Summary

The discovery of oil and gas reserves in Turkana County, Kenya, was accompanied by a coordinated effort from the extractive industries and government and development actors to ensure sustainable, inclusive development in the region - aligned with the priorities and expectations of local communities. In September 2015, Africa's Voices Foundation carried out a pilot to gather community opinions through radio and mobile telephony (SMS). Three interactive radio shows gathered 617 text messages from 220 people (37.4% women). The majority of participants believed that the extractive industries in Turkana will benefit their communities, though many were concerned that local communities are not being consulted enough. This pilot project demonstrated Africa's Voices approach can create authentic public dialogue, and provide rich, credible evidence that amplifies citizens' voices to a national level.

1. Background

In 2013, more than 300 million barrels worth of oil reserves were discovered in Turkana county, northern Kenya. In order for this discovery to benefit Kenya's economy and spur inclusive development, careful planning that involves all stakeholders is crucial. The 'Kenya Extractive Industries Development Programme' (KEIDP)[1] aims to help Kenya's national and county governments to create:

> "a sustainable extractives sector which stimulates equitable wealth and job creation, moves Kenya towards middle-income status, and delivers to the large majority of Kenyans significant economic, health and social benefits now and in the future."

The Public Awareness component of the KEIDP project aims to increase public awareness of the oil industry development and the roles and responsibilities of the National and County Governments and oil companies in promoting integrated development.

Radio is popular across Kenya, including Turkana, and is therefore an effective medium to reach, engage and inform communities. Working with Radio Jambo Turkana, Africa's Voices[2] and Oxfam

Kenya implemented a series of radio shows to broadcast accurate and trusted information about oil extraction and also to capture audiences' opinions, beliefs and misunderstandings related to extractive industries.

A pilot was carried out in September 2015 in order to understand what works and what does not work in regards to community engagement in Turkana through radio and mobile phones (SMS). The strategic objective of the pilot was to prove the success of the Africa's Voices approach as a tool for community engagement and feedback aligned with the objectives of Oxfam Kenya[3]. Further, the pilot allowed people to engage in conversations and share their opinions and expectations about oil extraction. This is valuable information for the multiple stakeholders of the KEIDP project.

2. Method

The radio pilot project comprised three stages of community engagement: community meetings, focus groups and radio shows.

2.1 Community meetings

Meetings were held at the communities of Nakululas and Kalapata in Turkana, where key information about oil development was shared and discussed. Present were representatives from Tullow Oil, civil society organisations, the County Government of Turkana, Oxfam Kenya and Africa's Voices. The meetings were the first opportunity to

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[1] The KEIDP is funded by the UK's Department for International Development, and managed by Adam Smith International. The KEIDP has four components: (1) Local and Community-Driven Development; (2) Public Participation; (3) Public Awareness; (4) Monitoring and Evaluation.

[2] Africa's Voices is a non-profit organisation spun-out from research at the University of Cambridge's Centre of Governance and Human Rights. From multi-disciplinary expertise, it has

developed and tested an innovative approach to engaging citizens and conducting research in the African context - generating insights for development and governance organisations.

[3] As outlined in Oxfam's Country Strategy for Kenya, 2015

understand the concerns of the Turkana communities. Many of their contributions were incorporated into the subsequent radio shows.

Photo 1: Community meeting in Kalapata, Turkana

In addition, attendees of the community meetings were invited to anonymously send text messages (SMS) to a toll-free number with their opinions and questions. The toll-free number, and the messages received, were managed by Africa's Voices on an SMS communications platform (EchoMobile).

2.2 Focus groups

Key information about the extractive industries was compiled by the Multi-Stakeholder Communications Forum[4], and adjusted for radio scripts. Africa's Voices tested the radio scripts for comprehension and cultural sensitivity with three focus groups in Lokichar of 4-6 participants - heterogeneous in terms of gender, age and education. Based on the feedback from the focus groups, the radio scripts were refined and some content was simplified.

Photo 2: One of the focus groups in Lodwar

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[4] The Multi-Stakeholder Communications Forum (MSCF) for the KEIDP includes the Turkana County Government, the private sector, the NGO consortium (Oxfam Kenya, Cordaid and the Danish Demining Group) and Adam Smith International.

2.3 Radio Shows

Using the radio scripts provided by Africa's Voices, Radio Jambo Turkana, broadcast three one-hour interactive radio shows (in Swahili) over four days. Two guests featured in the shows: a representative from Tullow Oil, and a representative from the Turkana Government Ministry of Land. Africa's Voices trained the radio host on audience engagement techniques, and provided technical support throughout.

Each show discussed a different topic and posed a question to the audience:

Show 1. Do you think the extraction of oil and gas within Turkana County will benefit the life of your community? Yes or No? Why?

Show 2. Are you ok about oil and gas companies getting access to land? Yes or No? Why?

Show 3. Do you think that the oil and gas industry will improve your job opportunities? Yes or No? Why?

Photo 3: On-air in Radio Jambo Turkana

The radio shows were preceded by radio promos (advertising the shows) asking communities about the issues that they would like to be addressed during the radio shows. Audiences of Radio Jambo Turkana were invited to send their responses by text message to the toll-free number. Radio presenters had access to the SMS platform to see the audiences' messages and read them out live - encouraging more participation.

After sending their first message to Radio Jambo Turkana, audience members received an SMS survey asking their gender, age and location.

In total, Africa's Voices received 617 text messages, from 220 unique participants. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the messages across the radio shows and radio promos, showing that show 1 attracted most participation.
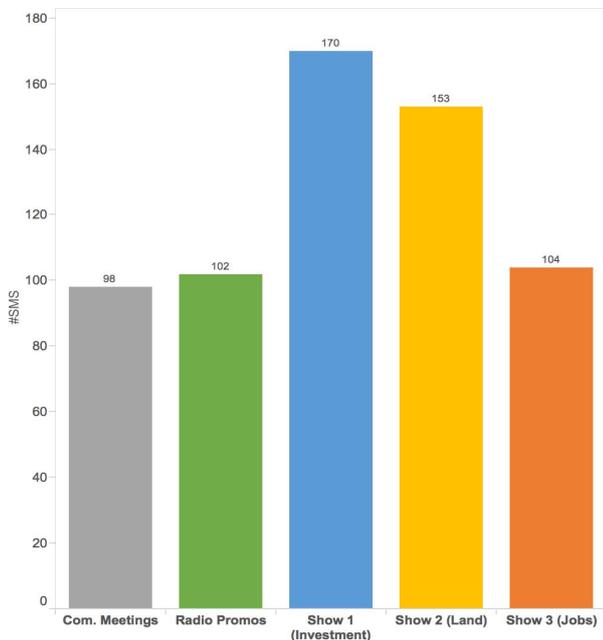

Figure 2: Volume of text message at different stages of the pilot project

It should be noted that those who participated in the radio discussions are not representative of the Turkana population as a whole because they were self-selected. The sample is restricted to audience members of Radio Jambo Turkana with access to mobile phones and willing to give their opinion. The composition of the sample deviates from the population composition[5] towards men and younger women.

- 37.4% were women [48.0% in Turkana population]
- 52.2% of men were 20-29 years old [43.1%]
- 67.5% of women were 20-29 years old [39.7%]
- Most of the respondents were from Turkana Central (Lodwar), Turkana South (Lokichar, Nakukulas and Kalapata) and Turkana North (Lokichogio). A few were from as far as Nairobi and the south coast (see Figure 2).

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5 Figures for population 20+ years from Turkana County (KNBS, Population and Housing Census 2009).
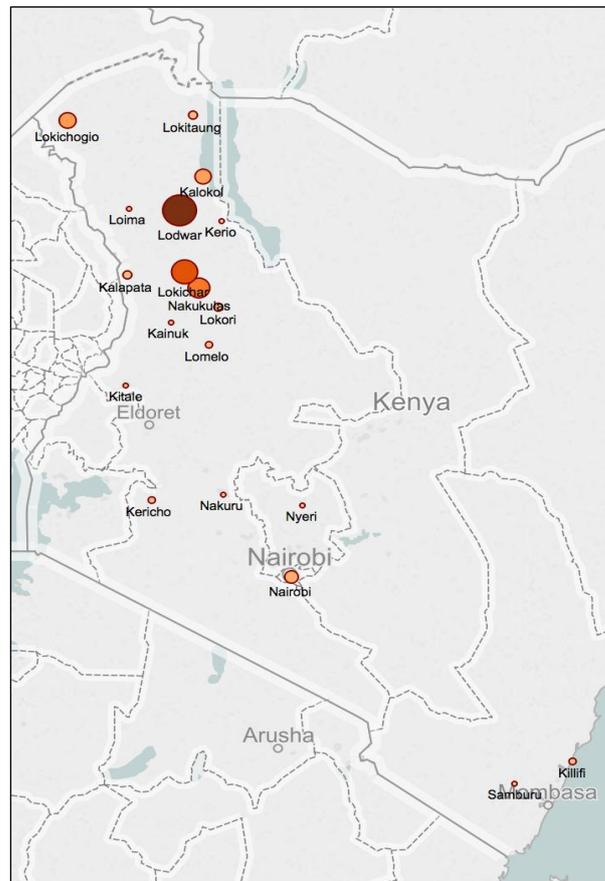

Figure 1: Map of Kenya showing volume of messages by location.

The radio programmes were broadcast in Swahili, the SMS communications were both in Swahili and Turkana and the audience sent SMS in Swahili and Turkana. Africa's Voices analysed the text messages in their original languages, but the messages were also translated into English to include some examples in this report.

3. Insights and outcomes

The content of the messages were analysed in terms of the words most commonly associated with oil, the frequency of words used by men and women, and the answers to the three questions broadcast during the shows.

3.1 Words association analysis

When participants discussed oil and gas extraction during the radio shows, the most common words used were development, companies, people, gas, community, benefit, education, government, jobs, land, drill, politics, water, opportunity and family. As in the radio scripts, the radio discussions

focused on issues of community development, but also on political issues and the role of companies.

3.2 Word frequency analysis by gender

The gendered analysis of words showed that during the radio discussions, men were more concerned about companies, payments to communities, land and water. Women talked more than men about business, the economy, government/politics, roads and youth.
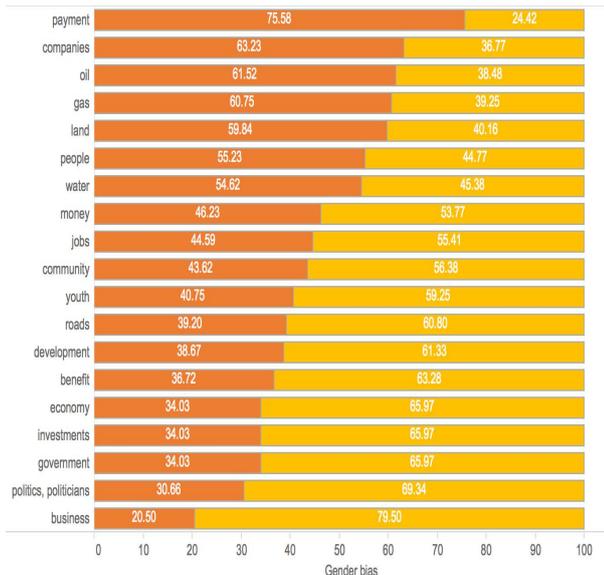
Figure 3. Gender deviation of words used by men and women.

Messages from men: Words frequently associated with oil are in bold

"[Oil companies accessing land] *not at all because they give us inadequate **payments**, and are also used by **politicians** to reach farms owned by nationals.*" - Man, 25-29, Lokitaung

"*The **oil companies** operate so secretly minus giving the local communities information on their operations. They only consult leaders and big people.*" - Man, 20-24, Lokichogio

"*If **water** for refining **gas** and **oil** here in Turkana is a problem that have caused oil to be refined in Mombasa, why should they pump water to this county so that refining to take place here in Turkana? This will create **employment** to our people.*" - Man, 20-24, Lokichar

Messages from women: words frequently associated with oil are in bold

"*The problem is the community is never involved in the discussions well. Tullow only makes decisions with the **government** about our land.*" - Woman, 20-24, Lodwar

"*Oil development will help fuel **economic growth** and even **maintenance of roads**.*" - Woman, 20-24, Kalokol

"*[Oil exploration] has enabled people to find jobs and also to spread **business** here.*" - Woman, 20-24, Lokigochio

"*The **government** needs to **invest** intensely in education, healthcare, water access, hand in hand with the oil development.*" - Woman, 19, Nakukulas

3.3 Content analysis

The answers to the three questions were categorised into "Yes" or "No" and the arguments supporting the answer were analysed.

Show 1: Do you think the extraction of oil and gas within Turkana County will benefit the life of your community? Yes or No? Why?
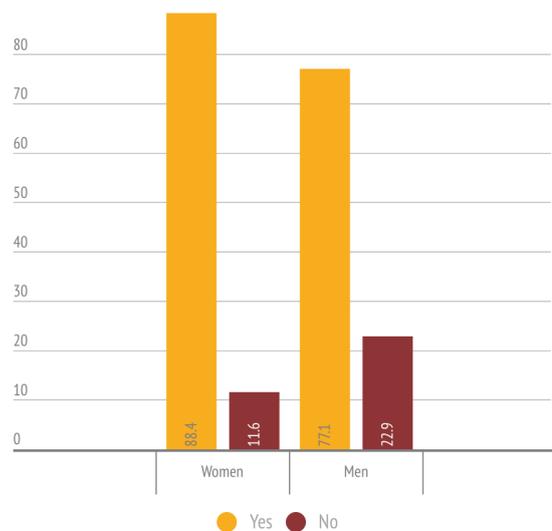

Figure 4. Volume of responses to question 1 (oil) by gender.

Most people who sent messages agreed that the extraction of oil and gas will benefit the life of their community (88.4% women and 77.1% men - no significant association between answers and gender[6]). People who answered yes believed that oil will bring new schools, hospitals, roads jobs and business; employment will help to reduce social problems such as drinking and cattle theft; Turkana will attract foreign investment because is in the national and international news.

> "The good thing is that it exposes our county to the greater world, opening up opportunities for our people. This will help us grow and catch up with the rest of the country." - Man, 34, Lodwar

People who disagreed that the oil and gas exploration in Turkana will benefit the life of their community (11.6% women and 22.9% men - no significant association between answers and gender) gave as a reason that communities are put against each other by the Turkana government; there are examples of other countries where oil has caused conflict; the impact of oil extraction on the environment and public health is not sufficiently discussed; corruption of the government and the oil companies will mean that benefits are not enjoyed by communities.

> "No because even in other countries where oil was drilled, local communities have not benefited. In Nigeria and Libya we have seen wars in oil areas" - Man, 25, Lodwar

Although these negative reasons were mentioned only by a minority of participants, it is important to note that arguments against oil and gas exploration are controversial, emotive, and prone to discussion. As such, arguments opposing oil and gas exploration can quickly gain strength and become widespread opinions.

Show 2: Are you okay about oil and gas companies getting access to land? Yes or No? Why?

[6] The association between answers and gender was analysed through the Fisher exact probability test.
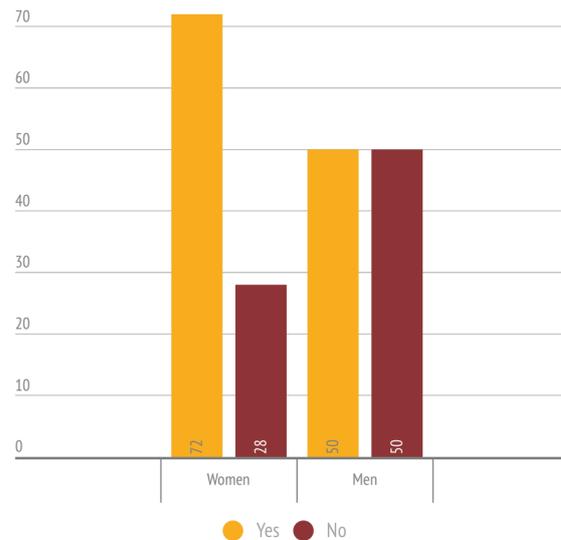
Figure 5. Volume of responses to question 2 (land) by gender.

Overall, people are in favour of oil companies getting access to land. Women were more in favour than men (72.0%). Only 50.0% men were in favour (tangentially significant association between answer and gender p=.08). The reasons given are that the land is not good for agriculture so it should be used for the benefit of communities; companies are already giving scholarships and jobs to the community; oil and gas will be affordable and allow farming with new technology.

> "Yes - the land is not usable as it is now. Let it be used for the benefit of the community." - Woman, 25, Lokichar

People who are against oil and gas companies having access to land (28.0% women and 50.0% men - no significant association between answers and gender) believe that nomadic communities will be affected; communities are not being consulted and involved in decisions; companies and the government will exploit locals by taking advantage of their ignorance.

> "No. The problem is the community is never involved in discussion. Tullow only makes decisions with the government about our land" - Woman, 23, Lodwar

Show 3: Do you think that the oil and gas industry will improve your job opportunities?
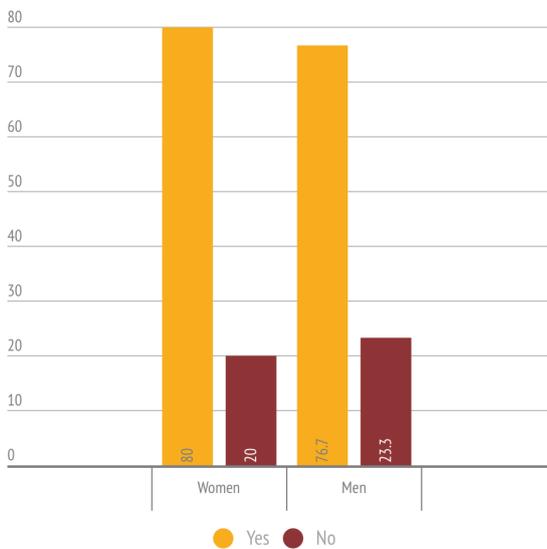

Figure 6. Volume of responses to question 3 (jobs) by gender.

Most people believe that oil and gas industry will improve their chances to access job opportunities (80.0% women and 76.7% men - no significant association between answers and gender). Participants said yes because they think that oil companies will employ locals; other jobs will be created from new business; oil companies are investing in education.

> *"Yes. Definitely. Most youths here have already been employed in different sectors. I think it will enable me to have access to jobs"*
> - Woman, 25, Lodwar

People who do not expect the oil and gas industry to improve their job opportunities (20.0% women and 23.5% men, no significant difference) think that local people will only be given low-skilled jobs (cleaners, security); there is no transparency in recruitment so people with connections to the government will get the best jobs; people from other parts of the country will get the jobs - not Turkana people.

> *"No, this is due to corruption and tribalism. I know workers have already been taken from other parts of Kenya while we marginalised tribe remain"* - Man, 23, Lodwar

Compared with people who sent SMS in response to the radio shows (skewed towards younger and more urban population), people who sent SMS during the community meetings in Nakukulas and Kalapatas (more rural population) are more sceptical about the benefits of oil exploration to their communities; are less happy with companies accessing land; are less hopeful about having job opportunities (see Figure 7).
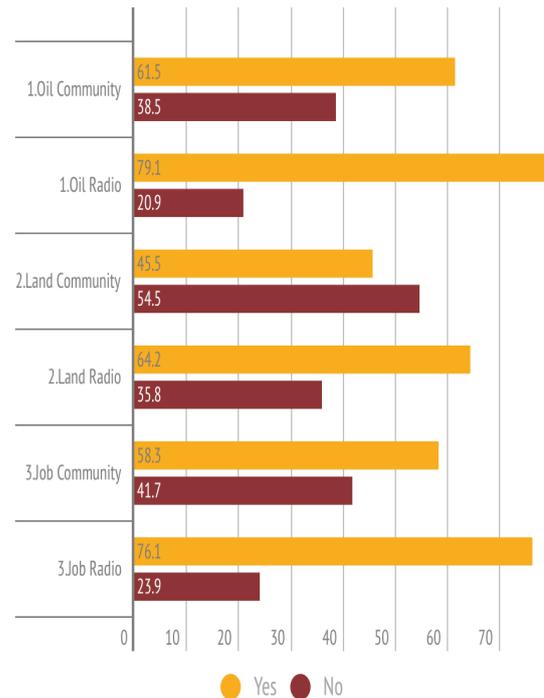

Figure 7: Responses from rural audience ('Community') versus urban-skewed audience ('Radio') by the different questions asked (oil/land/job).

Several participants had questions about the extractive industries. These included questions about the current status and timeline of oil extraction, the kind of jobs that will be available, which land will be used, and benefits to Tullow Oil, the government and local communities.

4. Conclusions

This pilot showed that participants of the radio shows believe that oil and gas exploration in Turkana will bring benefits to their communities. Some of them mention developments that are already taking place, such as oil companies offering educational scholarships, building roads and giving jobs to the population. However, there are some discordant voices of people saying that the job

offers are not transparent and school fees are not being paid as promised.

Land is a more controversial subject. Men, especially from rural communities, are not favourable about oil and gas companies accessing land because they considered is their land and they were not involved enough in the decision process. Women are in general more positive, but they are not as engaged as men on land discussions. Some of the problems about land revolve about communities feeling they are not being consulted with and perceive decisions being agreed between governments and oil companies only.

Expectations about jobs created by oil industries are high. Both men and women expect their job situation to improve in the future. There are however some concerns about the transparency of the recruitment process, the level of qualifications needed for these jobs, and outsiders (not form Turkana) benefitting from the job opportunities more than Turkana people.

Voices from women were more varied than from men, as they touch on a broad range of topics - including politics, economy, and development (roads, family, schools, youth, jobs opportunities). Discussions from men tend to be more narrow and focused on oil companies, profits and payments.

Female participation in the discussions was high considering that radio discussions are generally dominated by male participation [7]. This indicates that the radio scripts and presenters style were effective at engaging diverse audiences and enticing responses from women, and that the channels used (radio and mobile phones) are also accessible to women.

5. Implications and recommendations
The radio pilot project gave ordinary people from Turkana the opportunity to speak up and share their opinions, questions and concerns about the oil and gas extraction industry in their region. By

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[7] Lopes, C. et al. (2015) Interactive audiences in Africa: A comparison of constituencies in Kenya and in Zambia. PiMA Working Paper Series 4. Cambridge: Centre of Governance and Human Rights.

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analysing the messages, Africa's Voices has identified several recommendations for the KEIDP.

5.1 Recommendations from citizen's opinions
1. Communities in Turkana must be regularly consulted by oil companies and the county government in inclusive and transparent forums. Communication needs to be honest and accessible, and keep communities up-to-date on the extractive industries' activities.
2. Future communications should address and confront the negative effects of oil extraction, including on the environment and public health, by including independent experts on these issues.
3. There should be more information about the realistic job opportunities for people living in Turkana, including what the recruitment process will be. More broadly, the direct and indirect benefits of the extractive industries to local communities need to be explained to avoid inaccurate expectations.

5.2 Recommendations from the pilot project
This pilot project and collaboration between Oxfam Kenya and Africa's Voices demonstrated promising levels of participation by the Turkana community. A substantial infrastructure was put in place to implement Africa's Voices method, but it was only used in a limited manner due to the small scope of the pilot. Future collaboration can leverage the important groundwork that has been laid, and incorporate the following lessons learned to enhance community engagement through radio and mobile phones:

1. Radio Jambo Turkana is a popular station, yet working simultaneously with several radio stations can vastly increase volume and variety of participation. It is recommended that future radio shows be broadcast on more than one radio station in Turkana.
2. To reach people from all communities, including the most marginalised, radio stations that broadcast in Turkana and other local languages, as well as in Swahili, should be included in future projects.
3. Participation in this pilot declined over the three radio shows. To keep engagement high, and even increase, it is recommended that

future radio shows are more spread out, for example once a week, and feature a wider variety of relevant topics and guests.

4. Incorporating input from community meetings and text messages into radio scripts worked well in creating tailored, engaging content. Community involvement and consultation when planning future communications campaigns is recommended.

5. To avoid being purely extractive, findings and insights from the research should be fed back to participants and their communities. This could be done via radio, at community meetings, and/or in local newspapers - sparking further discussion and engagement.

6. Interactive radio can reach and engage many, but the most marginalised may not have access to radio or mobile phones. How these people will be consulted and involved in discussions about oil extraction should be considered in future projects.

5.3 Achievements

Africa's Voices offered an innovative method for community engagement and feedback, aligned with the objectives of Oxfam Kenya. The pilot project has pointed to the value of this approach in several ways:

1. **Monitoring and Evaluation tool.** Due to the instant access to audience's SMS, and the quick turn around in analysis of the content, this approach can be an effective tool for Oxfam's monitoring evaluation, accountability and learning (MEAL). Accessible insights can be gained throughout a project, allowing for continuous learning and constant tailoring of communications. This builds Oxfam's capacity to implement quality programmes and measure their impact.

2. **Credible and rich evidence.** Africa's Voices can provide Oxfam and other KEIDP stakeholders with credible evidence due to the robust research and analysis techniques used. In this pilot, rich insights were gained into community perceptions, priorities, opinions and concerns.

3. **Scalable and Replicable**. This method can easily be scaled up and replicated to other regions and topics. A more substantial project

(for example that incorporates more radio stations and shows) would be exponentially more effective in terms of cost and quality.

4. **Leverage new communication technologies**. The pilot demonstrates how new opportunities of mobile technology can be seized, while recognising the continued power of traditional media in remote areas.

5. **Amplify women's voices.** 37.4% of participants in the pilot project were female - 67.5% of these were 20-29 years. This approach is effective at engaging young women, provides opportunities for them to meaningfully participate in and influence public discussions, and to act as role models to inspire other women to participate.

6. **Maximise civil society space.** This approach fosters a collective citizens' voice, drawn from the opinions shared during the shows. Further, beyond the limited group of listeners who participated, are the wider listening audience whose listenership is also part of the value and impact of the interactive shows. Listeners benefit from hearing public debates and the voices of citizens like them. They are better informed of the topic and encouraged to participate in future discussions - either in radio forums or in their communities. The impact of a collective citizens' voice and an engaged, informed audience is a more vibrant and dynamic civil society - which can influence political agendas and decision-making.

7. **Impact on shared norms.** Beliefs and behaviour can shift when people are actively engaged in social conversations, where they are exposed to different opinions and prompted to articulate their own view on the matter. Africa's Voices method creates spaces for informal social norms to be challenged, and for opinion shapers to speak out. This is true both in interactive radio forums, as well as among the wider listening audience.

This report was prepared by Claudia Lopes and Rainbow Wilcox.