Popular Culture in Radio-Mediated Ad-Theatre in Kenya

Jackson Gikunda Njogu
Lecturer, Department of Humanities, Chuka University, Kenya

Abstract:
This paper analyses radio theatre by its advertising function, hence the term ad-theatre. Previously theatre and drama have been studied by entertainment, cultural, education and edutainment functions, but despite widespread awareness usage of performances to catch consumer attention and promote business, little research has been focused on the rhetorical aspects of theatre. The paper therefore examines three sample advertisements using the technique of theatre to discover the persuasive angle of drama. The study isolates known aspects of popular culture for analysis. These include the use of trending stories and jokes, mass appeal, language of the low-income segments and common social stereotypes as the basis for the construction of persuasive drama. The paper examines several adverts in terms of narrative pattern, social-popular material and analyses guided by Walter Jackson Ong’s study of the transition from orality to literacy in Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word (1982).

Keywords: Theatre, ad/advert/advertisement, ad-theatre

1. Introduction
Theatre has always found use in changing contexts and times. From its ritual function in traditional Africa to the national theatres in most urban areas, theatre has gradually transitioned into media quite easily without losing touch with mass audiences in the rural areas. On radio in Kenya it remains the most preferred mode of advert execution because it is an interactive genre in which the advertiser, relying on attractive sounds and imagery, predicts consumer behavior and seeks to influence it. As such, it is both a reflector of popular thought, as well as a major way to learn and interpret other kinds of popular culture.

Theatre is a mode of socialization that can inform us how we should think and react to situations, as well as informing us about which problems we may need to worry about. For instance, an advert can rebuke one for not having the latest mobile gadget. It is also possible that by viewing older adverts we can learn something about the prevalent ideology of an historical period.

The purpose of advertising is to spread beautiful messages about a product to as many people as possible so that they may know a product, like it and buy it. Weaver, L (1922) refers to the idea of advertising as “beauty in relation to salesmanship” (p.1). He notes that advertising does not merely focus on truth, but also the beauty of the product. The beauty of language and modes of presentation echo the beauty of the product itself. The advertiser is therefore not called upon to serve a class. He speaks to whoever cares to listen, and he comes as the alchemist who brings distinction and enforced with strict austerity. It is that the moral code is crafted and enriched with strict austerity. It is a discourse characterized by the courage to provoke and threaten the middle and upper crusts of society with the rules of daily living. Its material is often derived from sheer imagination, experiences in public and private lives, ideas about government, common rumours and jokes that are always making people shed tears in laughter, or common historical knowledge that is shared by a body of citizens.

In popular discourse the bourgeoisie often become the subject of criticism and mock. Their speeches are analysed, joked about and sung. Humour and rumour become the major devices of rendition. Its opposition to ‘affluence’ makes elitist critics dismiss it as backstreet wisdom. One of the pioneering and insightful works on popular culture in Africa is Readings in African Popular Culture edited by Karin Barber. This work examines general views in the field of popular culture, the relationship between the oral tradition and popular expression in Africa, social history, criticism and interpretation, women in popular culture, the bigger picture of a genre otherwise perceived small, and the global character of popular culture.
Barber finds that in many ways, it is an expression by the ‘poor’, embodying what they believe love, money, family and prosperity entails. That is probably why she defines ‘popular’ by drawing distinction with the ‘high’. She refers to popular culture as “the little, genres of everyday life” (1) that are both local and global. Barber notes that it has always been difficult in identifying the ‘popular’ because it is neither traditional, elite, modern, nor westernized. It is defined by “occupation of the zone between these two poles” (1).

She regrets that the study of African literatures has naturally fallen into duo-dichotomies of ‘traditional’ and ‘western’ as though there was no today. She criticizes the notions prevalent since the 60’s that the traditional is always a place of origin, providing the roots, for emergent ‘modern’ forms. Barber observes that With the coming of westernization, African pieces that were ‘most highly prized were those that could be seen as authentic representatives of ‘tribal’ cultures, ancient, unchanging, hieratic, austere, and the product of traditions of skilled craftsmanship.” (1).

This binary paradigm tends to overlook the fact of humans being naturally artistic, and the practical impossibility of classifying every imaginary production. One can only hive off an item from the avalanche of cultural richness for analysis. As Barber notes, “There is a vast domain of cultural production which cannot be classified as either ‘traditional’, ‘elite’, oral’ ‘literate’, indigenous or western’ because it straddles and dissolves these distinctions (2).

The concept of ‘popular’ thus embodies to a large extent the works of local cultural-modernist producers speaking to local audiences about pressing concerns, experiences and struggles that they share. Coplan (1982) notes that among African miners in South Africa, there arose a ‘discrete social world with its own ethos, forms of cultural expression and patterns of affiliation and opposition (P.360)Priebe (1997) distinguishes between ‘popular’ and ‘elite’ literature not just in terms of accessibility to the majority (distribution, cost) but also in terms of stylistic features common to these genes. He provides the example of how Ghanaian popular novelettes address themselves to the same serious, moral and political issues as elite literature, but they do so in a complimentary and indeed diametrically opposed fictional mode. (5).

Ngugi sees ‘popular’ as that which functions in the interests of the masses (farmers, workers and unemployed) by opening their eyes to their own objective historical situation, the actual conditions of their existence and thus enabling them to empower themselves (5). If a form occupies the high status of ‘popular’, then it must name and revolve around common suffering, then provide hope for a better life. It should be focused towards self- betterment in the face of some serious challenges in society. (6)

The study of popular culture in Africa has always involved identifying and isolating a single element and contextualizing it in terms of purpose and aesthetics. For instance, Coplan has studied the Basotho migrant songs to capture the complexities and anxieties of their new world. In “Eloquent Knowledge: Lesotho Migrant Songs and the Anthropology of Experience” and In the time of the Cannibals, 1994. Anne Fugich’s Playing the Market: The Market Theatre of Johannesburg (1976) examines the integration of art into the social history and the role of culture in political struggle. David Kerr’s African Popular Theatre (1995) examines the various ways in which art has been used for mass awareness across Africa during and after the colonial era. Fabian Johannes analyzes popular songs in Shaba where he concludes that the popular song has a context defined by: the historical-political situation, social referent and setting.

Popular discourse should be viewed as an elaborate educational, moral, social, spiritual and fun system for both the urban and rural man. Popular discourses have an advisory component, either in the form of social criticism or comment and like all literatures, it is both amusing and didactic. It is also loaded with the wisdom prevalent in a community at that point in time. By virtue of its entertainment component popular literature pulls the people towards society, the same way jokes are understood in context. It utilizes the topics each person in a community has imagined or heard and as such, it can only be understood in the context of a specific society, the same way jokes are understood in context.

Popular literature is art in which the artist is called upon to strike equilibrium between the ‘joke’ component and the ‘message’ component of his creation. The audience is willing to suspend disbelief and consume whatever culturally relevant content is relayed as long as social and cultural harmony is maintained.

2. Theoretical Framework: Orality, Inter-texts and Imagined Audiences

In “Media and Human Communication” (pp.171-173), Ong conceives the human mind as a ‘box’ taking in units of information, encoding them, putting them through a ‘pipeline’ called medium, and on the extreme end another mind encodes and ‘fits’ the message in his own box. The difference between the encoded and the decoded messages is the medium which “massages the message” (p.171).

For the process to be effective the speaker must also put himself in the receiver position because he expects a feedback. As he speaks, he also listens to his own voice. Ong says that “to speak you have to address another or others...what I say depend on what possible responses I might anticipate” (p.172). The implication of this in an advertising atmosphere is that as the advertiser tells his story, he has ideas about possible reactions of his audiences. In this respect, the speaker must have established some virtual understanding with his listener prior to the locutionary encounter. This could be through shared beliefs, past relationships or by an understanding negotiated by a third party who brings the interlocutors together. The speaker does not therefore fictionalize his audience since the social and cultural inter-text has been established.

Ong sees that for oral communication to be effective, some recipient must be present (physically or psychologically), and that the interlocutors should be aware of the social and cultural contexts in which they operate. As a person to person encounter, such engagements become performances.

Below we examine three adverts based on popular strategies to establish how popular notions have been integrated in theatre to serve persuasive functions.
3. Inflation and Currency Devaluation Used by Airtel

This advert reflects the consequence of inflation and currency devaluation which characterized the Kenyan economy between 2013-2018. *Twenty Bob ni Mob*, which loosely translates into ‘Twenty shillings is a lot of money’ is Airtel’s way of trying to sell low-cost airtime and attract masses into their struggling mobile network. It airs on Meru Fm so it is easy to guess the target audience is the Meru speakers. The advert is set against a background where Kenyan currency is almost losing status as legal tender in general usage.

Reports are awash in media about supermarkets giving sweets as change. Guguyu, O (2015) notes that the central bank intervened in October, 2015, warning that sweets, matchboxes and airtime were not currency and anybody receiving them as change should report to the Central Bank immediately. Despite the crisis in supermarkets and malls, the Central Bank held that it had enough coin stocks to facilitate transactions, alongside calling for churches, mosques and individuals to exchange their coins for notes instead of keeping them at home.

The advert also comes at a time when her main rival in the telecommunications segment Safaricom has been making phantom profits. Among the rural poor, attitudes abound that the huge profits by Safaricom are a result of consumer exploitation, informed partly by the company’s elusive promise of making a return to masses during its Initial public Offer (IPO) of shares in the Nairobi Securities Exchange (NSE) back in 2005. Many ordinary citizens lost their investment after the shares went bearish on the first day of trading, with members of parliament angrily calling for the sacking of the then Minister of Finance Amos Kimunya. The IPO was largely perceived as a scam supervised by national treasury. The levels of disillusionment then were high, and the company must have lost speculator trust. On the other hand, complaints about expensive calls and data charges are also common. It is these gaps that Airtel seeks to exploit in order to resurge from her bad balance sheets.

The main character in *Twenty Bob ni Mob* is a hawker, identified merely by his street slang, trying to persuade his customer to take sweets as change. The customer is hesitant, and he seems aware of the hawker’s trick when he responds to him, “*Usinipigekiraka*” (Don’t fool me). The hawker is not ready to give back the twenty shillings change, and this marks the complication. He holds that “*Mbaoiwezi nunuukitu*” (Twenty shillings cannot buy anything). He asks the customer to take sweets “*Kama meno bado iko*” (As long as he has got teeth). The customer reveals that twenty shillings is a lot of money because it can buy Airtel airtime, from which one can talk for as long as eight minutes, get twenty short messages (SMS), twenty MB data plus lots of other internet based social media goodies like ‘facebook’ and ‘WhatsApp’. This revelation comes as a shocker to the listener, and the listing of what twenty shillings can do sounds hyperbolic, bearing in mind that the public think it is right to take sweets for change, since the coins are not available.

On realizing that he has been discovered, the hawker pleads with the customer to let him keep the twenty-shilling coin so that he too, can enjoy the *Airtel* sweetness. It emerges that the sweetness of the *Airtel* offer surpasses that of the hawker’s sweets, and that the listener should consider melting this new sweetness in his mouth while he has got teeth! Kenyans will readily recall a popular song that urges them to break bones while they got teeth, meaning that having teeth is not a permanent situation, and that one should take advantage of them while they are in the mouth.

Dentists advise that sweets have lots of sugar, and sugar destroys enamel. The call by the hawker to take sweets is a call to lose teeth. If the young buyer loses teeth, he gets ugly, the reason he should take Airtel airtime that is loaded with good tidings instead of taking destructive sweets.

The advert’s histrionic conflict revolves around an unexpected hero, namely the young buyer, coming into contact with a crafty villain, namely the hawker. The villain is endowed with persuasive lore and courage. He almost refuses to give the young man his change, insisting that it is valueless. It is a David-Goliath scenario that the advertiser creates, and the fact that the encounter almost degenerates is the advertiser’s way of ballooning the value of twenty shillings if it gets spent on Airtel airtime. This conflict is an appropriation of real life as imagined by the advertiser, and the resolution is the panacea to the problem bedeviling the Central Bank itself. The dramatic irony however is that despite the hawker insisting that twenty shillings cannot buy anything, he wants to keep it.

The protagonist in this contest has a goal, and that is to teach everyone that twenty shillings can do more. His knowledge, courage and persistence save him from the trickery of the hawker. The advert seeks to show that what her rival company as well as the supermarkets consider ‘useless’ currency is in fact lots of value. It calls upon customers to use the so-called useless money to buy Airtel airtime, instead of taking sweets. The question of whether Airtel is flouting Central Bank’s directive against exchanging change for sweets is cleverly navigated, in that the purchase of airtime is not directly linked to another sale as happens if one is shopping at a supermarket. The resistance by the customer in this advert to take sweets does not lead to taking Airtime. It is a call to take change and buy airtime elsewhere.

The action clearly situates the ad in the low-income bracket so as to present the rival company as ‘high’ and detached. The hoisting of vehicles in the background and the noises indicate that the ad is set in a bus-stop where hawkers are known to operate. The hawker strategy does for the advert because listeners can quickly identify with the action since hawkers are common, and it is possible that a majority of Kenyans have encountered them. Usually, they profess to sell things at lower, negotiable prices, the reason for their resilience.

The advertiser is also aware the low earners would hate to ‘lose’ their money to sweets, and while the ‘high’ end thinks little can be done with twenty shillings, the low can do much more than melting sweets in the mouth. The mnemonics of the ad lie in the popularity of its theme among listeners, as well as the recurrence of the rhythm of the idiophonic ‘*Mumunya Mumunya*’ (To indicate jaw movements as one melts sweets in the mouth). The dramatic conflict pitting a young hawker, trying to eke a life by increasing sales with sweets and persuasive language versus another young, enlightened customer trying to save his little earnings, prompts the listener to take a stand about the dramatic question.
The *Airtel* campaign highlights the need for consumers to change their shopping habits and in so doing, the company hopes to make sales. The mnemonics of this advert are mainly in the alliteration of the sound /b/ in ‘bob’ and ‘mob’ in the statement ‘Twenty bob ni mob’ and the ideophonic ‘mumunya mumunya’. This advert tells a lot about the current situation in the country, but the question that lingers is whether Airtel will succeed in reversing the trend of inflation. One wonders whether the micro-economic sector they have targeted will make them resurge and compete with *Safaricom*, or whether theirs are the proverbial kicks of a dying horse.

In this episode, the advertiser uses plain folks to speak to plain folks. Focus is shifted from the upper and middle crust of society to those who spend as little as twenty shillings on airtime. It also uses the name-calling strategy in which it aims to demean its rival by presenting itself as pro-poor. Notable also is the glittering speech of the actors.

The tone of the customer refusing to be duped with sweets leaves the listener persuaded that he has rights. The tone alone draws the sympathies of the listener.

### 4. Digital Invasion of Rural Businesses in Lipa na M-Pesa

Lipa na Mpesa by *Safaricom* seeks to enlighten business owners on their digital platform for settling financial transactions using their mobile phones rather than cash, in an attempt to encourage cashless transactions at all points of sale. This product is known as M-Pesa, and each point of sale is allotted a ‘till number’, similar to a bank account number so that payment for goods and services is done digitally. The advert airs on Radio Citizen, and so the target audience is national because this station broadcasts nationally.

The drama is a tragi-comedy of sorts. Action pits a hotelier and his customer. The hotel setting provokes feelings of peace and order. The customer has taken a meal and is definitely happy with everything so far. The conflict arises at the time of settling the bill. Most hotels in Kenya operate on ‘eat-then-pay’ rather than ‘pay first’ as practiced in most Western cultures.

There is this popular talk that if one goes to a hotel, feeds and lacks money to pay he is forced to peel a whole bag of potatoes or split firewood until the hotel owner releases him. Stories abound of people who have been forced to leave their shoes behind after failing to settle hotel bills. This phenomenon is commonly known as ChongaViazi, which loosely translates into ‘peel potatoes’.

It is an embarrassing situation to find oneself in, and there are stories about some greedy but beautiful girl who follows a man to an expensive hotel without money of her own, makes expensive orders, and when the man sneaks, she is forced to peel potatoes.

The choice of a lady protagonist cum customer is thus very appropriate for this advert. In this scene, a lady has just had a meal in a hotel, and she presents herself at the counter to settle her bill. This, to the male listener, looks modest in a world where it’s natural for men to settle hotel bills for ladies. A male cashier hands her the bill. The lady then asks him for “the number”.

The cashier constructs that the lady is not ready to settle her bill, and what she wants from him is a telephone contact. This is tricky because if he agrees to the deal then he will have to settle the bill himself, and probably hook up with the lady later for his ‘reward’. He does not wish to imagine settling the lady’s huge bill, and so he replies, Me am married madam, Labdanikupeya chef, 0721...

(‘Am married Madam,
Unless I give you the chef’s number, 0721…’)

The lady, noticing the cross-purpose and the sexual connotation in the response, quickly interjects that what she needs is the hotels Mpesa till number, not the man’s private phone number. Laughing in shame, the cashier confesses that the hotel does not have that kind of number. The absence of this number means the bill cannot be settled, and the lady is set for ChongaViaz. This creates tension and uncertainty because the lady has money in electronic form but she can’t settle her bill. There is real threat of peeling potatoes. The lady, in shock, asks, How now?

And the way *Safaricom*
Is giving away millions!

The mention of millions brings the action to its denouement the cashier, noticing the opportunity offered by *Safaricom* through the service, decides to subscribe as his ‘side hustle’ before his boss wins the millions. This forms the witty resolution of the ad.

The advert is based on an emerging culture in Kenya wrought by technological advancements in the mobile telephony sector. The mobile phones jurisdiction has expanded over a short span of time from mere calling and texting to mobile banking, money transfer, electronic commerce and internet-based products. With these advances and increased awareness, more people prefer to transact electronically in supermarkets, hotels, gas stations and payment of bills of any kind such as electricity bills and school fees. The advertiser uses shame and phobia to catch attention. Many people would not want to imagine eating in a hotel or getting into a bus and when the time to pay comes they discover that they do not have money, or that their currency is not acceptable. In this ad, we are actually left in suspense, knowing that the lady has digital money in her phone, yet the cashier does not have a way of getting paid electronically. One wonders who should be punished here. This advertisement has a way of eliciting audience anger towards the hotel administration. Such anger is directed at the cashier who threatens the dignity of the customer because of his reluctance to adopt electronic money transfer systems. In some way, the ad serves to warn businesses that have not taken up the idea of electronic payment system that customers are now aware, and they will surely keep away from ‘embarrassing’ joints. The cashier’s assertion
that he’s married serves him well as a faithful husband, but it certainly irritates audiences who cannot avoid imagining themselves in the hands of such a ‘foolish’ cashier. The conflict here is based on the cashier’s ignorance of technology, and its enormous benefits. This ignorance leads him to think that when a lady asks for a ‘number’, then it means the lady would rather be seduced than pay! The cashier, despite his hearty laughs, emerges as the villain of this performance because he’s about to embarrass a very good citizen, at least in the eyes of the listeners. The conflict is resolved by the willingness of the cashier to adopt the Mpesa technology, not merely for the convenience of his customers, but for the millions of shillings he’s likely to win and get away from this employer. From his desire to take up the idea as a side hustle “before mdosiashindezichapaa” (Before my boss wins this money), we learn that he does not like his boss getting successful. The listener is therefore left wondering if the reason for the lack of Mpesa till number could be from the reluctence of the cashier to advice his employer.

The advertiser attempts to situate life as Kenyans live it each day. The dramatic action illuminates on people in everyday living, doing business and interacting with one another. It shows that the product in question is the ideal way as seen in the cashier’s acceptance of the lady’s advice. The decision to grab the idea as a side hustle reflects the valor with which he has taken the idea. The memorability of the ad is enhanced by the repetition of the keywords ‘number’, lipanaMpesa’, ‘Safaricom’ and ‘till number’. Its aesthetics also lie in the seduction scene where the cashier imagines that girls are always in a hunting mission for some ‘enlightened’ man like himself. The rhythm is enhanced by alliteration of the /m/ sound in “me am married madam” in the very first lines. The redundancy of the reflexives is ignored to attain the musicality desired.

The ad’s language is characterized by series of code switching and code-mixing. Although it is mainly in English, the interlocutors shift though Kiswahili and Sheng. The focus of utterances is directed at the intended message and how quick his listeners understand him, rather than the grammaticality of the words. The collocation of ‘me’ and ‘am’ in “Me am married madam”, coupled with the shift from English to Kiswahili mid-sentence in “labdanikupeya chef” (Unless I give you the Chef’s number) does not obscure message or bother the listener. On the contrary, it reinforces it, bearing in mind that few in the audience speak any pure dialect in everyday interactions.

5. Racial Stereotype as Advert Magnet

The Asian community in Kenya is believed to have settled in the early years of the 20th century during the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway between 1896 and 1901. Some indentured labourers were hired from the British India. After the completion of the railway some decided to stay and take advantage of the railway and do business. They attracted their families from India and since then they have become part of the East African history. (Makokha, 2009)

During the colonial days the Indians were allowed to settle in bourgeoisie estates within Nairobi, and they were therefore seen to compete with the white Europeans for the commercial control of East Africa. Attitudes about that the Indian community is closely-knit, and that they are astute capitalists.

The ordinary Kenyan of yesteryears knows the Indian as both astute and cruel capitalist. In social circles it is said the blacks who work for the Indian rarely makes it in life, and most survive by stealing small items in the shops or by slightly increasing the prices of negotiable items. If a sale is made, they make some money, if not there is no problem, the buyer can move away to some other shop owned by an African. The Indian community, despite living in Kenya for over a century now, has also refused to inter-marry with the natives. These among other things have continued to enhance racial suspicion and any emergent discourse between the two occurs against this background.

The dramatic conflict revolves around racial subordination of the Africans by the Indian, who are the majority listeners in this case. The advertiser therefore uses a sensitive matter of race to catch instant attention. From the onset it is expected that the Indian will try to demean the African.

In this advert on KamemeFM, we learn from distinctiveness of accent that an Indian has employed a Kamba in his shop. It is only through accent that we identify them. The audience does not expect cordial relationships here. The Indian is giving instructions to the Kamba man. He wants him to increase the price of each item in the shop by twenty shillings. The African decides to ask why each item is going up by twenty shillings and the Indian informs him that these days twenty shillings is a lot of money. When the Kamba man asks if his salary could as well be raised by twenty shillings, he is told that the salary should actually go down by the twenty shillings. The advert brings to focus the perceived exploitiveness of Indian business-people. Despite the fact that he wants to make extra profit on each item, he does not want to raise his employee’s wages by a mere twenty shillings. Secondly, his inhumane nature is captured in his admission that he does not know the name of his employee. He retorts, Hiyomshahara kwanza tunakataa!

No no jokes
No jokes
Wachanikumbukejina
(We are slashing that salary
No jokes
Let me remember your name)

The Indian is also shown as an opportunist who, on realizing that Airtel is giving so much in terms of airtime value, data bundles and other internet related offers to their customers he decides to take advantage of this to arbitrarily increase prices of items. His justification for the increases is that “twenty bob ni mob” (Twenty shillings is a lot of money). The magnet of this advert is therefore in the racial stereotype, and the conflict generated recalls the history of African-Indian relations and how they influence perceptions to date.
6. Conclusion

This analysis demonstrates a special intercourse between theatre and the world of business in the radio medium. It is evident that advertisers have on various occasions fallen back to the principles of orality and imagined audiences as established by Walter Ong for persuasive effect, and that there is little attention to grammatical correctness at the expense of ‘message’. It emerges that advertisement stories are anchored on dramatic conflict, and the advertiser closely analyses his prospective audiences, that advertisers use the ‘drama of life’ as people live it, embellish it with humour, sentimentalization and imagination, and that each of the adverts has culturally-based attention grabbing and mnemonic devices for rhetorical effect.

7. References

i. Arens W.F et al (2011) Contemporary Advertising & Integrated marketing communications (13thed) New York. McGraw-Hill

ii. Banham, M. (2004) ed. A History of Theatre in Africa. London. CUP.

iii. Carr, A.Z. (1968) ‘Is Business Bluffing Ethical?’ in Harvard Business Review. Vol. 46 (pg. 143-153). McGraw Hill. New York.

iv. Deighton, John, Daniel R, and Josh M (1989), “Using Drama to Persuade,” in Journal for Consumer Research, 16 (December), 335-343.

v. Gemade, E (2012) African Egalitarian Values and Indigenous Genres. LIT Verlag, Ethiopia.

vi. Gikunda, J. (2016) Exile and Refugee Drama in East Africa. Lambert Academic Publishing.

vii. Kamau, M. (2012) “Hello Dear, Are You Lactating?” in Daily Nation, Tuesday, June 26, 2012. (DN2 p. 2)

viii. Kaschula, R (2001) African Oral Literature: Functions in Contemporary Contexts. Cape Town. New Africa Books.

ix. Kerr, D. (1995) African Popular Theatre. Nairobi. EAEP

x. Ligaga, D.A (2006) Radio Theatre: The Moral Play and its Mediation of Socio-Cultural Realities in Kenya. Unpublished Thesis. University of Witwatersrand.

xi. Lindfors, B (1977) Forms of Folklore in Africa: Narratives, Poetic, Gnomic, Dramatic. London. University of Texas Press.

xii. Mcluhan, M. and Fiore, Q (1967) The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects. UK. Penguin.

xiii. Miruka, O. (1999) Studying Oral Literature. Nairobi. Acacia Publishers.

xiv. Nandwa, J. and Austin B. (1983). African Oral Literature for Schools. Nairobi. Longman Kenya Ltd.

xv. Odhiambo, C.J (2012) “From Diffusion to Dialogic space” in Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Communities. Johannesburg. University of Witwatersrand.

xvi. *******(2007) “Reading FM radio stations in Kenya: Opening a Pandora’s box” in Cultural Production and Social Change in KenyaEd. KimaniNjogu and Oluoch Olunya, Art Culture and Society Vol. 1 pp 151-161.

xvii. Ogude, J and Nyairo, J (2007) (eds). Urban Legends, Colonial Myths: Popular Culture and Literature in East Africa. Africa World Press. Eritrea.

xviii. Ong, WJ (1982) Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word. Newyork. Methuen & co.

xix. Tyson, Lois (1999) Critical Theory Today: A User-Friendly Guide. London. Garland Publishers.

xx. Vilarino, Marina L.P (1996) “Discourse of Radio Commercials and the Function of Persuasion” in Some Sundry Wits Gathered Together. 197-204.