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"It's not what you say; it's how you say it". An Analysis of Framing Theory in relation to Anti-FGM Content Delivery at a Local Community Radio in Kenya

Authors

Taji Isindu Shivachi[1]; Isabel Zattu Ziz[2]

1. Rongo University, Kenya; 2. Kibabii University, Kenya

Corresponding Author's contact: shivachitaji@gmail.com; tajishivachi2018@gmail.com; taji@rongovarsity.ac.ke

ABSTRACT

This study sought to examine framing theory in relation to anti-FGM content delivery at a community radio station in Migori County, Kenya. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected through the mixed methods approach, using a questionnaire, focus group discussions, interviews and a content analysis of radio programs. The study shows that framing has an important role to play in content delivery, and influences the conceptualization and acceptance of the message by the audience.

INTRODUCTION

Framing theory posits that the way in which an idea is presented to an audience influences the choices the audience will make about that information. The theory is traceable to the work of Frederick Bartlettt, a cognitive psychologist who in 1932 conducted experiments on "reconstructive memory", and established that individuals' culture and existing schemata influenced how they interpreted and recollected new information (Bartlett, 1972). Building on Bartlett's work, anthropologist Gregory Bateson argues that when confronted with new information, individuals usually make that information fit into their own "frames" - which he defines as "spatial and temporary bounding of a set of interactive messages" (Bateson, 1972, p. 197). Frames, which are also known as schemata or scripts in Psychology, are systems of thought, or ways through which individuals conceptualize, process and interpret information and ideas. According to framing theory, frames are largely influenced by culture, and comprise of preconceived ideas about phenomena, which in turn influence the way through which individuals process and interpret information (Goffman, 1974; Kahneman & A.Tversky, 1987).

In recent years, communication scholars have increasingly gravitated to wards framing theory, which has emerged as one of the predominant perspectives in communication science. From a communication perspective, framing discourse focuses on the packaging and presentation of information to various audiences. According to framing theory, the media deliberately solicits, collects, collates, synthesizes, organizes and presents ideas or news to a target audience in order to realize a certain outcome. The media therefore identifies content and contextualizes it with (a) specific target audience(s) and outcomes/interpretations in mind.

Framing theory as it applies to mass communication is slightly complex, in the sense that it applies at multi levels, both ways in relation to the sender of the message, as well as the recipient. The senders – in this case the media – contextualize information within their own frames both at the media house and individual journalist levels. This therefore implies that for the senders of the message, two or more frames may be at play – the media house may be influenced by political, socioeconomic or other ideological schemas, while the individual journalist may be influenced by culture, education or other schemas. Similarly, the consumers of the message conceptualize it at the macro and micro levels. At the micro level, the audience's frame is influenced by family norms, peer pressure, and socioeconomic factors such as level of education, income and occupation among others. At the macro level, the audience's frame is influenced by community culture, in which cultural practices, such as female genital mutilation are conceptualized.

Female genital mutilation (FGM) may be defined as any procedure that involves the partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, as well as injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons (Abdulcadir, Sophie, Elise, Pallitto, Petiggnat & Say, 2017). FGM has been associated with several negative consequences such as chronic pain, keloid formation, reproductive tract and sexually transmitted infections, poor quality of sexual life, birth-related complications, psychological disorders, unintended labia fusion, psychological trauma and even death caused by excessive haemorrhage or infections (Klein, Helzner, Shayowitz, Kohlhoff, Tamar, & Smith, 2018). In view of all the negative consequences, FGM has been identified as a human rights violation in several international legal instruments. Among these are the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the European Convention on Human Rights, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. As a result of the

aforementioned legal framework, FGM has been outlawed in all countries, including Kenya. Furthermore, in Kenya, these instruments have been domesticated into the Constitution of Kenya, Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act (2011), the Sexual Offenses Act (2006) and Children's Act (2010, revised 2012).

Nevertheless, FGM continues to be practised in many countries in Africa and Asia as a deeply rooted socio cultural and religious requirement for girls and women. It is also found in Europe, the US and Canada among immigrant communities that usually fly their daughters back home to Africa and Asia to be circumcised (WHO, 2020). According to WHO (2018), FGM is so deeply embedded in communities that practice it, that many women and their families fear their daughters will not be marriageable if they have not undergone this practice. It is thought to be the only way to preserve family honour, a girl's virginity and her marriageability. In such communities, FGM is believed to help eliminate diseases, protect against infertility and even prevent birth-related complications (WHO, 2008).

Kenya is one of the countries in which FGM has been outlawed, through the Prohibition of FGM Act (2011), which prohibits FGM on women of any age, and criminalizes aiding, abetting or counselling a person who performs FGM (Republic of Kenya, 2011). It also criminalizes procurement of FGM; allowing the use of one's premises for performing FGM; failing to report cases of FGM; and the use of abusive or derogatory language against someone who has not undergone FGM. In addition, the Prohibition of FGM Act (2011) contains an extraterritoriality clause, banning any resident or citizen of Kenya from performing FGM outside the country. Violation of the law carries a penalty of imprisonment for up to seven years or a fine of KES 500,000.

Despite these tough legal measures, several Kenyan communities, such as the Kikuyu, Kamba, Turkana, Mijikenda, Somali, Kisii, Meru, Maasai, Taita, Taveta, Kalenjin, Embu and Kuria continue to practise FGM (Nenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2014; Nenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2014). Indeed, the criminalization of FGM appears to have only driven the practice underground, compounding the efforts to eliminate it, lending credence to the assertion by Shivachi, Sidha, & Ayabei (2019), that criminalization of social vices related to sexuality only drives them underground. Although national data shows a substantial decline in the prevalence of FGM among women aged 15-49 years between 1998 (38%) and 2014 (21%), the prevalence among the Abagusii (86%), Somali (94%), and Kuria (86%) has remained unacceptably high (KNBS & ICF Macro, 2018).

The quest to eradicate FGM is hampered by the cultural sensitivities surrounding the practice. In this regard, it is necessary to apply appropriate entry strategies into communities' communication channels, so that the anti-FGM message can be blended into these cultural sensitivities. One such entry strategy is community radio, which has been identified as an effective entry point and awareness tool for social change and development (Zamawe, Banda, & Dube, 2018). There is general conccensus that community radio programs often resonnate with the pulse of the community since they are a true reflection of their fears, concerns, values and aspirations, and connect with listeners in a meaningful and significant way (Macklin,2018;Bridget, 2019;Nirmala, 2015). This therefore puts community radio in a unique position of advantage in terms of reaching its audience, considering that the content tends to be largely local (Amadu & Amin, 2017; Bhaskar & Sukmaya, 2017; Smith, 2017).

However, for community radio to be an effective tool for social change communication, it is important for the content to be framed in a manner that will make it acceptable to its target audiences (Amadu & Amin, 2017). This study therefore sought to analyze anti-FGM content of a community radio which is based in a Kenyan community where FGM practice is still

common, with a view to understanding the extend to which framing influences the audience's reception of, and response to, content.

METHODS

This study employed the mixed method approach, which involved collecting and analysing both quantitative and qualitative data through a questionnaire, interviews, focus group discussions and a content analysis of radio programs. The study was conducted in the Kuria region of Migori County in Kenya. The Kuria region comprises of four sub-counties, which form part of the ten sub-counties in Migori County. The other six are Rongo, Awendo, Uriri, Suna-East, Suna-West, and Nyatike. Migori County is one of the forty-seven counties in Kenya, and is situated in the South-Western part of Kenya, bordering Homabay County to the North, Kisii and Narok Counties to the East and the Republic of Tanzania to the South. It also borders Lake Victoria to the West. The Kuria region was purposively selected for this study because it is predominantly inhabited by the Kuria community, which is one of the communities that continues to practice FGM in Kenya. In the study area, the study focused on Togotane FM, which is the only community radio in the region.

The sample size for the study was 399 respondents, which was arrived at using the formula $n = N/1+N (e)^2$ (Yamane, 1967). Data were obtained from the main respondents – household heads through a semi-structured questionnaire and FGDs. This was complemented by key informant interviews with Togotane FM's management and programing staff, as well as community own resource persons. A detailed content analysis was also carried out on Togotane FM programs. In the content analysis, the researcher listened to programs on the radio station for two weeks, with the aid of an interpreter. All ethical considerations were duly observed. Quantitative data were analyzed with the Statistics Package for Social Sciences, and are hereby presented in Tables and graphs. Qualitative data were analyzed thematically, and are presented in narrative form.

RESULTS

A detailed content analysis of Togotane FM's programs identified Togotane FM's program lineup as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Program line-up at Togotane FM

Day	Time	Program	Content	Language of Delivery
WEEKDAYS	5am-9am	Ikihita *(the gate)*	Politics, newspaper review, latest happenings	Predominantly Kuria, with a little Kiswahili
	9am-12:45pm	Tabataba	Social issues affecting society, live debates	Predominantly Kuria, with a little Kiswahili
	12:45pm-1pm	Esegere	News	Kuria
	1pm-4pm	The Wire	Bongo music	Predominantly Kiswahili, with some Kuria
	4pm-8pm	The Reggae	Social issues with music interludes, specifically reggae music	Predominantly Kuria, with a little Kiswahili
	8pm-12am	Omogeka	Marriage issues	Predominantly Kuria, with a little Kiswahili
SATURDAYS	5am-9am	Esabato	Gospel songs and preaching	Kikuria
	9am-11am	Sauti ya Watoto	Childrens program	Kiswahili
	11am-2pm	Agakare	Kuria culture/heritage (past and present	Kikuria
	2pm-4pm		Traditional Kuria songs	Kikuria
	4pm-7pm	Michezo	Sports	Kikuria

	7pm-9pm	Gospel	Teachings and songs in Kuria	Kikuria
	9pm – 5am		Music	
SUNDAYS	5am-10am	Amaitagirio	Preachings	Kikuria
	10am-1pm		Rhumba music	Predominantly Kuria, with a little Kiswahili
	1pm-4pm	Sports	Sports	Predominantly Kuria, with a little Kiswahili
	4pm-7pm	Gospel Mix	Catholic songs	Predominantly Kuria, with a little Kiswahili
	7pm-10pm	Gospel Drive	Gospel music	Swahili
	10pm-12pm	Top 20	Music and entertainement	Kikuria
	12pm-5am		Music	

As can be seen in Table 1, Togotane FM has six fixed programs during weekdays, which remain unchanged throughout the week. It is however instructive to note that while the radio station has only six programs during weekdays, the content is quite diverse, as confirmed by the multiple data sources. From Table 1, it is also clear that Togotane FM does not have any program dedicated specifically to FGM. However, there was general consensus among respondents that some of the programs, specifically *Ikihita, Tabataba* and *Omogeka* occasionally have FGM content.

The *Ikihita* program actually contains diverse content, ranging from current affairs or news, to political commentaries and newspapers reviews. In addition, the program also has call-in sessions during which listeners make live calls and participate in discussions on topical issues. The study established that the topics of discussion during the *Ikihita* program range from politics to social issues. The study noted that while the topic of FGM featured occasionally during the *Ikihita* show, the discussion was not detailed and tended to be very brief, limited to news items about incidents associated to the FGM season that the study established was underway during data collection.

The *Tabataba* program on the other hand is more of a live-debates show, during which the presenter hosts individuals or groups to discuss topical issues. When asked the criteria for inviting guests to the show, the station manager responded thus:

> *"We always strive to invite experts who can address the specific issues that are trending in public spaces at any particular time. We therefore try very much to invite people who are knowledgeable on the specific trending issue, so that they can not only shed more light to our listeners, but also be engaged in candid discussions by our audience. For instance, we invite lawyers to discuss BBI. Regarding FGM, we usually invite anti-FGM advocates from different NGOs and CBOs."* KII informant from Togotane FM.

Different Approaches to Framing of anti-FGM Messages

In confirmation of the response above, the radio station hosted experts on the *Tabataba* show to discuss FGM on at least seven different occasions in the two weeks during which the researcher listened in. As was confirmed by qualitative data and observation, the period of data collection coincided with the season during which young girls are usually taken into isolation for FGM. In keeping with the sentiments by the station manager, it was noted during the study that the invited guests tended to fall in four different categories: 1) government

officials; 2) anti-FGM crusaders from a local NGO that runs anti-FGM programs in the Kuria region; 3) members of a local women's group; 4) women who have had experiences with FGM either at a personal level as survivors or through the experiences of close relatives/friends.

The content analysis reveals two different approaches to framing of anti-FGM messages by the different categories of experts/guests. The first two categories: government officials and anti-FGM crusaders from a local NGO, adopted a threatening communication approach. In this approach, the crux of their message was the negative consequences of FGM. In this sense, the framers of the message aimed at reducing the complexity of FGM to a graspable and plausible simple, and dangerous medical and criminal act. The experts in these two categories focused on giving information about the biological and legal dangers of the practice, as well as details of how girls can access rescue services.

In the alternative approach to framing, the second and third categories of guests took an experiences sharing approach, in which they the message they presented was that it was possible to live a socially and economically healthy life without having to undergo FGM. In this second approach, the guests appeared to dwell on real life experiences of local girls and women who had been rescued, or otherwise managed to avoid FGM, and successfully engaged socially and economically. The main thrust of the message was to debunk the myth that failing to undergo FGM would negatively affect a woman's marriageability, married life and social integration.

An analysis of feedback patterns reveals an interesting phenomenon, with lower rates being registered for guests who adopted the threating communication approach, as seen in Figure 1.
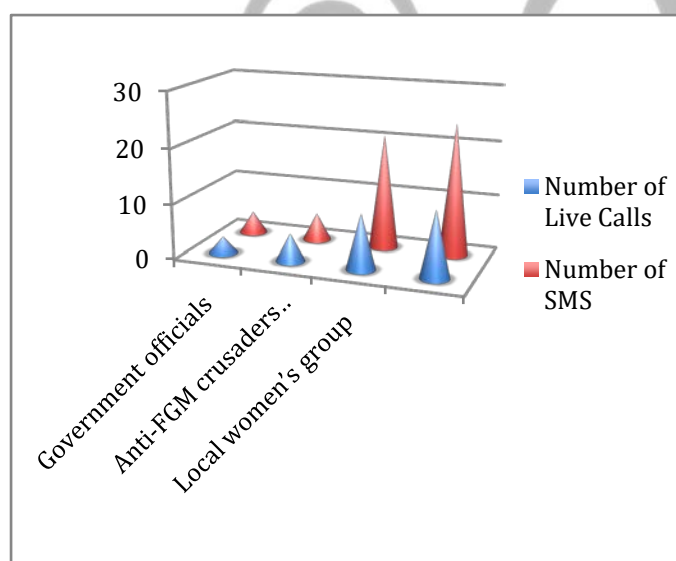

Figure 1: *Feedback patterns during shows hosted by experts on Togotane FM*

As can be seen in Figure 1, live audience feedback was remarkably lower whenever government and NGO officials were on the show, compared to that received by members of the local women's group or women with personal experiences. The study noted that government and NGO officials covered topics ranging from the biophysical and psychological dangers of FGM, to the legal implications of engaging in the practice. On the other hand, members of the women group, as well as the women with personal experiences, tended to focus on sharing their and other women/girls experiences with FGM, as well as the success stories of women and girls who had been rescued from FGM.

Qualitative data obtained from FGDs reveal the important role of frames in understanding the differentiated live audience feedback, and how frames influence the conceptualization of the anti-GM messages. It emerged that framing the message as threatening communication was not eliciting much feedback from the audience, because they did not perceive the message as portraying any real danger. For most of the respondents, threats regarding the biophysical and legal consequences of FGM were not seen as either unreal or abstract. In the words of one female FGD participant: "*If you walk around in Kuria land right now, you will see many*

groups of people openly singing and dancing as they celebrate the newly initiates. Were it true that they can arrest and jail people for FGM, then they will arrest almost everyone in Kuria" Regarding biological and physical the dangers associated with FGM, qualitative data from FGDs revealed that many respondents do not believe that FGM is harmful. In fact, one elderly female respondent even averred that argued that the criminalization of FGM was responsible for the negative outcomes of the practice. According to the said respondent: "*before female circumcision was declared illegal, we never used to see any injuries or deaths resulting from the same. However, ever since they made it illegal, we are seeing a few injuries because some circumcisers operate in fear of being arrested, therefore conduct the procedure in unsafe places*"

The apparent nonchalant response to the declared biophysical and legal perils of FGM is consistent Wiite's extended parallel process model (Witte, 1992) and the stage model of processing of fear-arousing communications (de Hoog, Stroebe, & de Wit, 2007). These two models postulate that threatening communication is not effective if the perceived threat is not severe and one believes oneself not to be susceptible to it. While these two models appear to suggest that higher threat messages are more effective than lower threat messages, Goldenbeld, Divera, and Sjoerd (2008); as well as Ruiter, Kessels, Peters, and Kok (2014) aver that higher threat messages are counterproductive because when the message is too extreme, the audience might either ignore it altogether, rationalize their resistence to it, or engage in risk denial. In this study therefore, it is evident that framing the message to elicit fear from the audience does not appear to be realizing it's desired objective, as suggested by Peters, Ruiter, and Kok (2012), who completely discourage the use of threat appeal, arguing that it is highly ineffective.

Furthermore, the attempt by government officials and NGOs to portray FGM as a biophysical and leagal phenomenon does not appear to be effective. As revealed by FGDs, members of the local community perceive FGM to be a socio-cultural, albeit biophysical, but not legal matter.

As noted in the study, many of the callers were concerned about the cultural implications of discarding FGM. One particular caller said:

> *"We the Kuria people have been conducting this practice since time immemorial. The main purpose of the practice is to train our young girls to be responsible and respectable members of our society. This is why Kuria girls are very disciplined and make very good wives. Now, if we discard the practice, what are we replacing it with? How are we going to ensure that our girls are brought up well, as our culture demands?"*

This concern with the cultural implications of doing away with FGM kept emerging in discussions, especially in the *Omogeka* show, which was more in-house because the discussions did not involve any experts. It was however noted that whenever this concern was raised, it elicited a heated discussion, which tended to take a genderized dimension. On all occasions during which the cultural debate emerged, male callers tended to favour retaining the practice for the purpose of preserving Kuria culture, while female callers were more concerned about the biological and physical dangers of FGM.

Choice of language also emerged as an important dimension of framing in this study. It was noted during content analysis that some of the experts who were invited to discuss FGM on the *Tabataba* show were not speakers of the local Kuria language. The study further noted that whenever such a speaker was on the show, the level of participation was remarkably lower, than when the expert was a speaker of the local Kuria language. In this regard

therefore, this finding concurs with Winskel, Ratitamkul, Brambley, Nagarachinda, & Tiencharoen (2016); Catterson (2018); Fry (2020); and Mwendwa, Mutea, Kaimuri, Brun, and Kroll (2020), that language constitutes an important aspect of framing, and that audiences communities tend to identify more strongly with information if it is conveyed in a language within their schematic context.

Anti-FGM Messages and Perceptions towards FGM

The study sought to establish if Togotane FM's anti-FGM messages affected perceptions towards FGM. To achieve this, the study first sought to establish if the audience perceived Togotane FM's anti-FGM content as being appropriate and adequate by. Respondents were asked to rate four key indicators on a scale of 1-5, where 1 was equivalent to very poor; 2 was poor; 3 neutral; 4 good; and 5 represented excellent. The indicators of appropriateness ranged from timing of programs with anti-FGM content to the depth and delivery of the content. Findings on each of these were as presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Respondents' rating of appropriateness of Togotane FM's anti FGM content

Indicators of Appropriateness	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation
The timing of programs with anti-FGM content is appropriate	346	1	5	2.4148	.83497
Togotane FMs anti-FGM content covers all the relevant topics related to FGM	346	2	5	3.8097	.76498
The presenters demonstrate knowledge of the subject matter	346	2	5	3.4192	.76827
The delivery of the anti-FGM content is done in an interesting and captivating manner	346	1	5	2.9271	.67341

Data in Table 2 shows that in all the indicators, perceptions towards the appropriateness of Togotane FM's anti-FGM content were rated moderately, with a mean ranging from 2.4 to 3.8, with closer concentration of individual observations (standard deviation $\leq$ 1). More importantly data in Table 2 raised pertinent issues related to message framing and delivery, as discussed below.

The first pertinent issue related to message framing and delivery is timing. The importance of timing is underpinned by the fact that it will influence the choice and use of language. As can be seen in Table 2, a majority of the respondents remained neutral on whether the timing of Togotane FMs anti FGM content is appropriate. Qualitative data further revealed a lack of consensus among respondents on the most appropriate timing of FGM content. Further probing in FGDs showed that some respondents felt strongly that FGM-related matters should be aired late in the evening, because FGM is a sensitive topic. However, other respondents felt, equally strongly, that FGM is a matter of concern to the entire family, since it affects even very young girls, and should be featured in family shows that are aired much earlier in the day. Nevertheless, data from key informants unveiled greater consensus, with all of them arguing that FGM is a family matter, and should be discussed openly in family shows, albeit in moderated language.

This study therefore reveals the existence of divergent opinions on the matter of timing of FGM content. On the one hand, the bearers of FGM messages, being radio presenters and experts in FGM, strongly believe that the content is universal and should be aired to the

general population, during family shows. On the other hand, there is lack of consensus among the listeners, with the latter being divided almost in the middle on the matter.

Regarding the delivery of the content, the aggregate mean score was 2.9271, with a standard deviation of 0.67341. This implies that respondents could neither agree nor disagree that FGM content was delivered in an interesting and captivating manner. This could be related to the fact that, as confirmed by qualitative data, respondents were rating the experts who are usually invited to discuss anti-FGM matters, and not Togotane FM radio presenters. Qualitative data obtained from key informants further confirmed that indeed, the experts were not trained in media, and might therefore not have the technique necessary for such presentations. This is a very crucial matter in relation to message framing since the use of trained journalists in content delivery might affect message presentation.

Qualitative data however revealed greater consensus on the actual content of FGM messages. For instance, there was general agreement that the content covers all the important topics related to FGM; and that the presenters demonstrate a good depth of knowledge of FGM matters. In this respect, qualitative data clarified that respondents were referring specifically to the experts invited to the station, especially the *Tabataba* show. In this regard, qualitative data confirmed the data in Table 2, which shows that more than half the respondents (mean 3.8097, with a standard Deviation of 0.76498) felt that the content covers all the relevant topics. Similarly, as shown in Table 4.8, more than half of the respondents (mean of 3.4192 with a standard deviation of .76827) were in agreement that the presenters are knowledgeable on FGM.

Having established that the content is adequate, and tat the presenters are knowledgeable about the subject the study sought to find out if Togotane FM's anti-FGM content had influenced respondents to take some form of action regarding FGM. Their responses are presented in Figure 1.
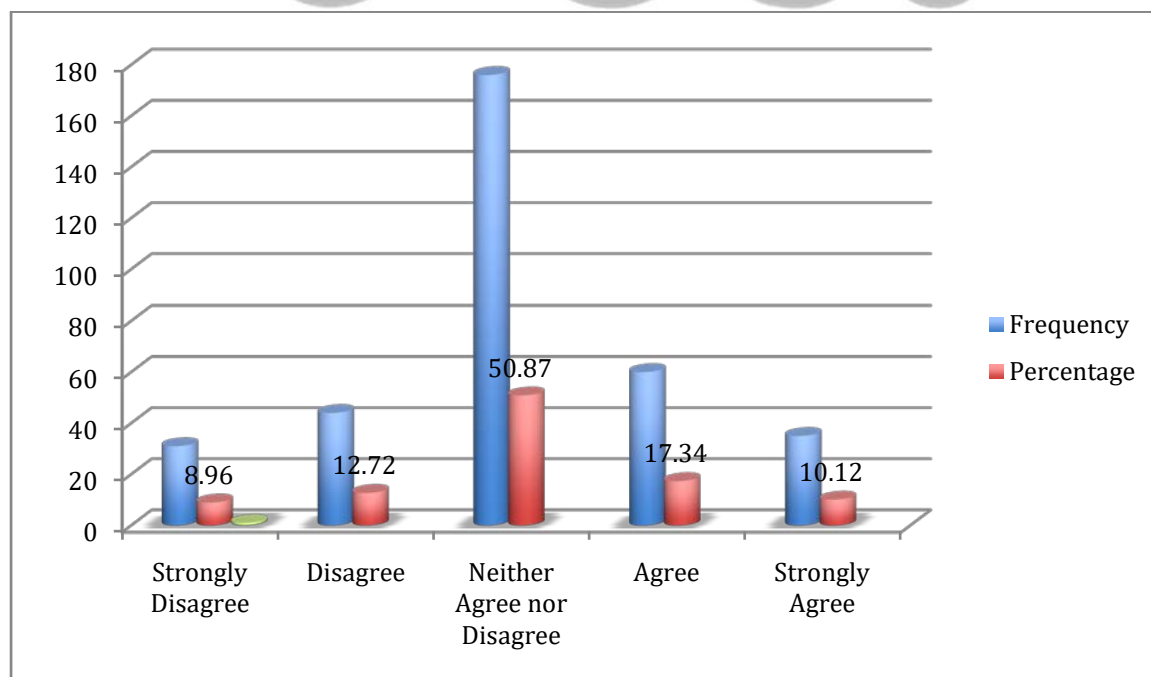

Figure 2: Togotane FM's anti FGM programs have made me take action about FGM

Data in Figure 2 presents somewhat of a paradox. As was earlier shown in Table 2, more than half of the respondents (mean of 3.8097, with a standard Deviation of 0.76498) were in agreement that Togotane FM's FGM content covers all the relevant topics, and that the presenters are knowledgeable on FGM. However, Figure 2 shows that half of the respondents could neither agree nor disagree that the programs had influenced them to take any action on FGM. As seen in Figure 2, only one tenth (10.12%) strongly agreed that the station's ant-FGM content had influenced them to take some action on FGM. Furthermore, slightly less than one fifth agreed that the station's anti-FGM content had influenced them to take action on FGM.

While the information in Figure 2 does not conclusively say that Togotane FM's anti-FGM programs did not influence respondents to take action on FGM, it also does not say that respondents were influenced to take action. This finding contradicts previous results from studies such as Khan *et al.,* (2017); Backhouse (2019); and Sarrassat, *et al.,* (2018) all of which found that community based radio strongly influence listeners to take positive action regarding targeted behaviour. The results of this study as presented in Figure 2 therefore, neither agree nor disagree with the aforementioned studies that community radio is an influential agent for behavior change.

Similar inconclusive results in relation to behavior change were further noted, as presented in Table 3. On a likert scale of 1 – 5, respondents were asked to state if Togotane FM's anti FGM had helped them acquire new knowledge and if this had changed their perception about FGM. Results are as presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Audience's response to Togotane FM's anti FGM content

Times	Value	Frequency	Percentage
Togotane FM's anti-FGM content has helped me acquire new knowledge on FGM			
Strongly disagree	1	33	**9.54**
Disagree	2	52	**15.03**
Neither agree nor disagree	3	67	**19.36**
Agree	4	109	**31.50**
Strongly agree	5	77	**22.25**
No response	--	08	**2.31**
Total		**346**	**100**
N: 346 Mean: 3.42899	**Standard Deviation: 0.6936**		
Togotane FM's anti FGM content has changed my perception about FGM			
Strongly disagree	1	30	8.67
Disagree	2	56	16.18
Neither agree nor disagree	3	201	58.09
Agree	4	37	10.69
Strongly agree	5	17	4.91
No response	--	5	1.45
Total		**346**	**100**
N: 346 Mean: 2.82659	**Standard Deviation: 0.48739**		

As can be seen in Table 3, slightly more than half (53.75%) of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that the anti-FGM content on Togotane FM had helped them acquire new knowledge on FGM. Only a quarter (24.57%) of the respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, implying that they had not acquired any new knowledge on FGM from Togotane FM. Table 3 further shows that only a quarter (15.6%) of the

respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that Togotane anti-FM's FGM content had changed their perceptions about FGM. More than half of the respondents (58.09%) remained non-committal, neither agreeing nor disagreeing that Togotane FM's anti-FGM programs had changed their perception about FGM. This is interesting since slightly more than half asserted that they had learned something new about FGM from Togotane FM. Considering that more than half of the respondents have learnt something new about the dangers and disadvantages of FGM, it would be expected that a corresponding proportion (more than half) of them, would have changed their perceptions about FGM. As can be seen in Table 3, approximately one quarter (24.85%) either disagreed or strongly disagreed that Togotane FM's anti-FGM programs. This finding contradicts the results of previous studies by Tsegyu and Asemah (2018); and Agyapong & Turkson (2018), who found that community radio contributed to a change in attitude among local farmers in Ethiopia, helped to create awareness on new farming technology in Ghana, respectively.

CONCLUSION

Based on the aforementioned findings, this study concludes that frames have an important role to play in message conceptualization and delivery. The framing of anti-FGM messages on Togotane FM influenced the reception of the same by the audience, who were similarly influenced by their own frames. It is therefore recommended that behaviour change communication should take time to understand the frames of target audiences while conceptualizing and framing messages.

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