shared by the staff of the radio: Paulina’s and Naserian’s stories. Both stories present the challenges met by women, the role of the IOPA and their radio, and the level of confidence the Maasai community – and its women – have to the radio and the organisation:

Paulinas story:

Paulina was a very young girl of around 10 years and was married off to a husband older than her father. They lived in a very traditional way. After 4 years she had still not conceived a baby. They went to the witch doctor and at the end of the visit he informed the husband that his young wife now was pregnant, and that she would get a boy who would be the leader of the boma. The other wives of the husband's boma (homestead) heard this and killed the baby when it was born, because they did not want Paulina's child to be the new leader.

As Paulina did not get pregnant again, her husband started treating her very bad and she ran away and was in hiding with her parents. Her old husband died in the meantime and she was married to another man, where she got 4 children. The other wives of the first husband came and claimed these children, and were granted them through a traditional meeting of elders.

Paulina came to the radio and asked for their support, which she got. In the end the children were returned to her.

Naserian's story:

Naserian was married and had a very young daughter – about 10 years old. The husband wanted to marry off the girl child to an old witch doctor. Naserian did not accept and her husband decided to punish her severely – also to show his other wives in the boma not to counter his decisions: He stripped Naserian naked and tied her to a tree where he continued beating her for a long time – until she appeared lifeless. Somehow she managed to get away and came to the radio in a terrible condition. The radio got her to the hospital, paid the bills and upon recovery they provided her with three cows, a calf and a sheep to start a new life with her children.

After several months Naserian decided to take the case to the court anyway, hoping to actually get back at her husband. Instead the court told her to give all the support she had received from the radio to her husband: the money for the hospital bills, the cattle and the sheep. And she was told that the husband should decide the fate of her girl child.

IOPA and the radio challenged the court's decision and won.

Such stories reflect the work of the IOPA including all of its activities, also the radio. The radio does, however, become particularly important in the process following such cases as those above: in the transmission of the stories, of the experiences and the lessons to be extracted. The stories and their substance are being debated vigorously with very strong community participation feeding into the ongoing socio-cultural transformation process described above. Without the radio some of the support action would take place, but it is obvious that the extent and impact would be importantly less.

For these reasons the traditional leaders are sometimes upset with the radio and the notions of “human rights” including the extension of these to the women. But they are also – as described in the background section above - realising that things have to and will change. And they then express satisfaction that they can actively and effectively be part of this transformation process through the radio.

As described in the introductory background section above, the area of the traditional rights to land is one, where the Maasai have been very pressurized and where the role of the IOPA and especially the radio have had important impact. A story told by the council of elders of Terrat village demonstrate this aspect of the role of the radio in awareness about and attainment of human rights:

Villagers near the Tarangiri National Park reacted when the restrictions on Maasai movement suddenly became more limited due to Government offering the right to exploit part of the park commercially by a private company. Via facilitation by the IOPA they got the support from a lawyer, who referred among others to the Tanzanian law of 1999 on Wild Animals and National Parks in defense of the rights of the Maasai and other pastoralists in the area. The government team in the end agreed with the company that the Maasai should continue to have access to most of the land. This happened after more than a thousand Maasai had come to the government offices in protest.

After this strong victory the ward officer asked the ORS FM radio to kindly not cover this on air. This, as he was uncertain of the various possible consequences. The radio had to kindly but firmly inform him that they could not follow his plea, as their role was to defend the rights of the people.

A similar struggle concerning the establishment of a secondary school in Terrat – again as transmitted by the council of elders in Terrat village:

It had been decided and would be instrumental in more Maasai being able to send their children to secondary school (too expensive to send children to the big nearby town Arusha). According to Government policy Terrat should have a such a school. The community should provide the land and the Government build. Villagers decided on a site nearby, near to all facilities. Some powerful people wanted to place it elsewhere for personal reasons, and simply changed what had been agreed in the village council. The radio shared information about this and the villagers insisted on the originally agreed site, which would be a lot better for more community in general. The powerful people with the special interests had a security officer come to the village to intimidate people,

supporting the powerful people who had tried to change the legal process. But people were strong and resisted in different ways – using the radio.

Such experiences are very empowering. Before the Maasai felt very powerless when threatened by Government. Now people are not easily intimidated and feel very strong with the support through the radio. The case is right now stalled. The Maasai are sure the school will in the end – hopefully soon – be constructed where they want it. Also as the radio will continue to follow-up on the story. Had it not been for the radio the powerful people would most likely simply have had their way for lack of information beyond the narrow circles of power.

From a women-only group came an interesting narration, as follows:

“Many women in the Maasai community have in the past suffered from one form of violence or another, and at some point in time the situation seemed to be getting from bad to worse. Households were full of stories of physical abuse of women. Similarly, communities were reporting increased numbers of domestic violence. A key factor which most people did not think about at the time of these heightened abuses was that of progressive loss of Maasai land – and by implication people’s livelihood - to “investors” or those people who were at the time grabbing land in the name of bringing investment to the communities. Because the livelihood systems that supported peoples for generations were under attack from rich companies and individuals (with local complicity) much of Maasai land was being progressively alienated thus forcefully denying the Maasai community not only of their livelihoods but also any sense of dignity. In addition the persistent drought also affected the remaining livestock, and being in a state of financial insecurity Maasai families increasingly could neither afford basic services nor access to livelihood. Such a scenario often led to frustrations on the part of men, many of whom vented their anger on defenceless women. Not only was dignity beginning to be lost fast, but also people’s livelihood as well. Radio ORS put a halt to these problems by addressing the root cause of the problem – land holding and land ownership in a pastoralist community. This is perhaps one of the most important changes which have happened to our community in respect of livelihood”.

“Of all the achievements we have made, the one which stands out is our ability to retain our community’s land – at least that which still remained as of the last two years. Without the radio we would have lost all our land by now – and with it all our livelihood”, said another elder.

Change 5 – Improved efficiency in managing livestock:

Stories abound about the role of ORS in changing people’s livelihoods. According to a school teacher in Terrat the Maasai people have for long been attempting to craft new sustainable livelihoods in response to increasing population pressure, a fluctuating livestock population, reductions in grazing areas.

Increasingly, many were also recognising that the modernization process which had led to a fast increase in use of the monetary economy was a fact of contemporary development. The adoption of cultivation by some Maasai communities over the last 30-40 years has perhaps been the most significant step in this livelihood diversification, but never before had such a shift been given a boost as with the introduction of ORS programming.

A group of men asserted:

“ORS is our radio. It responds appropriately to the needs which we have. It talks about people, their culture, their animals and their livelihood and it enables us to contribute to this discussion and dialogue”.

Others yet added:

“Our entire livelihood as Maasai is dependent on our cattle. The radio has been an extremely useful tool in helping us to sustain this livelihood, and to obtain better results from the activities that we carry out. In recent times, for example, there have been a number of disease outbreaks. Our first and most reliable source of information on which animal or human diseases have broken out and in which location of our community is the radio. It is through the same channel that we are informed about how to respond to the outbreaks in order to save other herds. This has helped greatly in the maintenance of animal health”.

“Similarly, we now find it easier to identify where to take our cattle for pasture. Given the unpredictability of rain we now have to rely on the radio to share information on where there have been adequate amounts of rainfall so that we can then take our cattle there for grazing.” Men’s group in Tukusi.

“If this radio stopped broadcasting now that would be one sure way to send all of us back below the poverty line. You cannot imagine the number of skills and methods of work and survival, which we have learnt in a space of only a few years. We are now better able to handle our lives, and also to respond to opportunities. For example when the registration of pupils in schools has come, we know from the radio and we respond appropriately”.

Livestock is at the core of Maasai life. The radio is used by veterinary doctors and by the Maasai themselves to share information on illnesses, water availability, and price information from different markets. Earlier in the year a severe drought killed many cows. A veterinarian shared information on the radio as to what could be done to minimise the risks and difficulties during this period. Sometimes this could include selling or slaughtering some cows to increase the likelihood of survival of the rest – instead of risking that all die of hunger and thirst. Through VHF call radio – or the increasing presence of cell phones among the Maasai and other pastoralists - they call in and share information about water for the animals etc.

The Elder Philipo, who is very active in the radio as the most frequently used sounding board and dialoguer in the Maasai programming slots emphasized:

“If the radio stopped we would fall back to the uninformed poverty situation in which we were before. The radio really makes a felt difference by advising and being with us. All the information about cattle diseases and how to prevent them is so important – and only the radio can do this. Also the radio helps us sell at better prices through its marketing advice.”

Change 6 – Improved governance at all levels:

Governance and accountability is part and parcel of a system providing a rights-based livelihood. Due to its importance it was highlighted separately through numerous examples during our work with the communities around the Terrat-based radio, as accounted by the council of village elders:

“In the last two years ORS has become our most powerful tool in holding political leaders to account. First we listened to it and contributed actively to the debates around the elections. In addition we invite political leaders to come and speak on issues which are affecting us and then different people call in to ask pertinent questions. Even those who previously did not want to come and speak on the radio, when they hear that their political opponents have made a presentation then they also request to be afforded the same opportunity”.

Listening to the many testimonies, it is clear that the radio manages to do one of the many things that it wants: to function as a mediator between the Maasai people and the decision makers: to be the channel of information and dialogue on issues of importance, thus holding local governments, politicians and other authorities to account.

In the beginning of Ilaramatak Radio, the community was like a clean slate. There was no clear thinking about what the community could contribute to make the radio work. Similarly there was still a lot of fear. Most people thought that a radio must be some very huge and special machine with a sophisticated structure, which enabled it to send out people’s voices and information. There was also a belief that those who spoke on radio were like super-humans.

“The first shock for us when ORS began broadcasting”, said a group of women, “was when we heard the voices of people who we actually knew – some of them were our neighbours and others were children who had grown up in our community. We even became more excited when we began seeing some of the very people who were running the radio – doing similar things and speaking a similar language as we spoke”.

The radio has since become demystified and is seen as a part of Maasai life. To further promote the awareness and empower the community in this area of governance, it includes important training process on leadership and management. The IOPA had started this prior to the start of the radio, but again the radio now ensures that this reaches far more people than it did earlier.

The radio is seen by the community as a watchdog. The radio staff shared this example:

“A group of Maasai for instance one day came from the village Lambatano to inform and complain about their leader, who did not fulfil his duties: did not come to office, did not perform. The Maasai insisted that they wanted to have a re-election and a new, functional chairman. After airing the story and the complaints, the leader appeared also at the radio and countered the criticism. The case continued through public dialogue and debate on the radio, and in the end the chairman was replaced.”

In such cases the radio follows up meticulously on the stories, until they are resolved. The radio sees this as one of the central functions it has, and one of the special capacities of a community radio.

Change 7 – Environment and Conservation:

ORS FM was credited with having raised awareness on the natural environment. Recognising that much of Maasailand is semi-arid in nature the radio had not only interested communities in understanding their environment but also doing something practical about it. Even more interestingly, ORS led by example by planting trees in its compound, a pattern which was soon followed by other residents in the area.

Similarly, the social and economic changes that accompanied diversification of livelihoods were reported to have influenced integration of people into conservation efforts; a strategy, which many believe will help both conserve nature and wildlife while at the same time supporting livelihoods. One of these activities dealt with how to take care of the very scarce water resources: informing and teaching people about the effect the disappearance of trees for instance have to water catchment. A community watch service was thus developed, where community members would take turns watching over areas, where economic interests were seen to be planning to cut down the forests.

Change 8 – Improved health status, especially among women:

Health concerns are on top of the agenda of the people in the local communities. As such, one of the most listened to, and most respected programmes on the radio was the programme which addressed health issues and which also shared ideas about indigenous and other forms of traditional knowledge on health. In this programme practitioners freely share their knowledge about the treatment of certain diseases and how the remedies can be obtained by ordinary people.

According to the elders in Tukusi, traditional medicine was one of those things which had been under threat because very few people in the community still remained who knew about the different herbal remedies. Hence the programme on radio had served to increase the stock of those who know about different methods of treatment and also to have the information out there with the public.

Significant changes too had been recorded in the area of community health. Anecdotal information adduced to this author confirmed that the number of communicable diseases which were now affecting local communities had gone down dramatically.

In addition, a number of ceremonies and practices which used to take place in the past but which promoted promiscuity and hence the spread of HIV, such as “Oloip” had also declined considerably. However the elders complained that the limited number of hours during which the radio is able to broadcast made it very difficult for some people to have access to the information, which the radio relayed. During those times when there were no broadcasts there was a tendency for listeners to switch to other radios and in the process some became hooked to those other radios.

“Radio has taught us about HIV and AIDS and now most people in the community know about this once mysterious disease, and they are adopting practices to prevent its further spread”.

And Philipo of the council of Elders of Terrat adds:

“The fact that our health situation has improved due to better information and advice directly impacts positively on our livelihood and reduces poverty.”

When asked what would be missed most if the radio stopped broadcasting suddenly, a number of responses were volunteered, for example:

“The health situation of our people and that of our animals would have been a lot worse if the radio stopped broadcasting. Years ago we hanged onto our cattle very dearly so that even if an epidemic came, we would never let go of any cattle. The focus was mainly on increasing the numbers of cattle. Although we are still interested in large numbers of cattle, we are now much more prepared to sell off a few heads of cattle when there is an epidemic in order to get some money for purchasing the required animal drugs. This saves most of the rest of the herd, which is a different approach from the one we had before”.

Food security being one of the corner stones of a strong community health, a group of women in Terrat described the achievements made in the area of food security thus:

“We have a long dry season here. Sometimes it is so extreme that cattle die in large numbers. Through radio discussions more and more people have adopted more efficient methods of managing their livestock. In fact out of every 10 herders you find at least 2 who have introduced improved livestock.”.

However the issue of food security is a lot more than just improving livestock management methods. It is also closely related to vulnerability of the environment in which Maasai people live, which as described earlier has been further constrained by the increasingly limited access to pastures.

Said respondents in Tukusi:

“This year has been bad in terms of food security, and we do not know whether there can be a permanent solution to this problem. Some of the young people have now migrated to nearby towns in order to find employment and be able to earn and contribute to household food needs”.

Of all the changes, which have happened, which are the most significant?

Summing up, the final community discussion of all the stories presented above – and many more – voted-in eight areas, used above to systematize the presentation of community testimonies. However, deciding on the most significant of the changes, which have happened as a result of ORS initially proved to be more difficult than had been anticipated. The first decision was to begin with a summary of the most significant changes and then to select from among these or combinations of these. In the summary list the following was agreed as the most significant changes:

- (1) The ability to listen to one another as people of the same culture and community, who face similar problems and who have a similar destiny – united by one main purpose: enhancing pastoralists' livelihood and culture;
- (2) The preservation and promotion of positive Maasai culture and traditions, through story telling, song, etc.
- (3) Attitude change and adoption of education of Maasai children especially girl children
- (4) Increased awareness of people's human rights, especially the rights of women;
- (5) Improved efficiency in managing livestock;
- (6) Improved governance at all levels;
- (7) Increased awareness about environment and conservation;
- (8) Improved health status especially among women

In the final analysis the discussion was very close. In a final meeting held with staff of ORS which was also attended by a community representative who sits on the LMC, the most significant of significant changes was described as “increased awareness and information for Maasai people of issues, challenges and opportunities around them”. In three words – identity, education and awareness.

PART III

THE WAY FORWARD:

A SUSTAINABILITY
ASSESSMENT

7. The way forward – for sustainability

Within the framework of the East African Community Media Project, the IOPA in Tanzania is one of three partners, working to use media as a tool for development within the Maasai community. As noted in the initial research (see the introductory section), the advent of the radio as one more component within the package of community media activities pushed the reach and potential importantly forward.

Sustainability is in this context considered in the three core aspects: social sustainability, focusing on the framework and content of the programmes and production, the institutional framework covering all framework-setting aspects from legal environment over institutional set-up and to organisation of the work of staff and volunteers. Finally the financial sustainability is briefly addressed.

The result of the impact assessment carried out and documented in this report on the “Most Significant Changes” caused by the community radio is no less than impressive. But how is it that the radio, its producers and the organisation around them caused this?

This social sustainability question will be briefly addressed by reflecting upon the following series of questions: What was the role of the programme schedule, and how was it developed? How is audience research and community participation in this connection? And for the programmes: how are the content ideas and format developed? Which are the sources of information? And did all segments of the community – also the poorest and most marginalized – have a chance to influence this? Were they involved, heard? And the radio producers, how do they see themselves and their role?

After looking to the role of the production process in obtaining the powerful impact results, the report moves on to assess whether on this basis all information and communication needs of the community and its members are covered.

The institutional sustainability will be briefly assessed with a view to the legal environment – an essential component of an enabling environment for community media, the media landscape around ORS FM, and the internal organisational and management issues of the radio.

With a final look to the issue of *financial sustainability*, this section will be concluded, and followed by a set of recommendations, referring to the overall framework for – sustainably – keeping the radio going.

7.1 Social Sustainability: How did the radio cause the positive changes?

Box 5: A presenter's story (Baraka David ole Maika)

At 29 years, and having previously worked with two other community development organisations, I joined ORS on 1st April 2006. My professional interest is in engaging with and serving the people of my motherland.

At ORS I head the Maasai department, ensuring that Maasai issues are being broadcast on air. I focus on music, dance, folklore, stories – all those things, which used to be told to younger people by elders around the fire. So my programmes have become similar to the old fire.

In my work I am lucky to have learned from Maasai elders first and to be able to discuss with them before I can bring back the richness of their wisdom to other listeners. Through this interaction I came to know about the origins of our people and this is one of the primary drivers for my interest – to share out my newly acquired knowledge. My mission therefore is to educate. But I do this while leaving plenty of room to learn from others. Here we only provide the sparks, the rest is done by the community themselves.

There are however challenges. Communicating concepts, which were previously in Ki-Maasai is a tough job. You sometimes have to describe things in round-about ways or by using very many words. But all in all we are pleased with what we are able to achieve. For example, ORS has been credited with having led to the recognition that HIV and AIDS are real problems in the community. It has also heightened interest in education for the girl child. More interestingly, one now sees the Maasai people not just focusing on survival today but planning and thinking about their future. This gives me my satisfaction.

7.1.1 How was the programme schedule developed?

As described in many different ways above, the ORS FM radio – as an extension of the IOPA organisation – has a clear vision and mission, and the radio functions as an extension of this.

The programme schedule⁸ was as such developed to respond to the needs, life rhythms and interests already known by the staff of the organisation. And the programme schedule is followed (which is often not the case in community radio stations).

The schedule is updated when need is identified, and a lot of interaction with the surrounding community, means that proposals and criticism is part of the everyday reality and functioning of the station.

The schedule is, however, not based on any kind of regular research activities. Audience research is carried out on an ad hoc basis, when the staff feels that the need

⁸ See above in the background section.

arises, and it used to inform the programme orientation and the overall programme formats. The output of these informal research activities are, however, not registered.

This means that it is not really possible to work in a strategic manner, nor to compare the kind of audience inputs received in a time perspective. An audience research training process was carried out within the EACMP process by Danicom, which provided both a possible format for such processes, and some information which could have been used. It however seems that neither the findings nor the routines recommended here, have been followed- up on.

The administrator of IOPA, Sauda Isuja, mentioned that it is not always easy to carry out such research processes, even when wanting to:

“People often don’t come to meetings called. But the community lives with their radio and contribute in different ways on a daily basis.”

Impact assessment – in whichever way - is also not a regular activity of the IOPA/ORS FM.

This being said, the radio is effective, the audience is satisfied and it produces important community development, empowerment and change. As long as the good and dedicated staff of today is on board, the likelihood of an effective programme schedule can be expected.

7.1.2 How are programmes developed

The programming is based on the very detailed programme schedule, where individual staff members are responsible for programming in the different slots. With only one volunteer left, the programme development is to a great extent carried by paid staff members. There is, however, a very high level of interaction with the community, which participates by calling in (cell phones are owned by many in the community), by coming to the station, and through invitation by the programme producers.

Based in weekly overall evaluation and planning meetings, and daily detail-planning meetings, the programmes and the content-development depend on the staff and management. Again, however, the very active community participation and the policy of “an open door” means that programmes are frequently interrupted when a community member passes by with an urgent and important information.

Every week the council of Maasai elders have a regular half hour programme. But they are often involved even more, as they are invited into to debate and reflect on the many various issues.

Besides from this the team was not alerted to any regular mechanisms to source information and participation by community members who do not pro-actively contact the station. This happens in connection with specific programmes, but was not seen to happen on a regular basis.

Baraka says:

“The radio has so many different ways of working with the issues in collaboration with the IOPA. Often issues, processes or training start within the IOPA, and then the radio can take over. At other times the radio starts an issue or a process, which it either continues through follow-up, or in which the IOPA also gets involved.”

“Drama has not yet been used, but a radio series is under preparation.”

7.1.3 Participation and involvement in programme production

Baraka has different community representatives in the studio every day during his core one-hour programme, when the radio goes on air at 14:00. He has worked with the radio for nine months and is in charge of the Maasai programming. He says:

“The radio is very unique, simply because it is “our radio”, a Maasai radio belonging to us and speaking to and with our people in our own language – and the community can use it for all their many different purposes.

We use a lot of discussion programmes, news and in this way we see that we generate change. Before, the Maasai language was slowly disappearing, also because those of us going to school only use Kiswahili there. This is being reversed by the radio.”

“The programmes are often based on dialogue. We have concerned people in the studio (the so-called “Experts on consequences”) either people who have come by themselves and asked to share information and views, or people invited by the radio from different parts of the Maasai area. Often listeners call in with questions, and the radio presenter asks that people with comments and suggestions call to respond. In this way the radio becomes a facilitator of broad debate, instead of being the wise” one-way information provider”.

Many and varied groups come to the radio – elders, youth, women – and raise issues. If these are controversial – which they often are – like female genital mutilation, necessary acts of defiance against government decisions etc, then they are discussed at length in relevant fora with IOPA and ORS FM (somewhat overlapping, but not fully) and with groups of elders. Once a consensus has been arrived at, the issues are presented in their multitude in radio programmes – and proposals for solution and action presented.”

7.1.4 How do the radio producers see themselves and their role?

Lucas is one of the founding members of the radio, and now is both programme officer responsible for the full community media programme of IOPA and also the responsible technician of the ORS FM community radio station. Lucas presents this own role as this:

“Working in the radio has meant a lot to the community, to IOPA and to me. It has really generated a lot of community change. As a programme officer my responsibility has been to supervise the programme production of the radio. To assist presenters and programme editors create an impact in the community.

I have worked with my colleagues to mobilise the community to work with us, to take part in the life of the radio and to trust the radio. And I think it works. We see people come to us, and to use us in the big challenges they meet in life. Many have come to see the radio as their mediator in conflicts. This is a huge challenge – and actually we are often able to make things work better!

As a technician my role is furthermore to ensure that the equipment lets us do our work effectively.”

Baraka, who has been recruited relatively recently, but who is an important staff member as chief of the Maasai programmes, passionately believes in what he is doing:

“We are the representatives of our people. Working in the radio provides us with a tool to assist, challenge and empower our people: the community, users and participants in the radio. I am, personally, very happy and satisfied to be working in the radio, and grateful for this tool to do what we do.

We, the producers in Terrat, see ourselves as facilitators of community change via education. We see our work to potentially create sustainable changes, also because we are able to follow-up continuously on important issues raised in the community and by the radio.

The ORS FM is by us, the producers, seen as an open window of opportunity for women and children, who are not receiving enough care and who are in a too weak position to defend their rights by themselves, so the radio steps in. The radio often works with and through other organisations as well, like for instance the Legal Human Rights Centre in Arusha.”

Francis, a young man, who was recently recruited to work full time on the radio says:

“Information is power – we see it every day. We are eager to give this power to the listeners. And in return they show us that they trust us, have confidence in us as information providers and sharers. Radio is a mirror, which helps people understand themselves, their community and the world. In this way we actually promote peace.

People change a lot, also their opinions, as a result of what we do. The change has been very strong and visible over the past years, because we have gone from no information to quite a lot of relevant information. Before people simply did not know.”

7.1.5 Were all information and communication needs covered?

While there is no doubt that the community radio generates powerful change through its programming and interaction with the large Maasai community of the Terrat area, we set out to see whether the community would still have significant un-met information and communication needs. Group discussions were held with groups of male village elders and with a group a female village elders (separately), and specific key informant interview were conducted with identified individuals – both staff and community members, women and men, young and old.

Generally, the information stresses excitement with the level of things as they are now – both in terms of information and communication: receiving and voicing information and community issues.

Information audit

The information audit asked to reflect on media access, which media and specific programmes they use, like and why? What kind of programmes and formats were preferred and why?

From the council of male village elders in Terrat, the message was clear and in unison:

“ORS FM is the only radio for us. There are no other media. We can listen to the national radio in Dar Es Salaam – but they don’t include much about us – and there is nothing in KiMaasai. In our own radio we listen, and understand.

Information from the radio is good. Not really anything missing or being missed. As it is now, if something is missing, the listeners contact the station and say that they want this and this covered.

Also Government uses the radio to inform us. This information is naturally not from us – but we also need this, and it has made Government’s contact to us a lot easier also..

Many of the things Mwalimu Mary has said in her educational programmes been good. She has told us to listen to our wives. It is good – maybe more for the next generation – but we listen, and a big change can already be noted in our society. We try to more divide tasks and to work together”

The traditional leader of the group, Lesira Sambwe continued:

“We have done a lot with the radio. We have simply linked a remote area to the world – and we now have a whole different kind of information among ourselves as well. When an animal or a child is lost, for instance, the radio can very easily ensure that all have the information they need. Very helpful! Now we also have these small, mobile phones. Via them we can interact with the radio easily all the time – about diseases among the cattle, watering holes. The radio is good to call meetings, to invite for traditional ceremonies, etc. It is so much easier, and we have a lot more contact.”

The village chairperson, Isaac Abraham, asserted:

“Village chairperson. Radio very important for us. Changes a lot of things for the better. The radio has a lot of important educational content – ORS are the

best teachers in the area of environment and pastoralism. We really hope and support that ORS becomes consolidated and stronger. The radio is being listened to widely. Even community songs we – and especially our children - were about to forget. People share advice. We need it in all areas for children, youth, adults and elders. We need it for the Maasai identity and culture!”

He was followed by **Jacob – subvillage chairperson:**

“We have been using ORS and benefited with for example vaccination of children and animals. To remember customs and traditions. There are so many things we were at risk to forget. And it helps us look at our culture and see what is good and what not. And find ways of changing things in good ways. Together.”

And **the elders** would like to see more and broader Maasai coverage in the future:

“We would like to have a Maasai TV station if possible. It would be good with pictures – also for the educational programmes. There are, however, very few Maasai who have access to TV.

It would also be good for the radio to cover greater area – all Maasai and pastoralists. They also need the info. Would be good to have the radio on for many more hours. It is not possible with the expensive petrol/fuel. But when electricity comes it would be good to extend the hours. With more transmission hours maybe there could be more time for KiMaasai programmes? Would be good! Also when we come to the station, which we want to air, we have to wait until it is on air.”

From the women’s Group of Nanoto in Terrat, the message was similarly clear:

“ORS is good because it is good education – education and teaching is the best! Before ORS came, we knew very little about issues concerning ... almost everything. We simply knew very little. And we did not discuss and debate the kind of issues we now always debate after having listened to ORS FM.

It is very important because other media are in Kiswahili. ORS also transmits in Kiswahili, but it also uses KiMaasai – and this is what makes the difference.

We rarely listen to or use other media. We have a lot of work and an only listen after 18:00. We generally listen every day – even when the radio is not talking (off air). (laughter).

Women who are widows are free to listen when they want. If you have a husband you have to ask for permission to listen.

Before we didn’t know we also have rights. We now understand that we are also human beings – like men.”

A young man, Edward ole Philipo (22 years old) has the first stage of a veterinarian education and is used by the radio as its expert on animal and other pastoral matters, now that he is back from Arusha and hoping to find either was to continue his education – or a job. He uses a local FM radio for news, a religious radio for religious

programmes and reads two newspapers, when he has access to them. But he also listens – every day – to ORS FM:

“I listen to Radio ORS every day when there are programmes with Maasai music and in the Maasai language. I feel so happy, when listening to this. It is very special and important. There is nowhere else, where this is possible.”

Communication audit

The communication audit asked the informants to reflect on their (access to) participation in the radio, about the ease with which one could be included and involved in programming and whether any communication needs, the voice, were not met in their reality.

From the council of male village elders in Terrat, the message was clear and in unison:

“What is being announced on the radio comes from the community. We don’t see a difference between the radio and us. The radio is us. When we bring up issues, the radio naturally works with them and have to find out how to most effectively get them on the programme. But it comes on – and in good and useful ways.

We use the radio to solve different kinds of problems – also problems among ourselves. The different strong gender cases are good examples of what the radio does. What used to be internal now can – when appropriate – be external, and shared with many more people..”

The women’s Group of Nanoto in Terrat, were not really sure how to put it... None of them had actually taken part in the programmes of the radio, and they said:

“Few women are involved in the radio, but many more than at the beginning. Things are changing slowly – slowly.. It is really good that the radio now has resulted in IOPA offering courses in literacy. We will take part in that. And who knows? Our daughters will definitely be more active in the radio than we are. That is really good and important. It is great!”

A young man, Edward ole Philipo (22 years old) says:

“It is possible to participate with anything one wants on Radio ORS. Important that girls start to come on the radio, because; “when you educate a girl you educate the whole family, when you educate a boy, you educate an individual”. People listen to a Morano. We also have to learn to listen. If you have brought an issue to the radio, the radio follows up. It is really good.”

7.2 Institutional Sustainability

The institutional sustainability will in this section be briefly assessed with a view to the legal environment – an essential component of an enabling environment for community media, the media landscape around ORS FM, and the internal organisational and management issues of the radio.

7.2.1 Which is the legal environment – is it enabling?

The basis for any sustainable community media development is a proper functioning enabling environment, first of all with regard to the legal framework. In this sense the media in Tanzania are still operating formally under the Newspaper Act of 1976 and the “Act to make provisions for the management and regulation of broadcasting and for other matters related to it of 1993”. However, Tanzania is in a process of turning the less than ideal media laws better. A major setback was experienced with the enactment of the Terrorism Act 2003, which has sections greatly curtailing press freedom and freedom of expression and assembly. Several media organisations are active in Tanzania, working to improve the openness, democracy and freedom, including the challenges in the area of flow of information. These include press freedom organisations like the Media Council, MISA and the national network of Press Clubs.

With the election of the new President Kikwete in December 2005 things seem to be changing for the better. In April 2006 the President’s first 100 days received headlines such as “JK’s 100 days of Press Freedom” and “JK, an unlikely champion of the media”, and the articles say among others: “Since he became president, Ndugu Kikwete has persistently emphasised that government leaders must cooperate with media to enable the Wananchi know what their government was doing”⁹ and “When addressing the leader’s retreat in Arusha recently, president Kikwete ordered ministers and chief executives to cooperate with the media so as to facilitate relations between the government and the public... For us media practitioners, President Kikwete’s handling of the issue sent one important message, that the days of the local media reports being dismissed, crushed and journalists mocked because their reports were never listened to by higher authorities were well and truly over.”¹⁰

7.2.2. The Media Landscape around the ORS FM station

The ORS radio has a 1KVa FM transmitter and covers a 100 km radius from its base in Terrat. In this area the following 3 commercial FM stations¹¹ and the national public service broadcaster¹² can be heard clearly. Nine other FM stations can occasionally be heard, but reception varies¹³. Four TV stations can be received: IVT¹⁴, TVT¹⁵, Star TV¹⁶ and East Africa TV¹⁷. Most pastoralists have at present radio sets and are often seen carrying these around, listening to the radio.

Print media, newspapers and magazines, are accessible only in Arusha. None are available in KiMaasai and in terms of literacy of the ORS FM target population it is,

⁹ Quoted from “This Day” Sunday 1 April 2006, p. 7 “The Basics with Ayub Rioba”: JK’s 100 days of press freedom”

¹⁰ In “The Citizen” Thursday March 30, 2006: “Unlikely champion of scorned media” by News Editor Usia Nkhoma Ledama.

¹¹ The three commercial stations that can be heard well in the Maasai area are: Triple A, Radio One and Radio Free Africa.

¹² Radio Tanzania District.

¹³ The nine other stations are: Safina, Sunrise, Radio Fire, Radio Maria, Radio Tumaine, Radio Sauti Ma Injili (Good News), Radio Uhuru, Kiss FM, Kill FM.

¹⁴ IVT and Radio One is one company

¹⁵ TV Tanzania, the national public service broadcaster

¹⁶ Star TV and Radio Free Africa is one company

¹⁷ East Africa TV and Radio (Radio one?????) is one company

according to the district commissioner in 2004, 85% illiteracy in general. It is clear that the illiteracy of women is considerably higher than that of men. For this reason print media are not really an option and paying for news that also comes via radio is not an option. Newspapers or magazines are, anyhow, also not available in the local languages and/or with a focus on the issues of concern to the population here.

Very few people and families in the target area have access to TV, and TV has the same shortcomings as do all other radio stations than ORS: They have very rare coverage of issues of concern to the pastoralist population, and on top of that reception would require having a satellite reception dish.

When looking to the target audience of Radio ORS FM, the pastoralists, 60% only speak the Maasai language and Radio ORS FM is the only radio with coverage in this language. Coverage of pastoralist issues is also almost absent, and at best very irregular in other media.

For these reasons the ORS FM radio is valued highly in the community. The content is developed on the basis of occasional audience research, and then on the basis of information and requests received from a very active listenership, coming to the radio often to share comments and suggestions. When an issue has been proposed – especially if it is controversial, for instance concerning violence against a woman – the issue is being discussed in a number of different background groups, including the Ilaigwanak (the formal group of elders, leaders), a number of women's groups and a youth group. Here the issues are turned and discussed until a consensus has been arrived on, and on that bases the radio programmes are produced.

The programme of the radio is organised around the priority issues identified as important in the life of the pastoralist target group.

The programme formats are relatively simple, and that is also what the listeners interviewed expressed interest in listening to.

When asking about listening habits, it seemed a surprising question, because the radio appears to simply be on during the hours of broadcast, namely from 14:00 in the afternoon and until 22:00 at night. When interviewing a group of women, they said that after 18:00 their duties are finalised, they could concentrate on listening.

7.2.3 The organisation and management of the radio

While the social sustainability is even very strong, as presented above, the activities within the community media programme, including for this study centrally the community radio, are working in coordination with the overall IOPA programmes in relation to both institutional and financial sustainability issues.

The structure of the IOPA is presented above, is hierarchal and specialised. The radio has daily work planning routines and a very well structures weekly programme, which appears to be strictly followed. This is a good basis for the daily work.

In terms of longer-term (strategic) planning of and for the station, however, this did – on request - not appear to be an issue usually dealt with, or at least not by the programme producers of the station. At the management level, however, a strategic plan had been developed early 2003, facilitated by a team of consultants¹⁸.

The plan reads well, and even though there was no evidence that the plan is being used, it is obvious that all workers of the IOPA, including the radio, are at no time in doubt of the overall objective of all of their work, the set of value and ethics guiding it all, and this is what sets the agenda. It appears, however, a vulnerable institutional basis: if one day the very devoted and experienced staff were to change (many have been at the centre from the beginning) then the institutional sustainability could be considered vulnerable, due to the apparent lack of participatory longer term (strategic) planning processes.

7.3 Financial Sustainability

The financial basis – and sustainability - of the organisation and its radio appeared to be handled by the Director and the Arusha-based administration, as the information received came from them. The organisation and ORS FM, however, has weekly editorial and management meeting where finances and work plans are discussed. The station manager chairs these weekly meetings and heads of Departments do attend. There are also general staff meetings conducted once a month where all employees and volunteers attend and they are up-dated on finances and planned activities. Although this system may not work perfectly at all times, ENA appreciates the efforts the station management puts towards this open democratic way of handling finances

All the three stations are expected to forward their financial reports on quarterly basis to ENA, and the local management committee must approve these reports. These processes are considered inclusive because the finance department prepares the accounts, then forward to the station manager for certification before they are presented to the local management committee for approval.

ORS FM has two bank accounts, one for donor funding and the other for community funds. ENA advised the station to do that to avoid much inter-borrowing. All the income from sponsored programmes, greeting cards, public announcements etc. are banked in the community bank account and they use these funds for budget lines which are not covered by the donor funding as well as development for the media projects and ICT. The signatories for these accounts are the same ones for the donor account and the station manager is the mandatory signatory to avoid collusion among the locals

The local management committee members present the accounts for community projects and activities conducted during the year during annual general meeting where all members are expected to attend. Although these meetings have been held yearly, ENA has advised the LMC to hold them twice a year. The accounts for the donor are

¹⁸ IOPA – Strategic thinking and planning 2003-2007, Process and way forward, Process facilitated by EASUN, Herbert Tumuhimbise and Mosi Kisare (Consultants), 10-16 February 2003.

presented quarterly to ENA, who compiles the combined report for on-ward transmission to SIDA.

These reports together with the work plans and budget for the year are always presented to the overall EACMP Programme Management committee (PMC) who sits at least once a year and approves the whole year work plans. PMC comprises two members from each station and three members from ENA. PMC meetings at times are called more than once in cases of conflicts and other matters.

In terms of democracy of management, the team has little to say, as IOPA and ORS FM appear to be well functioning mechanisms with staff and volunteer producers of a high calibre, working effectively and with devotion and passion. The team sees transparency, information and participation in decision-making processes around organizational and financial matters to be important elements of democratic management. While this is part of the overall regulatory framework within the EACMP, it has not been possible to delve into its actual implementation in the framework of this assessment.

While ENA considers URDT to be having the best financial systems, they has noted a great improvement in finance management of the ORS FM and with more capacity building and in-house training of staff ENA considers that they will soon be at par with URDT.

Mary Labdaki, Programme Officer of IOPA, informed the team that the radio works on the basis of a five-year plan, which they are about to renew, for a new one to be ready to start in 2007. It was not possible for the team to obtain a copy of this.

At present, Sida funds most of the expenses related to the functioning of the radio, and as per the above information about the strategic plan existing, it appears that in spite of a strategic plan having been made, neither this nor any other strategic, financial or business plans are being used by the radio as a basis for the daily management orientation and decisions.

IOPA is, however, starting to plan partnerships through sale of airtime. Some local NGOs already make use of this, including a local Maasai NGO grouping, World Vision which with Johns Hopkins have a 5-years HIV/AIDS youth programme. And they are planning to diversify even more. During the past months, the administration has sent out no less than 36 proposals, which according to the administrator have been presented to donors. Some of these are the Stitching foundation from Holland, CAFORD from Kenya (Catholic), and Trias from Belgium. Besides from partnerships, the IOPA plans to create parallel income-generating projects including a shop/super marked, a grinding mill.

PART IV

SUMMARY
CONCLUSIONS
AND
RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

At the core of the present impact assessment was the question, whether the community radio had managed to cause significant, positive (and negative) changes in poverty that have occurred in the three communities relating to (i) changes in people's livelihood, (ii) changes in people's participation, including empowerment, rights and awareness of rights and (iii) changes in the sustainability of people's institutions and their activities. And to assess if, how and to what extent the community media centres (radio stations) have contributed to this change in poverty.

1. The radio's impact on poverty

When looking to Sida's definition of poverty: lack of *power*, *choice* and *material resources*, then the answer is affirmative:

ORS FM has importantly '*empowered*' the community around the radio through reinforcing identity and dignity, by providing information on rights, furthering governance and transparency, and by generating a whole new dynamic in the Maasai community via dialogue and debate.

The radio has also provided '*choices*' to the listening community, who have demonstrated the many different ways in which they have become subjects of own development processes.

In the area '*material resources*' the radio has facilitated an improved livelihood in the area through information in the different important areas such as livestock, farming, bee-keeping etc, through information on health issues, by facilitating women's more active role in the society and contribution – just to mention a few.

The report documents the *important role of the radio* in generating the above significant and very positive development results, and it highlights how this is organised and possible through information provided by the broadcasters and the community.

The information and communication audit demonstrates that (the few selected, but representative groups within) the community at the present time find their information needs to be covered through their radio, where they like the programmes and their style. The unmet aspects experienced relate to the use of the KiMaasai language, where an even stronger use for more hours every day is wanted.

The communication needs were found to be adequately met, by the interviewed groups and individuals, as the radio is very open to involvement by the community in various ways. It is, however, clear to the assessors that the institutional framework of the radio does not by its structure institutionally secure continued community involvement. This depends upon the readiness by the management and producers in place. It is not a problem at present, but is a potential longer term risk.

2. The radio's impact in view of own vision and mission

All of the above demonstrates that the radio – and the organisation around it – actually is working effectively in line with *its vision*: "Envisioned, well-informed, and knowledgeable pastoral community in development".

The radio has also to a very high degree fulfils *its mission*: “(i) To improve the lifestyle of the community through information, communication, and education on developmental issues, (ii) To empower the community to make informed decisions, (iii) To entertain the community, (iv) To promote interaction between people of the community, (v) To share information with the community, (vi) To promote local artists, (vii) To sustain and run the station professionally.

3. People’s livelihood, participation and sustainability of their institutions

The three areas of focus for this study ask for documented evidence of changes in livelihood, participation and sustainability of people’s institutions. This can be seen to refer to the vision of EACMP’s phase II as expressed in the project document:

“The vision for the project is to achieve community owned media facilities, that are democratically managed, sustainable, replicable and able to effectively and efficiently empower marginalized and rural communities and promote local culture for sustainable development”

The vision falls in two parts, asking that the project achieves:

- Community owned facilities
 - Democratically managed
 - Sustainable
 - Replicable
- Able to effectively and efficiently
 - Empower marginalized and rural communities
 - Promote local culture and:
 - Sustainable development

This report documents in detail that ORS FM has managed effectively to fulfil the *second part of the vision*, focusing upon the community development and empowerment effect, including the many aspects of a positive development in livelihood.

With respect to the *first part of the vision*, the institutional and organisational aspects – including participation and sustainability of the institution – ORS FM and the organisation around it are facing a number of important challenges that would need to be addressed to ensure the longer-term sustainability.

It is common that community radios start out focusing more on the content work and the social ownership aspects. This is usually – as in the present case – the situation still with a founding and committed donor present. While common and a group itself aware, focused interventions are still an urgent need in the area of institutional and organisational development.

This is important for the ORS FM radio itself – and it is important with a view to the planned replication of the experiences of this radio and the others within the EACMP. Other groups wanting to establish community radio stations in Tanzania are using the first radio: ORS FM as a model. Even the Tanzanian Government looked to ORS FM when preparing their first draft Community Radio Policy. It is this light that the following recommendations are presented.

In terms of replicability there are several observations and entry-points:

- IOPA has managed to generate an impressive level of community commitment and ownership to the activities of the IOPA, accelerated and extended through its community radio, ORS FM,
- The ownership translates into involvement with, trust and confidence in, and thus a very high level of effect of the radio,
- It is important to acknowledge that IOPA has been active in the area since 1991 and the radio has been on air since 22 June 2002,
- When the radio went on air it did so within a known “universe”: IOPA,
- The radio is able to have an even very powerful effect as the radio is not a “stand-alone” channel for the community and tool of empowerment by itself, it has on the one hand a whole organization behind it, the work of which the radio can broadcast, deepen, extend, and on the other the organization can follow-up on issues raised within and by the radio. A very powerful combination for community development, indeed.
- For sustainability it is important to have not only the “social sustainability” in place as above, but also the institutional and financial.
- The institutional sustainability is, as presented above with much detail, seen to be strong, within the set-up of this station, functioning both as an extension of the IOPA, and as a community tool for information, voice and empowerment.
- No important problem was found in relation to the focus and orientation of the institutional framework of the station in the short run within the IOPA due to the strength, solidity and the calibre of staff at all levels (as described). But if regarding “the institution” as a community entity, it is necessary to consider its institutional sustainability also on the longer term and with a possible absence of the present very dynamic and capable staff, running the “machinery” smoothly. For such a longer term vision a radio like the ORS FM needs to operationalise its strategic plan.
- The financial sustainability of the station is presently linked partly to the IOPA and the EACMP. The radio appears to not yet be having a partnership strategy or other overall financial plan. Running a community radio is among the more cost intensive community development activities (compared with courses, meetings, counseling, advice...) due to the need for maintenance / replacement of equipment, energy, dislocation of programme producers to distant communities for reporting purposes, consumables required, etc... For this reason a radio will need more influx of financial support than many other activities. While at the present time unrealistic to aim for self-sustainability¹⁹, a sound sustainability is realistic. This, however, requires the development of a clearly identifiable financial framework for the radio in itself, a prerequisite for implementing successfully a partnership strategy (any funding partner will want to know about the full radio economy, involvement by other partners, etc – full transparency), linked to the strategic plan proposed above.

Once the above proposed financial sustainability aspects are in place, it is possible to consider the IOPA set-up as a possible model for replication.

¹⁹ This distinction refers to the 1999 Lisa Cannon “Life beyond Aid” definition, suggesting that “sustainability” can be defined as: “the ability of an organisation to secure and manage sufficient resources to enable it to fulfil its mission effectively and consistently over time without excessive dependence on any single funding source [...] Sustainable organisations have, at minimum, a clear mission and strategic direction; the skills to attract resources from a variety of local, national and international sources and the know-how to manage them efficiently [...]”.

4. Recommendations

The following recommendations emerge from the impact assessment carried out focusing on changes in the community caused by the radio – and to a lesser extent the sustainability aspects of the radio.

It is important to note, that this is not an evaluation and that the study is neither meant to provide an extensive and exhaustive assessment of the full Sida funded project, nor of the whole IOPA organisation and its radio, ORS FM.

Still, important pointers of how to further strengthen this important community development activity, emerged in the course of the work and are shared here, in response to the issue raised in the TOR, asking for an assessment of the sustainability of the radio. The recommendations are presented in four clusters: general recommendations, and thereafter those relating to the three sustainability areas: social, institutional and financial:

To ensure continuation of overall development framework of ORS FM:

1. Sida to fund a next phase of the project of a 3 to 5 year duration;
2. To maintain and strengthen the cooperation framework of the EACMP;
3. To carry out assessment of equipment status and consider inclusion of support to update/completion of equipment needs within Sida funding package.

To further promote the social sustainability aspects of the radio by facilitating the further strengthening of the very positive impact of the radio production processes and the resulting radio broadcast content:

- a. Ensure a continued high level of community ownership of the radio;
- b. Prepare for time when novelty of radio may wear off, and plan for systematic maintenance of community involvement . This could be done by involving community members in editorial groups? Involving geographic communities in *regular* reporting events at their location (á la road show)? By mapping the listening community and ensure regular involvement by all the diverse “communities within the community”? Ensure source mapping (either in simple ways on ongoing basis, or more concentrated with intervals like: all programmes during first week of every quarter or so);
- c. Ensure proper research and documentation capacity to carry out and ensure such community involvement. At present time this capacity was said to be present among staff in Arusha office – is this sufficient?
- d. To consider ways to continue involving – consciously and regularly – local culture and cultural forms of expression as wrapping of community radio programmes / content: Moving the oral traditions from the open air of the community into the studio,
- e. Capitalize on and further expand the important and admirable role and function of the radio in its capacity to celebrate and preserve the Maasai culture – yet at the same time adjusting it to meet core human rights and the present day (education of children, substituting harmful rituals such FGM by other rituals to mark maturity, early marriages of girls, FGM, and Oloip.)

To strengthen the institutional sustainability

At the time of this impact assessment, the ORS FM institutional set up did not appear to yet really match the intended level of “democratic management” and “sustainability” of the EACMP phase II vision. It is therefore recommended to:

- a. Continue to advocate for conducive legal framework at national level;
- b. Establish national network to facilitate ongoing coordination and support;
- c. Ensure visible and clear management and leadership around the radio including clarity in lines of reference. The organigramme (see section 4.2 above) shows a shared (thus potentially conflicting) management responsibility of (i) the radio by the IOPA community media department and (ii) the LMC. Important to streamline organisational framework to avoid potential built-in conflicts;
- d. Secure participatory planning, including development plans as basis for all to know their role and place and function in systems. A Strategic plan could function as guiding star and “sparring partner” for all. (This as clear plans and orientation gives freedom and facilitates creativity);
- e. Strengthen internal training policy, including continued training in all areas (programme production, technical management, community research, financial management....) to facilitate unproblematic exchange of staff and volunteers, when they need and want to leave;
- f. Ensure proper systems and capacities in place for technical sustainability (including regular maintenance systems – not reviewed during present assessment. Mentioned here to remind of importance);
- g. Consider a continued system of impact assessments? Presently ORS FM learns from the community – in unsolicited ways – what they think of their radio. There is, however, at present no regular system in place registering, for instance: What is the level of commitment, motivation and understanding registered in the communities, thus identifying the underlying mechanisms, tools and “movers” that will actually lead to the radios more effectively achieving their development aims, including the all-important reduction of poverty, empowerment and better lives?
- h. It is recommended for the Econews coordinating partner to have a more proactive coordination, sparring and monitoring role in the future in support of all of the above – and to ensure implementation of recommendations in general. This would be seen as a way to benefit maximally from the regional set-up and coordination of the EACMP.

To enhance the financial sustainability

The thinking is here based on the notion of “sustainability” and not of “self-sustainability”²⁰. While IOPA has a variety of funding partners and donors, and new fundraising proposals have been recently sent out in support of IOPA’s many programmes – including the radio – a heavy reliance on the present one funder appeared to be the situation. Furthermore a total lack of transparency on financial matters seemed to be the case, including what

²⁰ This distinction refers to the 1999 Lisa Cannon “Life beyond Aid” definition, suggesting that “sustainability” can be defined as: “the ability of an organisation to secure and manage sufficient resources to enable it to fulfil its mission effectively and consistently over time without excessive dependence on any single funding source [...] Sustainable organisations have, at minimum, a clear mission and strategic direction; the skills to attract resources from a variety of local, national and international sources and the know-how to manage them efficiently [...]”.

appeared to be a non compliance with the agreed use of the one existing donor's (Sida) funds: Many staff members, whose salaries were part of the Sida funding agreement, received their salaries irregularly. This is an important potential threat to the sustainability of the station (trained and experienced staff might choose to leave, or they might stay and their eventual growing de-motivation might be destructive) and puts the continuation of the powerful impact results documented in this report at risk. It is therefore recommended to:

- a. Reinforce openness and transparency in all financial matters. In a "community station" the funds received from funding partners and those received from the community in return for services (like messages) are in principle community funds. The transparency should therefore not only be towards all staff and volunteers within the station, but also towards the community – not to mention the LMC, representing the community in the station management.
- b. This could include work on attitudes:
 - i. working in a Community Radio station is working on behalf on community, it is not an individual/organisational, but a community matter;
 - ii. Budget and monthly accounts on wall outside community radio station / media centre.
- c. Develop a 'partnership strategy' as part of the overall strategic planning set-up, which would work – strategically and in a planned way – towards a financial sustainability to be in force at the time of the withdrawal of the present only funder of the station, Sida.