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Community Radio: A Critical Analysis of the Relationship Between Funding Sources, Programming and Developmental Role

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Media Studies

Johannesburg, 1 October 2019

Abstract

The normative function of community radio is to, inter alia, play a developmental role in the community it serves. Playing a developmental role is among the key distinctions between community radio and its public and commercial counterparts. The medium is expected to respond to the needs of the community it serves, rather than the demands of its funders or any other interests. However, the challenge to be financially sustainable has forced community radio to gravitate towards responding to the needs of funding sources, be they commercial, in the form of advertising and sponsorship, NGO donors or government institutions. This has led to several accusations being levelled against the sector: community radio is operating in the same space as its public and commercial counterparts; its programming and editorial content are influenced by funding sources; it's commercial radio in disguise; and most importantly, it no longer plays its community development role. This study critical analysis the relationship between funding sources, programming and editorial content and the developmental role of community radio. The research reveals a sector in serious financial distress. In some cases, at least, funding sources play a critical role in programming and editorial content choices of community radio stations. This has, indeed, posed serious challenges to the stations' ability to pursue their developmental role. The research revealed the need for urgent interventions to return community radio to its normative role.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own work. It is submitted for the Master of Arts Degree in Journalism and Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any form.

Signed: ----------

(Enoch A. Sithole)

Johannesburg, 1 October 2019

Acknowledgements

“It always seems impossible until it’s done” – Nelson Mandela.

It has been a long-held dream to return to the classroom. There have been many false starts throughout the years. I thank God, the Almighty, that this time I was able to bring it this far.

I wish to thank all who have encouraged me: My children, Carolina, Arashaat and Kashifa. My friends, particularly, Phil Molefe and Gabu Tugwana.

Professors Lesly Cowling, Franz Kruger and Anton Harber have been great, and without their prompt support I would not have gathered the courage to come this far. My supervisor, Dr Bob Wekesa, has been a superb teacher, a major source knowledge and inspiration. His knowledge of media studies is unparalleled and came in very handy as I went about doing this research. I owe all of them a debt of gratitude.

To my late mother: This is for you because you always rejoiced at my pursuit of education even when you get lost as to what I was really studying.

Having come this far, *A luta continua,* to borrow from the great Samora Machel.

Table of Contents

Abstract i
Acknowledgements iii
List of Abbreviations viii
List of Tables ix
List of Figures x
Chapter 1: Introduction 1
1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 Rationale 2
1.3 Research Problem 9
1.4 Research Question 10
1.5 Aims and Objectives 11
Chapter 2: Radio background 13
2.1 Introduction 13
2.2 The Origins of Radio 13
2.3 The Arrival of Radio in Africa 16
2.4 Financial Challenges of Early Radio in South Africa 18
2.5 Community Media for the Struggle 21
2.5.1 Origins of Community Radio 22
2.5.2 Community Radio in South Africa 27
2.6 The Future of Community Radio in South Africa 32
Chapter 3: Literature Review 33
3.1 Introduction 33

3.4 Political Economy Theory..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

3.4.1 Funding of Radio ..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

3.4.2 Political Economy of Community Radio ..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

3.4.3 Funding of Community Radio ..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

3.4.4 NGO Funding..... 40

3.4.5 Government Funding 41

3.4.6 Community Funding..... 42

3.4.7 European Experience of Funding Community Radio**Error! Bookmark not defined.**

3.5 Communication for Development..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

3.5.1 Community Radio in Communication for Development**Error! Bookmark not defined.**

3.6 Conclusion ..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

Chapter 4: Theoretical framework 54

4.1 Introduction 54

4.2 Theoretical Framework Model..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

Chapter 5: Methodology 69

5.1 Case Study Approach 71

5.2 Qualitative Research Method..... 71

5.3 Selection of Respondents 74

5.3.1 Radio Islam..... 75

5.3.2 Kasie FM..... 75

5.4 In-Depth Interview Questions..... 75

Chapter 6: Data analysis and findings..... 77

6.1 Introduction 77

6.2 Funding of Community Radio..... 77

6.3 State Funding..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
6.4 Case Studies..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
6.4.1 Kasie FM..... 79
6.4.2 Radio Islam International..... 82
6.5 Media Frames..... 87
6.5.1 News Frames..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
6.5.2 Lifestyle Programming..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
6.5.3 Entertainment..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
6.6 Programming..... 87
6.6.1 Radio Islam Programming..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
6.6.2. Kasie FM Programming..... 92
6.7 The Interviews..... 95
6.7.1 Radio Islam funding sources..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
6.7.2 Kasie FM..... 89
6.8 Document Analysis..... 96
6.8.1 Radio Islam..... 96
6.8.2 GCIS Dashboard..... 97
6.8.3. MDDA Annual Report 2017–2018..... 97
Chapter 7: Discussion and conclusion..... 101
7.1 Limitations..... 76
7.2 Further Research..... 104
References..... 105
Appendix 1: Station officials questions..... 122
Appendix 2: Listeners questions..... 125

List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAMECO	Catholic Media Council
CASET	Cassette Education Trust
CIMA	Centre for International Media Assistance
GCIS	Government Communication and Information System
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
MDDA	Media Diversity and Development Agency
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation

List of Tables

Table 1 An analysis of the status of community radio in the European Union (Lewis, 2008 in Buckley, 2009)..... 44
Table 2 Community radio advertising revenue (MDDA, 2018, p. 54) 77
Table 3 GCIS spending on community radio (L. Klaas, personal communication, 8 November, 2018) 78
Table 4 Growth of the population of Lenasia (SAHO, 2016) 85
Table 5 Percentage distribution of religious affiliation (BusinessTech, 2016)..... 86

List of Figures

Figure 1 Sources of community radio funding (Gondwe and Mavinddize, 2014, p. 25) .. 4
Figure 2 US digital radio listenership (XappMedia, 2015, p. 4) 15
Figure 3 Cost of annual TV licence fee (Noricity, 2011) 35
Figure 4 Per capita public funding for public broadcasters (Nordicity, 2011)..... 37
Figure 5 Commercial revenue as a share of total public funding of public broadcasters (Nordicity, 2011) 37
Figure 6 The link between community media and human development (Milan, 2009, p. 601) 66
Figure 7 The current model ..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
Figure 8 The ideal model..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
Figure 9 Map of Kathorus (Google, 2018) 81
Figure 10 Map of Lenasia (Google, 2018) 84
Figure 11 Radio Islam programming spread 92
Figure 12 Kasie FM programming spread 94

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study by outlining the rationale, research problem, research questions, and the aims and objectives of the research.

Community radio in South Africa was established to be one of the three pillars of the country's broadcasting system, together with public and commercial broadcasting (Independent Broadcasting Authority [IBA] Act 153 of 1993 and the Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999). In line with international practices, the sector is engendered to help advance community development through ensuring the seamless flow of information and the facilitation of participatory democracy. This is regarded as one of the key developmental roles that community radio is expected to play. However, faced with daily realties, community radio is sometimes pushed sideways. In this regard, the following questions have arisen: Has community radio lived up to expectations? Is it staying true to its intended role?

Concerns of funding challenges driving the sector away from its intended role led to this study. Therefore, the aim of this study is to establish empirical evidence of the relationship between funding sources, programming and the developmental role of community radio.

The study was conducted with a sample of two community radio stations, namely Kasie FM and Radio Islam. The former is a geographical community station, while the latter is a community of interest service. The two stations from the two distinct types have been chosen to represent their respective categories – geographic community and community of interest. This is important to establish which of the two types is better positioned, or not, to play the developmental. This sample, however small, is supported by extensive literature review that addresses the issue in a wider scale.

Through interviews with various role-players and analyses of literature, the study has found that there is a relationship between funding sources, programming and the developmental role of community radio. The respondents at the two stations did not concede that their stations' programming and editorial content were influenced by funding

sources, thereby negatively impacting their developmental role, but they did, at least allege, that the practice was widespread in the sector. Mr Milo Morewane, Kasie FM's head of sales and marketing, said during the interview that "most radio stations compromise on principles (the developmental role among them), but we stick to our licence conditions". Mr Ismael Variava, Radio Islam's public relations and communications manager, insisted that Radio Islam did not allow interference in their programming, but argued that "community radio (in general) is not playing its developmental role", and that there was a tendency to become commercial to satisfy advertisers.

Several community radio stations broadcast syndicated programming in the form of paid-for-advertorial content which is produced outside the stations without their editorial input.

Among the major players in the syndication schemes are religious groups and the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS). The scheme is apparently allowed by the regulator with a proviso that it the syndicated content should be limited to 20 percent of a stations total schedule. Although GCIS maintains that the content it sells to community stations is of a developmental nature, without the stations' input in its production, the principle of editorial independence appears violated.

Literature about experiences in other jurisdictions on the African continent revealed that non-commercial funders in the form of Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) donors have also played a role in influencing the programming and editorial content of community radio stations. Although in most cases these would be developmental NGOs, their influence meant that stations were more answerable to their needs rather than those of the communities served by the radio stations (Da Costa, 2012).

1.2 Rationale

Jozi FM is South Africa's largest community radio station with an audience of 551 000, according to the Radio Audience Measurement (RAM), April-September 2018. Like most community radio stations, Jozi FM is structured as a non-profit entity governed by a board of directors elected by the community. It has adopted a resolutely commercial approach, which enabled it to reach a revenue of R5 million by 2007, which amounted to 70 percent

of its income. However, the station has been criticised for losing touch with its mission of community service. As a result, the station faced mass demonstrations by disgruntled community members (Ntshangase, 2009, p. 48 – 50 in Kruger, Monji and Smurthwaite, 2013, p. 9).

This anecdote is an illustration of the fact that communities expect their stations to play a specific role instead of being swayed by commercial and other interests.

The financial sustainability of community radio in South Africa has been a burning issue that is said to threaten not only the role but the survival of the sector. In April 2018, state broadcasting signal distribution company Sentech switched off 15 community radio stations that owed R33 million in signal distribution fees (Hedley, 2018). This prompted the intervention of the then communications minister, Ms Nomvula Mokonyane, who set in motion a process to find ways to rescue the sector.

Community radio was forced to respond to financial challenges by catering to the needs of funding sources rather than those of the communities. The regulator, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA), has confirmed this assertion, charging that, with regards to programming content, community radio tended not to cater for the needs of the communities it is supposed to serve: “Over time, various radio stations appear not to cater for the specific needs of their communities” (ICASA, 2017, p. 33). Weinberg (2011), Price-Davis and Tacchi (2001), and Fombad and Jiyane (2016), among others, have raised similar concerns. Weinberg (2011, p. 5) suggested that, “in response to the hostile social and economic environment in which they operate, most (community) media projects adopt their financial survival as their primary strategic objective”. Fombad and Jiyane (2016) suggested that funding challenges have created a situation where community radio listeners suffered and migrated to better resourced stations. This can only suggest a deviation from the sector’s role, forced by financial sustainability challenges. Weinberg (2011, p. 5) discussed community radio’s role by citing the National Community Radio Forum’s (NCRF) charter that says:

The vision of the community radio sector is to advance participatory democracy towards sustainable development in communities. Participatory democracy encourages people to become involved in the decision-making process and to drive development. This means the station plays an active role in creating platforms for debate, discussion and the community is encouraged and empowered to shape their development and express their views freely.

As Figure 1 illustrates, Gondwe and Mavindidze (2014, p. 25) studied the funding sources of community radio in South Africa and found that advertising was the major source, followed by government grants, donations, sponsorships and some other unspecified commercial funding. The picture is the same in 2019 as it is discussed in Chapter 5.

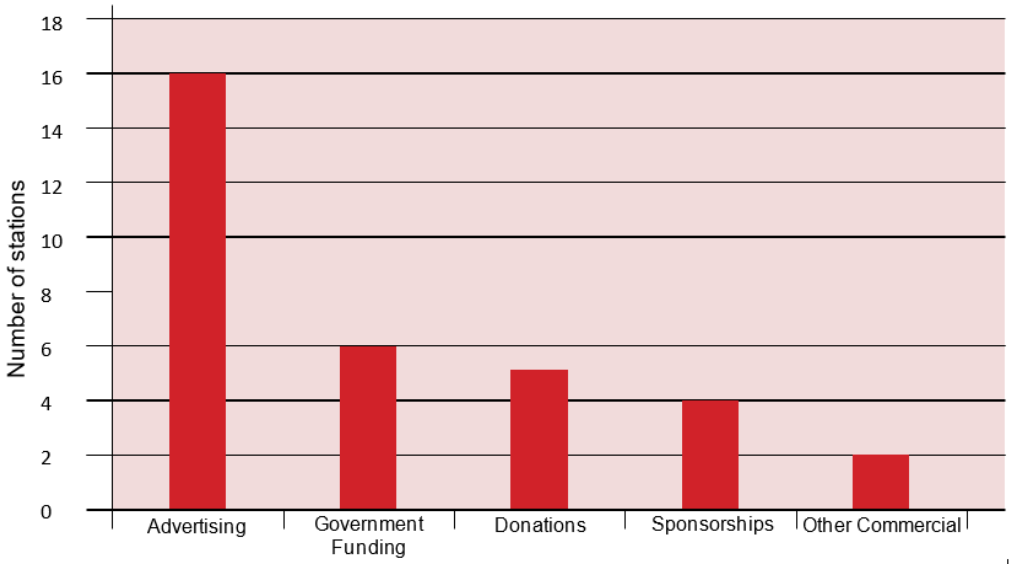


Figure 1: Sources of community radio funding (Gondwe & Mavindidze, 2014, p. 20)

The fact that advertising accounts for a lion's share of the funding of the sector, raises the question of the potentially deleterious effects of commercial advertising on the developmental role of community radio. Gondwe and Mavindidze (2014, p. 21) also suggested that community and commercial radio might be indistinguishable from each other, at least from a funding point of view. This raises the question as to whether community radio can be expected to play a different role from its commercial counterpart when they feed from the same source. Surely, advertisers would expect to get from community radio what they get from commercial radio for their buck.

An even bigger impulsion for community radio to dance to the tune of advertisers might be the fact that it does not seem to get its fair share vis-à-vis the audiences it delivers. A report by ICASA (2017) on audience share found that community broadcasting services, in general, encompassing radio and television, received a considerably lower share of advertising when compared with public and commercial broadcasters. Weinberg (2011, p. 5) suggested that one of the reasons for the poor advertising in community media was that advertising agencies responsible for the ad-spend of large corporations "perceive community media projects as ineffective vehicles for advertising", thus limiting the amount of advertising that is spent on the sector. Low advertising in community radio has exacerbated the sector's financial woes. Having to produce original local content, as part of its mandate, becomes a burden to a financially-afflicted sector. Original content tends to be relatively costly to produce compared to acquired programming.

In view of suggestions that community media is forced to approach financial sustainability as if it was its strategic objective (Weinberg, 2011, p. 7), the real question for this research is whether in such a sustainability scramble, has the sector stayed true to its developmental role? Put in other words: Can community radio be expected to play a non-commercial role, while bankrolled by commercial sources? These questions arise in view of studies and critical political economy theories that suggest that advertising, in particular, and funding sources, in general, often influence media content, directly or indirectly. El Gazzar (2009, p. 3) contends that while advertising gives mass media independence from government and other political interests, at the same time, it creates dependence on the commercial sector. He wrote: "Advertising is a fundamentally commercial activity. Advertisers purchase access to audiences assembled by media organisations, hoping to persuade consumers of media products to become consumers of their products as well". Herman and Chomsky (1994, p. 17 in Hadland, Cowling, & Tabe, 2007, p. 7) wrote of media creating "buying content" for their products, meaning that content is tailor-made to specifically sell certain products. This could be interpreted to mean that such content was merely designed to sell advertisers' products, without necessarily containing any developmental value. Advertisers are said to prefer those programmes "that will lightly entertain and thus fit in with the spirit of the primary purpose of programme purchases—the dissemination of a selling message" (Chomsky & Herman,

1988, p. 17). Other scholars believe that content driven by advertising imperatives can "deviate from or dilute" the primary orientation of a publication and steer it away from the relationship with its audiences (Hadland, Cowling, & Tabe, 2007, p. 72). In the case of community radio, such deviation and dilution could mean the impairment of its ability to play its developmental role. This is the crux of this research.

On the other hand, public and NGO sectors, which should be the largest contributors to advertising and sponsorship revenue for community radio, "either fail to realise the importance of communication of their programmes (through community media) or choose to spend their communication resources in traditional forms of mass media" (Weinberg, 2011, p. 5). The NGO sector would be the ideal for funding community media (Weinberg, 2011, p. 5), because it shares some of the goals of community radio, particularly the developmental aspect. The dissonance between the NGO sector and community radio is a cause for concern. NGO donor funding has been at hand to assist community radio in various countries on the African continent, but less so in South Africa.

In countries where NGO funding is prevalent, it has been linked to direct support of community broadcasting or within the framework of wider developmental assistance programmes (Jennings, 2015, p. 13). There is, however, criticism that assistance embedded in wider initiatives, tended to lead to the collapse of community stations once the objectives of the main programme have been achieved (Jennings, 2015, p. 13). While it seems noble to suggest that NGO funding would be the ideal funding partner of community radio, some reservations have been raised. Da Costa (2012), researched six East African radio stations and concluded that each of them was created and sustained by external (NGO) donations; the prevailing ownership model was not sustainable; and relationships between station staff and donors were stronger than the synergy between stations and their audiences. Mhagama (2004, pp. 62-63) discussed Siyaya FM, a KwaZulu-Natal-based community radio station, that depended on the resources of an external funding NGO and warned that "dependence upon finances of a larger body can lead to abrupt changes in the station's service to its local community being determined by considerations outside that community". Mhagama (2015, iii-iv) also found in Malawi that NGOs that provided funding for community stations had immense influence in driving their programmes rather than the needs of the community. Da Costa's (2012) findings suggest

a toxic relationship between funding sources, in this case NGOs, and the operational aspects of community radio stations. Price-Davis and Tacchi (2001, p. 54) noted that “as a struggling sector (financially) it is worth noting that innovative ways of maintaining community services are often utilised, and this makes a closer inspection worthwhile”. This clearly suggests that the sector needs to be studied to see how it performs in the face of financial challenges. This study aims to do just that.

Studying the implications of influence by funding sources cannot be limited to advertisers, government or NGOs. Funding from local donors also needs to be examined with the same lens. Weinberg (2011, p. 7) found that local donors often tended to dominate the programming and editorial content of community stations as a result of their financial contributions. “Local content in some community stations was dominated by parochial stories often with a bias to the concerns and prejudices of ratepayers or middleclass sections of the community,” he wrote. Da Costa (2012, p. 145) also warned that this funding approach could lead to “the development of a sector whose incentives are distorted and whose purpose will ultimately move away from the accepted definition and understanding of community radio”.

Public funding is another ideal source of financial support, according to various scholars. The South African government has been funding community media, including radio. In view of the sustainability crisis, the government has since been inundated with demands to increase funding of the sector (Hedley, 2018). Following the events of April 2018 when 15 radio stations were switched off because they owed Sentech transmission fees (Hedley, 2018), these demands have gained prominence, coming from a cross section of society. The official opposition, the Democratic Alliance (DA), has added to the cries, saying: “Government should be supporting community media and not stifle their voices. It is community radio stations and newspapers which empower our people and bring them to the centre of participating in the national debate” (Van Dyk, 2017). These demands fly in the face of theories that government funding of media is conducive to political interference in editorial control of media organisations. Despite fears of interference, government has been funding community radio in South Africa through various avenues, including through the Media Diversity and Development Agency (MDDA), advertising and sponsorship. The GCIS, for example, has over the years channelled millions of rand to

community radio through advertising of government messages and supplying of ready-packaged content. Community radio stations have gladly accepted the ready-packaged content because of the attractiveness of the income that accompanies it or a lack of expertise and resources to produce certain types of original programming (Weinberg, 2011, p. 9). While some of the content could be regarded as being developmental, the practice would appear to contradict the principle of editorial independence, which community radio is expected to observe. As argued above, the practice is certainly detrimental to the editorial independence and integrity of the stations and might not be conducive to the stations playing their developmental role.

The above scholarly interventions make it abundantly clear that funding sources, whoever they are, have a tendency of influencing programming and editorial content of community radio. The only question left to answer is what effect such influence has on the pivotal mission of community radio, which is to help in the development of the communities they are supposed to serve. While there are several positives that can be extracted from commercial, government or NGO funding, the discussion above shows that these funding sources are not blameless when it comes to constraining the community media sector's ability to fully play its developmental role. This pushes the sector into a situation where its conceptual framework based on development is under threat. The rationale for this study, therefore, is the need to:

a) Gather empirical evidence on whether there is indeed deviation by community radio from their developmental role as a result of funding sources' influence;
b) Collect the views of community radio practitioners and other stakeholders on how the situation could be addressed; and
c) Establish from stakeholders the measures that would be necessary to avoid state interference in the operations of community radio, should the sector be dependent on government funding, following demands of increased government funding.

The study is calculated to contribute to the ongoing debate about the ideal mechanisms of funding community radio so that it can continue, or return, to fully playing its developmental role.

1.3 Research problem

In any research project, one of the first tasks is to find a question, an unresolved controversy, a gap in knowledge or an unanswered need within the chosen subject. “This is an area of conflict, concern, or controversy—a gap between what is wanted and what is observed” (Fischler, 2011, p. 2).

Thus, a research problem is a statement about an area of concern, a condition to be improved, a difficulty to be eliminated, or a troubling question that exists in scholarly literature, theory, or practice that point to the need for meaningful understanding and deliberate investigation.

As afore stated, this research concerns the relationship between funding sources, programming and editorial content of community radio and how these enable or inhibit the stations’ ability to play their developmental role.

The developmental role of community radio in South Africa is outlined in several documents, such as the IBA Act 153 of 1993 and the Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999. Buckley (2000) has argued that the concept of community radio in South Africa was justified on constitutional, social and “development grounds” considering the country’s diversity in languages, cultures and religions spread in nine provinces and tribes. However, experience of the past 25 years since the inception of community radio has raised many questions about its programming and editorial content and therefore its role. Bosch (2017, p. 65) said there had been no research in South Africa about the impact of community radio station programming. Therein lies the research gap or problem.

This study is a step in the direction of finding some of the answers that are missing as a result of the absence of research about the broader question of the impact of community radio, as suggested by Bosch (2017, p. 65). Weinberg (2011), for example, studied community media in general, made observations about similar aspects and reached several general conclusions. The research gap left by Weinberg’s study is of whether there is any impact of funding sources on programming and editorial content of community radio, which results in the deviating from its developmental role. This gap is closely aligned to the research question.

1.4 Research Question

Although there are many questions that can be asked about community radio, a specific research question is needed for this study to ensure that the research is focused, the methodology is determined, and all stages of the process adequately guided. The research question should be clear, focused, concise, complex and be the question around which the research is centred (Hung & Popp, 2017).

Emanating from the topic of the study, which is to conduct a critical analysis of the relationship between funding sources, programming and developmental role of community radio, this study's main research question is: What is the relationship between funding sources, programming and editorial content and the developmental role of community radio? The sub-questions are:

> i) Is community radio in South Africa able to play its developmental role in view of the possible influence of its funding sources?
>
> ii) If not, what are the views of community radio practitioners and other stakeholders on how the situation could be remedied?
>
> iii) In view of demands for increased government funding of the sector, what are the views of stakeholders on the measures that would be necessary to avoid state interference in the operations of community radio, should the sector be dependent on government funding?
>
> iv) What is meant by developmental role of community radio, generally, and in the context of the sector in South Africa today?

The research question and sub-questions were crafted to ensure that:

- Specific concerns on the issue being studied are addressed;
- The questions are clear on what the study seeks to establish about the specific issue; and
- Ensure that the questions are answerable.

Detailed questionnaires for the interviews were drafted in line with the main research question and sub-questions (see Appendices 1 and 2).

In order to adequately contextualise the research question, the report discusses in detail the conceptual meaning of developmental role of community radio in Chapters 3 and 4. Here, it will suffice to state that the developmental role of community radio is recognised in most characterisations of the sector. The world's authority on the subject of development, the United Nations Education and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), says community radio's developmental role centres on its providing transparency and demanding accountability from public officials and private companies (UNESCO, 2015).

While the regulator, ICASA, does not specifically stipulate the developmental role of community radio stations in their licence conditions, the founding legislation (Broadcasting Act 153 of 1993) of the medium makes this role abundantly clear. This will be discussed in later sections of this report.

1.5 Aims and Objectives

Based on the stated research question, this study is an attempt to understand whether the community radio sector in South Africa continues to play its developmental role in view of the fact that its funding sources might have an influence on programming and editorial content. The sector can only play its developmental role through its programming and editorial content. Thus, if programming and editorial content are compromised, the sector's role is likely to also be compromised. Without belabouring the point, but stressing it for clarity, several studies on the funding sources of community radio in the country, such as that of Gondwe & Mavindidze (2014, p. 20) have concluded that the sector was heavily dependent on advertising. Such dependence on this source of funding raises questions about whether the sector's developmental role can prevail over the interests of the funding sources. The said question come against the background that advertising, in particular, but other funding sources in general, is known to influence content decisions of media organisations. Weinberg (2011, p. 5) discussed the subject as follows:

> The dependence on the whims of individuals controlling advertising budgets severely impacts on the editorial independence of media projects as they are loath to offend those with money and are prepared to broadcast/publish almost any content that comes with sponsorship.

Chomsky and Herman (1988) discussed the role of advertising in informing the editorial content of the media and suggested that in order to get privileged readers to see the advertisements, media organs publish whatever content is most conducive to attracting affluent audiences with spending power. Stories that conflict with their "buying mood", argued Chomsky and Herman (1988), will tend to be marginalised or excluded, along with information that does not coincide with advertisers' interests. Equally, Da Costa (2012), Mhagama (2015) and Weinberg (2011) have also discussed influences that NGO, government and other donor funding can exert on programming and editorial content of community radio. In this study, the claims will be tested with the respondents.

In view of the theoretical concepts about the relationship between advertising as a funding source of media entities and the reported sustainability crisis in the sector, the study's aims and objectives were to probe the likely conflict that could result from the sector's funding sources' influencing programming and editorial content, thus compromising its developmental role.

The study will make a contribution to the body of knowledge of the funding issues facing the sector; the general state of community radio in South Africa vis-à-vis its developmental role; and inform further research on finding ideal funding mechanisms that will place the sector in a better position to play its developmental role.

CHAPTER 2: RADIO BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

The medium of radio is credited with forming local communities and enabling the formation of national and transnational communities that interact with the local community (Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo, 2011, p. 102). The medium has made several contributions to societal development. In Africa, radio is the “medium of choice”, and despite several technological advancements, access to radio “far outstrips computer and mobile phone access throughout the population of Sub-Saharan Africa” (Myers, 2009, in Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo, 2011, p. 102).

This chapter aims to give the context of the developmental role of community radio by offering a historical perspective of the medium of radio, in general, and the community radio sector, in particular. Here, the origins of radio, various definitions, characteristics and role of community radio in the world and in South Africa are traced. The status of community radio in South Africa vis-à-vis the research question is also sketched.

2.2 Origins and future of radio

The advent of radio is a result of various technological advancements, not a single discovery (Maitra, 1998, p. 1). Similarly, wireless communication was not invented by any individual but as the result of a number of contributions by scientists from many countries (Maitra, 1998, p. 1). Radio technology started in 1864 when James Clerk Maxwell, a Scottish mathematician and physicist, theorised that when electricity passed through a wire, it gave off invisible waves under certain circumstances (Spiker, 2000). Then, in about 1887, German technician, Heinrich Hertz, proved that energy (and thus sound) could be sent point to point without using wires (Spiker, 2000). Despite these early conceptualisations, all the credit for the invention of radio seems to have gone to Italian Guglielmo Marconi (1874–1937), who successfully transmitted wireless signals in his radiotelegraphy experiments between 1895 and 1899. However, for some, not even Marconi deserves the credit. Wood (2004) argued that the question of who invented radio was quite controversial, because in 1893, inventor Nikolai Tesla demonstrated a wireless

radio in St. Louis, Missouri (USA) (Deffree, 2019). Maitra (1998, p. 2) also stated that Marconi was not the first to use electromagnetic waves for wireless communication. The first patent connected with wireless telegraphy in the USA was issued on 20 July 1872 to Mahlom Loomis, 15 years ahead of Hertz's first experiment with electromagnetic waves (Maitra, 1998, p. 3). Despite these developments, Marconi is often credited as the father and inventor of radio (Wood, 2004). Marconi was given the very first wireless telegraphy patent in England in 1896 (Harris, 2016) and is believed to be the first person to transmit signals across the Atlantic Ocean (Wood, 2004).

During World War I (28 July 1914–11 November 1918) the medium proved useful with the military employing radio almost exclusively for communication. It became an invaluable tool for sending and receiving messages to and from the armed forces (Wood, 2004). After the war, radio was primarily used to contact ships that were out at sea and increasingly became a civilian communication tool. It spread throughout the world thereafter (Wood, 2004).

In those early years, radio was the new kid on the block in the communication business, disrupting the way information was circulated. As the medium grew in relevance in the 1930s, it led to the "press-radio war" (Jackaway, 1994, p. 299), broadly speaking, media wars. Media wars are conflicts between existing and emerging media industries and take place at times of technological innovation in the communication industry. These wars have often occurred with the introduction of almost every new medium in the 20th century (Jackaway, 1994, p. 299). The emergence and steady growth of radio in America meant a challenge to the century-old monopoly that newspapers had in the dissemination of information and the resulting financial rewards. Not surprisingly, print journalists were irate and spent nearly a decade trying to block the emergence of broadcast journalism in America. While one of the reasons for the said media wars was economic in that newspapers feared losing out on advertising revenue, there was also the issue of social power and control with newspapers fearing the loss of control of the channels of communication (Jackaway, 1994, p. 300). The new media (radio) threatened to, and eventually did, disrupt not just economic patterns but also patterns of social communication (Jackaway, 1994, p. 307).

Having prevailed in the media wars and other challenges, radio has entered its second century, moving with the times. It's now in the digital space along with its print and audio-visual counterparts. Radio's evolving with the new technology has led to the question of whether digital radio is about to replace the traditional airwaves radio (Pizzi, 2010, p. 1). The answer is not a straightforward one, but it seems internet radio will not replace broadcasting radio, although it appears that mobile internet's impact on radio will be significant, and should not be ignored by broadcasters (Pizzi, 2010, p. 1). Despite this view, some countries are gradually moving away from the traditional airwaves to internet radio. Norway is leading the world in digital radio, having started the migration from FM transmission to internet throughout the entire country. Denmark, Switzerland and Britain were due to follow suit in (The Local, 2017). In the US, internet listenership has reached new highs at 160 million listeners in 2016, representing 50 percent of the US population and 63 percent of internet users. The medium was expected to grow its audience to 183 million by 2018 (Xapp Media, 2015).

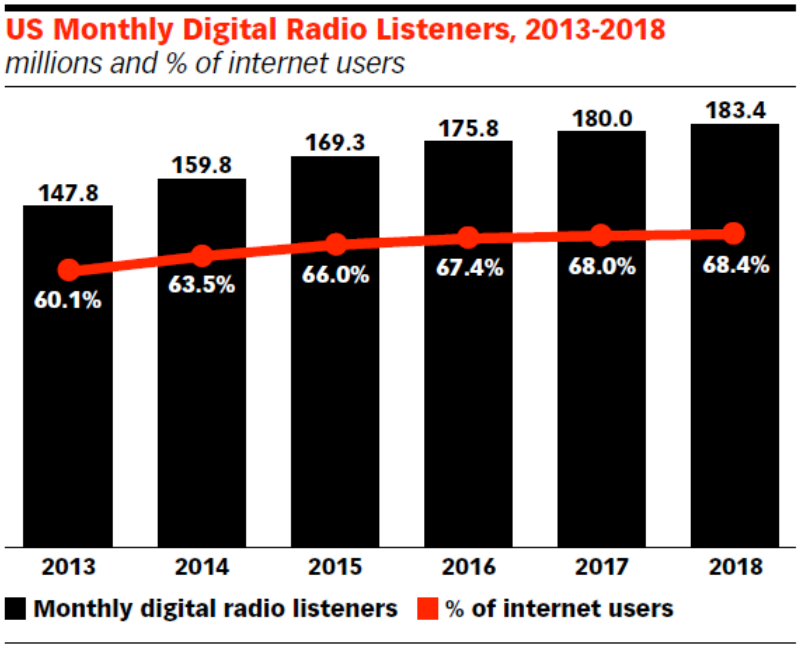


Figure 2: US digital radio listenership (XappMedia, 2015, p. 4)

In South Africa, radio has joined the digital superhighway with several stations available online. Internet radio in South Africa is divided between traditional airwaves radio stations streaming online and stations available exclusively online. The number of stations

broadcasting exclusively online has been steadily growing. There were over a dozen such stations at the time of writing this report. Internet radio penetration in the country stood at 26,5 percent, compared to a world average of 42,3 percent (Bosch, 2017, p. 127). However, internet radio is not as popular in South Africa due to, among others, huge data costs and varying internet speeds (Bosch, 2017, p.130). Community radio has also joined the digital revolution with several stations listenable online.

2.3 The arrival of radio in Africa

Radio is Africa's medium of choice because it is able to overcome the main communication barriers of poverty, illiteracy and linguistic diversity (Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo, 2011). It is hence that community radio, in particular, is viewed as developmental in that it is better positioned to overcome these barriers in grassroots communities.

Radio reportedly entered Africa through South Africa and in 1924 the medium was launched in South Africa. The broadcast was launched at 9pm on 1 July in Johannesburg with a music programme (Rosenthal, 1974, p. 1).

Kenya followed in 1927, Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) in 1932 and Mozambique in 1933. Some French and Belgian colonies followed in subsequent years (Mytton, 2008, p. 2). However, during its early days, the medium only broadcast programmes for colonial expatriates, not the indigenous population of the continent:

> It wasn't until World War II that radio broadcasting was tailored to the needs of people in Africa. People wanted local news but also information about the theatres of war where their relatives and friends had gone to fight. Afrikaans was the first African language to be used in a radio broadcast on the continent, because during the war, the British government needed to counterbalance the pro-Nazi stands taken by some Afrikaners. (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], n.d.)

The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was established in 1936, modelled on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). However, Mytton (2008, p. 3) said the SABC departed from the BBC's operational model, being dogged by political influence and commercialisation: "First, it was never far from political influence and control, both of

which increased during the years of apartheid. Second, it soon began commercial services designed to make a profit to supplement licence fee income for broadcasting."

Widespread private ownership of radio stations was experienced much later in Africa, in 1987. Before then, there were only about five or six privately-owned radio stations on the continent, in the Gambia, South Africa, Swaziland and Liberia (Mytton, 2008, p, 8).

Public radio is dominant on the continent. Independent radio is spreading fast assuming some of these five characteristics: i) commercial stations that seek to make a profit from airtime sales and sponsorship; ii) religious stations, mainly Christian, that use the medium to promote their faith; iii) community radio that mainly plays a developmental role; iv) factional or clandestine radio stations that are used to promote a particular faction in conflict situations; and v) humanitarian radio that was started as a counter to factional radio to promote peace, democracy and harmony among communities. Factional or clandestine radio is also known as "hate radio", because it has been used to promote ethnic hatred, as was the case in Rwanda in 1994 leading to the well-publicised genocide (Mytton, 2008, p. 10).

With regards to programming and editorial content, radio on the continent has been used for government propaganda purposes through several decades, although it has also been instrumental in the promotion of music, local languages and culture. It has supported development and has been used in campaigns against disease epidemics. In recent years, radio's activities in this regard have been curbed by financial constraints. On the negative side, the medium has been used during military coups when it was used to broadcast messages announcing the occurrences and mobilising for public support (Mytton, 2008, pp. 11-13).

Community radio is the fastest growing category on the continent, ahead of its public and commercial counterparts. The sector grew by 1 386% between 2000 and 2006, beating commercial radio that grew by 360 percent during the same period (Meyers, 2011, in Da Costa, 2012, p. 139). The community sector operates in an environment that is dictated by donors. In terms of public appeal, the airwaves on the continent are dominated by more accessible commercial radio stations (Conrad, 2011 in Da Costa, 2012, 139). Conrad (2011) also found during a study of community radio on the continent that there

was a “prevalence of top-down approaches to establishing certain stations, a lack of sufficient community ownership and leadership, funding constraints and distorted incentives” (Da Costa, 2012, p. 140). Conrad’s findings are among the reasons that make this sort of study compelling: To critically analyse the relationship between funding sources programming and the developmental role of community radio in South Africa.

2.4 Early radio’s financial challenges in South Africa

The story of radio in South Africa seems to have always contained a chapter on financial challenges. Since its beginnings, the medium has had financial challenges to contend with. A historical overview of the medium in the country will help give a historical context of today’s financial challenges in community radio.

On 1 July 1924 the first radio station in South Africa called JB was started as a privately-owned operation under a company known as AS & T Broadcasting (Rosenthal, 1974, p. 1). This was not the first broadcast using wireless technology in the country, because the first was in 1899 through an invention by engineer Edward Alfred Jennings (Rosenthal, 1974, p. 6). He transmitted a radio signal to 10 kilometres away. There was also a wireless facility at the Royal Navy base in Simon’s Town in 1904. In 1910, another transmission station was established in Durban to communicate with ships at sea, while in 1921 the first “proper” station for wireless technology was established in Port Elizabeth. Jennings invented wireless technology independently of Marconi, (Rosenthal, 1974, p. 2) who is regarded as having initiated the first radio transmission between 1895 and 1899.

On 18 December 1923, the South African Railways in partnership with the Western Electric Company and assisted by wireless amateurs and local musicians, organised a series of radio broadcasts to raise funds for the British Empire Exhibition that was to take place in Wembley, England, the following year (Mhlambi, 2015, p. 11). According to Mishkind (2011), the Scientific and Technical Club, based in Johannesburg, took over the broadcast on 1 July 1924, when JB radio station was launched, thus becoming the first radio station in the country and effectively on the continent. The Cape Peninsula Broadcasting Association started a similar service in Cape Town on 15 September 1924.

In Durban, the first broadcast was on 10 December 1924. Revenue for the three early stations came from listeners' licence fees (Mishkind, 2011).

As stated above, money challenges seem to have followed the industry from its early days in South Africa. The country's three broadcasts could not generate enough revenue from listeners' licence fees to make them financially viable. In a notice published by *The Broadcaster*, a broadcasting journal of the time, there was a complaint about a lack of payment of licence fees, which posed a financial threat to the Durban station: "We find that only 340 licences have been taken out in Durban so far. Judging by this, we begin to think that people want something for nothing" (Rosenthal, 1974, p. 100). John Roberts of the Durban-based broadcaster further moaned about the cost of broadcasting amid the poor payment of licence fees:

> The difficulty in the way of broadcasting is that it falls in the category of entertainment or services, like balloon ascends or aeroplane flights, for which it is almost impossible to collect revenue from those who may have witnessed it. A listener to broadcasting has only to buy an inexpensive appliance and rig up a simple aerial to get all the messages. The government can impose a yearly licence fee for the use of these appliances, but it is likely that a good many will evade payment (Rosenthal, 1974, p. 100).

At the same time, the Cape Peninsula Broadcasting Association Limited issued an appeal to listeners, saying: "We cannot give you of our best, unless we have money. Become a subscriber to your nearest station and do all you can to persuade your friends to follow suit" (Rosenthal, 1974, pp. 100–101). The Johannesburg-based broadcast was in an even worst situation, leading to its voluntarily liquidation on 31 January 1927 (Rosenthal, 1974, p. 101).

Isidore William Schlesinger, a heavy weight in the entertainment industry, came to the rescue by taking over the Johannesburg broadcaster under his company named African Broadcasting Company Limited (ABC), resuming broadcasts on 4 April 1927, after a two months closure. Rosenthal (1974, p. 113) said the ABC was immensely successful in the beginning, leading to their taking over the Cape Town station on 1 June1927, and the Durban one 12 days later on 13 June. The two were also faced with financial difficulties.

Nonetheless, the financial difficulties persisted with subscriptions growing at a snail's pace and creating a cashflow crunch for the now national broadcaster, the ABC. Responding to the financial crises, prime minister, General Johannes Albertus Munnik Hertzog ordered an inquiry into all aspects of broadcasting in South Africa. The enquiry led to the establishment of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in 1936 (Mishkind, 2011). The new national, publicly owned broadcaster was started with seeds of exclusion following a stipulation that all its broadcasts should be made in Afrikaans, departing from English, which was the main broadcast language of the ABC (Mishkind, 2011). At the time, Afrikaans was by far a minority language. No African indigenous languages were introduced at this stage. Bosch (2006 citing Tomaselli et al.,1987) said the history of radio and television in South Africa between the formation of the SABC and the early 1990s was linked to the then ruling National Party's strategies for their continued existence and dominance. The exclusive use of Afrikaans was clearly part of this strategy.

It was only on 1 August 1952, that the first broadcast for black people was established. The early broadcasts in black African languages were made in IsiZulu, IsiXhosa and SeSotho to sections of South Africa's largest township of Soweto, west of Johannesburg. From 1 June 1962, broadcasts were made in SeTswana and SePedi from Pretoria. This was followed on 1 January 1963, with a IsiZulu broadcasting from Durban and from 1 June 1963, IsiXhosa from Grahamstown. In February 1965, broadcasts in TshiVenda and XiTsonga were inaugurated from studios in Johannesburg and also transmitted from studios in the Northern Transvaal (present day Limpopo province) (Mishkind, 2011).

Public radio services under the SABC underwent a major transformation from state to public broadcasters in the mid-1990s, following the demise of apartheid. These services broadcast mainly in indigenous languages as well as English and Afrikaans. The stations had been created along tribal lines based on apartheid government's Bantustan system. In the post-apartheid dispensation, they were aligned into language stations.

The SABC financed radio through licence fees and advertising revenue, departing from the BBC model of funding public broadcasting through licence fees only (Mytton, 2008, p. 11). In 1978, two years after television was started, radio licence fees were abolished and replaced by television licence fees (Infogalactic, 2014). However, increasing

broadcasting costs necessitated that the national broadcaster looked at other sources of revenue. Thus, the SABC started commercial radio services in the mid-1980s. Revenue generated from the commercial radio services, along with advertising and television licence fee income, was used to cross-subsidise the loss-making public broadcasting stations. In 1995, the SABC was directed by the regulator to sell six of its commercial stations to private broadcasters to boost the post-apartheid government's efforts to liberalise the airwaves by breaking down the state monopoly on broadcasting (Mampone, 2005).

As part of the liberalisation of the airwaves drive, the regulator also issued several commercial radio licences to new stations.

Radio has since evolved tremendously in South Africa, with some 10 million households having radio sets and millions more listen from other devices. This penetration is higher than that of television, print media and the internet combined (Stuart & Chotia, 2017, p. 69).

Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo (2011, p. 147 said radio in South Africa had linked homes to distant industrial workplaces and had "unintentionally spread" the emerging black popular culture of consumerism, fashion, drama and music.

Despite the historical financial pressures, the medium has by and large held its own. It would be a tragedy if it was to succumb to the whims of commerce and abandon the communities it has been serving.

2.5 Community media for the struggle

Community radio, as part of community media in South Africa, was born from the struggle against apartheid: "It [community media] was an instrument of protest" (Bosch, 2006, p. 249). Despite SABC's monopoly of the airwaves (and the mainstream commercial press), South Africa has a rich history of alternative print media that flourished in the 1980s in support of the anti-apartheid struggle (Bosch, 2006, p. 250). Alternative news sources openly supported mass-based political opposition (Jacobs, 1999 in Bosch, 2006, p. 250). Print media was not only cheaper to produce, but easier to operate clandestinely in view of the apartheid state's prohibition of alternative media voices. Bosch (2006, p.

250), “publications and pamphlets could easily be reproduced using photocopy machines and distributed via existing networks”. Using broadcasting was not as easy for anti-apartheid activists because of the cost of equipment and the need to use airwaves that were under state control.

Nevertheless, anti-apartheid activists tried to use the medium on various occasions during the struggle as the discussion in the sections below illustrates.

2.5.1 Characteristics and origins of community radio

Community radio has over the years been defined in different ways by various scholars and industry practitioners. Most of them, however, agree that this is a service by the community and for the community. In political theory, said Tucker (2013, p. 392), community radio “provides an alternative conception of democratic participation and deliberation, crucially providing a tool for increasing public deliberation and communication”. Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002, p.2) defined community radio by distinguishing it from other forms of broadcasting: “It is a non-profit service owned and managed by a particular community, either through a trust or a foundation”. Community management of the service and the fact that its operations rely mainly on the community’s own resources, has also been added to the definition (Tabing, 2002, p. 12). Programming is premised on audience access and participation and reflects the interests and special needs of the community (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002). Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002, p. 70) identified the following principal functions of community radio:

- Reflecting and promoting local identity, character and culture by focusing principally on local content;
- Creating a diversity of voices and opinions on the air through its openness and participation from all sectors (in the community);
- Encouraging open dialogue and democratic process by providing an independent platform for interactive discussion about matters and decisions of importance to the community;
- Promoting social change and development;

- Promoting good governance and civil society by playing a community watchdog role that makes local authorities and politicians more conscious of their public responsibilities;
- Sharing information and innovation; and;
- Giving voice to the voiceless, especially to women and young people in some societies.

Most definitions agree that community radio should be characterised by its independence from government or commercial interests and by its developmental role (Buckley, 2008). Another crucial characteristic is that it should serve specific community interests, either geographic communities or communities of interest (Buckley, 2008; IBA Act, 1993). Assemble Mondiale des Artesans des Radio Communautaraires (World Assembly of Community Radio Broadcasters) (AMARC) and Panos Southern Africa (1998, p. 13) defined community as follows: “In relation to community radio, the term ‘community’ refers to a collective or a group of people sharing common characters and/or interests”. The sample for this study was based on one community of interest radio station, Radio Islam International, and one geographic community, Kasie FM.

Community radio should operate for social benefit, rather than for private profit (AMARC, 1998, 14). It should also enable community participation in programme-making and management (Tabing, 2002, 11). The developmental role is also stressed in South Africa’s legislation that gives effect to community broadcasting. The Independent Broadcasting Authority Act 153 of 1993 states that community broadcasting services should focus on the provision of programmes that highlight grassroots community issues, including developmental issues. Therefore, given the centrality of the developmental role of the sector, it is crucial that its funding sources, programming and editorial content are geared to support, rather than detract it from this mission.

There have been many forms of community radio in various parts of the world. AMARC (1998, p. 19) argued that in some African countries there have been rural radio stations that were established and controlled by governments and broadcast crucial (developmental) programming, but these could not be classified as community radio

stations because they lacked community involvement in various aspects of their management.

The medium has also been accused of drifting towards commercialisation. In this regard, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) has taken issue with the way community stations approached their commercial activities, saying it was the same as commercial radio. MISA argued that in South Africa, there were “community radios that might be simply commercial radio in disguise” (Berger, 1996). MISA was commenting on the fact that most community radio stations in South Africa pursued the same sources of funding as commercial stations and carried similar programming content. This seemingly tended to have their developmental role compromised.

Generally speaking, community radio is started, run and used by the community to serve its needs. Buckley (2008, p. 14) put it as follows: “Community broadcasting is broadcasting, which is for, by and about the community, whose ownership and control is representative of the community, which pursues a social development agenda, and which is for non-profit”. Citing Fraser and Estrada (2001), Girard (2007) and Teer-Tomaselli (2009), Tavhiso (2009, p. 54) argued that community radio’s “specific focus is to make its audience the main protagonists, by their involvement in all aspects of its management, programme production and providing them with a programming that will help in the development and social advancement of their community”.

Some of the characteristics of a community radio station are that it must be based in the community, not for profit, independent, pro-community, participatory, and owned and managed by the community (Tavhiso, 2009, p. 20). AMARC (1998, pp. 16-17) concurred with Tavhiso (2009, p, 20), but listed only three characteristics, namely non-profit, community ownership and control, and community participation. For example, AMARC (1998, 19) argued that there are doubts in some of the characteristics that are often attributed to community radio, in that some such stations maybe started by governments, but serve community needs, and members of the community are involved in their operations. There could also be privately-owned community stations that for all intents and purposes serve the needs of the community and may or may not be for profit (AMARC, 1998, p. 16). Generating a profit could even be encouraged in that community

stations are meant to be financially sustainable to function effectively and independently (AMARC,1998, p. 17): “It does not mean that a radio station cannot generate income in excess of its basic expenditure, it rather means that any income generated has to be ploughed back into the project”. In a discussion about financial sustainability, CIMA (2007, p.12) cited a community radio leader suggesting that sustainability should not be about financial success only but include social and institutional aspects. Arguing that ensuring financial sustainability is not the primary objective of a community station, one radio developer noted that “thinking about your listeners by providing them with engaging programmes is the best way to ensure financial sustainability” (CIMA, 2007, p. 13).

Writing for UNESCO, Tabing (2002, p. 12) identified what she called “distinct features of community radio” as being facilities and sources of support. With regards to facilities, a community radio station uses basic production and transmission equipment appropriate for the size and the needs of the audience community (Tabing, 2002, p. 12). Transmission equipment would usually comprise a low power transmitter of 20 to 100 watts. Production equipment could range from a tape recorder to a single studio with an audio mixer, tape decks, CD player and microphones (Tabing, 2002, p. 12). In regard to sources of support, Tabing (2002, p. 12) said that funding would normally come from individuals within the community, organisations, advertisements, sponsorship or donations.

The origins of community radio are difficult to pin down. Some historical data traces the medium’s start to as early as the 1940s in Latin America when the Bolivian miners’ radio stations were launched (Buckley, 2008, p. 1). Stories of the Pacific Network (of radio stations) in the United States of America, “free radio” in France and Italy, and the experiences of Australia and Ireland all form part of what is regarded as the early beginnings of community radio in the world (Buckley, 2008, p. 1).

Buckley (2008, p. 1) suggested that beyond Latin America with the miners’ radios “there was no experience of community radio in the developing world”.

In Latin America, community radio was known as “the people’s radio” and became the voice of the voiceless and the poor as well as a tool for development (Mhagama, 2004, p. 32). *Radio Baha’i*, a community station located in Otavalo, Ecuador, was started in 1977 with the aim of promoting and maintaining the values, dignity, and culture of rural

Ecuadorians, promoting basic education, delivering social services, distributing developmental information and serving as a centre for the exchange of local news and information (Fisher, 1990, p. 20, in Mhagama, 2004, p. 33). The station cemented its base in the community by broadcasting in Quichua, the local language, and maintaining listener loyalty (Fisher, 1990, p. 20, in Mhagama, 2004, p. 33). The local news broadcasts contained stories about lost children, livestock, or property and community activities. These stories were broadcasted free of charge, thereby prompting many listeners to travel long distances to deliver their messages to the station and to interact with the station staff (Fisher, 1990, p. 20, in Mhagama, 2004, p. 33). In the Caribbean, the Jamaican community radio project was launched in 1979 with the aim of involving farmers in agricultural development (Mhagama, 2004, p. 33).

In Asia, the Mahaweli Community Radio was established in Sri Lanka in 1981 to, among other tasks, encourage farmers to actively take part in the developmental process and to strengthen the country's rice improvement scheme (Fisher, 1990, in Mhagama, 2004, p. 33). Fisher (1990, in Mhagama 2004, p. 33) added that the programmes of the radio station also covered developmental information, agricultural news, irrigation methods, inland fishing, animal husbandry, health, nutrition and much more.

India got its first community radio when Radio Nagercoil was established in 1984 in rural Tamilnadu to function as a mouthpiece for the local community (Mhagama, 2004, p. 34). It was established as an affiliate of All India Radio. Most programmes in Radio Nagercoil community station field-based, produced with the aid of producers who would "conduct field participant-observer studies of the people and their needs, culture and lifestyles" (Fisher, 1990, in Mhagama, 2004, p. 34). The station also made room for community access in the making of programmes with the help of local producers. Local artists, orators and musicians were given airtime to perform or make speeches. The station also served as a two-way channel of communication between development agencies and the local community (Fisher, 1990, p. 21 in Mhagama, 2004, p. 36).

In Africa, the origins of community radio can be traced to Homa Bay Community Radio Station that was established in western Kenya in 1982 by the government (AMARC, 1998, p. 12). In the same year, Mali and Benin reportedly launched community stations. But

according to AMARC (1998, p. 12), other community radio initiatives with government involvement existed in Mozambique shortly after its 1975 independence from Portugal. However, the examples of Kenya and Mozambique would appear to contradict AMARC's own assertion that radio stations started by the government for communities cannot be defined as community radio (AMARC, 1998, p. 19).

The advent of community radio is in response to various forms of marginalisation by the mainstream and state media. It is also situated at the heart of communities' cry for self-development, hence the normative developmental role.

2.5.2 Community radio in South Africa

Community radio in South Africa was born from the quest to communicate amid political repression and censorship of the media. According to AMARC (1998, p. p. 14), the apartheid regime used the SABC as a monopoly to control the broadcasting industry. This led to the establishment of community radio as a tool for development by communities from the historically disadvantaged black majority (AMARC, 1998, p. 14).

Back in 1963, leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) sought to use the medium to communicate messages to the masses to urge them to continue with the struggle despite the banning of the liberation movement (Lekhoathi, 2012, p. 552). The idea of using broadcast media as one of the strategies within the liberation movement, in South Africa, came after the post-Sharpeville massacre (1960) era, where other strategies to fight apartheid, such as the armed struggle were adopted (Lekhoathi, 2012, p. 552). The ANC also wanted to counter the apartheid government's usage of the SABC as its propaganda tool. "Considering these developments, the ANC and its allies were compelled to challenge the state's monopoly over the airwaves and to establish a broadcast medium that would present their perspectives on news and current affairs to counter state propaganda (Lekhoathi, 2012, p. 552).

On 26 June 1963, a group of engineers led by Rivonia trialist Denis Goldberg manufactured a mobile radio transmitter and launched a radio service in Parktown, Johannesburg (Lekhoathi, 2012, p. 552). The broadcast, called *Eye for an Eye Broadcast*,

comprised of recorded messages from Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada (Lekhoathi, 2012, p. 552; Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo, 2011, p. 226). The clandestine radio broadcast lasted only 15 days before it was closed down and its equipment confiscated by apartheid regime security forces (Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo, 2011, p. p. 226, Lekhoathi, 2012, p. 552). This was the birth of Radio Freedom. Apartheid prosecutors used the broadcasts and confiscated equipment as evidence against ANC leaders during the Rivonia trial (Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo, 2011, p. 226).

The ANC was only able to go back to radio in June 1967 when it launched (some might say re-launched) Radio Freedom, broadcasting from the ANC's exile headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia (Lekhoathi, 2012, p. 556). The station initially broadcast for 15 minutes, three times a week, transmitting messages from the exiled leadership of the ANC to thousands of people back in South Africa, who cared to listen. It used long-ranging shortwave radio frequencies. It broadcast from countries such as in Tanzania, Angola, Zambia, Ethiopia and Madagascar, using equipment from public radio stations (Klaas, 2019). Radio Freedom closed down in August 1991 following the unbanning of the ANC. Some of its equipment that was used in Madagascar, was brought to South Africa in 2019 and is kept at the Freedom Park Museum (Klaas, 2019). In what seems to be a suggestion that today's community radio was a continuation of Radio Freedom, Klaas (2019) said Radio Freedom "handed over the baton" to Bush Radio (a community station) in 1992.

The idea of community radio in the country was conceptualised in the 1980s by anti-apartheid activists. They started by experimenting with electronic media by producing and distributing cassette tapes containing speeches from banned struggle leaders as well as outlawed music and revolutionary poetry in Cape Town (Bosch, 2006, p. 255). The tapes were produced by the Cassette Education Trust (CASET). The organisation was started in 1989, producing audiotapes with recordings of conferences and political meetings, local music poetry and story-telling. "At this stage, CASET played an important role in its provision of alternative information not available elsewhere" (Bosch, 2006, p. 256). During the 1990-1993 period, activists behind the CASET initiative considered expanding into a radio broadcast. In August 1993, University of the Western Cape students pressurised the government to issue them with a broadcasting licence for the eventual Bush Radio. The apartheid government refused to issue the licence, yet it had issued licences to two

right-wing groups. In defiance, the students launched Bush Radio on 25 April 1993 (Bosch, 2006, p. 261) without a licence. Apartheid authorities reportedly arrived within a few hours of the launching of the broadcast to confiscate the station's equipment. No one was arrested, as E. Gorfinkel cited by in Bosch (2006, p 261) suggested: "The tide of history was going in the other direction; nobody was going to be going to jail". He meant that after the unbanning of several anti-apartheid organisations in 1990, the apartheid government was no longer keen on arresting people for political or related activities.

The move towards introduce a new broadcasting dispensation started shortly after the unbanning of the liberation movement in 1990 (South African History Online [SAHO], 1996) amid a clear indication that apartheid was about to come to an end. Such a move was the convening of the Jabulani Freedom of the Airwaves conference by the ANC in The Netherlands in 1991, to discuss the future of broadcasting in post-apartheid South Africa (Horwitz, 2004, p. 129).

Informed by the Jabulani Conference and other initiatives, the multi-party negotiations to end apartheid (O'Mally Archives, n.d.) took up the issue of a post-apartheid broadcasting dispensation and pushed for the establishment of the country's first sovereign regulator, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in 1993. The regulator had the task of planning and managing all the broadcast frequencies in the country by "determining which frequencies will be assigned, in which areas, and for which type of broadcasting service—public, private or community" (O'Mally Archives, n.d.). According to Barnett (1999, in Bosch, 2006, p. 262), "the formation of the IBA was particularly crucial to the transformation of broadcasting in South Africa and for the licencing of community radio". Bosch (2006, p. 262) said "changes in the political and social terrain during this transition period formed the backdrop for the reconstruction of the broadcasting industry".

Community broadcasting, including community radio, was recognised in the new legal provisions that created the IBA (IBA Act, 1993). The IBA was later renamed the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) to encompass both broadcasting and telecommunications regulation (Department of Communication, 2013). The regulator issued community radio broadcasting licences to various applicants. Some 275 stations are on air according ICASA (2017, p. 17), although the GCIS has identified

330 stations (see Appendix 3), some of which are operating illegally without proper licences from the regulator.

Bosc (2017, p. 53) citing the Broadcast Research Council of South Africa (n.d.), offered the following breakdown:

Province	Number of stations	No. of listeners ('000s)
Northern Cape	11	266
Free State	19	507
North West	24	903
Mpumalanga	26	583
Limpopo	32	941
Eastern Cape	33	1 603
KwaZulu-Natal	33	1 045
Western Cape	43	1 496
Gauteng	51	1 771
Total	**272**	**9 115**

Figure 3: Community radio stations in South Africa.

While there may be some success stories, the sector is beset by difficulties that speak to the current research, namely funding sources impacting on programming and possibly compromising the developmental role of community radio. A document produced by ICASA in 2017 to start the process of conducting an inquiry into the reviewing of the existing community broadcasting regulatory framework, revealed that despite numerous achievements, community stations in the country were faced with a myriad of challenges. To begin with, while ICASA has 275 community radio stations on its records (ICASA, 2017, p. 17), but the GCIS has recorded 330 community radio stations that it said were on air in the country (see Appendix 3). This exposes a massive crisis in the sector where the regulator does know of the existence of 55 radio stations, if the GCIS' figures are

correct. Of the 330 stations, only 148 operate with a valid broadcasting licence issued by ICASA. Some 108 of the 330 are either broadcasting with an expired ICASA licence or never had one. The legal status of the remaining 74 stations is unknown, according to the GCIS document. In view of government stipulations that only radio stations that are properly licenced and have their tax affairs in order, only 92 stations in the country would be eligible to receive any form of state funding. This leaves a total 237 radio stations deemed delinquent as far as some laws of the country are concerned. As a result, they cannot get any form of state funding, either advertising, donations or sponsorship. This means that even if the government had enough money to spend on the sector, over 200 hundred community radio stations would not be eligible for funding.

Without government funding, the stations can only look to advertising as their main source of revenue. However, the sector is reportedly not getting its fair share from this source. Citing AC Nielsen and All Media and Products Survey data, ICASA (2017, p. 16) said community broadcasting services (including five television stations) collectively took up an audience share of 6.3 million people. Community radio reached 16,7 percent of the South African radio listening population. However, the sector's share of audience has not translated into an equitable share of advertising revenue, with community radio stations receive only two percent of the advertising revenue (ICASA, 2017, p. 16).

With regards to programming content, community broadcasters tended not to cater for the needs of the communities they are supposed to serve (ICASA, 2017, p. 33). However, there have been suggestions that the regulator's programming conditions contained in the broadcasting licences, made the stations broadcast content that did not meet audience preferences. Thus, some stations have had to go outside their licence conditions to meet audience needs and set themselves up for a confrontation with the regulator. ICASA (2017, p. 33) stressed this point and indicated that community radio stations found it difficult to comply with the regulations of their licence conditions and that this sometimes led to compliance hearings by the authority. This issue was discussed in the interviews and the responses are outlined in the appropriate section, below. Various factors outlined above, such as the lack of adequate financial muscle and poor corporate governance, are to blame for the sector's poor financial state (Gondwe and Mavindize, 2014, p. 27).

Community radio in South Africa seems to be operating outside expectations, in some instances, at least. ICASA (2017, p. 33) said some stations tended not to cater for the needs of their communities, while Weinberg (2011, p. 7) suggested that community stations broadcast content that did not meet their audiences' needs, partly as a result of the need to meet advertisers' expectations. This is the question for this study.

2.6 The future of community radio in South Africa

Community radio has never had it easy since its inception. The past year, 2018, was a particularly hard one. The good news was that there was an increase in the relevance of community radio stations in their respective communities (Maphirion, 2019). Community radio has been growing audiences exponentially (Bosch, 2017, p. 72). "We will see this growth trend continue to hold in 2019 as more and more stations perfect the art of hyper focused, locally relevant and nuanced programming" (Maphirion, 2019). He added that several community stations were entering the digital space, beyond FM reception, thus enhancing their engagement with audiences. Behan (2018, p. 24) said a research into the future of radio had revealed that, radio stations would have to develop into multi-platform businesses that offer not only radio, but also TV, online, websites, YouTube and events for listeners.

From 2019 onwards, there will be mergers of some stations who operate largely in the same geographical areas and closer collaborations by others in the sector as a result of the improved regulations that create a more stable and enabled environment (Maphirion, 2019). The sector will continue to be a training ground and reservoir of talent for public and commercial radio (Maphirion, 2019). Community radio will also gain more acceptance if it broadcast more local content, including news.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews academic literature about the relationship between the three themes on which the study is premised: funding, programming and developmental role of community radio. In order to offer as comprehensive an overview of the said three themes, the review will explore developments in different parts of the world.

Although this research did not follow the case study approach, a couple of case studies are reviewed to help contextualise the research.

3.2. Funding of radio

In order to give context to the subject of funding of community radio, is necessary to start with an overview of various funding models of the medium of radio broadcasting medium as a whole.

Historically, the medium of radio has been financed through a hybrid model. Ala-Fossi (2009, p. 4) identified the following funding models that have been seen over the years:

- Subscription model, 1893: The customer pays the radio operator directly for audio programming. This model is nowadays rather easy to put into practice using cable, digital and satellite radio.
- Exterior business financing, early 1920's: Radio broadcasting is used to promote another commercial business operation (for example, radio manufacturing), and part of the profit is used to finance the programming.
- Exterior private financing, early 1920's: Exterior non-profit private organisations provide the money for radio operations.
- Direct tax funding, early 1920's: Radio operations are financed by the public funds through the state or city annual budget.
- Licence-fee model, 1922: First introduced in Great Britain but now applied in various European countries and South Africa, the model is more insulated from the government than direct tax funding. The normative view is that it represents the interests of the wider society rather than the state.

- Directly advertising-supported, 1922: Originally dubbed “toll-programming” the model is based on different markets of goods and services buying broadcast time at radio stations for delivering their messages to their target audience.
- Commercial sponsorships, mid-1920’s: The advertiser pays a part or the whole production of a programme in exchange for some control over the content as well as public credit for financing.
- Voluntary listener sponsorship, early 1920’s: People and entities give money to support the station primarily for ideological, social or cultural reasons. This is not a business model.

Most public broadcasters (radio and television services) in Africa are largely funded by the state, except in South Africa where the SABC generated 84 per cent of its revenue from advertising, 15 percent from TV licence fees and a mere one percent from the state (Zondo Commission of Inquiry, 2019).

In most of Europe, public broadcasting (mainly radio and television) is funded through TV licence fees. However, the payment of TV licence fees is less common in Africa and Asia (Masters, 2014). The BBC does not accept advertising, relying solely on TV licence revenue to finance its operation. This excludes the external services that are funded by the state. According to Masters (2014), “the UK model is that you have a public broadcaster, which doesn’t have advertising or subscription as part of its funding mix”. Denmark, Sweden and Norway operate similar models (Masters, 2014). In Japan, television viewers pay what they refer to as a “receiving fee” that is used to fund the public broadcaster, the Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai. Countries such as France, Italy and Germany use a combination of TV licence fees and advertising to fund their public broadcasters (Masters, 2014). Some countries abolished the TV licence system in favour of state funding. Portugal, for instance, abolished the system in 1992 and the public broadcaster, Rádio e Televisão de Portugal, is now funded by the state through direct subsidies (Sousa & Marinho, 2002, p. 7).

The licence fee system has been facing massive evasion in several countries. The countries with the most evasions are as follows, according to (Masters, 2014):

- South Africa - 80%

- Poland - 65%
- Italy - 26%
- Ireland - 12%
- Sweden - 12%
- Norway - 9%
- United Kingdom - 5%
- Austria - 3%

Reasons for evasion differ from country to country, but the cost of the licence fee is not generally viewed as the problem. The graph below illustrates the annual fees payable in the listed countries (the Euro/Rand exchange was €1=R16.59 at the time of writing this report).

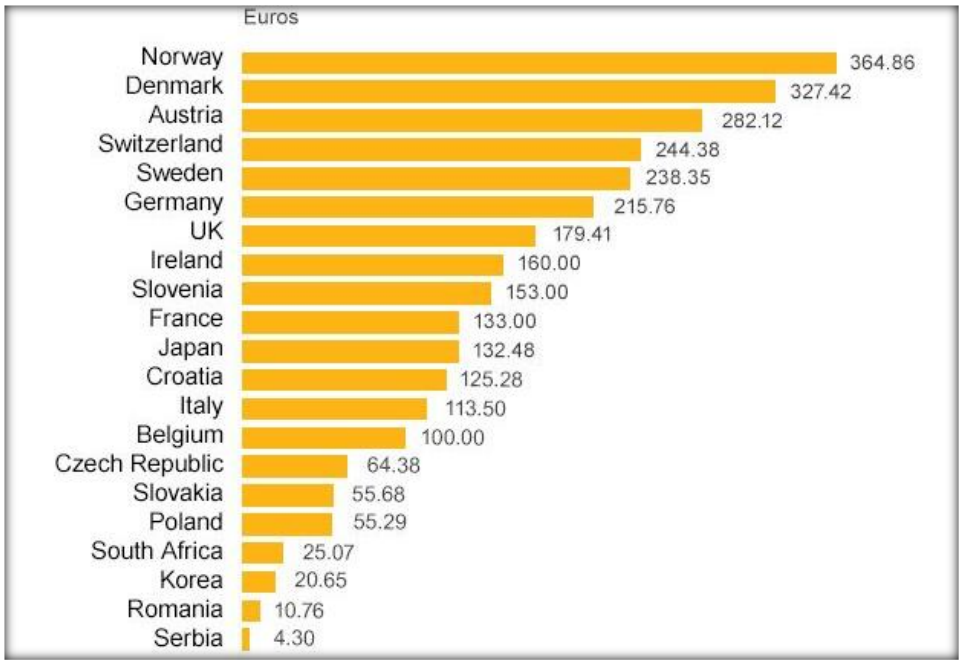


Figure 4: Cost of annual TV licence fee (Nordicity, 2011)

Meanwhile, an analysis of public funding in 18 countries revealed a combination of public and commercial funding of public broadcasting. But public broadcasting faced “fierce cutbacks from ideologically-driven governments” (Hamilton, 2014). In Australia, the government cut public funding for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and proposed the doubling of advertising revenue to commercial levels (Hamilton, 2014). In Canada,

where public broadcasting is funded by the state, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has endured years of continuous cutbacks (Hamilton, 2014).

Figures 4 and 5 below indicate how the specified countries spend on public broadcasting, that includes radio.

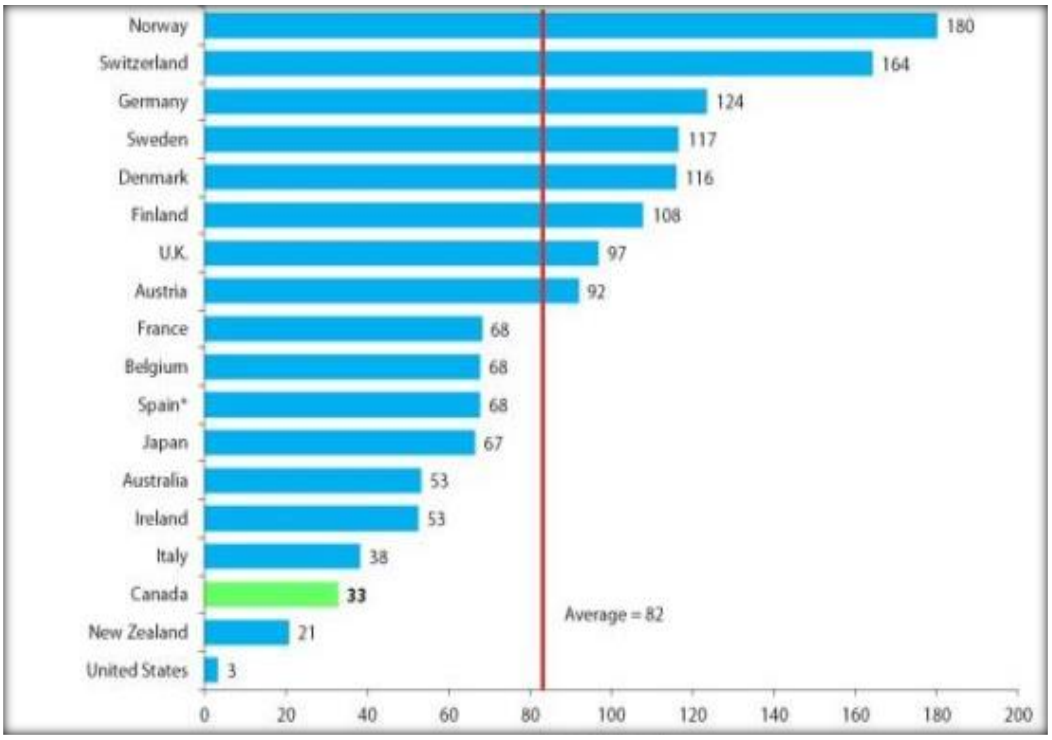


Figure 5: Per capita public funding for public broadcasters (Nordicity, 2011)

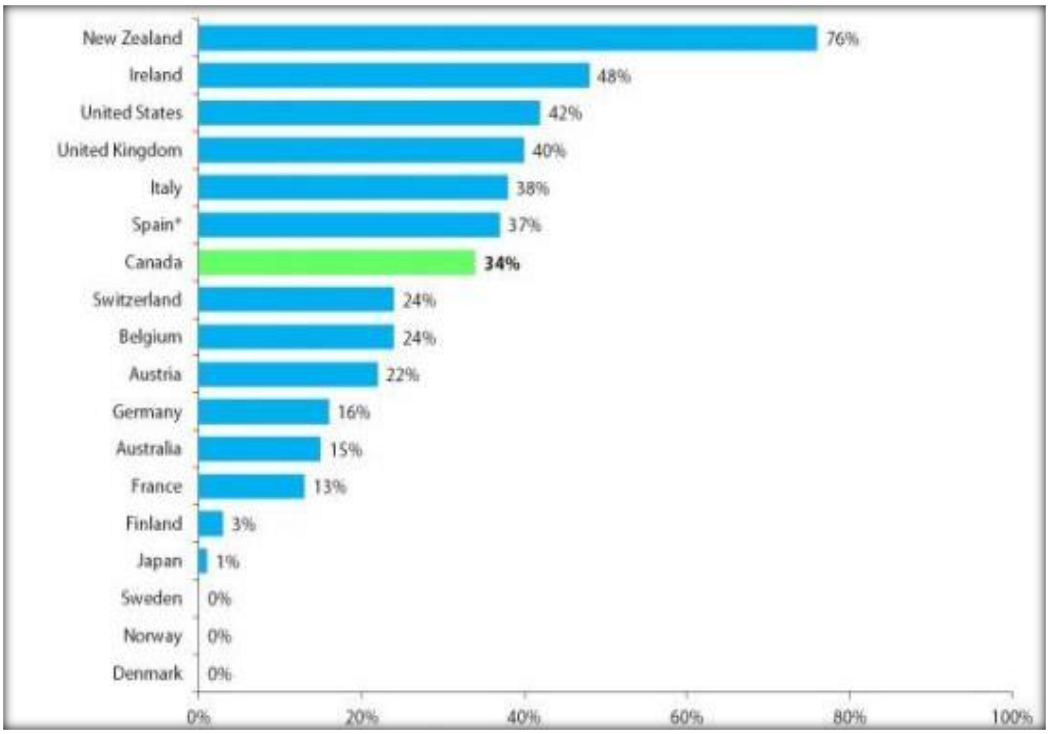


Figure 6: Commercial revenue as a share of total public funding of public broadcasters (Nordicity, 2011)

Funding for the public broadcasting service in the USA is provided through grants from institutions such as state and local government, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, listener fees, non-profits organisations and foundations. They are not allowed to take any advertising (Wu, 2005).

In summary, radio broadcasting is funded through a hybrid of public and commercial sources. We take the discussion further to probe the relationship between funding, programming and role of community radio.

3.2.1 The relationship between funding, programming and the developmental role

Community radio is also funded through various models and mixes in different countries. Fairbairn (2009, p. 5) argued that funding mechanisms followed the diversity of various communities.

Funding models are crucial for the character and role of a community radio station. This is so because, as it is demonstrated in this review, funding models have the potential of defining or altering the programming and, therefore, the role of a community station.

This section discusses the most common funding models and mixes vis-à-vis the impact they have on the programming and developmental role of the medium. These are: commercial revenue, mainly characterised by advertising, NGO funding, government funding and community donations. The review takes a critical look at each of them, in relation to the research question.

As a point of departure, community radio is premised on two theories: It is independent from political and economic influence and a platform for the meaningful engagement of marginalised populations, traditionally excluded by private and commercial media (Conrad, 2014, p. 773).

However, some political economy theorists have argued that this autonomy is only a perception, because in reality the profit motive dictates how a media operation is run, including its programming and editorial content (Chomsky and Herman, 1988, El Gazzar, 2009, Hadland, Cowling and Tabe, 2017).

The debate around the funding of community radio is an ongoing one all over the world, with some scholars blaming funding sources for the confusion regarding the purpose of

the sector. At the UNESCO Community Media Sustainability Seminar in 2015 the following statement was made:

> The challenges of the sustainability of community radio range from confusion as to its purpose and role, through to the initiatives that facilitate editorial control by political and commercial interests, to an absence of effective policies and fair regulatory practises (UNESCO, 2015, p.4).

To ensure the independence of community radio, AMARC supported a diversity of funding sources (UNESCO, 2015, p. 4). List (2002, p. 12, in Tavhiso, 2009, pp. 61-62) proposed three sources of funding, namely the listeners, advertisers and government. NGO donor funding has been identified by Weinberg (2011, p. 11) and Conrad (2012, p. 776) as another crucial source. Hereunder, the relationship between these funding sources, programming and the developmental role of community radio is reviewed.

3.2.1.1 Advertising

Several community radio scholars have identified advertising as a legitimate source of revenue for the sector. However, various concerns have been raised regarding the fact that funding sources tend to influence content. Chomsky and Herman (1988) in the famous book titled *Manufacturing Consent: The political economy of the mass media*, discussed the role of advertising in media and argued that it influenced content. El Gazzar (2009, pp. 6-7) argued that there was an assertion in media theory that advertising "directly affects the quality of media content". While giving the mass media independence from government and other political interests, advertising creates dependence on the commercial sector (El Gazzar, 2009, pp. 6-7). According to El Gazzar, "advertising is a fundamentally economic activity. Advertisers purchase access to audiences assembled by media organisations, hoping to persuade consumers of media products to become consumers of their products as well" (2009, p. 3). Chomsky and Herman (1988, p. 17 in Hadland, Cowling and Tabe, 2007, p. 7) said that media created "buying content" for their products, meaning that content was tailor-made to specifically sell certain products other than the media content itself. Advertisers prefer those programmes "that will lightly entertain and thus fit in with the spirit of the primary purpose of programme purchases—the dissemination of a selling message" (Chomsky and Herman, 1988, p. 17). Advertiser-

funded media can “deviate from or dilute” the primary orientation of a publication and steer it away from a relationship with its audiences (Hadland, Cowling and Tabe, 2007, p. 72).

In the case of community radio, this influence could mean the impairment of its ability to play its developmental role. Weinberg (2011, p. 7) found that due financial constraints, community radio resorted to playing music rather than broadcast news and current affairs or developmental programming.

Chomsky and Herman (1988) argued that media that is advertiser dependent pander to the needs of advertisers to avoid alienating them. However, advertiser influence goes beyond influencing the editorial line and extends to the choice of programmes that a medium chooses to publish. Some such content could very well be of immense benefit to listeners and play the developmental role, but the practise carries the potential of serving the interests of funding sources rather than those of the audience. Advertiser dominance leads to programmes being pitched to the audiences required by advertisers, normally those with spending power (McChesney, 2001). The result of this is that audiences without spending power, and therefore of no value to advertisers, are marginalised. However, Campbell (2008) argued that advertisers’ holding sway over content seems to come down to organisational culture, rather than being inherent.

3.2.1.2 NGO donor funding

The NGO sector is very well suited to funding community media in general, because it shares some of the goals of community radio, particularly the developmental aspect (Weinberg, 2011, p. 7). NGO donor funding has assisted community radio in various countries through direct support to community broadcasting or within the framework of wider developmental assistance programmes (Jennings, 2015, 13). There has, however, been criticism that assistance embedded in wider initiatives tended to lead to the collapse of community stations once the objectives of the main programme have been achieved (Jennings, 2015, p. 13). Other scholars have raised other more reservations. Conrad (2011, in Da Costa, 2012, p. 143) researched six East African radio stations and concluded that “each of the stations studied was created and sustained by external (NGO)

donations; the prevailing ownership model is not sustainable; relationships between station staff and donors are stronger than the synergy between stations and their audiences". Da Costa (2012, pp. 143) argued that Conrad's findings suggested a toxic relationship between external funding sources, in this case NGOs, and the operational aspects of community radio stations. Conrad (2014, p. 781) argued that his study "revealed a community radio environment in East Africa that is significantly influenced by the interests—both political and economic—of external donors". Conrad added that the experiences of community radio managers and staff he investigated in his research, illustrated how foreign donor priorities were significantly dictating station content and decision-making processes.

Local donors in the NGO sector have also been found to influence programming and editorial content of community media. They tend to dominate the programming and editorial content of community stations as a result of their financial contributions. "Local content in some community stations was dominated by parochial stories often with a bias to the concerns and prejudices of ratepayers or middleclass sections of the community" (Weinberg, 2011, p. 7). Da Costa (2012, p. 145) warned that this funding approach could lead to "the development of a sector whose incentives are distorted and whose purpose will ultimately move away from the accepted definition and understanding of community radio".

The above discussion reveals a further concern regarding funding sources' influence on programming and editorial content of community radio.

3.2.1.3 Government funding

Community broadcasting should also have access to public funding in the form of grants and contracts, although these should not be allowed to compromise its independence (Buckley, 2008). However, some countries have mechanisms in place to guarantee the independence of government-funded media. Here are some examples as outlined by Jennings (2015, p. 11):

- In South Africa state funding is channelled through the MDDA;

- In Australia around five percent of overall community broadcasting resources is public money that is channelled through the Community Broadcasting Foundation;
- In France, public funding for the sector is distributed by the Fonds de Soutien à le'éxpression radiophonique; and
- In Spain funding for community media is generated from a tax charged to commercial broadcasters for their usage of the broadcasting spectrum.

Government funding is key to the sustainability of community radio, particularly in areas where advertising, donor and community funding is difficult to raise. In South Africa, while government funds community radio through the MDDA, Bosch (2017, p. 69) said the agency did not have enough money to fund the sector. "The funding that the agency does provide to stations is mostly supplemental and relates to specific projects, and not for operational costs and overheads such as rent and electricity". Some stations, she added, do not access the funding because they find it difficult to meet MDDA requirements for funding, such as compliance with labour and tax laws.

3.2.1.4 Community/listener funding

Community funding has been identified as another ideal source of financing for the sector. It has been argued in various community radio circles that financial stability of stations should be achieved with the involvement of the communities served by the stations. Community radio should look at the communities they serve as the most important measure for economic sustainability because "external donors usually stop their financial support within a few years and should not be considered a principal source of long-term assistance" (Buckley, 2008).

The relatively new phenomenon of crowdfunding is being implemented by at least one station in South Africa, One FM (BizCommunity.co.za, 2015). Crowdfunding is the practice of funding a project by raising money from a large number of people via the internet (Lexico, n.d.).

Buckley (2008) suggested that none of the above funding sources should be dominant to avoid the possibility of influence over the affairs of a station.

3.2.2. Funding of community radio in various regions

As afore suggested by Fairbairn (2009, p. 5), funding of community radio is also dependent on the diversity of the various communities. On the other hand, different countries have different funding mechanisms. Hereunder, we take a look at funding models in a few regions of the world, and discuss the relationship between such funding mechanisms, programming and the role of community radio therein.

3.2.2.1 Funding of community radio in Europe

Community radio in the European Union (EU) operates as non-profit organisations aimed at encouraging community participation in their own affairs. (Macedo, 2007, p. 5). Community radio gives a voice to different communities and encourage social cohesion, diversity, creativity and participation.

The funding mix of community radio in the EU comprises public and other sources. Recent surveys indicate that there are over 2 000 community radio stations in the EU and over 3 000, including the broader continent (Juppi, 2009, p. 3). In Denmark, France, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the UK these stations can be heard in almost every major urban area.

According to Macedo (2007, p. 33) relying on market forces to fund community media, including radio, may redirect some initiatives from seeking to fulfil specific objectives that are in the public interest, to appealing to a broader audience by broadcasting more mainstream programming. On the other hand, a wider audience also implies that remaining public interest programming reaches more listeners and potentially has more of an impact. “Moreover, operating in a commercial environment may equip activists with skills that can also be used in fundraising or station management and therefore add to the sustainability of community media” (Macedo, 2007, p. 33).

Thus, community radio receives public funding as well as advertising. In 2008, the Council of Europe urged member states to commit funds at national, regional and local level to support the sector (Buckley, 2009). Public funding for community broadcasting should be properly administered to avoid undue political interference (Buckley, 2009).

Hereunder is an outline of different countries and their funding mixes for community radio.

Table 1: An analysis of the status of community radio in the European Union (Lewis, 2008 in Buckley, 2009)

Country	No. of services	Legal status	Public funding
Austria	12	No specific provision	No
Belgium	11	Well established	Yes
Bulgaria	3	No specific provision	No
Czech Republic	3	No specific provision	No
Cyprus	0	No specific provision	No
Denmark	175	Well established	Yes
Estonia	0	No specific provision	No
Finland	5	No specific provision	No
France	683	Well established	Yes
Germany	304	Varies region to region	Yes
Greece	10	Mainly unlicensed	No
Hungary	100	Well established	Yes
Ireland	21	Well established	No
Italy	100	Well established	No
Latvia	0	No specific provision	No
Lithuania	0	No specific provision	No
Luxembourg	1	No specific provision	No
Malta	38	Well established	No
Netherlands	264	Well established	Yes
Poland	30	No specific provision	No
Portugal	30	Mainly unlicensed	No
Romania	10	No specific provision	No
Slovakia	2	No specific provision	No
Slovenia	3	No specific provision	No
Spain	130	Mainly unlicensed	No
Sweden	165	Well established	No
United Kingdom	159	Recently adopted	Yes

3.2.2.2 Funding of community radio in the Americas

Community radio in the US emerged in response to corporate and state power that had gained control over radio broadcasting during the 1920s and 1930s (McChesney, 1990 and 1993 in Guo, 2015, p. 115). An opposition movement by civic and non-profit groups emerged to seize back the airwaves for the public, he added. In this regard, the revenue of the majority of community stations in the US comes from listener contributions through multiple membership (Guo, 2015, P115).

Commercial funding is said to be more prevalent in community radio in Latin America (Fröhlich, Däschle, Geerts and Jannusch, 2012, p. 14), while contributions from the communities are less frequent. In Venezuela, however, many community radio stations receive state support through the so-called communal councils, which leads to some being seen by observers as pro-government (Fuentes-Bautista and Gil-Egui, 2011 in Jennings, 2015, p. 12). Others get independent funding without state support by engaging local audiences in the running of the stations, they added. Another form of funding is through small monthly payments from local shops and service providers that help them sustain their operations over the long term, thereby becoming a key component of the informal economy (Fernandes, 2005 in Jennings, 2015, p. 12).

In Brazil, there is no national public system of funding community radio stations (Mendel, 2013 in Jennings, 2015, p. 8). There is an estimated 4 500 licenced community radio stations in the country and about 10 000 operating without a licence (Jennings, 2015, p. 8). The community stations, he added, may not carry advertising and may only accept sponsorship to support cultural programmes being broadcast. The said financial support can only come from entities based in the service area. The community radio sector in the country often accuses political and religious groups of undermining editorial independence, because of their financial sponsorship (Hervieu, 2013). International donors, including the EU, support community radio in Brazil and acknowledge that the sector facilitates the broadcasting of programmes relevant to the local areas that they serve (Spuldar, R. 2013).

In Uruguay, the Community Broadcasting Law allows eligible community radio stations to generate revenues from a number of sources, such as government grants, donations, sponsorship and advertising (Mendel, 2013).

Broadly viewed, the funding mix of community radio in the Americas is a combination of a predominance of commercial sources in co-existence with public and donor funding. As above state, accusations of manipulation of programming by funding sources often recur whether it's in Brazil or Venezuela, even though the funding mechanisms and -mixes are different.

3.2.2.3 Funding of community radio in Asia

As a large and diverse continent, Asia has varied systems of community radio as well funding mechanisms. Hereunder only a few cases are discussed.

In several countries of the continent, regional and national government bodies play a considerable role in the financing of community radio, where advertisement accounts for 66 percent, becoming the most important single source of income, while just over a third, comes from public funding sources (Fröhlich, Däschle, Geerts and Jannusch, 2012, p. 14).

Community radio in India completed a decade in 2012, with some 183 stations and only 15 in Bangladesh in 2015 (Arora, Ramakrishnan and Fernandez 2015, p. 7). Nepal has a longer history of community radio, with 246 community radio stations in 2012. Arora, Ramakrishnan and Fernandez (2015, p. 7) added that community radio had been supported through a policy in India and Bangladesh, and for several years through an open media environment in Nepal. In these countries the funding mixes of public, donor and community funding are also prevalent. The usual issues of funding sources interference in the programmes of the service also exist: "As institutions, these community radio stations may not be able to become completely independent of the donor project-based focus, given the embedded interests of the supporting NGOs"

(Arora, Ramakrishnan and Fernandez 2015, p. 34). However, this does not diminish their potential to perform an important role in providing critical information to communities in remote areas in the local languages (Arora, Ramakrishnan and Fernandez, 2015, p. 34).

Australia has one of the most admirable and expansive community radio networks the world over. Fox (2014) has suggested that there were 360 community radio stations in the country. The majority of the stations are community initiated, staffed by volunteers to the tune of 60-65 percent (Hussain and Tongia, 2008, p. 3). There are three types of management systems for community radio in the country: an incorporated association with open membership; a corporate entity and a cooperative structure with multiple associations (Hussain and Tongia, 2008, p. 7). Here, stations are sometimes commercially-driven. Community radio receives federal government funding, which reached A$17,7-million (about R180-m) in 2013/4 (Fox, 2014). The funding has been channeled through the Community Broadcasting Foundation since 1984 in the form of grants, which in many instances, only covered basic running and transmission costs (Fox, 2014). However, there was a recommendation from the country's Commission of Audit to stop state funding of community radio. Making the case for continued funding for the sector, Fox (2014) noted that despite decades of radical changes in the media space, there was a "critical need to actively facilitate the voices, issues and opinions that are under-represented in the mainstream media". Fox also made a case for the sector to remain the voice of the marginalised despite digital technology and public broadcasting. "Neither online, nor public broadcasters actively facilitate marginalized people having a voice in the media" (Fox, 2014).

The above showcases a combination of effects that funding sources can have on community radio. In India, Nepal and Bangladesh, community radio is faced with a lack of independence from NGO donors, while in Australia the sector is threatened by decisions to cut funding.

3.2.2.4 Funding of community radio in Africa

Funding of community radio on the continent comes from diverse sources. In French-speaking African countries, listeners' clubs play a role in the financing of community radio stations by collecting membership fees or donations from the community. In English-speaking countries listeners' clubs also serve as a platform for funding (Fröhlich, Däschle, Geerts and Jannusch, 2012, p. 16).

Donors from foreign development agencies also play a critical role in the funding of community radio on the continent. Some of the major supporters of the sector include UNESCO, the European Commission, the German-based CAMECO, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the United Nations Children's Fund, the Canadian Government, specifically the International Development Research Centre and the Canadian International Development Agency (Farm Radio International, 2008, p. 10). The financial support for community radio can be direct to support start-up and operations. It can also be in the form of programme-specific support, such as training, resources or specialised equipment donations. Other sources of funding include the BBC World Service Trust, Deutsche Welle and the Radio Netherlands Training Centre (Farm Radio International, 2008, p. 10). Their main focus is training support but they have supported other activities, including rebroadcasting centres for a local BBC station, publications on local media empowerment and democracy, and provision of satellite dishes and decoders to pick up radio signals from abroad (Farm Radio International, 2008, p. 10). UNESCO, says Farm Radio International (2008, p. 10), has perhaps the longest track record in funding rural radio initiatives on the continent.

UNESCO was instrumental in the setting up of what's perhaps the oldest community radio station in Africa, Homa Bay community station in rural Kenya in 1982. UNESCO also supported the setting up of Radio Ada in Ghana in 1998 (Farm Radio International, 2008, p. 11, citing Quarmyne, 2006 p.3). The Catholic Media Council (CAMECO) supports community broadcasting development by linking funding organisations (most of which are Christian) with potential broadcasters in developing countries, such as the Catholic radio station Radio Maria in Malawi and Tanzania. "CAMECO's main purpose

is to provide a network to link broadcasters and media organisations with donors, which often target Christian-affiliated organisations" (Farm Radio International, 2008, p. 11).

In Uganda, public funding is provided in the form of grants and laws under the country's broadcasting law, the Uganda Broadcasting Act. Community stations also draw revenues generated by commercial activities, donations, licence fees and advertising (Jennings, 2015, p. 12). In Ethiopia, advertising revenue is one of the sources of funding, but stations are only allowed 15 per cent of daily transmission time. This has led to a dependence on direct government funding, a practice that is largely discouraged by community media advocates (Jennings, 2015, p. 12).

Foreign donor funding in Africa was often linked to certain projects. This was discussed by Mhagama (2015) and Da Costa (2012) who argued that this funding model tended to de-link communities from the station by serving the interests of the donors. This is unfortunately an example of funding sources influencing programmes of community radio. On the other hand, funding from these donors tended to dry up once the projects they were funding had ended. This left community stations destitute, in a financial crisis.

3.2.2.5 Funding of community radio in South Africa

In South Africa, the funding model for community radio comprises advertising, government, NGO and community donations. The government funds the sector through the Media Diversity and Development Agency (MDDA), which takes decisions independently of government as a measure to remove perceptions and temptations of government influence. However, MDDA's funding is only a drop in the ocean and community radio in South Africa remains advertiser dependent (Gondwe & Mavindidze, 2014, p. 25). Thus, the medium has continually faced issues of sustainability. Only a few stations remained on air despite hundreds of licences having been processed (Megwa, 2007 in Fombad and Jiyane, 2016, p. 5).

3.3 Sustainability of community radio

Community radio's sustainability has been a challenge, whether in South Africa or other parts of the continent. Fairbairn and Siemering (2006, in Gondwe & Mavindidze 2014, p.

15) defined sustainability as being “the ability of a radio station to maintain a good quality developmental broadcasting service over a period of time”. This definition, they argued, “emphasises the importance of developmental broadcasting which connotes that broadcast programmes and news should impact positively on the lives of the listeners to enhance community and national development” (Fairbairn & Siemering, 2006, in Gondwe & Mavindidze, 2014, p. 15). Okoduwa (2009, in Gondwe & Mavindidze, 2014, p. 15) stated that developmental broadcasting goes beyond the traditional determinants of news values, that is “who said what, to whom, where and when?”, and that it is closely related to the concept of developmental journalism and is “deliberately focused on an identified purpose for an identified segment of society”. This is the hallmark of community media and community radio, in particular, that allows a sense of ownership of this platform by the community it serves. This relationship defines “social sustainability” and refers to community support by giving a sense of ownership in practical ways (Gondwe & Mavindidze, 2014, p. 15).

Da Costa (2012, p. 140) argued that all available evidence suggested that community radio stations were not yet a sustainable feature on the African media and development landscape. Sustainability has until recently been defined in financial terms (Lush & Urgoiti, 2011, in Da Costa, 2012, p. 140). However, there have since been other scholars that have stretched the definition to include social, institutional and financial terms. Social sustainability refers to community ownership of the station and participation in the production and airing of programmes at both decision-making and operational structures. Institutional sustainability relates to the ways the station operates - its policies, democratic processes, management styles, internal relationships and practices and partnerships with external agencies. Lastly, financial sustainability has to do with a station’s system for generating revenue and how its funds are managed and accounted for (Dagron, 2001, in Da Costa, 2012, p. 140).

Jallov (2007, in Da Costa, 2012, p. 140) offered a more complementary definition of sustainability that differed slightly from Dagron’s:

> “Social sustainability includes ownership of institutions, processes and ideas, development of local content, language as well as local culture and relevance;

> organisational sustainability includes adequate legislation and policies, internal democracy, training and participation, appropriate and democratic structures, management and supervisory bodies, appropriate technologies, and belonging to relevant networks; and financial sustainability refers to the development of realistic budgets, identifying local, national and international funding opportunities and determining the desired funding mix."

Gondwe and Mavindidze (2014, p. 13) have also discussed the concept of "institutional and financial sustainability". Krüger, Monji and Smurthwaite, 2013, pp. 8-9) suggested that institutional sustainability refers to organisational frameworks within which the station operates. These include external factors such as the legal framework, government policy and the licencing regime.

Conrad (2014, p. 773) lamented that given the issue of sustainability, there was a contrast between reality and the theoretical model that community radio should be independent from political and economic influence. Given this reality, funding sources, rather than communities, have influence on programming and editorial content. In South Africa, community media (including radio) raises revenue mainly from advertising (Gondwe & Mavindidze, 2014, p. 25) and sponsorship of programmes, therefore operates as a business (where communities are viewed as a commodity rather than role players).

However, there is agreement in all reviewed literature that community radio has to achieve financial sustainability without sacrificing its developmental role.

3.4 Case studies

Although this is not a case study research, two important case studies are summarised to emphasise the issue of the relationship between funding sources, programming and the developmental role of community radio. The two case studies were conducted by Da Costa (2012) and Mhagama (2015) under the titles *The Growing Pains of Community Radio in Africa: Emerging Lessons Towards Sustainability* and *Community Radio as a Tool for Development: A Case Study for Community Radio Stations in Malawi,* respectively.

In his study, Mhagama (2015, p. iii) concluded that the medium afforded ordinary people the opportunity to participate in the media and in development projects. Secondly, community radio informed people about development initiatives from development agencies (Mhagama, 2015, p. iv). However, there was a downside, which manifested itself where the medium concentrated more in communicating programmes of development agencies, because of their position as main funding sources of the stations. “The programming of the stations is influenced by the agendas of development agents who sponsor programmes thereby reducing opportunities for (community) participation” (Mhagama, 2015, p. iv).

The case study by Da Costa (2012, p. 143) in Africa revealed a scenario where community radio relied heavily on donor funding, largely from international NGOs. This created a scenario where operators of community stations had a closer relationship with the donors than the community the stations served (Da Costa, 2012, p. 143).

3.5 Funding models and the research question

The literature in this chapter puts it abundantly clear that all the funding models, except where there’s government funding through agencies such as South Africa’s MDDA, culminate in a relationship where funding sources influence programming and editorial content and therefore the role of the station. Da Costa (2012) found this while researching community radio in Africa; Weinberg (2011) found the practice in South Africa; Mhagama (2015) said the same existed in the sector in Malawi. The most interesting aspect about their findings is that the influence of funding sources is not limited to advertising as Chomsky and Herman (1988), Halland, Cowling and Tabe (2007, 76) and El Gazzar (2009), above, seemed to suggest. Empirical evidence by Mhagama (2015), Da Costa (2012) and Weinberg (2011) reveals instances where NGOs and community donors also become involved in the programming and editorial content decisions of the stations to pursue their own goals, sometimes at the expense of programmes that would benefit the community. In Mhagama (2015) and Da Costa (2012) the donors were developmental agencies therefore it could be concluded that the programming and the editorial content they influenced were of a developmental nature, thus in line with the developmental role of community radio. However, the principle of the independence of the stations would have been compromised. Furthermore, Da Costa (2012, p. 143), for instance, suggested that the stations’ management tended to have a rapport with the donor agencies, and less

so with the communities they served. This compromises the principle of community participation. Weinberg (2011, p. 13) found a situation where rich members of the community, who could make financial contributions, tended to drive their own elitist goals that were not quite to the benefit of the communities.

If stations flout key principles of community radio that require i) editorial independence and ii) community involvement, can they be expected to play their developmental role?

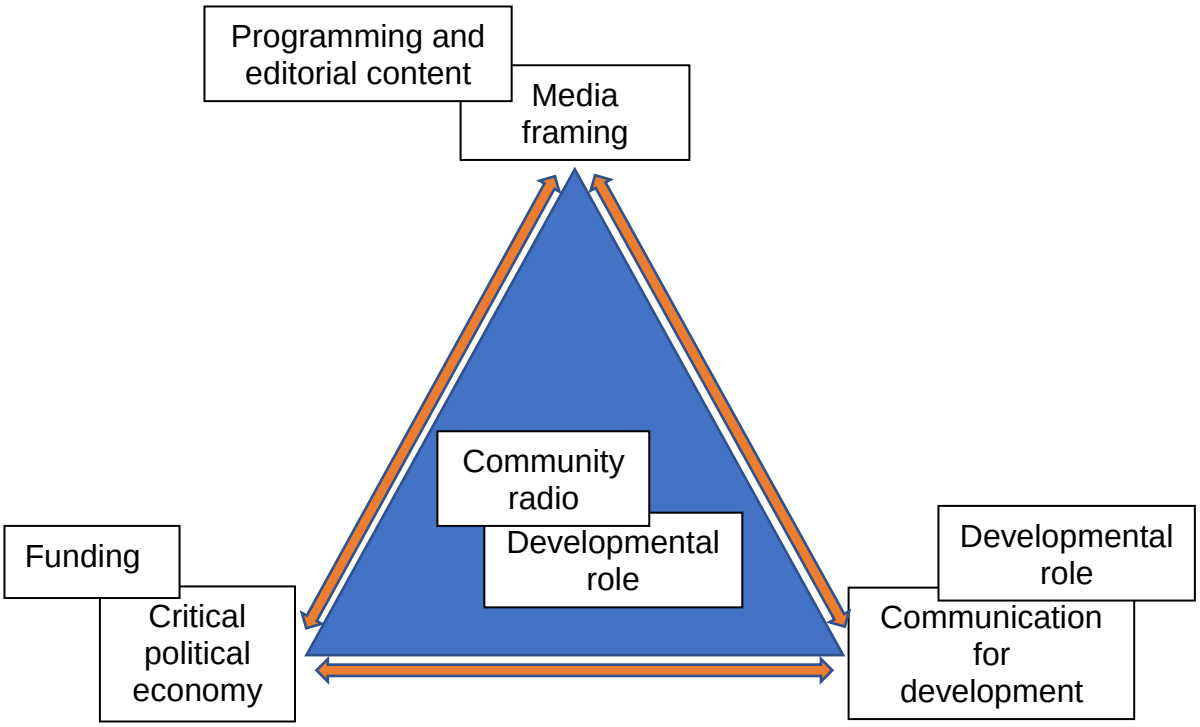
CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

Theories are formulated to explain, predict, and understand issues and, in some instances, to challenge and extend knowledge within the limits of critical assumptions (Labaree, 2009). Thus, theoretical framework is the structure that supports a theory of a research project. The theoretical framework introduces and describes the theory that explains why the research problem under study exists (Labaree, 2009).

In this study, a triangulation of three theories was employed, namely critical political economy, media framing and communication for development. Critical political economy helps understand issues of funding and its role in the programming and editorial content. Media framing is about analysing the content thereof, while communication for development is about analysing the developmental role of community radio.

Figure 7: Research themes and the theoretical framework triangulation.



4.2 Critical political economy theory

The origins of political economy have been traced by various authors over the centuries. German author, Julius Kautz, cited by Mill (2009, p. 7) published what Mill regarded as the best existing history of political economy under the *title Die Geschichtliche Entwickelung der National-Oekonomie und ihrer Literatur*" (1860), which translates to *The Guide to the Study of Political Economy*. The term political economy precedes what is today referred to as economics (Drazen, 2002, p. 3). The term was used to indicate that economics was not separable from politics; that political factors were crucial in determining economic outcomes (Drazen, 2002, p. 3). The term originated in the 17th and 18th centuries to refer to economic policies of the nation-states that were consolidating at the time Adler (2009, p. 1). At the time, writings on political economy focused on taxes and trade policy (Adler, 2009, p. p. 1). In the 19th century, theorists such as Adam Smith (1723–1790), David Ricardo (1722–1823), Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1833), John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) and Karl Marx (1818–1883) broadened the meaning of the term to refer to the various ways in which capitalist economic structures and market processes influenced and were influenced by political power (Adler, 2009, p. 3). With economics largely defined as the study of the optimal use of scarce resources and politics being about the exercising of power and authority, political economy is about the decision-making of how economic choices affect society (Drazen, 2002, p. 4). Society can refer to a population of a country or to smaller groups of people. Adler (2009, p. 1) defined political economy as being the "combined and interacting effects of economic and political structures or processes". Schofield, Caballero and Kselman (2013, p. vi) thought that instead of being an explicit field or discipline, the notion of political economy represented a growing realisation in both political science and economics that their respective contributions to our understanding of society are better studied as one discipline.

There is also the phenomenon of critical political economy. This evolved from theories such as Karl Marx's means of production critique, the Frankfurt School and other theories. Wasko (2014, p. 260) argued that "the primary concern of critical political economists is with the allocation of resources within capitalist societies". (Wasko, 2014, p. 260).

Graham (2007, p. 2) offered a critique of the political economy of communication by suggesting that the subject has its “most obvious” roots in the concept of “knowledge monopolies” that was developed by Canadian economist Harold Innis (1984–1952). Adorno and Horkheimer (1944) whose essay titled “The Culture Industry”, continues to have relevance on the subject (Silverstone, 1999, in Graham, 2014). Graham suggested that the political economy of communication became visible during the second decade of the 20th century when such scholars as Harold Lasswell and Edward Bernays appeared and led the study of mass communication strategies. Graham wrote that Innis coined the term “political economy of communication to illustrate the fact that throughout history certain privileged groups (priests, kings, bureaucrats, soldiers, scientists, etc.) have enjoyed a monopoly of access on certain kinds of knowledge.

Murdock and Golding (1973, p. 205) took the argument further and suggested that the study of the political economy of mass communication starts by recognising the fact that the mass media provides the facilities with which people occupy a considerable amount of their free time and account for a considerable sum of peoples’ optional spending. On the other hand, the mass media are the main source of socio-political information that society consumes (Murdock & Golding, 1973, p. 250). Political economy is a major perspective in communication research (Mosco, 2009, p. 2) and one of the reasons that the theory was chosen for this study. Political economy is defined by Mosco (2009, p. 2) as “in the narrow sense as the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources”. In “a more general and ambiguous definition”, political economy is the study of control and survival in social life (Mosco, 2009, p. 3). Mosco wrote about an important element of the political economy of communication and coined the term “commodification”, which is a process of transforming goods valued for their use into marketable products that are valued for what they can bring in exchange. Mosco (2009, p. 14) also rhetorically asked: How does the human act of communication become a product produced for a profit? McChesney (2000) added to the argument by suggesting that the political economy of communication looks specifically at how ownership support mechanisms, such as advertising and government policies, influence media behaviour and content.

This study probes how community radio approaches the very issues raised by Mosco (2009) and McChesney (2000), namely that a service (community radio) is made to become a marketable commodity and media content (of community radio) and behaviour are influenced by advertising, among others.

As one solution to the current political economy of community radio, Banda and Fourie (2004, p. 72 in Tavhiso, 2009, p. 61) discussed the funding sources for community radio in research findings published under the title “Towards a Policy Model for Community Radio Broadcasting in Zambia”. They proposed at least four statutory mechanisms through which a community radio support fund could be financed within the overall institutional framework. They also proposed that support should come from government grants that are fully endorsed by parliament. Furthermore, they suggested that a percentage of any sponsorship and/or advertising revenue accruing to the community radio broadcasting station should be targeted for the fund. Banda and Fourie (2004, p. 71 in Tavhiso, 2009, p. 61) also wanted a community broadcasting levy to be charged on any private business firms operating in the community that is a beneficiary of that community broadcasting station service. Tavhiso (2009, p. 61) argued that this could be treated as social responsibility obligation of the private business sector. Lastly, donations from aid agencies, such as UNESCO and the Soros Foundation, could be another sanctioned source of financing for community radio broadcasting.

As it has been argued, above, the political economy of any media could define or modify its role. Thus, it is of utmost important that the economics of community radio are clearly set out in a way that it will aid rather than inhibit its ability to play its developmental role.

4.3 Media framing

To frame in media theory is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make it more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, interpretation, moral evaluation or treatment, (Entman, 1993, p. 53). He elaborates:

> Frames, then, define problems—determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; diagnose causes—identify the forces creating the problem; make moral

> judgments-evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies—offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects. A single sentence may perform more than one of these four framing functions although many sentences in a text may perform none of them. And a frame in any particular text may not necessarily include all four functions (Entman, 1993, p. 53).

The idea of framing is largely based on the book by sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) titled *Essay on the Organisation of Experience*. Goffman used the idea of frames to label "schemata of interpretation" that allow people "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences or events. Then, in a paper written in 1993, Robert Entman suggested that frame analysis evolved into an important methodology in research. The work of the two scholars on frame analysis of mass media have helped researchers to understand how media present information. However, Arowolo (2017) attributed the theory to Gregory Bateson in 1972, who defined psychological frames as a "spatial and temporary bounding of a set of interactive messages" (Bateson, 1972, in Arowolo, 2017) that operate as a form of metacommunication. Jasperson et al. (1998, in Linström and Marais, 2012, pp. 22–23) put media framing as a method that "provides a means of describing the power of communication to direct individual cognitions towards a prescribed interpretation of a situation or object".

The concept of media framing is also related to the agenda-setting theory, but the former expands its research by focusing on the essence of the content being analysed rather than on a particular topic (Arowolo, 2017. Be it as it may, over the past few decades leading media scholars have applied the theory of framing to explain how the media structure their supply of news, promote or suppress certain interpretations of issues and events by selecting facts for publication or rejection.

This study has applied this theory to understand how community radio selects programming as a result of the influence of funding sources. The framing theory is also used to understand whether given the influence of funding sources, do community stations continue to play their developmental.

Using the media framing theory made it possible to create a frame (subject of analysis) to produce the intended results, the scope and the comparability of the findings. This was so, because as Van Gorp (2005, p. 585) "the *conditio sine qua non* of framing research, concerns the identification of the frames that are appropriate for the questions the researcher is willing to answer".

However, Scheufele (1997, p. 103) argued that the concept of framing was characterised by "theoretical and empirical vagueness" in that it lacked a commonly shared theoretical model. This study looked at how community radio's framing of its programming and editorial content is influenced by socio-structural or organisational variables, such as the funding sources issue. This is in line with the theory of Shoemaker and Reese (1996, in Scheufele 1997, p. 107) who argued that "the media level, journalists' framing of an issue may be influenced by several socio-structural or organisational variables".

The study followed the process suggested by Entman (1993, in Van Gorp 2005, p. 585), working within the four functions of framing, namely i) defining a problem, ii) assigning responsibility, iii) passing a moral judgement and iv) reaching possible solutions.

Programming, which is a crucial aspect of this study in determining whether the station plays its developmental role, has been used as a frame. It is through looking at programming as a frame that the study was able to achieve its objectives, because this theme is crucial in constructing the reality that the study seeks to. The historical philosophy of community radio has been to be the voice of the voiceless, and that is demonstrated in programming (AMARC, 1981). Thus, it made sense using programming as a frame for the purposes of the analysis.

In emphasising the place of programming in determining the role of a radio stations, Bell & Morse (1999, in Tavhiso, 2009, p. 64) maintained that a "useful way of understanding the sustainability of any development project is to ask what it is that needs to be sustained".

In using the programming frame, the study here offers an overview of the theoretical conception of community radio programming. Conceptually, community radio programming needs to be relevant to its community and relate to the mission that community radio stations set themselves to achieve (Mtimde, 2000 in Tavhiso, 2009, p.

65. When broadcasting such programming, community stations can draw interest from local organisations and NGOs operating in the community. Such interest can enhance the stations' ability to produce and broadcast developmental programming content (Tavhiso, 2009, p. 65). Community radio stations' programming need to provide "coverage of important issues in a diverse community, a community radio would require a diverse programming that is a full-spectrum service. Stations can offer news, sport, talk, religion, health, education and music to their listeners" (Wigston, 2001, in Tavhiso, 2009, p. 65).

To be effective, programming of a community radio station may have to address the following aspects: programme variation, programming in the marketing process, staying on air, new programme ideas, interactive programming, research-based programming and station formats and positioning (Tavhiso, 2009, p. 66).

Radio Regen (2005, p. 113) stated that while commercial and public broadcasting stations scramble for the ears of audiences, community radio's job is to be "necessary, not popular". While the term 'broadcast' is the one often used in the industry, what this media really does is to 'narrowcast', when it targets particular audiences (Radio Regen, 2005, 113). Broadcasting means to scatter widely, and community radio, should, in fact, "narrowcast" and be relevant to the community through its programming. Radio Regen (2005, p. 115) added that "making yourself relevant in some way to every member of your community is a difficult challenge, but one that we feel community radio stations should at least attempt to tackle". Radio Regen identified the two main aspects of community radio programming as follows: i) quality of process: The amount of benefit to the individuals and groups who make and ii) quality of output: The quality of the radio programmes being broadcast.

A sub-frame of the main programming frame is community participation in the affairs of the station, particularly programme making. Participation is not only crucial to fulfil the theoretical notion that one of the missions of community radio is to grant access to members of the community to media tools, but because it is materially impossible for relevant programmes to be produced for the community without their input. Although allowing members of the community without experience to broadcast might result in a low

quality service, granting access could result in them feeling that they have a stake in the station, even if the quality of programming suffers (Radio Regen, 2005).

However, when it came to the sector in South Africa, Bosch (2017, p. 65) took issue with the fact that there had been no research about the impact of programming. She said when asked about the role of their programming, station managers and programming staff usually responded with the cliché that it was to inform and entertain.

> "In the South African context, community broadcasters make sweeping assumptions about the relevance of their programmes, with no concrete evidence to show any real impact, particularly with reference to social change."

Community participation in the making of programmes is highlighted as one of the key features of community radio. Mgibisa (2005, p. 47) argued that "it is community participation in the provision of programming that underpins the democratic values of community radio". Community participation in the selection and provision of programming is the "most distinguished characteristic" of community radio (Mgibisa, 2005, p. 47). However, conducting research about community participation in community radio programming, Mgibisa found various contrasting views: Some stakeholders claimed that there was "too much apathy" among communities to attend meetings where issues of programming were discussed and others believed that programming should be the sole responsibility of "those who have been around for many years" (Mgibisa, 2005, p. 47).

Gondwe & Mavindidze (2014, p. 25) concluded that for community radio stations to fulfil their mandate "relevantly and appropriately", communities needed to be involved in "end-user generated content". In their study, they found that some stations had created listeners' forums to facilitate community participation in content development. However, they also encountered concerns in some stations that the said listeners' forums were sometimes used by certain individuals and groupings for political campaigning. Thus, they added, some station managers made room for community participation but took responsibility for final programming decisions.

The issue of community participation in the sample stations, Kasie FM and Radio Islam, will be discussed in the findings section in Chapter 6.

4.4 Communication for development

Communication for development was used to explore the role of community radio, as a communication tool, in development. The theory is defined as the use of communication processes, techniques and the media to help people towards a full awareness of their situation and their options for change. It also helps to resolve conflicts, work towards consensus, help people plan for actions for change and sustainable development, help people acquire the knowledge and skills they need to improve their condition and that of society as well as to improve the effectiveness of institutions (Fraser & Estrada, 1998, p. 63 in Mhagama, 2015, p. 6). Based on this characterisation, community radio is presented as part of the communication for development system.

Fraser and Estrada (1998, in Mhagama, 2015, p. 7) defined communication for development in community radio as “a range of development initiatives and goals which can be achieved through community radio”. The two words discharge two functions, as it were: create a platform for communication within the community and promote development therein. Choudhury (2011, p. 2) said the term development communication can be divided into two terms, communication and development. He explained it as follows:

> Here communication refers to the use of different types of media in the context of development. It is also used to mean sharing of information and experience to accelerate development. Whereas development refers to the change of society for betterment.

Furthermore, Lingela (2008, in Mhagama, 2015, p. 7) suggested that community radio had the ability to promote good governance, transparency and accountability. On the other hand, they said, the medium had the potential to mobilise its target community to take ownership of its own developmental.

Communication is not only used to pass information from one person to another but also as a tool to facilitate the participation of people in developmental activities (Choudhury, 2011, p. 2). Other scholars defined communication for development as a planned and orderly employment of communication tools such as inter-personal channels and mass media (Adedokun, Adeyemo, & Olonrunsola, 2010). Kabir (2001) traced the concept of

development communication to the mid-20th century in post-colonial Latin America, Africa and Asia when the question arose in academic circles of how to bridge the disparities in the developed and developing world.

Adedokun et al. (2010, p. 101) argued that with community development being the process of helping a community to strengthen itself and develop towards its full potential, communication is a key component of that development as well as its subsequent sustainability.

The need for community participation at all stages of a development initiative has been widely recognised since the late 1970s (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002, p. 69). Community radio creates an easy mechanism with which people in the community can enter into dialogue and analytical discussion among themselves. This enables them to participate and decide for themselves on changes that affect their lives and to become active in implementing them (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002, pp. 69-70).

In their paper titled "*The Role of Community Radio in Livelihood Improvement: The Case of Simli Radio*", in Ghana, Al-hassan, Andani, and Abdul-Malik (2011) suggested that the provision of information and skills had gained popularity in the quest to empower communities with community radio as a unique and effective tool. Kumar (2004 in Al-hassan, Andani, and Abdul-Malik, 2011) identified community radio as an avenue for participatory communication and as a tool that's relevant in both economic and social development. The content of community radio, argued Al-hassan, Andani, and Abdul-Malik (2011), would largely be popular and relevant to a local or specific audience, but might often be overlooked by commercial interests. This view is supported by Weinberg (2011, p. 5) who argued that patrons of the advertising industry overlooked community radio in South Africa when it came to advertising placements. Community radio can play a significant role at the grass roots level for rural development. For instance, issues of poverty, agriculture, gender inequality, education and social problems, among others, could be the focus for programming Al-hassan, Andani, and Abdul-Malik (2011). Their study also found that the medium had a major contribution to social cohesion, cultural promotion and entertainment, income through increased economic activity,

decentralisation and local governance, education and livelihood improvement, as well as basic communication and information sharing. All these are developmental concerns.

Studying community radio stations in Malawi, Mhagama (2015, p. iii–iv) found that "community radio in Malawi afforded ordinary people opportunities to participate in the media and in development projects and informs people about development initiatives from development agencies".

CIMA (2007, 9) put it even more forcefully:

> Like a vaccine capable of reducing preventable diseases, community radio is a simple, effective solution to achieve development goals, to prevent fragile states from becoming failed states, and also to help people celebrate their own culture.

These definitions and research examples are crucial to the study in that they will serve as the yardstick through which the stations studied will be measured on whether they are staying true to their developmental role or are influenced otherwise by their funding sources whose interests might not be developmental.

4.4.1 Developmental role of community radio

The *raison d'etre* of community radio is to contribute to the various aspects of the development of local communities, however these can be defined. This is the main distinction between community radio, on the one hand, and commercial and public radio, on the other. Commercial and public radio play other roles that are not focussed on any local community.

Community radio stations are characterised by the fact that they cater for the needs of their communities.

All literature reviewed agree on the developmental role of community radio. Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002, pp. 70-71) summed-up the functions of community radio by suggesting that they included the promotion of social change and development; the promotion and reflection of local identity; creation of a diversity of voices; encouragement of open dialogue and democratic processes; and promotion good governance. The IBA Act 153 of 1993, which provides the legislative foundation for community radio in South Africa, placed the developmental role of community broadcasting services at the heart of

the sector's mission by stating that one of its tasks is to "promote the development of a sense of common purpose and improve quality of life". Sewlal (2014, p. 26) argued had played an important role in South Africa's democratic path, and that with the right direction accompanied by adequate and ongoing support, community radio would be able to empower and enrich the lives of millions of people. Mahmud (2007) argued that community radio had a role in "building up participatory practice in the society, which leads to people's governance", and that the sector was crucial in levelling the economic playground in a world where the economy is concentrated in the hands of a few. Community radio is considered an alternative media that counter-balances the profit-motive corporate media and a platform from where democracy in South Africa can be defended ((Mahmud, 2007 and Sewlal, 2014, p. 26).

In her essay titled "Four Steps to Community Media as a Development Tool", Milan (2009, p. 598) argued that community media represented a crucial input in development processes, playing an important role in democratisation, social struggles, and awareness raising. The diagram below illustrates the link between community radio and human development, to stress the role of the medium in community development.

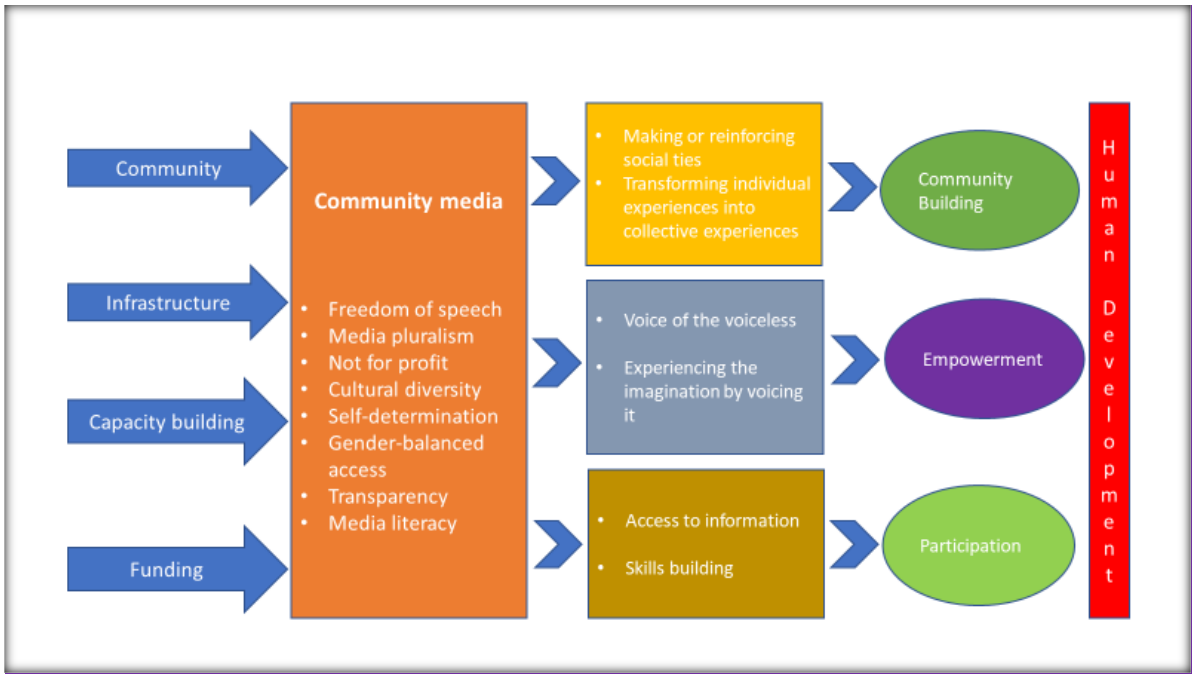


Figure 8: The link between community media and human development (Milan, 2009, p. 601).

Expanding on her thesis of community radio being a tool for development, Milan (2009, p. 606) added that local dimension of community radio was the "frontline" of the fight against poverty and underdevelopment. Community media should be classified as "public-interest communication providing "community benefit" (Milan, 2009, p. 607).

Community radio is an important tool of participatory communication, which is regarded as a developmental theme. Participatory communication puts decision-making in the hands of the public, thus enabling ordinary citizens to express their opinions (Olorunnisola, 2002, p. 133). Community radio, he added, had been "a frequent stakeholder in both participatory communication and in the oscillating trends in social development". Community radio as a medium in the hands of the community offers the advantage of enabling the listener to "hear content, context, passion and pain in the words used by the target community" (Dragon, 2001 in Olorunnisola, 2002, p. 133). One of the dividends of community radio is the restoration or installation of cultural pride, self-esteem and identity in communities that have been marginalised, repressed or neglected (Olorunnisola, 2002, p. 134).

Bosch (2017, p. 61) said it was generally agreed that mass media can promote democratisation by making citizens more aware of their roles in democracy. She added:

> "This almost normative role of the media is often seen to be the responsibility of community radio, as its primary aim to educate and empower less socially and economically privileged communities."

To "educate and empower" accentuates the developmental role of community radio.

The arguments placing community media, radio in particular, at the centre of community development, coincide with the purpose of this study, which is to determine the relationship between funding sources, programming and the developmental role of the sector.

4.4.1.1 Developmental content in community radio

Having asserted the role of community radio as being developmental and suggested that such role is playing through programming, what should then be the content of community stations?

Community radio's content responds to the needs of the very communities which they serve. Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2001, p. 58), argued that community radio stations often took the "references of communities into account when deciding on formats and content". Community members are both producers and receivers of content Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2001, P59). A distinction is drawn between commercial and public broadcasting, on the one hand, and community radio, on the other, when it comes to community involvement in programming. Community radio is principled on making the community the central figure of the station's operation through making the community participate in production, broadcasting and management (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2001, p. 5). Therefore, an ongoing interaction between producers and audiences is another crucial characteristic of community radio.

Nonetheless, challenges such as funding pressures and other day-to-day realities make it difficult, at times, for community radio stations to stick to the above normative content characteristics (Berger, 1996). On the other hand, while there are several common characteristics of community radio stations, there has also been room for diverse perspectives throughout the years in various parts of the world (Tamminga, 1989). This

suggests that when it comes to content, there is not one size fits all approach, even though the overall role remains developmental. Berger (1996) argued for a pragmatic approach that took into account various factors in terms of the core principles, such as the kind of content broadcast by community radio. Banda (2003, p. 3) goes to the extent of suggesting that the very term “community radio” has become less strictly defined because of the need for community stations to adapt to all prevailing circumstances in their jurisdictions.

It is evident that as the medium evolves and it’s faced with different challenges, its approaches tend to twist and turn to adapt to prevailing circumstances. However, the point of departure remains the developmental role in whatever ways it can be defined of pursue in different circumstances. Needless to restate, the playing of this role is principally demonstrated in appropriate and relevant programming (Squire, 2003, p. 318).

Therefore, developmental content of community radio, can be characterised as being that which meets the developmental needs of the community. These needs are not one size fits all or common to all communities, they can be defined in each community.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the research methodology that was employed in this study. Purposive sampling and qualitative research methods were followed. This chapter also contains sections that discuss the sample and the respondents.

Methodology is defined by Rajasekar, Philominathan and Chinnathambi (2013) as the study of methods by which knowledge is gained in a research process. Its aim is to map out the plan in research. Because research is a "logical and systematic search for new and useful information on a particular topic", research methodology is the process through which such search is conducted, and a research problem is solved (Rajasekar, Philominathan and Chinnathambi, 2013). Creswell (2009 in Mohajan, 2017, p. 2) argued that there were three main research approaches: i) quantitative (structured) approach, ii) qualitative (unstructured) approach, and iii) mixed methods research, which combine the former two. This study employed the qualitative approach, for reasons that are hereunder discussed.

5.1 Qualitative research method

This method involves the use of qualitative data, such as interviews, documents and participant observation data. According to Sunday (2016, citing Pope and Mays, 1995, pp. 42-45) qualitative research is the development of concepts which help understand social phenomena in natural, rather than experimental settings, giving an emphasis to the meanings, experiences and views of the participants in a research exercise. Qualitative data is appropriate to understanding and explaining social phenomena within its cultural and historical context (Ngwenya, 2007, p. 48, in Murkens, 2009, p. 65). The qualitative research method plays an important role in impact evaluation by providing information, which is useful to understand the processes followed in the study.

Although sometimes regarded as producing anecdotal evidence, qualitative research is also seen as being highly rewarding, because it engages researchers with "things that matter, in ways that matter" (Mason, 2002, p. 1). He said qualitative research allowed researcher to:

> To explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings that they generate.

The study uses the qualitative research methodology because there is a need to obtain the views of stakeholders through in-depth interviews. The in-depth interview approach is essentially a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach. Qualitative research uses small samples that are not randomly selected and where the results are not generalised to the population from which the sample is drawn (Wimmer, 1993). This study fits this description in that it does not comprise a massive sample but used only two community radio stations. Qualitative research methodology does not generalise its findings and purport that they represent the entire community radio sector. Wimmer and Domminick (2000, p. 104) offered the following distinctions between qualitative and quantitative methodologies:

Positivist (quantitative)	Interpretive (qualitative)
"…philosophy of reality… Reality is objective, it exists. Apart from researchers, it can be seen by all." "…reality can be divided into component parts, and knowledge of the whole is gained by looking at the parts."	"…there is no single reality. Each observer creates reality as part of the research process. It (the reality) is subjective and exists only in reference to the observer. "…the interpretive researcher examines the entire process, believing that reality is holistic and cannot be subdivided.
Views of the individual: "The positivist in quantitative research believes that all human beings are similar and looks for general categories to summarise their behaviours or feelings."	"The interpretive investigator believes that human beings are fundamentally different and cannot be pigeonholed.
"…aim to generate general laws of behaviour can and explain many things across many settings…strive for breadth."	"…attempt to produce a unique explanation about a given situation or individual… strive for depth."

Figure 9: Distinction between quantitative and qualitative research methods.

Sampling in qualitative research is mostly purposive (see 5.2). In here, it seeks conceptual applicability rather than quantitative illustration. It also aims to capture the range and diversity of views and experiences of respondents, pursue the fullness of the data obtained and draw a theory (Sunday, 2016).

In this study, the qualitative research method produced data that consists of:

- Transcripts of individual interviews;
- Data that is related to concepts, opinions, values and behaviours of people in the context of their stations;
- Data that cannot be reduced to numbers.

The study established and used data tools consisting of primary sources in the form of interviews with management and listeners of each station. Listeners were particularly interviewed to find out whether they understood their respective stations to be playing the developmental role. Secondary sources entailed the interpreting of documentation.

Interview questions in Appendixes 1 and 2 were developed to guide the probing processes.

The choice of the two distinct types of community radio stations, Radio Islam as a community of interest and Kasie FM as a geographic community, was aimed at getting a sample of factors that could explain whether the relationships between funding sources, programming and developmental role are any different in the two types. As the obtained shows, due to their distinct nature, the two pursue different philosophies with regards to funding sources and their programming and editorial content.

While only two community radio stations were used as samples the findings are sufficient to answer the research question, without being generalised to purport to represent the entire sector.

5.2 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling was appropriate for this study in that it was necessary to use our own judgement in selecting the sample. Also known as judgemental, selective or subjective

sampling, purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling where researchers use their own judgement when selecting respondents for their study (Foley, 2018). Researchers use purposive sampling when they want to target a particular set or respondents, who are selected because they fit a particular category (Foley, 2018). In this study, the sample of the two stations was determined to be representative enough to allow for the research question to be adequately answered. The respondents were managers and listeners of the two community radio stations, not random members of society.

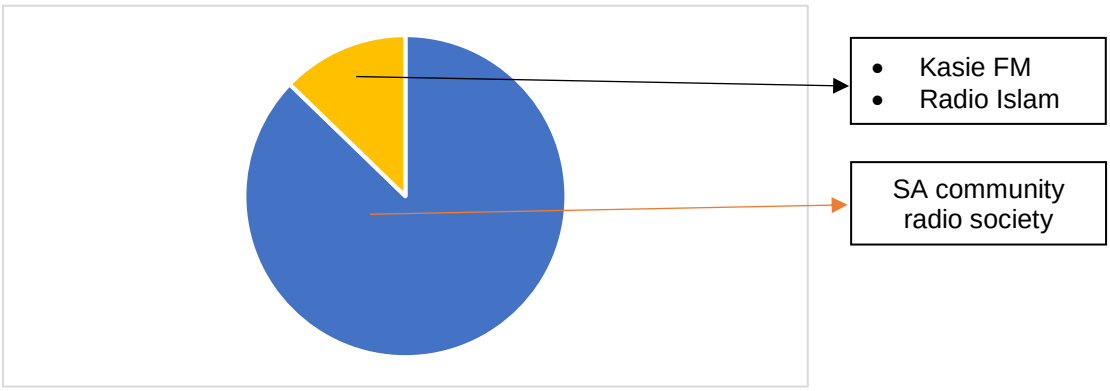


Figure 10: An illustration of the purposive research method.

This sampling method requires researchers to have prior knowledge of the purpose of their study so as to properly select the participants in the study (Foley, 2018). Put simply, in purposive sampling, the researcher identifies participants who fit the purpose of the study. In this study, for an example, people who are not involved in community radio, or in the two stations, would not have been eligible for selection. Purposive sampling, therefore, does not select research participants randomly.

Palinkas, Horwitz and Hoagwood (2015) said purposive sampling was widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the subject being studied. Ayres (2019) put purposive sampling as follows: “Researchers are working with a specific goal in mind through the lens of qualitative

research. The focus remains on individuals with specific characteristics in a targeted population group of interest."

As it would be in any research method, there are advantages and disadvantages. Ayres (2019) identified some of the following advantages:

a) In purposive sampling, researchers are able to draw on a wide range of qualitative research design methods;

b) The purposive sampling method allows for possibilities to create generalisations from the data, although these should be logical, analytical or theoretical in order to be valid.

c) This method allows for targeting a niche of respondents with similar demographics. In other words, it is not necessary to draw data from respondents with conflicting characteristics. In this study, for example, the idea was to know whether funding sources have an impact on programming of community radio. It would not have helped or added value to ask the question to random members of society.

d) Although polling in the same demographics, it is still possible to achieve a maximum level of variation using the purposive sampling method. This would be done by taking a heterogenous approach to this research option, by selecting respondents from a diverse range. In the instance of this study, although the samples were homogenous, the research approach was heterogenous, targeting a wide range of people, namely managers of different departments of the stations and unrelated listeners.

e) Most importantly, purposive sampling allows for a smaller margin of error, unlike random sampling. This is so because the respondents have identified characteristics that put them in the sampling, in the first place. "Each person has characteristics that place them into the same demographic… They think and act the same way" (Ayres, 2019), although they may hold different views.

The main disadvantage in purposive sampling is the potential for the unearthing of a significant number of "inferential" statistical procedures that are invalid (Ayres, 2019). The process is also prone to bias by the researcher. This perception is defendable from the

fact that researchers can make generalised assumptions when choosing the sample (Foley, 2018). However, such bias is only a threat when the researcher's judgement is not based on clear and objective criteria.

The sample of Kasie FM and Radio Islam is not biased in that it is representative of the population that needed to the polled.

5.3 Document Analysis

Document analysis constituted an important component of the study. This consisted of gathering and reviewing data obtained from various relevant documents using the document data analysis method.

Scott (1990 p. 34) put it simply when he defined a document is a "written text", which "must be studied as socially situated products". Silverman (1993) said documents (for the purposes of research) comprised i) files, ii) statistical records, iii) records of official proceedings and iv) images.

Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight (1996, in Ahmed, 2010, p. 5) said the document analysis of documents was about the search for explanation and understanding, in the course of which concepts and theories are likely to be advanced, considered and developed. Document analysis, also known as documentary analysis, is "non-reactivity" (Webb et al., 1984, in Ahmed, 2010, p. 10), because records tend to be unbiased as the documents are collated, usually for other purposes. The data collection methods generally do not change the data being collected (Bailey, 1982, in Ahmed, 2010 p. 13). The researcher is not in a position to be biased on subjects and the authors of documents are unlikely to assume their future use in research studies.

In this research, the document analysis method was used to access crucial background data and to supplement information collected through in-depth interviews.

The analysis of the documents in this study is contained in 6.7 below.

5.4 Selection of respondents

The selection of respondents was premised on their positions at the two stations and their connectedness to the research issues. The was also data gathered from industry stakeholders to help contextualise the study. These were from the MDDA and the GCIS. Unfortunately, those from ICASA did not avail themselves for interviews.

5.4.1 Radio Islam

a) Moulana Heider Ali Dhorat is the Station Manager. He oversees the day-to-day operations of Radio Islam. An Islamic scholar, Ml Dhorat is steeped in community work in the Islamic fraternity. He has been with the station since its inception.
b) Ms Zunaida Moosa Wadiwala is a board member, who started serving about a year ago. She serves on the human resources sub-committee of the board.
c) Mr Ismail Suliman Variava is the station's Public Relations and Compliance Manager. He has been with the station since its conceptualisation in late 1995. An educator by profession, Variava's job entails liaising with various structures such ICASA and other industry organisations.
d) Mr Habib Bobat is among the programming staff.

5.4.2 Kasie FM

a) Mr Milo Morewana is the station's head of sales and marketing. He has been with the station for the past four years. His job entails marketing the station to advertisers to sell advertising airtime.
b) Mr Jabulani Xhasa is the station's programme manager. He joined the station 20 years ago before it started full broadcasts. He runs the station's programming, deciding which content to broadcast or not.
c) Ms Matshidiso Khiba is responsible for human resources at the station.

5.5 In-depth interview questions

In-depth interviews were conducted with all the named respondents as well as eight listeners (four per station) whose names are being withheld for ethical reasons.

In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research method that entails conducting rigorous interviews with a small group of individual respondents to probe their views on a particular research issue (Boyce and Neale, 2006, p. 3). In this study, in-depth interviewing was appropriate in helping to explore the research issues in a detailed fashion. Boyce and Neale (2006, p. 3) argued that this method of interviewing was advantageous because it was conducive to extracting detailed information from the interviewees than it would be possible in other data collection methods such as surveys.

The interviews with the officials of the two stations, were conducted face-to-face at their respective stations, and they were asked the same set of questions (see Appendix 1). Based on the research question and sub-questions, the interviewees were asked about their station's sources of funding, criteria for programming choices and whether both their funding sources and editorial content enabled or inhibited their stations from playing a developmental role.

Listeners of the two stations were asked the same questions (see Appendix 2). They were asked about their listening to the station, their involvement in the running of the channel and whether they thought that it played a developmental role. as stated above, their names are being withheld for ethical reasons.

5.6 Research limitations

The research had certain limitations, particularly with regards to ICASA. The regulator failed to supply information about the sector's compliance with its developmental role or broader mandate. ICASA monitors compliance with various aspects of broadcasting, thus they would be in possession of information that would have provided a comprehensive look at how community radio, in general, is adhering or not to its developmental role or mandate.

Secondly, the study was limited from the point of view of time that would have allowed for a bigger sample.

CHAPTER 6: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the findings of the study using the explanatory framework, which according to Sunday (2016, p. 35) is guided by the research question. Before discussing the data gathered from the interviews and document analysis, data assembled during fact finding research is presented. This data is crucial to contextualise the entire research.

6.2 Funding of Community Radio

The literature review chapter, above, as exhaustively discussed the fact that financial sustainability of community radio has been a source of much debate internationally. In South Africa too, community radio is not able to sustain itself from neither the advertising revenue nor state funding through the MDDA. Advertising in community radio comes from two sources as illustrated below. Figures from sources other than these are not available as individual stations would have directly recruited their advertising.

	2013–2014	2014–2015	2015–2016	2016–2017	2017–2018
GCIS	R11 415 688.27	R15 170 546.84	R26 274 787.27	R22 054 282.25	R23 549 365.92
Media Connection (Commercial)	R37 094 098.30	R32 179 213.14	R34 475 926.94	R42 881 105.78	R52 707 414.97

Table 2: Community radio advertising revenue (MDDA, 2018, p. 54)

With regards to MDDA funding, the amounts are considerably low. According to MDDA's communication manager, Ms C. Langbridge, in the 2015–2016 financial year, for example, the MDDA only funded 25 out of 275 community radio stations recognised by ICASA, disbursing only R38 million. Stations receive anything from R900 000 in a "strengthening" grant (those already on air) to a maximum of R2,5 million in start-up costs (C. Langbridge, personal communication, November 8, 2018). Only between 25 and 30 community stations receive funding every year. Thus, several community radio stations suffer from sustainability problems that have seen some 106 collectively owing signal

distribution company, Sentech, R32 million in 2018 (C. Langbridge, personal communication, November 8, 2018). In a situation where transmission costs account for between 60 and 70 percent of a station's expenditure, an investigation has since been launched to find ways to help community stations cope with this cost item (C. Langbridge, personal communication, November 8, 2018). Ms Langbridge said that among the options under investigation was for the fiscus, through the MDDA, to pay Sentech for their capital costs incurred in erecting radio transmitters, which would bring down the monthly fee from about R30 000 to a mere R5 000. Many stations should be able to afford this (C. Langbridge, personal communication, November 8, 2018). When erecting transmitters for community radio stations, Sentech amortises the cost over a period of 10 years. The stations then pay monthly fees towards that cost, plus management fees. That is what makes the signal distribution costs to be so high (C. Langbridge, personal communication, November 8, 2018).

The other option, according to Ms Langbridge, is to allow stations to erect and manage their own transmitters and thus not have to pay Sentech or other signal distributors.

State communication agency GCIS also plays a role in funding community radio. GCIS has devised a project where they run programming in about 65 community radio stations and pay about R6 000 per station for placement airtime each time content is supplied. The stations have no editorial input in these programmes. They also place paid adverts on behalf of state institutions (L. Klaas, personal communication, November 7, 2018).

Financial Year	Amount
2011–2012	R20 166 791.46
2012–2013	R19 179 996.98
2013–2014	R14 268 455.19
2014–2015	R15 170 546.84
2015–2016	R22 714 089.55
2016–2017	R20 665 102.25
2017–2018	R23 737 865.92
2018–August 2018	R 8 359 282.55

Table 3: GCIS spending on content placement on community radio, excluding advertising (L. Klaas, personal communication, 8 November, 2018)

The project of placing content in radio stations without their editorial input is at the heart of this research, because it is a clear example of a relationship between funding sources, programming and editorial control. Can programming made available in this way to community stations be expected to play a developmental role? What about the proverbial *he who pays the piper calls the tunes*? Klaas (personal communication, November 7, 2018) insisted that the programming that GCIS supplies to community radio stations is of a developmental nature:

> "It's about the Department of Justice educating people on how to access legal aid or explain the "justice chain"; the Department of Trade and Industry informing listeners about where to get help when they want to start co-operatives; the Road Accident Fund explaining communities about how to claim (for relieve assistance) after being involved in a motor accident. All this is developmental."

Nonetheless, in late 2018, only 65 radio stations where part of GCIS' funded content scheme. The agency does not fund stations that are not licenced by ICASA or whose tax affairs are not in order. On the other hand, some stations have refused to be part of GCIS' scheme, arguing that they did not wish to propagate government policy. Klaas said the GCIS had no problem with stations refusing to carry the content because it was their decision to make.

6.3 Sample stations

In line with the purposive research method that was pursued in this study, two stations were chosen, namely Kasie FM and Radio Islam. They are both based in an urban setting in the Gauteng province. They differ in that the former is a geographic community station while the latter is a community of interest service. As it has been discussed in the methodology section, the purposive method allows for respondents from the same demographics, with the same or similar characteristics, to be interviewed. In this method, the idea is not to find contrasting views, per se, but to extract opinions, perspectives and theories.

On the other hand, the amount of time available for the study was not adequate to increase the sample.

6.3.1 Kasie FM

Kasie FM is South Africa's fourth biggest community radio station in terms of listenership with 185 000 listeners in the period January 2018–June 2018 (Mpofu, 2018). It was started in 1997, broadcasting with temporary event broadcasting licences. It started broadcasting full-time in 2007. The station broadcasts to an approximately 30 km radius using a 200watt transmitter. The Kasie FM signal is received in parts of the Ekurhuleni southern regions of Boksburg, Alberton, Germiston, Thokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus and surrounding areas. Other parts of the province such as east of Johannesburg, north of Vereeniging and the eastern region of Ekurhuleni, namely Wattville and Kwatsaduza also receive the station (Online Radio Box, 2018).

Kasie FM is licenced as a geographic community radio station to serve the communities of the trio of townships Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus, known as Kathorus (M. Morewane, personal communication, January 9, 2019).

Katlehong was the first of the three Kathorus townships to be established, falling under the then Germiston municipality. Thokoza was officially established in1955 as part of a series of re-settlements of shack dwelling black labourers that had flooded the East Rand in response to the early goldfields in the area at the close of the 19th Century (Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2001, in Marx & Rubin, 2008). The settlements were cleared after the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), pushing black residents out of the newly declared white municipalities into four areas on the East Rand. In Boksburg, black workers were split between the original Boksburg North location (established in 1910) and Stirtonville that was built in the 1920s. Germiston established separate Asian and black townships between 1912 and 1913 (Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2001 in Marx & Rubin, 2008). Thokoza, which is the smallest of the Kathorus townships in terms of land size and population, was home to 105 827 residents according to the 2011 population census (Frith, 2011).

Vosloorus is the home of Kasie FM. Local community newspaper Kathorus Mail has reported that the origins of the township could be traced to the gold and coal mining activities in the Boksburg area, east of Johannesburg. After gold and coal was discovered around the Boksburg area and hundreds of black, coloured and Asian migrant workers from around the country and beyond, had converged on the mining companies' labour

compounds in search of work. Mining bosses desperately needed the surplus labour to mine the minerals underground, but they did not have land on which to house and keep the abundant labour workforce (Kathorus Mail, 2016). Thus, Kathorus Mail (2016) added, concerned about losing the much-needed labour, mining bosses appealed to the government of the Prime-Minister General Jan Smuts to make available a piece of land west of the Boksburg Central Business District to settle and contain the growing labour force that was increasingly becoming a "necessary menace" with loitering outside their compounds. Land was found nearby and was made home to blacks, coloureds and Asians who could not be accommodated in mining hostels until they found employment at the mines (Kathorus Mail, 2016). IsiZulu-speaking residents at the new settlement soon nicknamed it "e'Julewe", loosely translated to mean "jewellery" or "place of wealth". The settlement changed its name in 1911 to Stirtonville, in honour of a local municipal superintendent. In line with apartheid Group Areas Act of 11950 (SAHO, 2014), in early 1960s all the black residents of Stirtonville were moved to a new township on the border of Boksburg and Germiston called Vosloorus. There does not seem to be any explanation for the name Vosloorus.



Figure 11: Map of Kathorus (Google, 2018)

The township's Asian residents were relocated to Actonville, to the east, in Benoni, while Stirtonville was declared the sole residential area of the coloured community. In 1962 was

renamed Reiger Park (Kathorus Mail, 2016). The 2011 census put Vosloorus' population at 163 216.

Economic activity in Kathorus is largely tied to other areas in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality in which it is situated. In 2015, the gross value added per capita of Ekurhuleni was determined to be the fifth highest of South Africa's metros, at R73 946, lagging behind the other country's major metros such as Tshwane (R90 823), Johannesburg (R89 296) and Cape Town (R81 488) (Global Africa Network, 2018). Ekurhuleni hosts Africa's largest airport, OR Tambo International. The metro's infrastructure includes air, rail and pipelines, which contribute 73.6 percent to the local economy. The single biggest contributor to the Ekurhuleni economy is the finance sector (24.28 percent), followed by manufacturing (17.57 percent) and general government business (17.25 percent).

There is no strong economic activity in Kathorus, except retail and small businesses. The poor economic standing of Kathorus could be one of the reasons why Kasie FM is not financially strong living "from hand to mouth" according to M. Morewane (personal communication, January 9, 2019).

6.3.2 Radio Islam International

Radio Islam International is situated in the southern Johannesburg suburb of Lenasia, or Lenz for short. I. Variava (personal communication, January 9, 2019) said the idea of establishing the station was conceptualised following the Jabulani conference in 1991. In this conference, community broadcasting was identified as the third component of broadcasting along with public and commercial broadcasting (Horwitz, 2004). "When the regulator started licencing community broadcasters in the post-1994 era, we submitted an application in 1995, and eventually got a licence in 1996." The station started broadcasting on 10 April 1997 (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). The idea was to "get a voice for the community and to provide a learning forum where people could empower themselves about things that impact their lives" (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). Radio Islam has a listenership of 89 000. It broadcasts from Lenasia and Durban, in English (96 percent), Arabic/Urdu (two percent) and Afrikaans/ Zulu/Xhosa (two percent). The station is overseen by a board of directors

whose members are drawn from the Lenasia community. The board comprises 15 members of which seven are female, in line with ICASA regulations. They are elected by members of the community at an Annual General Meeting (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). Staff members are paid a stipend. The station uses no volunteers because of the uncertainty such a system brings.

The stations website describes its growth as follows:

> Since inception, the station has established a captive audience based on its specific religious content. With internal growth, wider expertise and a broader range of content has attracted a wide audience in areas well beyond its licence mandate. We are guided by the Noble Qur'aan and the Sunnah (traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him) (Radio Islam, 2018).

According to the website, the station's aim is to "promote the message of Islam. It has also become synonymous with Islamic values and a tool to dispel misconceptions relating to Islam and Muslims in South Africa and abroad" (Radio Islam, 2018). It broadcasts in AM and MW to reach audiences in South Africa and uses satellite to reach as far as Uganda. Through its audio streaming online, the station boasts 1 765 000 hits from as far away as Australia, USA, UK, etc. (Radio Islam, 2018).

The station's programming line-up is most convenient for this study because it features a series of programming that can be regarded as developmental. Some of the programmes are sponsored by NGOs and commercial interests. The study probed whether there was any relationship between funding sources, programming and the developmental role.

Lenasia has its own community website, www.lenzinfo.org.za, which is reportedly updated daily. The area is a so-called Indian township, adjacent to Soweto, south of Johannesburg in the Gauteng province. It is part of the City of Johannesburg and lies approximately 35 km south of the Central Business District (Lenzinfo, 2018).



Figure 32: Map of Lenasia (Google, 2018)

It became home for Indian descendants and other people of Asian origin that were forcibly removed from various parts of Johannesburg during the apartheid's era forced removals. They were forcibly removed from the central suburbs of Fordsburg, Newtown, Newlands, Pageview, Martindale, Turffontein, Overton, Bertrams, Jeppe and La Rochelle (Dickson, 1966). These suburbs were declared white areas under the apartheid regime's Group Areas Act of 1950, meaning that non-whites had to vacate. Indians and other Asians had to leave their businesses, houses and flats to relocate to a slum over 35 km away (Dickson, 1966). The township is situated near a military base called Lenz, and the name Lenasia is thought to be a combination of the words "Lenz" and "Asia" (Lenzinfo, 2018).

Lenasia is now a thriving suburb with everything, from shopping malls, churches, madrasahs, mosques, banks and various commercial and industrial sectors. Three satellite radio stations, Radio Islam, Eastwave FM and Channel Islam International, broadcast from Lenasia using terrestrial and satellite transmission (Lenzinfo, 2018). Radio Islam is the only one broadcasting as a community radio station with the required ICASA licence, which is among the reasons it was chosen for this study.

The township is divided into extensions, including an over-flow area called Lenasia South, also referred to as Daxina by the locals.

The suburb's population has grown exponentially from hundreds of people when the township was created to over 60 000 inhabitants in recent years. Although still predominantly occupied by people of Asian origin, the township today is more cosmopolitan with diverse residential and business areas that include people of other races (Lenzinfo, 2018).

Year	Population
1960	650
1970	21 037
1996	48 211
2001	54 457
2010	± 60 000

Table 4: Growth of the population of Lenasia (SAHO, 2016)

6.3.2.1 The economy of Lenasia

As it will be shown elsewhere in this report, Radio Islam benefits immensely from the relatively strong economy of Lenasia, which is a key source of the station's advertising revenue. The economy of the area is boosted by what a report from the Gauteng Department of Finance and Economic Development called "a viable entity" referring to Lenasia's Central Business District (SAHO, 2016). Businesses in Lenasia are reliant on shoppers from the nearby townships of Soweto and Eldorado Park as well as Ennerdale, to the south. The Lenz Military Base also generates a lot of business in the suburb. Business activities include 80 percent in retail trade, nine percent in auto maintenance and repairs, 5,5 percent in medical services, 3,5 percent in financial and banking services, and two percent in professional services such as engineers, lawyers and architects (SAHO, 2016). Lenasia has three industrial areas that contribute immensely to its economy: The Albert Street Industrial Area has 27 enterprises doing construction, food processing, auto repairs, warehousing, metalwork and printing; the Anchorville Industrial Park houses over 28 firms that are engaged in cosmetics, construction, furniture, food processing, plasticware, metalworks, warehousing, and auto repairs and maintenance; and the Lawley Industrial Area is used by construction giant Corobrick that manufactures bricks for regional and national distribution (SAHO, 2016).

6.3.2.2 Muslims as the target audience

As a community of interest radio station, Radio Islam's target audience is the Islamic community. Islam is a relatively small religion in South Africa, with only 1,9 percent of the population practising it (BusinessTech, 2016). In Gauteng, the province where Radio Islam is situated, the religion is practised by a mere 1.5 percent of the population. Most Muslims are found in the Western Cape (7.3 percent) and KwaZulu Natal (2.6 percent) according to 2013 statistics (Schoeman, 2017).

	Province (per cent)									
Religious affiliation	**WC**	**EC**	**NC**	**FS**	**KZN**	**NW**	**GP**	**MP**	**LP**	**RSA**
Christian	87,8	83,5	98,4	97,7	78,5	93,3	87,1	93,2	79,9	86,0
Muslim	5,3	0,4	0,9	0,6	2,0	1,5	2,4	0,8	0,9	1,9
Ancestral, tribal, animist or other traditional African religions	2,8	8,6	0,0	1,4	12,3	3,0	2,3	4,0	4,5	5,4
Hindu	0,4	0,1	0,0	0,0	3,3	0,1	0,8	0,1	0,0	0,9
Jewish	0,5	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,6	0,0	0,1	0,2
Other religion	0,7	0,2	0,3	0,1	0,5	0,1	0,6	0,4	0,2	0,4
Nothing in particular	2,6	7,2	0,3	0,1	3,3	2,1	6,3	1,5	14,4	5,2
Do not know	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,0
Total	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**

Table 5: Percentage distribution of religious affiliation in South Africa (BusinessTech, 2016)

Muslims have been part of Johannesburg life since the late 19th century. Martin and Cook (2016) wrote that the first mosque in Johannesburg, known as the Jooma Masgid Mosque, was built after the foundation stone was laid on 15 May 1918, by Syed Jammool Hoosain Mashade, an important religious man from India who happened to be visiting Johannesburg at the time. Out of the city's population estimated at 4.4 million in 2016, three percent practise Islam as their religion (World Population Review, 2018).

Muslims have played a significant role in the politics of South Africa, particularly in the struggle against apartheid. Tayob (2009, p. 21) suggested that "Muslims are deeply involved in national politics and are fully represented in different levels of government".

He added that their representation in politics far outweighs their proportion in the general population. In 2007, for example, 18 out of 490 members of parliament from both houses (National Assembly and the National House of Provinces) were Muslim (3.7 percent); two out of 26 cabinet ministers (7.6 percent); two out of 22 deputy ministers (9 per cent); 15 out of 210 Cape Town city councillors (7 per cent); four out of 173 councillors in Johannesburg (2.3 percent) (Tayob, 2009, p. 21).

Radio Islam spreads the message of the religion and aims to correct negative perceptions about Islam. “This is a developmental role” (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019).

6.4 Answering the research question

The purpose of the study is to conduct a critical analysis of the relationship between funding sources, programming and developmental role of community radio. Thus, this study’s main research question is: What is the relationship between funding sources, programming and editorial content and the developmental role of community radio? The sub-questions are:

i) Is community radio in South Africa able to play its developmental role in view of the possible influence of its funding sources?

ii) If not, what are the views of community radio practitioners and other stakeholders on how the situation could be remedied?

iii) In view of demands for increased government funding of the sector, what are the views of stakeholders on the measures that would be necessary to avoid state interference in the operations of community radio, should the sector be dependent on government funding?

iv) What is meant by developmental role of community radio in the South African context?

Through interviews and document analysis, the data below was generated.

6.4.1 Radio Islam funding sources' relationship to programming

According to Mr Variava, funding sources for Radio Islam comprise 70 percent from advertising, 15 percent from sponsorship of programmes, 10 percent from donations from organisations and five percent from community contributions through monthly debit orders. Advertisers and programme sponsors are largely financial institutions, food industries, vehicle companies and NGOs. Government advertising is "problematic" and the station receives very little of it (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019).

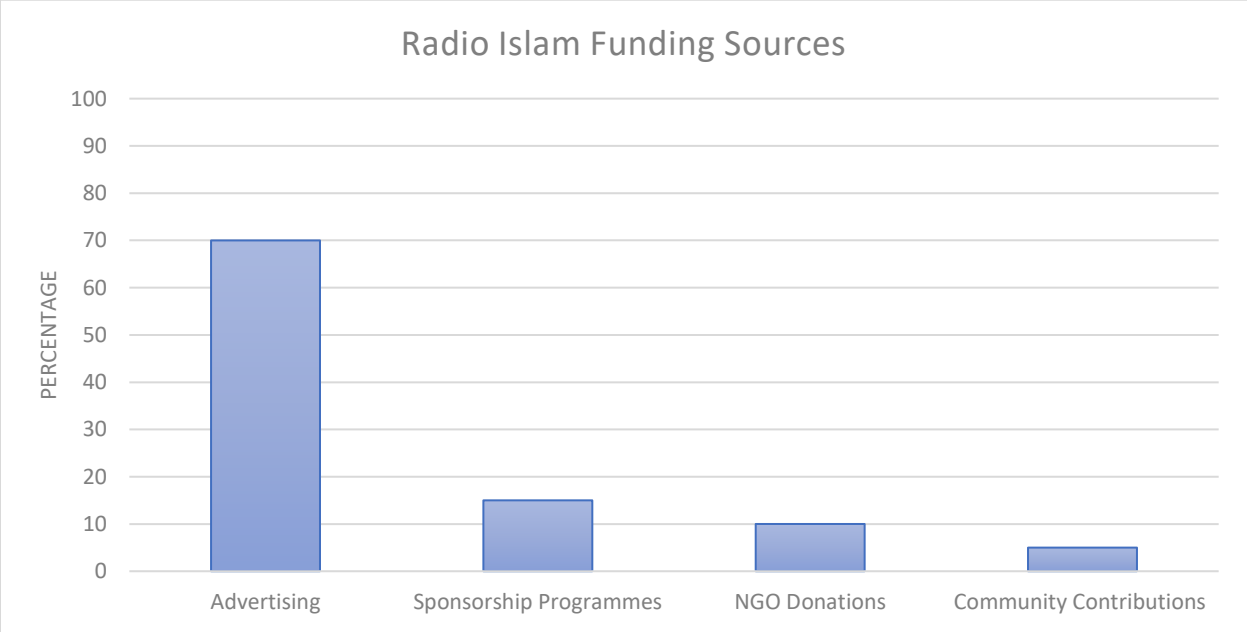


Figure 13: Radio Islam funding sources.

The GCIS's funded content scheme is not workable for the station, thus it does not carry it (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). Their (GCIS') scheduling and other stipulations simply do not work the way Radio Islam works. Advertisers and sponsors are not allowed to influence programming and editorial content. The station's editorial code is strictly enforced and all staff that interact with clients are instructed to strictly observe it (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). H. Bobat

(personal communication, September 5, 2019) concurred, saying “advertisers do not overreach into programming.”

While generally advertisers tend to shun developmental programming because it might not help them sell their products, the opposite happened at Radio Islam. Commercial sponsors spend on programmes with developmental content that is developed by the station “without influence from sponsors”. They use the programmes to teach people about issues of a developmental nature, but at the same time promote their products and services (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). NGOs, for example, sponsor programmes to inform and educate people about their activities and campaigns, at the same time raise funds (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). Internationally-renowned disaster relief NGO, Gift of the Givers, is among the station’s clients. This is an example of funding sources supporting developmental programming, without influencing programming, albeit to achieve their own objectives.

However, Variava admitted that community radio, in general, was not playing the developmental role that it should: “They all want to be commercial … The tool is not being used properly, and ICASA is not taking it seriously” (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). The problem might be the quest for commercial revenue as a survival mechanism, he admitted.

6.4.2 Kasie FM funding sources’ relationship to programming

Kasie FM relies on one source of revenue, namely advertising (M. Morerwane personal communication, January 9, 2019). However, the station also sells slots to church organisations to preach but the income from this is minimal and not considered sponsorship (M. Morerwane, personal communication, January 9, 2019). Most advertising, about 75 percent, is from commercial sources, with the remainder coming from government departments such as the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Council. The station gets no donations or sponsorship of any kind.

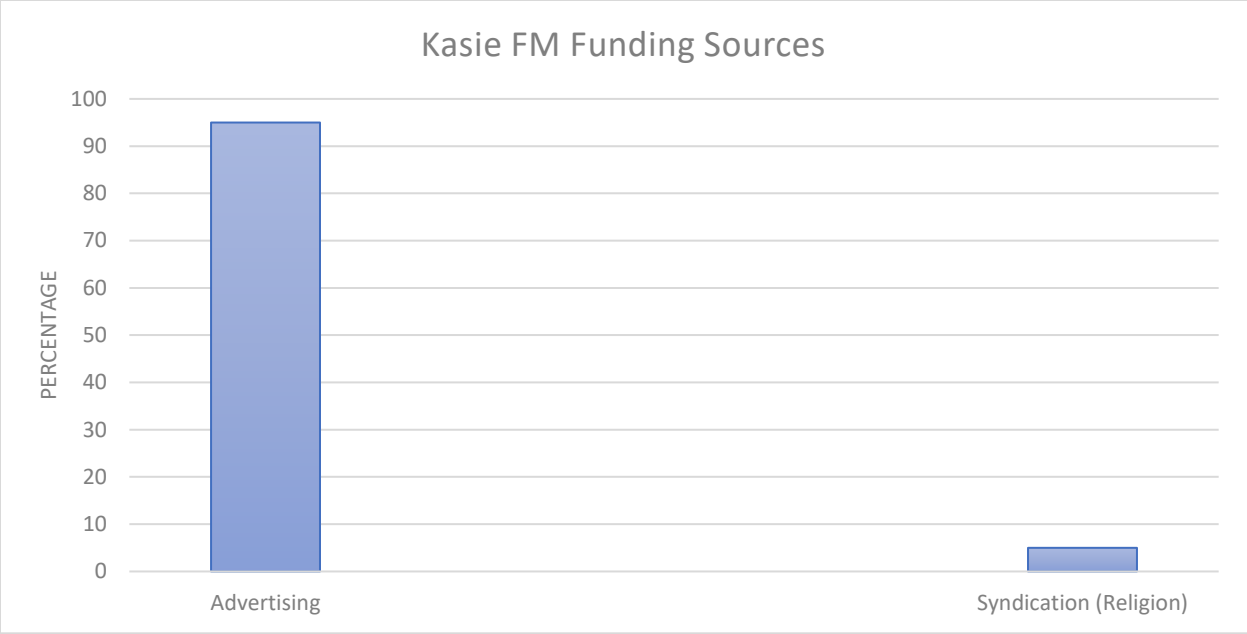


Figure 14: Kasie FM funding sources.

The station pursues a policy of editorial independence and does not allow advertisers to influence its programming (M. Morerwane, personal communication, January 9, 2019). “Advertisers buy advertising space based on what we have, we don’t do anything special for them” (M. Morerwane, personal communication, January 9, 2019). The content is not tailor-made to meet advertisers’ needs but comply with ICASA’s licence conditions. He admitted that despite ICASA licence conditions, sometimes their programming is informed by audience demand, but insisted that advertiser needs were never the basis for any programming or editorial decisions.

He also admitted that other community radio stations bent backwards for advertisers and allow them to influence their programming and editorial content:

> “Most radio stations compromise their principles… Some advertisers take advantage because some stations allow them to dictate their content. If we all refused, advertisers would have no way of keeping on doing it” (M. Morerwane, personal communication, January 9, 2019).

Advertisers follow the station’s listeners, be they youth or local business, who are attracted by their content.

6.5 Programming

The programming of the two radio stations is largely based on their licence conditions, the respondents insisted. All the respondents answered “no” to the question as to whether there was a relationship between their funding sources and programming. However, Variava and Morewane conceded that their colleagues in the industry were sometimes influenced by advertising in their content decisions. They gave no details. Kasie FM said the syndicated programming arrangement was allowed by ICASA and was a service to their community, which was deeply religious.

6.5.1 Radio Islam programming and editorial content

An analysis of the weekly programming schedule of Radio Islam (Figure 11) reveals a series of programmes that would fit the broad description of developmental programming.

Apart from news and current affairs that are regarded as crucial for community radio’s developmental role, the station carries several other programmes that can be viewed as typically playing a developmental role. These include: Family Health Matters, Conflict Resolutions, Social Issues in Islam, Socially Speaking, Household Express, Anti-Racism and Equality in Islam, Effective Parenting During the Matric Exams, and The Conversation, among others. H. Bobat (personal communication, September 5, 2019) said their programmes were largely edutainment, aimed at educating in an entertaining manner. The station’s programme makers were guided by the board’s programming committee, which set guidelines (Z.M. Wadiwala, H. Bobat, personal communication, September 5, 2019). The station played no music, except *Anasheed* (Arabic for religious music with no instruments).

The station invites experts on some of these issues to discuss them on air with listeners and to offer advice to help with community development (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). Some of these programmes are sponsored by corporate entities, but he insisted that they were not created to attract financial sponsorship. Sponsors followed the audiences that the programmes deliver. Therefore, there was no relationship between the sponsorship (funding source), programming and editorial content and the developmental role that the programmes and the station play (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019).

Listeners that were interviewed agreed that the station broadcast programmes that “are relevant to Islam”. The station also hosted townhall debates to educate the community about political and other social issues. Recently, it hosted a talk on racism following accusations that members of the Indian community were racists against black people (H. Bobat, personal communication, September 5, 2019). “We decided that even if it was not true, we needed to openly talk about the issue.” One listener said the event was a major success in that it helped several members of the community to voice their views on the burning issue of racism in South Africa.

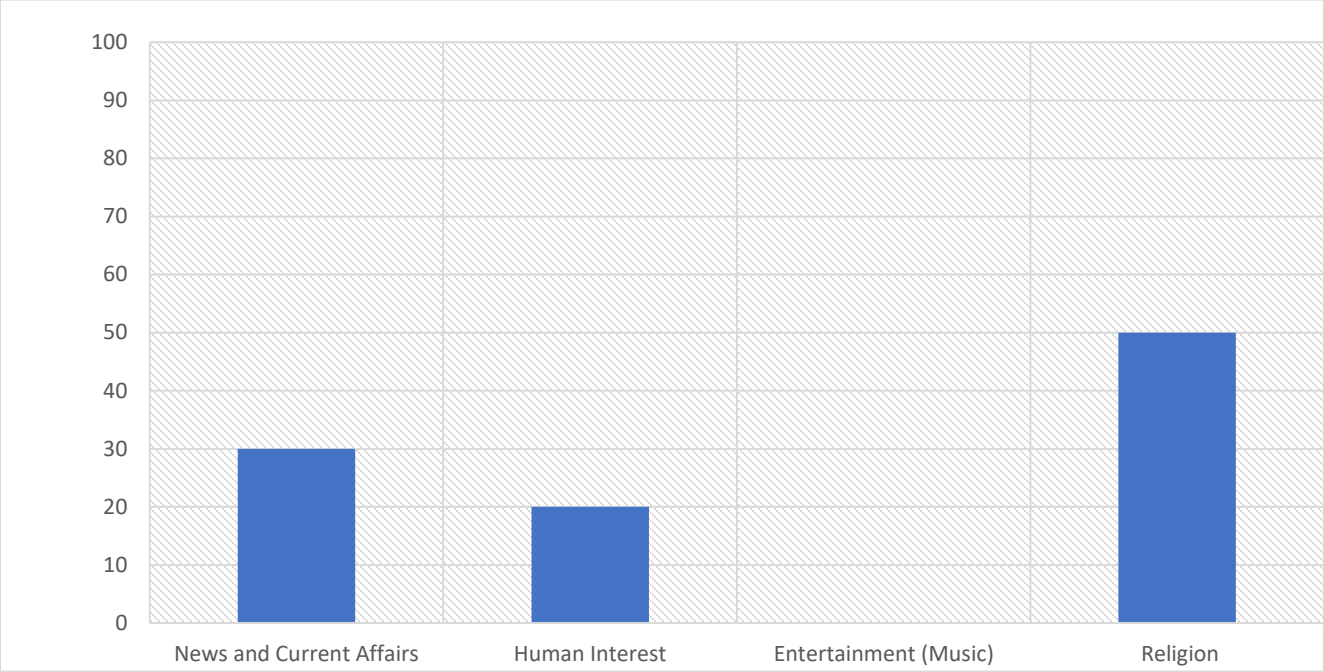


Figure 15: Radio Islam’s daily programming schedule in percentages

6.5.2. Kasie FM Programming

Kasie FM has a much simpler schedule. Viewed in its entirety, the schedule appears to be geared towards entertainment, which is not surprising as its licence prescribes 60 percent music content.

J. Xhasa (personal communication, August 19, 2019) said their programming broadly aimed to empower women, the youth, children, small businesses, etc. apart from music, news, current affairs and talk shows are also featured in the station. NGOs and religious groups are given platforms to popularise their programmes, sometimes at a cost. With

regards to much, the station complied with ICASA's newly set quota of 80 percent local and 20 percent international music. Local music is not simply national music, it's largely about up-and-coming artists from the community (J. Xhasa, personal communication, August 19, 2019). A listener concurred with the view that the station played music that was grounded in the community (therefore playing a developmental role): "It's a good station. It plays the sort of music that is grounded in the community. But they also play music from foreign stars. We like it too".

M. Morewane (personal communication, January 9, 2019) said that all their programmes were aimed at "developing people in various areas". For example, the breakfast show from 6h00–9h00 "integrates everything". The station carries what it terms "local business features", which (M. Morewane, personal communication, January 9, 2019) referred to as development-orientated in that it is aimed at developing local business. There are occasions when local churches buy slots and the station conducts outside broadcasts. In these, the station has no editorial control except to give the clients certain pre-conditions (M. Morewane, personal communication, January 9, 2019). Morewane insisted that none of the programmes were influenced by advertising or sponsorship or their pursuit thereof. The church slots, he said, are part of their service to the community, although they are only available to those that can pay.

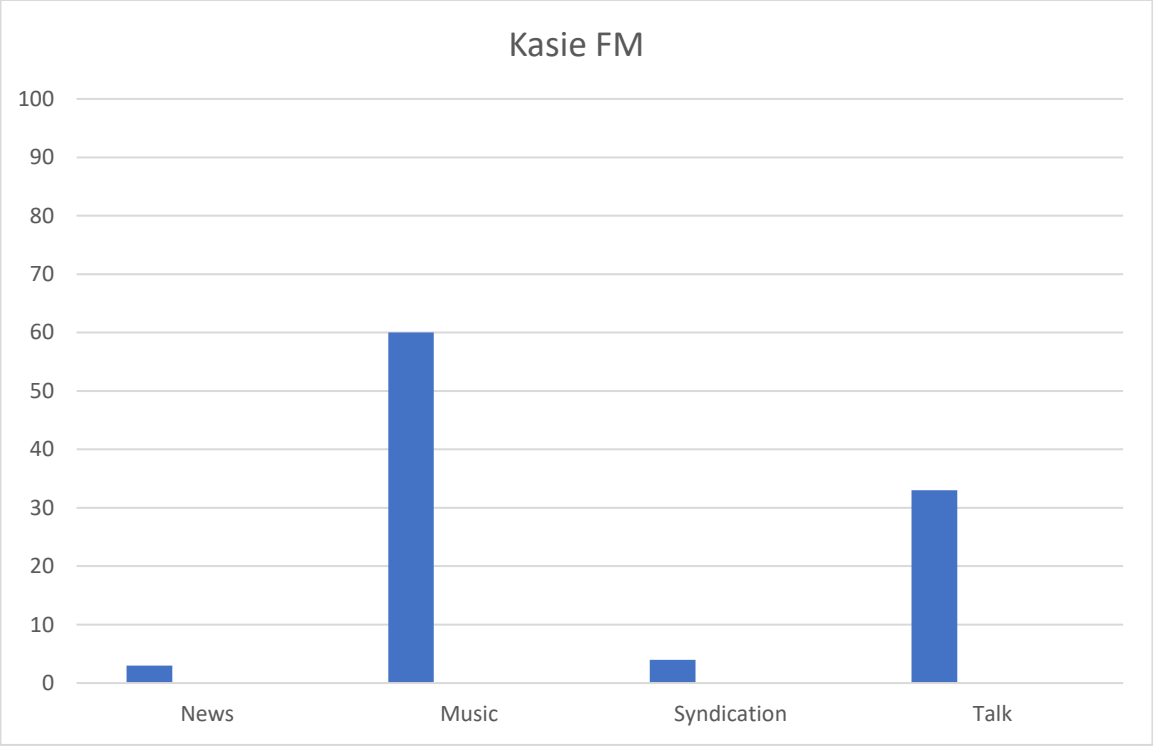


Figure 16: Kasie FM's daily programming schedule in percentages.

6.6 Developmental role

The two stations maintained that they existed to play a developmental role in their communities. They played this role through their programming and various projects such as skills training and outreach activities.

6.6.1 Kasie FM

J. Xhasa (personal communication, August 19, 2019) said when they applied for their broadcasting licence, they made the promise that their programming and editorial content would play a developmental role. The station came into being after the violence of the 1990s that ravaged the area, particularly Thokoza. Thus, when the station started broadcasting, it sought to "build bridges" between the various fighting factions (J. Xhasa, personal communication, August 19, 2019).

Kasie FM's human resources manager, Matshidiso Khiba, says the station played another developmental role by running training programmes designed to equip youngsters in their community with broadcasting skills. The training included internship for students in tertiary education institutions and skills training for any promising youngsters in the field of

broadcasting. As a result of the training programme, several youngsters have gone on to work for national radio and television stations in various capacities. “We don’t mind to train them and let them go to other stations. We see that as playing a developmental role in our community (M. Khiba, personal communication, August 19, 2019).

Community participation, which is a key component of the developmental role of community radio, was absent at Kasie FM. Some of the canvassed listeners seemed not aware of the mandate of the station, for example. They had never attended any meetings regarding the station. They only thought of it as a great station and liked the idea of a community radio station in their township. J. Xhasa (personal communication, August 19, 2019) conceded that the interaction with the community could be better. He said they planned to establish a community programming committee to advise the station on content issues.

6.6.2 Radio Islam

The purpose of Radio Islam is to “promote the message of Islam” (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). The station has also become synonymous with Islamic values and a “tool to dispel misconceptions relating to Islam and Muslims in South Africa and abroad” (Radio Islam, 2018). This suggests that their role is to develop their community through the message of Islam (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). The station’s programmes, which include talk on family health matters, conflict resolution and social issues in Islam are all aimed at developing the community. The station runs various skills training camps for the youth in an effort to contribute to their development (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). “We aim to develop our community across the board, including business, NGOs and several others,” he added.

The station is involved in several outreach programmes, which H. Dhorat (personal communication, September 5, 2019) said contributed immensely to community development. They station ran a mobile clinic in surrounding informal settlements, spending R1-million per annum giving freed medication to some 4 000 patients. The station also ran an ambulance service comprising five vehicles manned by 25

paramedics. The station raised funds from the community to finance these services and other outreach programmes (H. Dhorat, personal communication, September 5, 2019).

6.7 Document Analysis

The study analysed the documents below to get a wider picture of the sector, the stations and the funding mechanisms.

Sadly, Kasie FM would not release any documents.

6.7.1 Radio Islam

The documents that were analysed were those that had a bearing on the three themes, namely funding sources, programming and editorial content and the developmental role. At Radio Islam, the following documents were analysed:

a) Class Broadcasting Service Licence: This was issued by ICASA and serves as the official document that allows the station to legally broadcast. It stipulates important aspects such as the licencing period, a stipulation of the type of community and, most importantly, programming conditions. However, the licence's only obvious stipulation for developmental content is the provision for local news and information as well as talk. The licence offers no detail about programming.
b) Annual General Reports, 2017, 2018 and 2019: Radio Islam made available its Annual General Reports that detail, among others, the station's activities in the community, financial statements, listenership figures and stakeholder engagement. The reports outline the station's various activities that, which it says are meant to develop communities. These include training programmes for the youth, mobile clinic, ambulance service and helping small enterprises promote their businesses through advertising.
c) Programming schedule: The station's daily schedule features developmental programmes, such as Conflict Resolutions, Social Issues in Islam, Family Health Matters, Labour Law, over-and-above news and current affairs.

d) Editorial Code: The code specifically stipulates that Radio Islam shall not be influenced by advertising or political considerations in its editorial decisions. This is regarded as an important measure that protects the station's programming and editorial content from being influenced by funding sources.

6.7.2 GCIS Dashboard

GCIS has developed what it called "The Community Media Compliance Dashboard" (Appendix 3) where it has listed all the stations that it knows to be operating in the country. The Dashboard paints a sorry state of compliance with regulatory and legislative provisions on the side of community radio in South Africa. The information therein contradicts ICASA's (2017) assertion that there are 275 community radio stations operating in the country. It lists 330 stations, some of which are operating illegally. There document specifies two categories of illegality: non-compliance with taxation laws and the having an expired broadcasting licences or never having had one at all. This means that some 108 radio stations are operating without a valid broadcasting licence, of which 55 are not known to the regulator, ICASA.

A further 237 stations do not comply with the country's tax laws, according to the Dashboard. The Dashboard also revealed that the GCIS spent R926 774.25 buying media space in community radio between April and August 2018, while it spent R26 358 449.50 for the same purposes in the entire 2017/8 financial year.

6.7.3. MDDA Annual Report 2017–2018

According to its 2017/2018 annual report, the MDDA is a statutory development agency for promoting and ensuring media development and diversity. The agency received moneys appropriated by parliament as well as contributions from broadcasters and printing entities (MDDA Annual Report, 2018). The agency had a total revenue of R79 242 000 in the financial year under review, the bulk of which (R49 237 000) was contributed by broadcast funders, and the balance by the government. The print media contributed nothing (MDDA Annual Report, 2018). This suggests that the broadcasting industry, not the government, is the major funder of community media through the MDDA. Only eight community radio stations were approved for funding in 2017–2018, of which

six were new applicants and two received funds for strengthening their operations (MDDA Annual Report, 2018). The total amount spent in the financial year in supporting community broadcasting was R35,9 million, including projects that had been approved during previous periods.

6.8 Returning community radio to its role

When it comes to funding community radio, there is broad agreement, albeit with differing perspectives, that government funding would be necessary to enable community radio to be financially and socially sustainable. Such funding would help the stations to do more than they are able to do at the moment (M. Morerwane, personal communication, January 9, 2019). Z.M. Wadiwala (personal communication, September 6, 2019) concurred saying government funding would help them with various operational costs, something that would make the station function better.

I. Variava (personal communication, January 7, 2019) argued that a different funding model for community radio should be found to ground the sector in its developmental role. He also contended that ICASA had licenced far too many stations and that the "(advertising) pie was not getting any bigger". A funding model should be developed which would make the government the main funder of community radio, followed by corporate social responsibility funding from private companies (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019). He opined:

> "Community radio is growing and is at the grassroots, dealing with real community issues. Government and the corporate sector should recognise this role and support us. Communities stations in rural areas will never be able to master enough advertising to fund their operations. That is why I don't think advertising is a viable model to fund community radio."

Government needs to come up with a funding model that will encourage and reward stations so that they can do more developmental programming (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019).

While ICASA has favoured geographic community radio stations, Variava's experience was that community of interest stations tend to function better and were more capable of

getting resources: “Our community is very attached to the station. The sense of community ownership is bigger, our listeners feel that the station is theirs because it deals with niche issues that concern them.” Geographic community stations tend to focus on broader issues, trying to be everything to everyone in the community (I. Variava, personal communication, January 7, 2019).

Two listeners of Kasie FM had differing views on whether the government should support community stations financially, with one listener who runs a small business saying: “If government can assist them, then it should also assist all of us. They are also a business like us, we all hustle to keep going”. Another listener took a more flexible approach: “Government has been giving money to many failing companies (referring to State Owned Enterprises), they can also help community stations… It’s the same thing”.

Another listener of Radio Islam felt that the government might not be able to afford to fund all community stations, because there were too many. Unless they were fewer and the need for a given station was clearly demonstrated, he said, they should not get government funding. “As it is now, anyone who wants to start a station, simply gets a licence and goes ahead. Government can’t afford to fund that,” said the listener.

6.8.1 Who pays the piper, calls the tunes?

Concerns of government interference in the running of community stations as a result of its funding were expressed. There was, however, a view that legislation and other measures could be adopted to prevent this.

The solution to community radio’s funding problems is government funding without any strings attached (M. Morerwane, personal communication, January 9, 2019). This would be achieved by passing legislation that prohibits government interfering as a result of its funding (M. Morerwane, personal communication, January 9, 2019).

I. Variava (personal communication, January 7, 2019) said government funding could be problematic if government wanted to be involved in programming, such as the GCIS’ funded content model. “Community radio can’t be a propaganda tool,” he strongly remarked.

One of the listeners that was interviewed thought that the government might interfere in the operations of community radio stations if it supported them financially. One asked rhetorically: “So what?” He insisted that there was no way the government would give money to the stations without being involved in deciding how the money is used: “It’s that simple, if they don’t want government interference, they must not accept government money.”

6.8.2 The developmental role in the South African context

As discussed in the literature review section, the developmental role of community radio is not one size fits all. While dominated by music to the tune of 60 percent of its daily schedule, Kasie FM, for example, argued that they played the developmental role in the way they broadcast music. “Featuring local artists and educating them on the issues of royalties for their music, is playing a developmental role” (J. Xhasa, personal communication, August 19, 2019). They insist that all their programmes are of a developmental nature, because are in response to the needs of their community. When it came to syndicated programming, which was not produced by the station, nor without its editorial control, he insisted that this too played a developmental role. the programmes in question were religious sermons that were aired by the station in exchange for a fee. “Religion is big in our community. We have to support its development.” The station complied with ICASA’s requirement that only 20 percent of a community station’s schedule would be syndicated programming (J. Xhasa, personal communication, August 19, 2019).

In the case of Radio Islam, which is a community of interest station, all its programming content is aimed at serving the said community of interest. “That’s developmental,” argued I. Variava (personal communication, January 7, 2019).

Therefore, it can be accepted that as long as content of a community station is truly geared towards responding to the needs of the community, and not those of other interests, that programming is developmental. Such community needs could be as broad as socio-economic development or entertainment.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter critically analyses the relationship between funding sources, programming and editorial content, and the developmental role of community radio as it has been established in this study.

As afore stated, the study was motivated by concerns raised by various researchers and institutions about the fact that the community radio sector in South Africa was being pushed by financial constraints to become more commercial and less developmental. As early as 1996, after only two years of community radio in the country, the Media Institute of Southern Africa raised concerns that the sector was “commercial radio in disguise” (Berger, 1996). The regulator raised similar concerns in 2017 and said that “over time, various community radio stations appear not to cater for the specific needs of their communities” (ICASA, 2017, p. 33). Weinberg (2011) concurred, saying that a study he had conducted had found that community radio was approaching financial sustainability as its strategic objective (at the expense of its intendent role). Bosch (2017, p. 72) said community radio in South Africa found itself “in somewhat of an identity crisis”. Kruger (2011 in Bosch, 2017, p. 63) found in an empirical study that community radio stations did not meet their mandate in the area of providing original, local news. Conrad (2012, p. 786) decried what he called “outdated emancipatory rhetoric, such as how community radio can ‘give a voice to those without voices’” and suggested that notions of community radio being owned and controlled by communities needed a re-look because some of their content and operations were controlled by financial sources.

The above analyses from various scholars point to an absence of an adequate funding mechanism that would ensure financial sustainability of the sector. Government funding through the MDDA appeared hopelessly inadequate compared to need as revealed by the MDDA’s latest annual report, which was discussed above. There can be little doubt that in order to be sustainable, the stations might very well adopt various strategies, including bending backwards for influence by funding sources in programming and editorial content. This study has demonstrated that while some might think that it is advertisers who would tend to influence programming and editorial content, other funding

sources such as NGOs, donor agencies, government and even communities can exert influence as a result of their funding.

The respondents at Kasie FM and Radio Islam professed that their stations did not allow funding sources, be they advertisers, sponsors or donors, to influence their programming and editorial content. However, they were open about the fact that their colleagues in the sector were not sticking to their developmental role because of influence from funding sources.

Another practice that is becoming more common in the industry is that of so-called syndicated programming, which is produced without the involvement of community radio stations. Needless to state, this suggests more than funding sources influence over programming and editorial content in that the funders have unchecked control of the content they hire airtime for. Indeed, the GCIS, which is one of the entities that supplies such programming to community radio, insisted that the project was meant to assist the sector as it did not have the financial and technical capacity to produce certain types of programmes. The GCIS viewed the programming it supplied to community stations as developmental and argued that it did not detract the sector from its central mandate. Kasie FM accepts ready-packaged content from religious groups and broadcasts it for a fee without any involvement in its production. They argued that ICASA allowed the sector to fill up to 20 percent of their schedule with syndicated programming. It seemed ICASA's rules in this regard did not any have provisions on editorial involvement of the stations.

Viewed individually or collectively, these practices suggest that all is not well in community radio. It does appear the root cause of all the sector's woes is undoubtedly the lack of an appropriate funding mechanism capable of protecting it from being taken advantage of by funding sources. While some observers point to a lack of technical and managerial skills among community radio practitioners as causes for their inability to produce better programmes or canvass for more revenue, the sector's poor financial state simply makes it unable to afford better producers and managers. In fact, several stations use volunteers or pay their staff only a stipend, not a salary, as they cannot afford to. This employment method cannot guarantee the acquiring and retaining of skilled personnel. without

permanent, skilled personnel, a station cannot produce high quality content or have the managerial skills to sell advertising and better manage its resources.

Some stakeholders, such as Mr Variava, argued that the market might be overcrowded with community stations, hence there was not enough advertising for all. ICASA has licensed about 275, while GCIS puts the number at 330 stations. These stations compete for advertising revenue with public and commercial radio as well as television, print and online platforms. This overcrowding of the market might be making the advertising pie too small, not enough for all, argued I. Variava (personal communication, January 7, 2019). He feared the situation was about to get worse with the daunting economic outlook of the country. Whether he has a point or not, the importance of all communities having access to the airwaves should remain sacrosanct. The role of community media in aiding community development, particularly for the marginalised, has been argued extensively in previous sections of this study. The question is what is to be done to arrest the situation and return community radio to its normative developmental role? The answer might lie in government taking a more serious approach to the sector than it has done so far.

There also appears to be vagueness in ICASA's programming mandate to the stations. For example, Radio Islam's programming provisions contained in its ICASA licence simply stipulate that the licencee shall broadcast a total of 14 minutes of local news, 14 minutes of national and 12 minutes of international news per day. The licence further states that it shall play no music except for recitals and outlines percentages of languages to be used by the station. There is not a single mention of developmental programming. Similarly, Kasie FM's licence merely stipulates 60 percent music and 40 percent news. These vague provisions leave the stations free to decide what and how much developmental content to broadcast. While it is suggested elsewhere in this report that the developmental role of community radio is not a one size fits all, without ICASA making a slight mention of it in the licence conditions of stations, it is unclear how the regulator would be able to monitor compliance with the developmental role. Granted that lengthy and overly prescriptive licence conditions might not be the way to go, greater clarity about the developmental role of stations in their licences would perhaps help them understand and strive to comply. After all, the developmental role of community radio is contained in its founding legislation, the IBA Act 153 of 1993. As Bosch (2017, p. 74) put it: "The impact

of stations may vary, but it is critical that they are held to their original mandate of providing spaces for education and self-expression, as well as playing a role in the developmental of the public sphere."

7.1 Further Research

Bosch (2017) has argued that there has been no research on the programming, content and role of community radio. She argues that while community radio was growing audiences, as illustrated in various studies, there was no information about what fuelled the said growth. This growth is puzzling in a situation where the sector is beset with a series of problems, most of which are linked to a lack of finances. How is such growth possible amid all the reported problems? Has the sector perhaps shifted in its role to respond to the financial challenges?

This study was to a certain extent limited in that it only targeted a sample of two stations. A broader study encompassing more stations and covering the kind of research that Bosch (2017) said had never been conducted, might be able to find answers to all the burning issues of the sector.

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APPENDIX 1: STATION OFFICIALS QUESTIONS

A1. What of the following categories best describes your current position in the radio station (Kasie F/Radio Islam)?

1. Station Manager
2. Programme Manager
3. Editor
4. News Editor
5. Head of Marketing/Advertising
6. Board Chairperson
7. Board member
8. Other, please specify……

A2. What are the station's sources of funding, in order of highest to lowest percentage?

1. Advertising ……%
2. Sponsorship ……%
3. Donations ……%
4. Other, please specify……. ……%

A3. What are the main entities that contribute to the station's funding in the following categories;

1. Advertisers

a) Commercial…….%
b) Government……...%
c) NGO…….%
d) Other, please specify…….%

2. Sponsors

a) Commercial……..……%
b) Government…….%
c) NGO……..%

d) Other, please specify……..%

3. Donors

a) Commercial……%

b) Government……%

c) NGO……..%

d) Other, please specify……..%

A4. What attracts the following categories of funding sources to commit funds to the station?

1. Advertisers
2. Sponsors
3. Donors
4. Others, please specify……

A5. Do any of the funding sources of the station have any involvement in the station's programming or editorial content?

A6. Does the station have any policies that prevent editorial influence by funding sources? If so, please give details.

A7. What is the station's mandate?

a) What informs the station's programming choices?

A8. One of the roles of community radio is to provide developmental programming. What developmental programming does the station broadcast?

A9. Does the programming prescribed by Icasa in the station's broadcasting licence meet a) audience needs, b) advertiser needs c) the community's development needs? If not, what are the gaps?

A10. Some stations have faced pressure from funding sources of different kinds who would not place funds in certain developmental programmes that might not help them with selling their products or advancing their causes. Has your station come across such funding sources and how has it handled them?

A11. In your experience, do your funding sources enable or inhibit your station from playing its developmental role by making programming and editorial content demands that are not conducive to this task? If so, how so?

A12. In your opinion, what would be the most ideal form of funding community radio that would enable your station to fully play its developmental role without being detracted by funding sources?

A13. Some people in the community media sector have argued for an increase in state funding of community radio. Do you agree with this thought? If so, would it make your station's effort of playing its developmental role easier of more difficult?

A14. Some people in the industry have complained about the fact that community, public and commercial broadcasters seem to be relying on similar sources of funding, thus ending up having the same kind of programming, which makes the distinction between the three blurred. Do you agree with this view? If so, what do you think should be done to re-organise the broadcasting sector so that the funding sources and roles of each of the three components are clear?

A15. Apart from the questions that I have asked, do you have any thoughts about the issue of the relationship between funding sources, programming and editorial content and the developmental role of community radio in South Africa?

APPENDIX 2: LISTENERS QUESTIONNAIRE

B1. For how long have you been listening to the station?

B2. What attracts to this station as opposed to other stations that you could, or listen to?

B3. What is your understanding of the mandate/role of the station?

B4. Do you think the station meets its mandate through its broadcasts?

B5. Do you get any sense that any of its programming and editorial content is influenced by advertisers, sponsors or donors? If so, can you:

a) Give examples;
b) Do you like or hate the practise?
c) Do you find the practise enabling or inhibiting the station from meeting its developmental role?

B6. What ideas do you have that would help the station avoid being influenced by funding sources in its programming and editorial content?

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B6. What ideas do you have that would help the station avoid being influenced by funding sources in its programming and editorial content?