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The 'special interest' and 'geographic' models of community radio: A study of the effectiveness of the two models in meeting the needs of the community.

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No. of words: 40,500 (approx.)

Submitted in the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Masters of Arts in Journalism and Media Studies in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Johannesburg, 14 February 2009

This Masters Research Report is dedicated to

Professor John van Zyl,

whose dedication to the ideal of a vibrant and effective community radio sector inspired my work at ABC Ulwazi, Johannesburg.

1. Declaration

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

_____

Romie Murkens

_____16___ Day of ___June_____ 2009

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction

Community radio in South Africa is an essential component of the overall democratisation of communications that started in the 1990s in the wake of a crumbling apartheid system. In the flurry of debate and excitement at the prospect of being architects to a new South Africa in that period of transition, media activists, African National Congress members, civil society organisations, religious leaders, academics and trade unions sought to define a role for public, commercial and community radio. They formed a broad front of liberals, left-wing activists, communists, utopian socialists and religious faith leaders. Among the ideas discussed was how radio should be part of the creation of a new participatory democracy. Community radio in particular should enable previously disadvantaged communities to have a say and take responsibility for their own socio-economic development both at community and national level. However, such disparate groups were bound to have their differences. One question which arose was whether to include in new broadcasting legislation, the community of interest model, in particular ethnic or faith based stations, on the grounds of freedom of expression and pluralism, or on the other hand to legislate only for a geographic model, on the grounds that this would better facilitate the disappearance of old apartheid-type structures that had previously divided people along racial/ ethnic lines.

The title of the research report is:

The special interest and geographic models of community radio: A study of the effectiveness of the two models in meeting the needs of the community.

This research report aims to examine these debates concerning the two models of community radio in South African broadcast legislation - the community of interest and the geographic community model - and answer the following questions:

1. Which model is more effective in achieving the goals of community radio?

2. Which model is more effective in terms of establishing a culture of democratic governance and community participation?

3. Are these models still relevant and useful in the South African context?

This research report will approach these questions by focusing on a station from each model: *Radio Islam*, a faith-based community of interest station and *Soshanguve Community Radio*, a geographic station.

The choice for these two stations is based on their similarities and their differences: both *Radio Islam* and *Soshanguve CR* are situated in townships established under apartheid. Soshanguve, north of Pretoria, is a 'previously' or 'historically disadvantaged' location serving a predominantly black community. It has one of the longest established 'geographic' community radio stations in South Africa. *Radio Islam* is a 'community of interest station' situated in Lenasia, which some post-apartheid commentators refer to as 'previously advantaged'. It serves people who originally immigrated as indentured labourers from the Indian subcontinent as well as Muslims who have migrated into Lenasia from other parts of Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

The background to the emergence of community radio in South Africa is outlined in Chapter Two, together with the legislative aspect of the South African broadcasting laws which sought to define community radio in South Africa as a vehicle for development and social change. This period was characterised by the many ideological debates which accompanied the legislation, and which took place in a plethora of media conferences throughout the 1990s. In taking on board the two models, the law makers took into account socio-economic conditions. Their aim was to empower the previously disadvantaged communities. They did not exclude the more advantaged communities which had already established themselves as on air stations or were in the process of doing so in time for the new licensing regulations of 1993/4.

Since the creation of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in 1993, the two models of community radio have been part of the transformation of South Africa. Their performance has been monitored and evaluated in several rounds of licence hearings by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) which took over from IBA in 2000.

Two key areas that ICASA monitors examine are governance and participation. This research report chooses these two areas to compare the performance of the two models because they are seen as two sides of the same coin: governance reflects on the management; participation reflects on the listenership. The criteria for effectiveness of each model in their respective community will become clearer when we look at the theoretical framework and literature review contained in Chapter Three.

There has been a shift away from the more racial definition created by apartheid, towards a more heterogeneous one, that reflects the changes in society. The faith community of *Radio Islam* has become more culturally mixed as has the geographic community of *Soshanguve CR;* and *e*ach has its own strong religious traditions. Thus the lines between the faith and geographic model of community radio have been blurred and in academic circles a sociological approach to the two community radio models tends to generate new questions around the formation of 'publics' and 'counterpublics', - concepts based on the seminal public sphere theories of Habermas (1991). Van Vuuren (2006) has developed and extended these theories by looking at ways in which community radio creates hegemonies and marginalizes others outside the main interest group. These concepts will form part of a re-assessment of the term 'community' in South Africa explored in Chapter Three and will inform the findings and conclusions laid out in Chapters Six.

Finally the study is of academic interest. Although there is a wealth of literature on community radio theory from developing countries, mainly in Latin America, from writers such as Freire, (1969; 1970), Beltran, (1967; 1974), and Matta (1981), there is a paucity of writing in the libraries of English-language media studies. "Community radio to some extent suffers from the general cultural neglect of radio, … its

standing as a marginal type within a marginal subject would suggest it should be poorly studied and researched" (Jankowski, 2002: 51-2).

Therefore, even on this modest scale, this study hopes to add to the body of knowledge on the theory and practice of community radio.

1.1 Rationale

The arguments for and against the need for the special interest and the geographic model existing side by side have largely died down since the heady days of debate in the 1990s. However, there is still the question of the "worrisome chasm" that Ibrahim refers to (2004: 41). Political and media activists who helped to shape the broadcast landscape of South Africa see that the socio-economic differences have not been abolished and that community radio may have succeeded in some areas as a community building tool, but that communities are still divided along class lines. Ibrahim and other critics think that the two community radio models not only reflect the differences between poor and middle-class, but that they help to reinforce the divide between rural and urban, between advantaged and disadvantaged.

Evidence for this comes from the fact that the community radio sector has been dominated by "white stations serving white audiences established mainly as community of interest stations" (Duncan, 2001: 166). The IBA sought to correct this imbalance but the imbalance between the white-dominated community of interest sector and the black-dominated geographic community sector still remains, according to Duncan. Ibrahim cites certain advantages that the special interest model has over the geographic model:

> "... the geographically-based stations are managed by people of an average age of 27, while the average age of the management of the special interest and mostly faith-based stations is 40 years. The latter group is usually better educated and more likely to have previous experiences in broadcasting, largely as a result of being previously advantaged" (2004: 41).

While this is not a critique in itself, it does, in Ibrahim's opinion, represent "a worrisome chasm" (2004: 41). It is a view supported by the station manager of *Soshanguve CR*, Lebelo Maleka (2006), who considers the existence of special interest stations to be "a continuation of apartheid-like structures" .

Collings (1997), Duncan (1998) and Ibrahim (2004) confirm in their findings that the two community radio models reflect a divide along class lines, which, as part of the apartheid legacy, are drawn along racial lines. The conclusion is that the special interest stations enjoy greater advantages over geographic stations. Paradoxically, Tleane (unpub.) concludes that the community of interest station advances the broader community better than the geographic station is able to; that faith based stations are the most consistent in terms of advancing the needs, aspirations and concerns of the broader community.

1.2 Conclusion

This chapter has laid out the fields of study which will be further examined in the coming chapters. The rationale for assessing each radio model's success or shortcomings is linked to the set of criteria which will be established in the Theoretical Framework and Literature Review in Chapter 3. These will serve as the basis for the comparative case studies of *Soshanguve CR* and *Radio Islam* presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 aims to summarize the findings.

CHAPTER 2
Background: Community radio in South Africa

2. Introduction

Downing's assertion that 'alternative', 'micro' or 'grassroots' media offer radical alternatives to mainstream debate, and flourish "under conditions of open repression and denial of legitimate alternative media" (1984:190), is most apt when reviewing the history of community media in South Africa. This chapter offers a brief overview of the roots of this political struggle that took place within the media sector under apartheid and the debates that arose during the transformation process on how to establish a community radio sector in a way that would reflect the ideals of pluralism, freedom of expression and freedom of religion.

The first part of the chapter looks at how the proliferation of radical media representing oppositional voices, attracted Christian and Muslim opposition activists who felt able to collaborate in both the political and religious struggles against apartheid. The second section throws light on the transformation that took place to free the national broadcaster from its role as the state propagandist and the language question which had troubled communities under apartheid. The third section looks at the 'special interest' debate that flourished during the years immediately before and after South Africa's first democratically-held elections, based mainly on Christian community radio stations' fears that they would lose out to the growing demand from geographic stations and be driven to extinction. The fourth section looks at the license application process that started with the birth of the Independent Broadcasting Authority in 1993. Its unequal execution threw into stark relief the socio-economic divide between the urban/middle class communities of the special interest station and the poorly resourced locations of the geographic station applicants. The last section offers a brief summary and conclusion.

2.1 Political roots of community radio

South African media went through various stages from being the Christian humanist voice for African liberation (1880-1930), to becoming the more radical voice of political resistance in the late 1960s, until the un-banning of the ANC in 1990 (Horwitz, 2001; Switzer and Adhikari, 2000).

Political repression in South Africa became legitimised in 1948 when the National Party won the general election. Up to 1993, ownership and control of television and radio remained in the hands of tight-knit white ownership groups and, in a few cases, by a handful of Bantustan dictators within the jurisdiction of their 'homeland'. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) monopolized the airwaves under apartheid. It was actually the state broadcaster and "the propaganda arm of the National Party" (Van Zyl, 2005: 14), tightly controlled not only by the government and the propagandist board it appointed, but by the Afrikaner Broederbond (Berger, 2002), a secret, exclusively male, Protestant organisation in South Africa, dedicated to the advancement of Afrikaner interests and ideologically committed to separatism (Wilkins and Strydom, 1980).

Government censorship and legislation, such as the 1936 Representation of Natives Act, Native Trust and Land Act, meant that print 'protest' journalists were under constant threat and many publications were forced either to shut down or to merge with a new, black, commercial press. This was controlled by white entrepreneurs and led to "the de-politicisation of the protest press" (Horwitz, 2001: 49). However, the surviving radical media activists found some leeway in this climate of censorship and control, due to the fact that newspapers were privately owned and therefore, "less subject to the same level of state control as broadcasting" (Berger, 2000: 52). This allowed opposition groups the opportunity to chip away at the white dominated hegemony by printing and duplicating pamphlets and newspapers, all of which they could do in the privacy of someone's home or office. Thus a whole range of oppositional papers and alternative print, seen by the authorities as 'agents of propaganda', were in circulation with titles like *South, New Nation, Arise! Vukani, Grassroots, Abasebenzi, Clarion Call* and *Sash.*

A second phase of resistance press – most often referred to as the 'alternative' press – emerged in the 1970s with the Black Consciousness movement, particularly after the 1976 Soweto uprising. "What made the "alternative" press alternative were the adoption of an engaged stance in favour of the black liberation struggle and the destruction of apartheid" (Horwitz, 2001: 53).

2.1.1 Struggle for political and religious freedom

Breaking the political hegemony of the white minority National Party and its propaganda tool, the SABC, was one aspect of the oppositional fight undertaken; another was breaking the hold of the Christian Dutch Reform Church (NKG) which underpinned the apartheid government's political philosophy with religious tenets that "biblically justified the government's practice of racial segregation" (Haron, 2004: 4). Those who participated in this struggle included Christians from the NKG as well as from other Christian denominations, and people from other religions.

2.1.2 Muslims struggle against apartheid

Muslims had long been feeling the oppression of both a church and a state that considered them "a 'gevaar' – danger" (Haron, 2004: 5). The Muslims in South Africa numbered approximately one and a half million people. Yet in spite of their minority status as a religious group they were part of the greater majority of the oppressed and as such, could add their voices to the broad anti-apartheid movement (Haron, 2004: 15). The seminal *Call of Islam* pamphlet (31st March 1961) contained the names of those who condemned the policies from an Islamic standpoint. Their headline was: "Muslim demands Freedom!" On the 12th May of the same year a conference was announced to discuss 'Islam and Human Rights'. Islamic publications also focussed on rebutting both the NGK and the Anglican Diocese in their missionary efforts to attract Muslims away from Islam and the ensuing diatribe between the Christian and Moslem pamphleteers lasted well into the eighties (Haron, 2004).

2.1.3 Inclusivity over exclusivity

From 1976 onwards the volatile socio-political developments dissuaded Christian missionaries from proselytising near the mosques or entering predominantly Muslim areas. They were not safe “because they were seen as part of the instruments deployed by the apartheid regime to not only disarm the Muslims intellectually and Christianise them, but to also neutralise their views about apartheid” (Haron, 2004: 35).

Increasingly rigorous apartheid law enforcement had the effect of stirring political feelings for change and did little to neutralise the anger of those on the receiving end of harsh laws. On the contrary, Muslims in opposition grew stronger as they combined with the broad, all inclusive, anti-apartheid struggle. Christians and Muslims, for example, together mourned the killing of Imam Abdullah Haron in 1969 by the Special Branch, while at the same time, Canon Collins, who assisted anti-apartheid activists throughout the 1960s in the UK, led special prayers to the Imam in London (Haron, 2004).

In 1986, the Muslim Youth Movement titled its front page: ‘Islam – a Threat to Apartheid’. South African Muslims vented their anger at various meetings and rallies drawing them together with those from other religious traditions who were intimately involved in the interfaith organisations, such as Christian leaders Dr. Reverend Allan Boesak, Rev. Ds. Beyers Naude and Reverend Bernard Wrankmore, “who had been sharing anti-apartheid platforms since 1983” (Haron, 2004: 38). In the same year the South African chapter of the World Council of Religion and Peace (WCRP-SA) became affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF), both organisations priding themselves on building a pluralist future. Indeed, “the members of the WCRP-SA were (and still are) of the view that its formation and existence in the mid -1980s had been a contributory factor towards the transformation that took place in South Africa in 1990”. Their main goals were to “defeat apartheid, create a pluralist society and work for reconciliation in situations where there was inter-religious conflict and confrontation” (Haron, 2004: 39).

Nelson Mandela as President of the new democratic South Africa was instrumental in setting up the National Religious Leaders Forum which worked in consultation with the committee designing the nation's new Constitution to include the clearly written clause: that the South Africans be granted the 'Freedom of Religion.' The inclusivity of broad coalitions such as the WRPC, UDF and the ANC meant that freedom of expression and freedom of religion would be the foundation stones for future legislation in the broadcasting sector.

2.1.4 The impact of segregation on radio listeners

> "There is nothing wrong per se with having separate language services. … The problem with South African situation is that apartheid tainted everything, so even those things that are inherently good, because they were done by the system, became suspicious. The task is to remove the baggage of apartheid and normalize attitudes to language use" (Ndebele, quoted in Amosu, 1991: 20).

The National Government of South Africa made no pretence of its manipulation of the South African Broadcasting Corporation with the aim to segregate broadcasting, maintain control over dissemination of information and use the language stations as "the buttress of apartheid " (Amosu, 1991: 3). It started at the level of frequencies: SABC initiated a massive "re-engineering project" to take over frequencies for their broadcasts and ensure blanket FM coverage. Their motive was twofold: "to separate black people by broadcasting to them in their own language, and have many channels and control the airwaves" (Amosu, 1991: 3).

Black audiences could not access medium wave used by foreign broadcasters or ANC's Radio Freedom in Lusaka. Nor could they access each other's language programmes due to the restricted number of transmitters in each province. In fact people could only hear what the SABC wanted them to hear.

There were two statutory instruments at the disposal of the state for regulating broadcasting in South Africa; the Radio Act of 1952 and the Broadcasting Act of

1976. The SABC delineated the broadcast area of each language according to the Group Areas Act (1950) which finalised the apartheid plans for social engineering and prescribed which geographic area was to be designated to the black, Indian and coloured communities. In the 1960s, these communities were "forcibly separated according to race and colour and removed from their mixed communities to designated areas" (Morris, 1998: 760-61). Each ethnic area was restricted to its own language station. By 1991 there were nine language stations whereby only two were truly national stations and they were both 'white': Radio South Africa and Radio Suid Afrika, thus fulfilling the primary objective of SABC*:* "… to reinforce feelings of separateness and difference between ethnic groups and to make sure there was as little encouragement of multilingualism as possible" (Amosu, 1991: 3; see also Tomaselli and Muller, 1989: 89).

As a result of this separateness, a very strong 'brand loyalty' developed between the listener and his/her station. Audiences that did not overlap apart from in the metropolitan areas of Cape Town and Johannesburg where the SABC had to make provisions for the cultural mix of the population. However overall, listening habits were formed that restricted people to their ethnicity and language. Language was an important "identification tag" (Amosu, 1991: 3) imbuing a high degree of trust on the part of the listener both in their station's presenters and in the news and information being disseminated. Even at the height of the Defiance Campaign, the 1989 International Broadcasting and Audience Research (IBAR) survey showed that 63% of blacks believed everything they heard on the radio. A similar BBC survey carried out in 1989 also showed a high level of coverage and contentment with SABC radio services, which might have given the apartheid government the proof they needed to justify their policies (Amosu, 1991). However, according to an un-named SABC researcher, "If these people seem so content and happy it is probably because for a very long time people were so used to everything being given to them, and not used to having a right to express an opinion. The population must still grow and learn to express themselves and be critical" (Amosu, 1991: 5).

After 1993, community radio was to continue to broadcast in the vernacular which some feared could reinforce the separatism of the apartheid era. However, with the

additional new-found freedom of expression and opinion came a pride that stems from being recognised, acknowledged and listened to as equals.

Local news services on community radio, it was hoped, would be a great asset, “where extremely local political structures are taking decisions that deeply affect their communities and yet are effectively ignored by the mainstream media because they are ‘informal’” (Amosu, 1991: 29).

2.1.5 Freedom of expression and religion

The numerous conferences and workshops of the early nineties led to conceptualization of alternative communication models. For the first time in the history of South Africa, media activists and broadcasters were able to meet openly to discuss ways to “redesign the whole broadcasting environment” (Van Zyl, 2005:9).

Three key conferences took place in the space of two years: the Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves conference was held by the Africa-Europe Institute in the Netherlands in 1991. This was followed a year later by the Free, Fair and Open Media conference and The Media in Transition, both held on South African soil. Religious communities also took part and were proactive in setting up committees able to oversee and supervise religious broadcasting. The South African Council of Churches formed a steering committee - “An Independent Forum for Religious Broadcasting, to promote religious broadcasting” (Haron, 2004: 51).

Each organisation contributed in its own way to the democratisation of the media. The Campaign for Open Media (COM) “worked tirelessly at grassroots level to attain the goal of independent broadcasting in South Africa” (Minnie 2000, in Haron, 2005:5). In response to COM’s call for resolutions to be made to the relevant CODESA Working Group, CASET, an alternative media organisation in Cape Town, drafted a resolution emphasizing the importance of an independent broadcasting authority and a community radio sector (Girard, 1992). This reinforced the recommendations that the Jabulani! conference had passed a year earlier: that the new IBA should include a three-tier broadcast sector, independent of government, acting for the public good, based on principles of people empowerment, participatory

democracy and freedom of speech. It should legislate for a plurality of voices in community radio, thus allowing for religious interest groups to apply for a community radio license .

Later, the Bill of Rights (1996) enshrined the freedom to practise religion as long as that in no way impinged on the rights of others. Thus listeners within a religiously-defined community could evoke this right to apply for a community radio licence to disseminate their religious views.

2.2 Designing a new broadcasting landscape

Horwitz (2001: 132) notes that during discussions at the Jabulani! Conference, "some rank and file and executive ANC members and cadres associated the Radio Freedom were all for taking the SABC by force". Community radio, they believed, was all well and good, "but real power remained with the SABC and anti-apartheid forces must go after the state broadcaster and take control" (Jabulani! Doorn Conference Report, 1991: 20-22; see also Louw, 1993).

2.2.1 Pragmatism over ideology

The political cadres associated with Radio Freedom were out-numbered by elected leaders from the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity (DIP), who formed an effective alliance with the Movement for Democratic Media (MDM) and other civil society organisations (Teer-Tomaselli, 1993; see also Lodge, 2003). Drawing on Tom Lodge's analysis of how ANC policy was shaped in those days, Teer-Tomaselli (1993) argues that the ANC rank and file faction that supported 'partisan media' were won over or out-manoeuvred by this alliance. Pragmatism won the day. The idea of seizing control of the SABC was exchanged for the more viable option of ensuring an impartial broadcaster. Horwitz (2001) notes, that DIP head, Pallo Jordan, also viewed the independence of broadcasting as a matter of principle.

This pragmatism was largely thanks to the make-up of the United Democratic Front (UDF) which had formed in 1983 and operated under apartheid in South Africa, in contrast to the ANC which had been forced into exile after its banning in 1960.

According to Teer-Tomaselli (1993) the differences within the anti-apartheid alliance over broadcast policy had much to do with the democratic nature of the UDF's composition: trade unions, community based organisations, women, students, religious groups, youth, sports, political, professional, business organisations and interests groups. They were steeped in an ideological commitment to community-wide consultation and participatory decision-making, "in contrast to the 'commandist' political culture of the ANC that had endured years of underground armed struggle against the apartheid state" (Horwitz, 2001: 132). Those who had come from exile were more accustomed to top-down leadership and had visions of a new broadcasting landscape that reflected the authoritarianism to which they had grown accustomed. However, Horwitz claims that there was no clear cut separation of the two; indeed there was an overlap of sympathies and allegiances. After all, the UDF had consisted of ex-ANC members, and when the UDF was effectively banned in 1988 during the state of emergency, the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) emerged as their anti-apartheid successor. As with the UDF, membership was based on the adherence to the provisions of the ANC's 1955 Freedom Charter which "affirmed the multiracial character of South African society and promised equal status for all national groups" (Horwitz, 2001: 51).

Another major influence on media policy debates at the ANC National Congress, 1992, was the atmosphere of the post-February 1990 period, characterised by negotiation and compromise of the Convention of Democratic South Africa (CODESA) at every level of policy. Thus the ideal of an 'impartial' state broadcaster and an independent grass-roots community radio sector prevailed.

2.2.2 Broadcasting in the hands of the people

With the 1994 upcoming elections there was a suspicion among those preparing to challenge the National Party's domination of the SABC, that the predominantly white media would also "not be genuinely committed to the vision of a new non-racial South Africa" (Sparks, 2003: 84). They urgently sought to outwit them all and develop flexible communication strategies that could be adapted to match the speedy pace of events. The aim was to ensure access to information for all people, a public duty which, though enshrined in the Government Act No. 22 of 1936, had

been wilfully ignored by the national broadcaster. The ANC also began to tackle these questions at its seminar in 1991, their main concern being, “how to minimise the impact of the SABC’s pro-National Party stand in the first democratic election looming” (Hatland and Thorne, 2004: 29). The idea of the media as a vehicle for empowerment was endorsed in this seminar, as were the values of the media in terms of education, training and development (Teer-Tomaselli, in Louw, 1993: 237). At stake was not only the perceived legitimacy and credibility of the broadcast media but the legitimacy of the entire transitional process. Voter education in the pre-election period was therefore prioritized.

In the Defiance Campaign of the eighties the hands-on activities of CASET had set standards for involving communities deprived for generations of any meaningful participation in a democratic process (Girard, 1992; Bosch, 2005). This was to be the first task of community radio’s main proponents - to bring its listeners to the ballot box in April 1994. With considerable financial support from international foundations, media and civil society organisations sought to combat the distinct reluctance towards voter education shown by SABC, entrenched as it still was, in the apartheid mind-set (Horwitz, 2001). They started campaigning vehemently, “with particular emphasis on freedom of the press and airwaves and restructuring broadcasting in the future South Africa in the run-up to the first democratic elections to be held 1994” (Mtimde, 2000: 174).

There were an estimated 22 million eligible voters to reach and it was the Initiative for Free and Fair Elections (IFFE), a broad coalition of non-government organisations chaired by Barry Gilder, which together with the South African Churches successfully launched a major campaign of voter education. According to the UNHCR Special Rapporteur, Ms. Judith Sefi Attah, (UNHCR, 1993), mobile vans were deployed to reach rural areas and township communities. Independent voter educators were sent out to cooperate with 14 radio stations and a number of television stations in carrying the message of the political transition process. Given that an estimated 40 per cent of the population was illiterate it was considered more effective to convey these messages in the form of discussion groups, comedy and advertisements

This campaign helped to break the domination of the state broadcaster and sow the seeds for community- based media backed by legislation. The statutes passed by the IBA in 1993 were later amended or absorbed into the new statutes of 2000, when the IBA was dissolved, together with the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority (SATRA) to form the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA). The combination of these two Acts of (IBA, 1993 and ICASA, 2000) introduced path-breaking legislation that for the first time in the broadcasting history of South Africa, aimed at serving as broad a spectrum of South Africans' needs as possible under the regulatory eye of ICASA. The three-tier system would aim to cover all eleven official languages, all cultural groups, serve the interest of all sections of the public and encourage ownership, control and economic empowerment by people from disadvantaged groups.

2.2.3 For the public good

When community radio became embedded in the new broadcasting landscape, the idealism and activism of the mid-1980s were at last to be given their legal base. Community radio was moving from being a germinal idea in the minds of activists, who hoped for an alternative communication network based on the ideals of liberation struggle, into becoming a more formalized public sphere of legitimacy. Yet it was this ideology of liberation struggle that defined the early criteria of community ownership, participation, and independence, setting the community radio sector apart from both the national broadcaster and the commercial sector.

The SABC was also transformed from being the voice of dominant white ideology, to being ideally a truly public broadcaster owned by the public through a representative board answerable to a democratically-elected Parliament. There would be no free market, open-door principle for commercial broadcasters. They would have to satisfy specific requirements to serve cultural and linguistic needs of the region. Ownership was to be strictly regulated by ICASA to limit cross media ownership and foreign ownership. Licenses would be granted on the basis of how well that station could justify its need to exist within the community and region it was applying for and whether it served and represented the needs of the broader community in terms of local content and language (ICASA, Act 2000).

2.3 The special interest debate and the challenge of pluralism

In the early 1990s, ideological lines for and against the inclusion of the community of interest model in South African broadcast legislation seemed to have been drawn, to a large extent along those that had marked decades of print activism. The authoritarianism of South Africa's radical press in the 1980s saw ethnicity as a threat to unified resistance and as an apartheid –created phenomenon. Political ideologists fighting apartheid demanded a common focus which prescribed a resistance press that was non-racial. Coloured identity was rigorously denied as "a fiction created by white supremacists" (Horwitz, 2001: 349), with the result that radical newspapers such as *South* and *Grassroots* were not able to respond to the identity needs of the community.

The Afrikaans-language paper *Saamstaan,* based in the rural area of Oudtshoorn, was seen as a concession to apartheid divisions and a "crack in the façade on non-racialism " (Switzer and Adhikari, 2000: 309). In the context of the new democracy and the pending broadcast legislation for community radio, similar objections were raised against allowing ethnicity, religion or culture to be the identifying markers of a community. It was argued that "at a time when reconciliation was uppermost on the agenda, community radio might further ghetto-ise communities who unnatural boundaries were a direct result of apartheid policies" (Keene-Young, 1994: 1).

Thus the community of interest versus the geographic model of community radio debate was sharpened by arguments for an ideologically-driven, all-inclusive model, as opposed to one that conceded to apartheid-generated definitions of ethnicity and race; but also by intense competition for frequencies. Any step that took resources away from the vast majority of disenfranchised people was contended. Markovitz (1990) reiterated that the broadcasting spectrum is a finite resource and "for the sake of fairness and variety, its use *should* be controlled and therefore such a "right" limited" (in Amosu, 1991: 16).

Dr. G. Urgoiti, consultant for the Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF), and co-author of the first Community Radio Manual (OSF: 1999) recalls in a

telephone conversation (2005), that the debates in which he participated at the Jabulani! conference (1991) were not divisive, but more of an exploratory nature. He could not recall there being camps based on any ideological standpoint as such, but rather an atmosphere of excitement and open discussion. There was a general feeling that the people should decide Indeed, the Jabulani! conference in the Netherlands came to the conclusion, that “involvement by faith communities in local radio should be left to local negotiation and initiatives, and should not be regulated in the same way as national broadcasting policy” (Jabulani! Doorn Conference Report, 1991: 71).

The principle of pluralism was safeguarded by Section 2 of the IBA Act (1993) which sought to cater for all language and cultural groups, but it was considered impossible for the IBA to regulate alone. The Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) was set up by an Act of Parliament (Act 14 of 2002) to enable "historically disadvantaged communities and persons not adequately served by the media to gain access to the media. Its beneficiaries will be community media and small commercial media.” The category “historically disadvantaged South Africans” was an ‘empowerment criterion’ understood by the IBA (1993), as those against whom the apartheid system had discriminated and those who were discriminated against by reason of their gender (Horwitz, 2001: 172). This was later re-defined in the Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act (2000) to include race and disability.

In its position paper (2001) which reflected ideas and opinions from all stakeholders, the MDDA saw the need “to provide assistance through loans and subsidies, and/ or other measures such as postal rate or connectivity cost reductions”.

2.3.1 Rationale for keeping community of interest model

In line with the participatory, horizontal model of communication, Dr. G. Ugoiti explained in an interview (2005) that communities should be consulted as to what sort of radio they wanted rather than having it prescribed them. Furthermore, in the pre-election period of the early 1990s, the South African broadcast environment had already seen the inclusion of three ‘interest’ stations which had been granted licenses in the mid-eighties and were on air at the time of the media conferences: the

Christian station Radio Pulpit, the Indian station Radio Lotus and Good Hope Stereo for the 'Coloured' communities. Despite the fact that these were not community radio stations, they did, in Mtimde's opinion (2006), set a precedent for the inclusion of the 'special interest' model in community broadcast legislation, making their exclusion from future broadcast legislation difficult to defend.

Advocates for community of interest stations used the three interest stations as an argument for including the model in legislation on the basis that the three stations on air already "provide unique services to sizeable minorities" (Horwitz, 2001:167). Also, other accommodating gestures had already been made by the national broadcaster to offer Muslim broadcasters one air-time slot a week on the Afrikaans service, Radio Sonder Grense, and the Indian/Asian community a religious programme every Thursday evening on SAfm (Haron, 2001). In addition, the policy of 'negotiated settlement', compromise and consensus, dominated the political climate of the early nineties. During CODESA talks in the transitional period leading up to the democratic elections, Mtimde explained in an interview (2006): "It would have been unacceptable to take away licenses from on-air stations on the grounds that they were special interest stations, while at the same time handing out licenses to new geographic stations". This consensual position found its expression within the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Act of 1993. A community was defined as … "any group of persons or sector of the public having a specific, ascertainable common interest".

However, the inequities of the licensing process was reflected in the distribution of community radio stations across the nine provinces of South Africa, with the bulk of stations concentrated in the wealthier provinces of Gauteng and Western Cape (Duncan, 2001). The religious versus the secular model of community radio became an increasingly acrimonious debate fuelled by the fact that by 1995 there were thirty-seven stations on air, owned and controlled by whites, as opposed to twenty-three owned and controlled by black people. This gave the impression that whites were using the community of interest model as an entry-point into the new post-apartheid broadcasting landscape in a renewed attempt to dominate the airwaves.

2.3.2 The faith station debate and Parliament

From March 1996-June 1999 the Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting, Jay Naidoo expressed serious concern that millions of disadvantaged people who should benefit from the information, education and community enrichment that having their own community radio station would give them, were the least likely to have access to the airwaves. He reiterated his belief in community radio as a tool for improving lives, particularly of the poor:

> "A vibrant community broadcasting industry can make an immeasurable contribution towards achieving those goals and the improvement of the living standards of all South Africans. Particular attention must be given to needy communities in especially rural areas, for the further expansion of the community broadcasting sector" (Naidoo, 1998).

In a Green Paper for public discussion (1997), Naidoo reminded the nation that under apartheid, the SABC as the state broadcaster had been the sole provider of broadcasting services, dividing them along racial and ethnic divisions. This policy had helped to entrench the political order of the apartheid state. Under apartheid, "… both the content and the unequal spread of resources to the services served to confirm racial notions of superiority and inferiority", and to serve the white minority "… in terms of its content and creative and financial opportunities" (Green Paper, 1997). Referring to the accommodation of 'new broadcasters' in the 1980s, and those stations that were regarded as models of special interest stations, Naidoo refuted any notion that they were part of any transformation process, but rather the extension of apartheid policies of the state broadcaster. In fact, the new services that emerged in the eighties were in line with this broadcasting ethos. Without exception, they were introduced to further attend to the special broadcasting needs of the dominant political group (1997).

Naidoo presented the White Paper on Broadcasting Policy (4 June 1998) in which he showed his clear intent to address the re-emergence of a strong 'white' community of interest/faith radio broadcasters, by introducing ways to secularise the sector. While

acknowledging, "… the importance of religion to South Africans across the full spectrum of society", he questioned the proportion of faith stations in the sector:

> "Given the need to expand community broadcasting and the satisfaction of a broad variety of needs and aspirations, it is necessary to thoroughly investigate the balance of licensees within the sector and the possibility of adopting a secular approach to the challenge of ensuring equity in the treatment of this very important new tier of broadcasting. The recognition and development of all languages and cultures is fundamental to society and a prerequisite in a democratic dispensation. This too is a fairly dominant niche in the existing community broadcasting arrangement and requires particular consideration in the new divide" (White Paper, 1998, Para. 4.1).

Naidoo challenged the accepted definition of a community license as "any group of persons or sector of the public having a specific, ascertainable, common interest", declaring it to be too "open-ended and unlimited", and declaring, "This formulation needs to be changed" (Para. 4.2.). Consistent with the view that all community broadcasting must be inclusive, Naidoo went on to state: "All community broadcasting licenses should be geographically founded in that they should serve the specific community within a determined geographic area. This area should be determined by the IBA and should be consistent with its frequency allocation and license area plans" (Para. 4.2). The final nail in the coffin, as far as religious broadcasters were concerned, seemed to come in the last line of that paragraph: "The structure and mandate of the religious services will be redefined to operate within the terms and conditions of the geographically founded community category".

2.3.3 Christian stations lobby Parliament

Over the following five months pressure by lobbyists in particular by the Association of Christian Broadcasters of Southern Africa (ACB) was so strong that Naidoo was forced to backtrack. In a speech to Parliament in November 1998, he sought to reassure special interest broadcasters:

> "I want to emphatically state that religious broadcasters are accommodated in the new law. In terms of the Constitution, there is no way that any law can be considered which suppresses the rights of any group or discriminates against any group on the basis of religion, race or creed" (Naidoo,1998).

Indeed the draft Broadcasting Bill presented to the National Assembly on 3 November 1998 stated: "The IBA definition of community (includes both geographic and interest groups) has been retained and the IBA has been mandated to investigate the future mandate, role and structure of community radio and television."

On the eve of the presentation the official press communiqué quoted Naidoo as saying:

> "I am confident that the Broadcasting Bill, and in particular the new definition of community broadcasting services, will allow for diverse groups, including religious groups, to provide a service that will deepen democracy and build a new value system in our country" (1998).

Three years later however, the ACB still felt that community of interest applications for Christian stations were being rejected unfairly. Member of the ACB Board of Directors of Southern Africa, Hotchkiss (2001), complained that Christian station applicants had been turned down in favour of non-Christian stations, forcing five Christian broadcasters to close. However, the Port Elizabeth High Court judge overturned ICASA's decision to refuse the Christian station in Port Elizabeth, Radio Kingfisher, a four-year broadcast license.

Good News Community Radio (GNCR) on the other hand, was less fortunate (Hodgson, 2006). One of the oldest religious stations, the Christian GNCR, based in Verulam, Kwa ZuluNatal, struggled from 1998 to 2006 to renew its license and stay on air, only to succumb when ICASA definitively denied GNCR any further renewal of their license, this in spite of legislation (ICASA Act No.13.of 2000) clearly defining the 'community of interest' as a term that covered special interest groups such as

faith communities, the university campus, hospital radio or the prison community. GNCR pleaded on the basis of that definition but was rejected on the grounds that the station was “not racially representative of the community.” This became a crucial criterion in the judgements of ICASA. It was not merely a question of representing the interest group but also the languages within that area. However, conspiracy theories among Christian broadcasters were fuelled by the apparent alliance between the National Community Radio Forum (NCRF) which was housed in the same building as the Confederation of South African Trades Union (COSATU). Hammond claimed (2006) that an insider had intimated to him, there would eventually be no Christian community radio stations allowed in South Africa. He firmly believed the NCRF had been leaned on by their co-inhabitants to support the secular, geographic model over the faith-based model of community radio. In response to this perceived silencing of Christian community radio stations (Hammond, 2006), ten thousand Christians marched on Parliament in Cape Town. It seemed they had won, but eventually further hearings led to ICASA rejecting their application for renewal of license and their frequency was granted to Izwi Lomzansi, a secular, geographic station.

2.4 Freedom of the radio waves

The story of the Christian broadcasters’ levels of frustration is relevant to the way many Muslim stations faced restrictions due to the pressure on the newly-formed IBA to grant a geographic station licences. Various community organisations and business companies set about forming partnerships, writing detailed proposals and submitting business plans needed for first license applications of 1993/4. There were three kinds of licenses: a 4-year license; a ‘special events’ license and a ‘restricted’ license. Over 200 stations applied but only 82 licenses were granted between 1994 and 1996, “…at least 40 of which, according to the Comtask report to Parliament, operated within historically disadvantaged communities, specialising in development community news and information” (Duncan and Seleoane,1998: 222). Only 19 out of the 200 were from religious groups or organisations and of those 19, only 7 represented urban-based Muslim organisations. IBA granted temporary licenses to only 5 Muslim applicants (Haron, 2001). Some Muslim groups found a way round these restrictions by applying for a ‘special events license’, - a restricted license

allowing them a frequency for the specific duration of a special event, for example, during Ramadan (Haron, 2001).

2.4.1 An unwieldy application process

It is also worth noting that applicants found the "... arduous, long-drawn out process highly frustrating" (Duncan 2001: 166). Adele Mostert, former General Manager of ABC Ulwazi, the non-government, not-for-profit community radio service provider based in Johannesburg, was part of the process of helping the community of Orange Farm in Gauteng to apply for a community radio license. She was familiar with the steps an applicant community must go through and outlined them in an interview (2007): Applicants had to produce over 300 pages of documentation, a task requiring high levels of literacy and linguistic skills; have an understanding of business plans and financial prognoses; be able to lobby support from local businesses and community-based organisations; collect a print-out profile of each funder and potential board member with an accompanying curriculum vitae; collect as many community signatures as possible in support of the station and last but not least, pay an application fee of three thousand Rands, non-refundable and submit the entire document in English.

The National Community Radio Forum noted in the early stages of the application process that: "The IBA has done very little to level the playing fields. The fussy, legalistic approach of the IBA serves to further marginalize groups" (NCRF, 1996: 30). Naidoo admitted in the Green Paper for discussion (1997), that the process was unwieldy and placed the already disadvantaged at a greater disadvantage, as reflected in the pattern of community radio licensing, post 1994.

2.4.2 Inequities in the application process

Muslim proposals for a radio license detailed the reasons for wanting to set up stations; some of their motivations were that (a) the state stations were not providing adequate airtime for Muslims, and (b) that these stations, who usually depend upon news and information from Reuters and other news agencies, continue to broadcast biased and negative news reports about Islam and Muslims. Whilst these

motivations were acceptable, the most important rationale for the applications was (a) job creation, (b) empowerment, and (c) social upliftment (Haron, 2001).

Unfortunately the failure rate among the geographic stations was generally high. Of the 200 stations that have been granted licenses since 1994, only 80 were still on air a decade later:

> "The difficulty is that the majority of community radio stations is facing tough advertising conditions for their relatively small audiences and, furthermore, lack funds to remunerate their presenters and DJ's adequately. As a result, numerous community radio stations have inexperienced staff members doing the job as volunteers" (Ratshimumela: 2005).

In contrast, the better socio-economic situation of the urban, middle-class, faith – based applicants meant that in 1994, there were 16 on-air Christian radio stations included in Duncan's description of "white stations" (2001: 166) which had been given temporary one-year FM broadcast licenses. This number had more than doubled within two years so that "... by 1996, there were more on-air 'white' stations (37) than black-owned (23)" (Duncan 2001:166). With the regards to the perceived socio-economic advantages of the community of interest stations over the disadvantaged black geographic ones, Haron (2005) suggests that in the case of the Muslim stations, it was after the demise of apartheid and not before, that gave certain religio-cultural groups the impetus to focus on capacity-building among their youth in the field of radio journalism, sound engineering and other related activities, taking full advantage of the new opportunities offered by South Africa's democratic transformation.

2.4.3 Airwaves- a precious resource

As previously mentioned, the broadcasting spectrum was a finite resource (Markovitz, in Amosu, 1991) and when the IBA finally opened the door to free the airwaves in 1994, they faced a flood of applicants for community radio licenses that far outstripped the number of frequencies available (Duncan, 2001; Haron, 2001).

Muslim stations were among those who had to share a frequency. Radio 786 and Voice of the Cape, two community radio stations in the Western Cape were affected by this decision and began to broadcast at the same time using the same frequency which gave rise to a certain degree of confusion initially (Morton, 1995, in Haron, 2001). Some, like *Radio Islam,* accepted a medium wave frequency.

By 1996 the verdict was that the IBA had not done enough to correct inequalities in the broadcasting picture:

> "Community radio has grown like wildfire….But there are still vast areas of the country where community radio is still unheard of. Stations serving historically disadvantaged communities are in the minority in the community radio sector" (Duncan, 2001: 166).

In May 1997, going province by province, starting in Gauteng, the IBA invited applications for four-year licenses. However, in those rounds serious delays and the loss of a number of licenses occurred when in 2000, the IBA and the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority (SATRA) were both dissolved to form ICASA (Haron, 2001).

2.4.4 The 'geographic station' as the 'generic' model

Religious stations like *Radio Islam* and the Christian station *Rainbow FM* applied as special interest stations. Their base was urban, middle-class. Other stations started off as community of interest stations, but then switched to apply as geographic stations, one of the main reasons being that the 'geographic model' was regarded as a better way of serving the historically disadvantaged in the less urban, more rural areas. From a pragmatic point of view applying for a geographic license put the community in line for stronger financial support from donors and funders, as it was seen as the generic, secular model, better able to meet donor demands and better placed to serve disadvantaged communities and take the country forward on its path to participatory democracy, as the following examples indicate.

Radio Zibonele based in Khayelitsha Township on the Cape Flats is one case in point. It was illegally on air in 1992 broadcasting for all intents and purposes as a 'special interest' station since their main focus was on health issues: "Looking after oneself and one's family better". In 1992, the 'illegal' station had set up a joint project with the University of Cape Town's Community Health Department and the Students Health and Welfare Centres Organisation (SHAWCO) (Bosch, 2005). In 1994 the station applied not for a community of interest but for a geographic community radio license, primarily because a geographic license gave the station wider access to their whole community, but also from a pragmatic view point. The secular station was the preferred generic model for international funders and Western government donors, so choosing this model opened up more opportunities for Radio Zibonele to partner with larger international funders. With their support it became financially feasible for the station to expand programming from health and family matters to include youth, life skills issues, literacy, sports, and religious programmes (Bosch, 2005).

Similarly, according to an interview with marketing manager of Radio Khwezi, Mr. P. Rice, (2005), the station originally served as an off-shoot of Radio Pulpit in Pretoria, an urban, Christian interest station established in 1980, making use of an SABC frequency. However the smaller rural-based Radio Khwezi preferred to establish itself as an autonomous station in time for the first round of community radio licenses. Although set in the grounds of a Christian mission north-west of Durban in KwaZuluNatal, and offering strong Christian content to a mainly Christian listenership, the founding members also decided for pragmatic reasons to apply as a geographic rather than a Christian special interest station. Firstly, the station was situated in a rural area stretching over KwaZulu Natal's hilly farming region and needed to cover a wide area, so that being an interest station would be too restrictive, and would render the station less able to serve the broader interests of the geographic community. Secondly, similar to Radio Zibonlele, Radio Khwezi realised the advantages of being a 'geographic' station. It would make it more attractive to international funders who in the early nineties were pouring money into the community radio sector. Thirdly, to be able to sustain itself financially, Radio Khwezi needed to appeal to a wide range of listeners in order to attract advertising revenue from local businesses owned mostly by Indians and Muslims in the nearby

town of Stanger. Being a Christian interest station would certainly have confined them to a narrower field of operation and excluded them from playing the social role they have in the community today as well as from important sources of income (Rice, 2005).

Thus, according to Mr. L. Mtimde (2006) applying for a geographic license was seen as a surer way of getting on air due to the fact that the applicants came from historically disadvantaged communities and could promise to use the station to empower and uplifted the community politically and socially. However they did not always take into account the fact that the process of applying for a community radio license requires a very high level of competency, commitment, human resources and finance.

2.5 Summary

Given the last decade and a half of democracy and the establishment of the ANC as the majority, ruling party, the changes in the political landscape in South Africa must inevitably be reflected in the community radio sector. It set off as a subversive alternative to state media in the minds of those opposing apartheid and as a means to overthrow the government. In the environment of the transition to democracy and the CODESA talks it became a vehicle for empowerment, voter education and democratic change. Once it had become embedded in broadcasting legislation, community radio became a public medium for communities to use as a means of exercising their rights to freedom of speech, opinion and religious beliefs, - an alternative public sphere for communities to learn about the practicalities of democracy. It no longer remained an ideological tool to be controlled by political and media activists but a democratic forum in the hands of the community. “Community radio belongs to civil society” and could help “… to keep democracy alive by stimulating debate, and by keeping human rights issues on the agenda of the news and discussion programmes” (Van Zyl, 2005: 63).

The acceptance of the community of interest model and the subsequent establishment of *Radio Islam* in 1994 stemmed from the inclusivist, holisitic thinking that recognised the rights of minorities and their link to the body society, as well as

the political enrichment both those minorities and civil society in having more people participate in nation building. Quoting Neville Alexander, Duncan notes: “If indigenous forms of expression and experiences are marginalised, the mass of South Africa’s people will be unable to participate in shaping government priorities” (2001: 118).

The Broadcasting Act No. 4 of 1999 (as amended) gave community radio stations the responsibility of ensuring that their programmes “highlight grassroots community issues, including, but not limited to developmental issues, health care, basic information and general education, environmental affairs, local and international, and the reflection of local culture”. This implies community involvement and by law, the special interest model has the same obligation to meet the needs of the broader community as the geographic model. The faith station should be tolerant of alternative voices. Indeed, Muslim stations “... generally reflected that they would cultivate religious tolerance, and respect the rights of other religio-cultural communities” (Haron, 2001: 8).

However, the question still remains: has the minority voice of a minority religion as represented by *Radio Islam* a part to play in the democratisation of the nation? Is it indeed a threat to democracy given the exclusive nature of its faith? Is its success a threat to the geographic model? Is it proving more effective in its performance as a community radio station than its geographic counterpart, represented by *Soshanguve CR?*

Chapter 3 seeks to find a theoretical framework within which to explore which station type is (i) an effective model for community radio participation; (ii) fulfils the role as provider of a pluralistic ‘public sphere’ and (iii) puts in place democratic structures of governance and community participation, all of which were among the stated intentions of the first media activists who pleaded for a community radio sector.

Chapter 3
Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

3. Introduction

There are two levels of assessing which community radio model best meets the requirements of serving its community. The first is a legalistic approach as laid out in the broadcasting legislation *(*IBA, 1993, 1999; ICASA, 2000), which this research report deals with in Chapter 4. The second is from a media and social science perspective based on the literature review in this chapter. In a report on the state of the community radio sector in South Africa, sponsored by the Open Society Foundation and Freedom of Expression Institute in 2005, the author Console Tleane writes that the approaches are not mutually exclusive and establish an interfacing set of criteria that take into account the unique set of circumstances under which each community radio operates. I will draw on Tleane's invaluable field research which unfortunately to this day remains unpublished.

Social science and cultural media studies offer links between communication and community, and between religion and community. The study of the effective performance of the two community radio models lends itself to this cross-disciplinary approach. Therefore, the literature reviewed pertains to the role of community radio as an extension of public radio's social responsibility role, as well as a communication model specifically designed to empower communities for social change through horizontal communication, "reviving notions of democracy by enhancing public sphere engagement by audiences" (Foxwell, Ewart, Forde and Meadows, 2008: 5)

The first part of this chapter outlines media models that have shaped communication especially in South Africa. The second part examines the theory of communication for social change. Part three looks at concepts of community and communication and their reciprocity. Part four is concerned with notions of 'public sphere', and how community radio strengthens the public sphere and is an extension of the democratic process. Part five offers a description of the public service model of broadcasting

from which community radio in South Africa derives core values. Part six gives a summary of the chapter.

3.1 Models of communication

Those most relevant to the concept of community radio are the authoritarian, the libertarian and the revolutionary models. Contained within those are theories of development and modernisation, revolution, neo-liberal political theory and grassroots participatory democracy.

Thompson (1995) describes two main models in which to place communication: the authoritarian and the libertarian. The authoritarian model of communication originated in Europe between State and the people and was grounded on the principle that man needs direction and guidance from the King and the Church. This paternalism implied that: “Truth was conceived to be, not the product of the great mass of people, but of a few wise men who were in a position to guide and direct their fellows" (Siebert, 1956: 2).

Community radio in Africa came from the authoritarian model with modern variations of the traditional authoritarian concept embedded in the communist and developmental concepts (Thompson, 1995). This was a legacy from colonialism which lasted roughly from the end of the nineteenth century until the 1960s, followed by the liberation period influenced by Marxism-Leninism and Cold War tactics. Nationalist leaders Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya articulated the goals of post-colonial journalism, “attaching great importance to the mass media as revolutionary tools in the African liberation struggle” (Faringer, 1991: x).

The less Euro-centric model of Hachten (1971) serves to offer variations that are more appropriate for the developing countries’ media forms. Radical, revolutionary theory of media had as its main objective “the repoliticising and informing the ‘citizenry’” (Switzer and Adhikari, 2000: 286) with discourses that challenged those of the previous colonial masters. It begins by “giving people the tools to disrupt society”, (Atton, 2002: 89). Then community radio becomes a “standard emergency aid for

strengthening Africa ‘citizenry’” (Kivikuru, 2006: 6), and in the hands of new nationalist government post-colonial media give a greater collective confidence by repeatedly emphasizing the potential power of working people to effect social change through the force of 'combination' and ‘organized action’ (Hermann, 1999), guided by their leaders.

Public radio has seen as its mandate, especially in post-colonial countries, the need to pursue altruistic goals of nation-building and national development but in doing so has often become a state broadcaster communicating “agendas of the powerful to citizens who have limited channels of feedback” (Kupe, 2004: 47). Even if the public broadcaster has created a genuine platform for the representation of complex realities and a diversity of voices, it cannot offer the quality of interactivity and local-ness that small-scale communication processes offer.

Understanding “the legacy from colonialism and its absorption into socialist media theory” (Faringer, 1991: 89) is important when considering the media landscape into which South African community radio was born in the dying years of apartheid. Pre-1994 in South Africa, the authoritarian model of communication dominated. The idea that, “ ‘Truth’ was centred near the centre of political and economic power” (Siebert, 1956: 3) had been the corner stone of the apartheid broadcasting service, the SABC, functioning from the top down as a servant of the state “being used by the state to let the people know what the rulers thought they should know” (Siebert, 1956: 3).

As early as 1975 cultural study theorists were pointing the way in which top-down power was met with bottom-up resistance (Hall and Jefferson, 1975; Hebdige, 1979). Audience research became a new field. Ang (1990: 106) writes of reception analysis in which, “people creatively and actively make their own meanings and create their own culture, rather than passively absorbing pre-given meanings imposed upon them.”

The African Charter on Broadcasting, sought to summarise the role of communication in Africa:

> “With the upsurge of neo-liberalism during the transition period from apartheid to democracy, development theory, or modernisation theory, played a major part in restructuring the media landscape in South Africa. Community broadcasting is broadcasting which is for, by and about the community, whose ownership and management is representative of the community, which pursues a social development agenda, and which is non-profit” (Declaration of Windhoek, 2001).

These criteria reflected the work that had already been achieved in Latin America and elsewhere, and were carried forward by proponents of community radio in Africa under the term, ‘development journalism’.

3.1.1 Development model

The European neo-liberal tradition accredited mass media with the potential, not only to educate and nation-build at home, but “to influence other nations, especially in the Third World and especially during the Cold War” (Curran, 2002: 168). While remaining an authoritarian, one-way vertical model, it would encourage participation in the democratic political process but not in the medium of communication itself. In the same framework, “needs'' are envisaged as the paternalistic response of those who know best - a top-down approach compared to the more participatory approach of “wants'' (White, 1984).

In as much as major role players in civil society were attempting to bridge the divide between the marginalized communities of the old Apartheid South Africa to a new democratic nation, the nation-building aspect of the ‘development model’ was instrumental in conceptualizing community radio as an educational tool for modernization (Jabulani! 1991 Doorn Conference Report; see also Hadland and Thorne, 2004*).* Principles of education and social upliftment later became mandatory concepts in the legislation of the South African broadcasting legislation (IBA 1993; ICASA: 2000). However, the subsequent, longer-term reliance of the emerging community radio sector on donor funding, (for example from the Open Society Foundation (OSF), Ford Foundation and others), eventually brought about a

growing recognition that the ‘modernisation model’ of communication in South African media was producing a ‘vertical model’, and that this was bound to fail due to its inability to connect mass messaging with local appeal and take account of the realities of social context (Schiller, 1989; see also Tomlinson, 1991, in McQuail, 1994).

The localist character of community radio should “foster a sense of oneness within communities through participation” (Ngwenya, 2007: 1), an expectation that is founded on development media and theory and the democratic participant media theory, which emerged from the failure of modernisation models of communication to affect social change in disadvantaged communities in a way that involved the beneficiaries (Dagron, 2001). Participation and interaction became key concepts.

3.1.2 The normative democratic-participant theory

This theory challenged the “dominance of centralized, commercialized, state-controlled and even professionalized media. It favoured media that would be small in scale, non-commercial and often committed to a cause” (McQuail, 2000:160).
The Jabulani! conference (1991) came to the conclusion that participation would be the key and recommended: “A national community broadcasting sector that should be participatory; it should be owned and controlled by the community itself and the broadcasting content of the station should be determined by the needs of the community as perceived by that community” (in Van Zyl, 2005:9).

Dagron (2001: 34) emphasises “the political implications of participatory communication”. Primarily the participatory approach “cuts through the issue of power” by strengthening the internal democratic process; it reinforces identity because cultural pride and self-esteem are reinforced by the focus on local language and culture. People become “dynamic actors actively participating in the process of social change”, in control of communication tools and content that contribute towards social development and equal opportunities in the community.

3.1.3 The democratic participant media theory: *batho pele*

The main elements of participatory communication lie at the heart of South Africa's democracy and decision-making, and are contained in the principle of "batho pele" – people first.

As a media theory, the participant media theory gave a voice to the voiceless (see Mgibisa, 2007; Van Zyl, 2003; 2005) and challenged "the dominance of centralised, commercialised, state-controlled and even professionalised media" (McQuail, 2000: 160). Instead, the main role of community radio, particularly in emerging economies is characterised by its ability to commit itself to community improvement by engaging people in dialogue, strengthening the representation of minorities in a culturally diverse society and creating new links between the groups. It offers a forum for localised expression of modern democratic ideals of equality, freedom of expression, respect for the law and the Constitution and a culture of human rights. "This is a form of democratic dialogue as communities share common problems of education, service delivery, local governance, transport, health" (Van Zyl, 2005: 26). It is as radical as democracy is radical; "a medium and a product of debate" (Atton, 2002: 87).

"Communication and participation are actually two words sharing the same concept" (Dagron, 2001: 33). The words share the same etymological Latin root, *communion,* which relates to sharing and participating not only in the message but also in the means of communicating the message. Michael Dlorme, president in 1990 of AMARC (the French acronym for the World Association of Community *Broadcasters)*, preferred the term 'community radio' for Africa, over descriptions such as 'bush radio' or 'local rural radio' for the emphasis it placed on sharing and communicating:

> "Community radio implies a democratic dimension; popular participation in the management of the station as well as in the production of its programmes….It is a third voice between state radio and private commercial radio. Community radio is an act of

> participation in the process of community…its mission is essentially one of community and group development" (Dlorme, 1990).

3.1.4 Democracy and community radio

There are marked differences between ideals of representative and participatory democracy. What they have in common is the view that people must be informed in order to take on challenges and act to improve society. However, in a representational democracy, people are encouraged to work with the social institutions, seeing as they are "born and developed out of the will of the citizens and aimed at fulfilling their needs" Kivikuru (2006: 6). She continues: "In a participatory democracy on the other hand, institutions are often perceived as "an enemy of the citizen", a bureaucratic machinery trying to subdue the individual and his or her needs" (Kivikuru, 2006: 6). The two ideals of representative or participatory democracy clearly impact on which model of community media one would choose.

As the early Latin American priests had discovered in their attempts to alleviate poverty through 'radio schools', communication is essential. However, to be effective it must be linked to interactive-ness and the participation of the beneficiaries in their own development, which in turn is linked to democracy. "Community media democratizes power by giving people a voice to speak … among themselves about their own issues" (Kupe, 2005: 46).

3.1.5 Pluralist theory

Pluralist theory promotes social participation (Roβteutscher, 1999). Theories of trust, civic virtues, and participation emphasise the politicising impact of social integration. Associational activity is expected to contribute to social integration and feelings of community, without having the potential risks of political mobilisation. Similarly: "communication can be a tool for social integration and national development" (Kunczik, 1992: 23).

Reassessing communication as part of culture gained it recognition as an essential human right. The lessons of the Latin American experience and those in other developing countries were gradually absorbed into the consciousness of donor nations in the western world. The principles of social responsibility inherited from public radio and later the School of Public Journalism were underscored by the United Nations, which urged the universal provision of information, education, and entertainment.

3.1.6 The quiet revolution

“Empowering communities through their own media to organise and distribute representations of themselves is a quiet revolution” (Foxwell, et al., 2008: 18). The pluralist/functionalist approach suggests that the community becomes largely supportive and conformist. “Media become the ‘social cement’ holding together ‘atomised’ societies” (McQuail, 1994: 81). Society is likened to an organism with interlinked working parts essential for the function of the whole, with each part “making an essential contribution to continuity and order” (McQuail, 1994: 77). Media processes are linked to civil societal structures and combine to create and support public confidence However, this bilateral feed and response of sender/receiver occurs best within a relatively little “space-time distanciation” (Thompson, 1995: 20).

The conversation takes place in a context of co-presence: the participants in the conversation are physically present to one another and they share a similar set (or very similar sets) of spatial –temporal referents. The utterances exchanged in the conversation “are generally available only to the interlocutors, or to individuals located in the immediate proximity and the utterances will not endure beyond the transient moment of their exchange or the fading memory of their content” (Thompson, 1995: 21). The ‘cultural’ or ‘symbolic’ power of this form of ‘constantly involved’ communication, which occurs in a regionalised form of vernacular, is a fundamental feature of coordinated social life.

However, the concept of democracy as a ‘neutral force’ that does not recognise power structures at play within a community, that apparently allows people access to

information and a public sphere upon which to debate, is supported by the theory of participant democracy, but is challenged by neo-Marxist thinking on the class nature of power and ownership.

3.1.7 Critical media theory

The critical political economy of the media is “concerned with sets of social relations and the play of power” (McChesney, 1998:23). It views with scepticism the integrative role of communication. Critical political economy is “centrally concerned with the balance between capitalist enterprise and public information and engages with moral questions of justice, equity and public good”, (Golding and Murdock, 2000:72). Communication is judged to be more “an exercise of power and social control rather than stability” (Good, 1989: 53). Whereas Dewey (1927) and others in the School of Public Journalism (see Rosen, 1993; 1999) believed that communication media could be harnessed for democratic purposes, (and therein lay the social responsibility of journalism), ‘critical’ communication studies stated: “all social relations are relations of dominance”, and “relations of communication are also relations of power” (Good, 1989: 53). This upsets the notion of the neutrality of communication and that stability and cohesion are necessarily in the public interest. “Consensus” is exposed as only “apparent” and “social integration is explicitly recast as social control” (Good, 1989: 59).

There are many dominant groups acting within one community which form what Berkowitz (1999) refers to as the community’s “culture and power structures”. These shape not only decision-making processes but also how those processes are reported in the news. This is consistent with the critical approach to media and Gramsci’s theory of hegemony (Angens and Jhally, 1989) which seeks to explain that dominance in a bourgeois liberal society is no longer a matter of physical coercion but of cultural leadership. Logically, the role of media, and of community radio, would be as agents in the production of consent. This “containment of democracy” (Hall, 1986c: 38; see also Honneth, Joas, Gaines, and Jones, 1991: 192), is defined as the exercise of cultural power by leading groups in society and draws on the neo-Marxist school of critical political economy, (see Curran, 2002; Bennett, 1982; McQuail, 1994).

This negativity of the neo-Marxist approach to communication and power is contradicted by the more optimistic, pluralist, centrifugal model which basically holds that pluralism and diversity in society create unpredictability (McQuail, 1994; 2000). Media's audiences are more resistant to the dominance of main stream media. Ordinary people seek alternative models and gain a sense of empowerment in having the everyday processes of communication in their own hands. Although comparatively small, the power of these local citizens is unleashed when they engage with the local community radio station. Consciously or unconsciously, they challenge the dominant ideologies characteristic of main stream media:

> "... politics is measured by difference. But empowerment can also be positive; celebration, however much it ignores relations of domination can be enabling. Opposition may be constituted by living, even momentarily, within alternative practices, structures and spaces, even though they may take no notice of their relationship to existing systems of power" (Grossberg,1988 in Foxwell, et al., 2008: 10).

The ideal of communication for social change certainly throws up the question 'Who owns the channels of communication?' Community and alternative media are attempts to exercise ownership over the local means of communication, which Curran (2000) defends, pleading for diversity of media to fulfil different democratic functions and claiming, "community media represents the highest democratic function" (Foxwell, et al., 2008: 9).

3.2 Communication of social change

Communication for social change is described as:

> "… the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes

> possible greater social equality and the larger fulfilment of the human potential" (Dagron and Tufte, 2006: 54).

Community radio opens communication to be, not just a dialogue based on localised news events, but also a vehicle for social change. The key values of this concept of communication are: valuing all voices and giving people the space to tell their own stories in their own way" (Dagron and Tufte, 2006: xiv). The approach towards communication is part of the development of a particular community which seeks solutions for its particular problems. In that coming together they determine what model of communication they want. Due to its cost effectiveness and its potential to reach many people over a relatively large area at once, many of whom may lack literacy skills, radio is the perfect medium (Dagron, 2001). Even if the public broadcaster has created a genuine platform for the representation of complex realities and a diversity of voices, it cannot offer the quality of interactivity and local-ness that small-scale communication processes offer.

3.2.1 Democratisation of culture

The authoritarian, mechanistic view of pulling a population up by its bootstraps ignores the individual. Communication for social change, also called 'development communication' is linked to behavioural change in the individual, yet is collectivist in its outcomes. It demands a cultural approach from an anthropological standpoint (Freire, 1969) in that it aims to awaken people to their active role 'in' and 'with' their reality. Freire describes culture as "… an addition … as a result of men's labour, of their efforts to create and recreate … as a systematic acquisition of human experience … the democratisation of culture" (in Dagron and Tufte, 2006: 41). Reassessing communication as part of culture gained it recognition as an essential human right. The lessons of the Latin American experience and those in other developing countries were gradually absorbed into the consciousness of donor nations in the western world. The principles of social responsibility inherited from public radio and later the School of Public Journalism were underscored by the United Nations, which urged the universal provision of information, education, and entertainment as a basic human right (MacBride Report, UNESCO, 1980).

3.2.2 Democratisation of media

The participatory democratic model arose from attempts by ‘alternative media’ to reach groups not represented in mainstream media, and as an alternative to top-down, centralised communication. In the legislative framework of the two community radio models in South Africa, *participation* of the community and *good governance* on the part of the elected ‘custodians’ are key to the effectiveness of the station in relation to its community. Ideally, the community radio station becomes a forum of debate for the previously disenfranchised, “transforming ‘the community’ into ‘a public’” (Van Zyl, 2003: 4), and strengthening the democratic principles of freedom of expression.

The role of community radio in a democracy and its relation to its community must be seen from two perspectives; first, as a one-way information-giving communication, disseminating information from government departments or non-government organisations ‘about’ social and human rights issues; the other, as a two-way communication inviting participation in discussion ‘around’ social issues (Van Zyl, 2005). “Alternative media are crucially about offering the means for democratic communication to people who are normally excluded from media production” (Atton, 2002: 4) and for their part, community radio stations have the potential to play a key role in increasing local participation. Indeed, in South Africa the Broadcasting Act of 1999, (as amended), includes local participation in station activities as “one of the defining elements of a community broadcast service” (Davidson, 2004: 44).

3.2.3 Community empowerment through media

The elasticity of the word, ‘empowerment’, “…enables its application (and appearance) in various discussions and approaches to community media” (Foxwell, et al., 2008: 8). Community empowerment enhances societal concepts such as citizenship, democracy and the public sphere, which the ordinary participant/listener does not consciously recognise.

There is “strong evidence of everyday experiences of ‘micro instances’ of public sphere activity, democracy and (radical) citizenship” (Foxwell, et al., 2008: 19).

Empowerment is evident in diverse communities, be it a community of disadvantaged communities, of ethnic groups, or a faith community.

3.2.4 Management structures

The question arises whether community radio should aspire to broadcasting productions of high quality 'professional journalism' or worry less about 'professionalism' and focus instead on direct involvement of the community in the ownership and control of the station. These two approaches reflect the sometimes conflicting ideas and philosophies about the purpose and value of community broadcasting. Van Vuuren (2006: 381) sees the value of community radio as being located "less in its broadcasting function and more in its community development function". Focusing on developing business strategies undermines the value and purpose of the community radio station as a public sphere for the community. It is not just a public utility. It is a "collectively owned asset" whose purpose is to enable "a community and its many sub-communities, to talk with itself, to get to know itself, and to empower itself" – in other words to provide a 'community public sphere'" (Van Vuuren, 2006: 381). It is not to be a successful commercial enterprise which can detract from the social role of the station. However, many community radio stations, "… have found the realities of broadcasting more onerous than they expected. Commercial pressures are high and they need a strong income base to survive" (Mgibisa, 2007: 27).

"Not all organisations calling themselves democratic are always what they claim to be, and formal opportunities are clearly not the same as real opportunities" (Uslaner and Dekker, 2001: 138). Atton's ideal of "collective approaches to policy making and consensual decision-making" (2002: 4) may remain an ideal at the board level of community radio stations. Professor Donald R. Browne of the University of Minnesota experienced managers' attitude to their position in the Australian community radio stations he visited "as an opportunity for fame within their communities or beyond them, a stepping-stone to a higher position (although not always within broadcasting)" (Browne, 1990). Similarly, Tleane (unpub.) found that some community radio stations have been turned into private entities owned by

some of the managers and board members and have become private enclaves for individual career moves.

Management of a community radio station is often driven by the need to make a station sustainable at the cost of allowing horizontal structures of participation to develop. Davies (1989) observed that a regional community radio station in Queensland, *4CRB,* was financially very successful, but did not actively seek wider participation from the local population. Davies suggests that station management played a 'floodgates' role that kept out the "unwanted hordes, in order to maintain tight control to maximize market share" (in Van Vuuren, 2006: 382). A comparison with the 'success' of commercial media is misplaced. It would be more relevant to define 'alternative' in terms of a socio-political framework in which the primary aims are not communication, but "engaging in social and political action to create a more equitable society; not reporting, but opening up a conversation" (Atton, 1999: 52).

Management must share the thinking that recognises the link between communication and social change, and between democratic governance and participation of its beneficiaries. The corner stone of a successful democratic social enterprise like a community radio station is good governance, which automatically implies participation of the beneficiaries as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2001) has highlighted.

3.2.5 Good governance and participation

Good governance and participation are seen as crucial aspects of good business practices and a sound democracy, and are two sides of the same coin. These principles assure that: "...corruption is minimised, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making" (OECD, 2001).

The main characteristics of good governance are considered to be: participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and following the rule of law. Ideally, people's participation is balanced by good governance on the part of those holding the

‘curatorship’ of the radio station and requires formal and informal channels for communication, participation and ownership in accordance with the ideal: “with the people, for the people, by the people” (IBA, 1993).

In South Africa there are notable differences in management style between ‘white’ and ‘black’ stations, the former being based in urban middle-class areas and offering a more ‘professional’ and ‘formal’ broadcasting style (Tleane, unpub). Black stations tend to be situated in poorer areas and do not attract the business community leaving the radio station financially weaker, under-resourced and having to make do with a more make-shift set-up, staffed by volunteers. In these cases an ‘alternative’ methodology would seem appropriate – not trying to compete with the professionals, but focusing on the public/community work involved. Radio Regen’s webpage based in Manchester, England:

> “We are 90% community, 10% radio. From a management perspective, a community radio station is comparable to any community project that works in a disadvantaged area under multiple revenue streams” (2007).

‘Good governance’ is not necessarily understood in alternative terms, but in more mainstream terms of professionalism – leading by example and keeping a tight rein on the authority of the board and the station manager to exclude ‘trouble-makers’ who would disrupt the smooth running of the operation. The ‘board member’ is usually a recognised part of the existing leadership in the community and preferably a member of the business community who can apply business principles to community radio. While that can benefit the station, such business ideals do not necessarily adhere to the ethos of social responsibility and of being for the public good.

3.3 Theories of community

The 1998 South African Broadcasting Policy Technical Task team defined community media as “For the community, by the community, through the community” (Hadland and Thorne, 2004: 13). There is a plethora of definitions for ‘community’,

from its geographic locality to definitions taken from cultural and media theorists who define communities of ‘discourse’ or ‘interpretive’ communities (Berkowitz, 1999, in Jankowski, 2002). The purpose of examining the theory of ‘community’ is to identify its constituent features and assess which are more relevant in the context of this research report. This requires a sociological approach, examining communication in terms of community and communalities.

Durkheim maintained that shared beliefs would serve to bind a community and form what he called “organic solidarity” (Wolff, 1960: 120). His formulation in French of a “conscience collective” encapsulated the notion of community passing on commonly-held beliefs and sentiments through myths and rites – via story-telling and communication – the role that is supremely suited to community radio. It is primarily the notions of social cohesion, identity and shared histories that affect our view of the two community radio models under examination: which one is more effective at creating a community and giving it an identity?

3.3.1 A ‘homogeneous’ community of shared beliefs

Durkheim’s analyses are consistent with de Tocquville, who wrote admiringly of the way ‘ideas in common’ held together peoples of great diversity:

> “Without ideas in common, there is no common action, and, without common action, there may still exist human beings, but not a social entity. In order for society to exist, and, even more, to prosper, it is then necessary that the spirits of all the citizens be assembled and held together by certain leading ideas; and that cannot happen unless each of them comes from time to time to draw his opinions from the same source, and unless each consents to receive a certain number of ready-made beliefs” (de Tocquville in Goode, 1996: 8).

The notion of social cohesion conveys the sense of an integrated, inclusive community. In order to promote collective identity the participation of all in local decision-making processes is necessary to make up for the deficit in representation at regional and national level. These civic associations must engender “a sense of

trust and reciprocity between members of the society; [and] 'common good' ideals that enhance feelings of solidarity and commonality" (Helley, 2003: 19).

A community that is culturally homogeneous is "strongly influenced by institutions such as Church, Family, locality and relationships" (Jankowski, 2002: 38); and land. Tönnies (in Harris, 2001) emphasised the German word for community, 'Gemeinschaft', is one that encapsulates the more sentimental bonds to communal land and of a community feeling 'rooted in the soil'. "In *Gemeinschaft* we are united from the moment of our birth with our own folk for better or for worse" (Harris, 2001: 17). Thus the physical boundaries of the location attain a second meaning of 'land', conceptually encompassing essential elements of communality, tradition and 'sentimental attachment' to a place that enshrines certain memories or customs (Jankowski and Prehn, 2002), a concept close to African traditions and beliefs.

3.3.2 Shared location

Sharing the same geographic space has a profound influence on how we live. The Chicago School stressed topography as being "the first criterion of 'community'" (Bonjean, 1971: 5-15). Localness was a key feature and was defined in reference to a particular kind of settlement based upon "geographical *propinquity* where there is no implication of the quality of the social relationships found in such settlements of co-presence" (Bell and Newby, in Urry, 2000: 133). Localness is the sense of community, which is bound to a local social system in which there is a "localised, relatively bounded set of interrelationships of social groups and local institutions" (Urry, 2000: 133).

3.3.3 Community: geographic/interest

"Community communication stresses the geographical locality and/or a community of interest as an essential context for community media" (Jankowski, 2002: 22).
In media terms, community is the outreach of its audience. It is essentially a geographic footprint or a community of interest, which is then transformed by the communication process. Drawing on definitions by White, R. (1990),White, S.(1994), and Booth and Lewis (1998), Teer-Tomaselli's 'radio community' (2004) takes into

account the listenership that forms a community by the act of listening to the radio, thus creating a community identity and listener loyalty. Every geographic community breaks into smaller communities of interest. The individual units live in a relationship of mutual interdependence and membership to the social organisation of a community forges bonds, which express themselves through networks of activities and commonly held values (Van Dijk, 1998). 'Mutual interdependence' was a characteristic that preoccupied Durkheim (in Wolff, 1960). He called it a 'reciprocal relationship' and described community or society as "connoting a distinctive reality; a plurality of associated individuals who are in a reciprocal relationship, who are bound to one another in an organisation of interrelations and whose characteristics and behaviour are directly affected by the fact that they constitute a network or reticulum of relationships" (Wolff, 1960: 102-3). Without communication however, the organic solidarity and collective knowledge of the community would dissipate.

3.3.4 Radio creates identity and social cohesion

Community radio's strength is being able actively to forge a community identity. "Often the granting of the license is the first step in creating the basis for a community. It is not the other way round" (Van Zyl, 2003: 17). Teer-Tomaselli (2004) recognises the benefits that a community radio station can bring to a community in terms of forging new networks, and focusing civic leaders on improving local conditions. She also recognises community cohesion in two case studies of community of interest stations; one on a cultural-Indian station, Radio Phoenix, and the other on a Christian station, Radio Khwezi (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004: 240). She attributes cohesion firstly, to managerial style, which engendered a sense of belonging among staff members through the 'hands-off' approach of management. Secondly, she notes that the 'missionary ethos' of Khwezi produced a strong sense of discipline and attendance of management meetings. Thirdly, she writes, "The quality (as opposed to quantity) of talk-components appears to be in a direct measure of community cohesion, whilst multiplicity of languages makes programming (social cohesion) more difficult" (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004: 247). Whereas a faith-based community of interest has an integrated social base, with its church or mosque playing the role of communicator of values, in broader geographic communities with diverse language groups, that role is played increasingly by

community radio. “... community radio takes on a central communicative role, providing a more important source of ‘community glue’” (Foxwell, et al., 2008: 16). Culturally too, community radio plays a central role in the production and maintenance not only of the arts – music – but of social culture- news and information, language and “representations of the community- a ‘whole way of life’” (Foxwell, et al., 2008: 16). “It is the “democratisation of culture” which opens up information and public opinion to ordinary people to address their previous lack of experience at participating and intervening in the historical process” (Freire, 1969, in Dagron and Tufte, 2006: 39).

3.3.5 Religion and community

The religious community enjoys clear advantages of shared religious belief as opposed to the geographic model which relies more on sentimental ties of location and history. Religion and ritual create homogeneity and play a part in locating the link between communication and culture. Ritual includes the ritual origins of communication especially in religion where communication serves to maintain an ordered, meaningful cultural world, while at the same time containing and controlling the religious environment:

> “In a ritual definition, communication is linked to terms such as ‘sharing’, ‘participation’, ‘association’, ‘fellowship’, and ‘the possession of a common faith’. This definition exploits the ancient identity and common roots of the terms ’commonness’, ‘communion’ ‘community’, and ‘communication’” (Carey, 1989: 23).

The "ritual view of communication” is directed toward “the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs” and becomes “a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained repaired and transformed” (Carey, 1989: 23).

Faith has been described as a vertical relationship, as descending 'from above' – initially from God, and later from the state, as opposed to horizontal relationships of

trust which are seen as “growing horizontally from existing habits and customs” (Fenton, et al., 2000: 55). Such a viewpoint would exclude the possibility that a community faith station representing Islam could engage in dialogue, due to the authoritarian nature of the religion.

However, due to legal requirements laid out in the various South African broadcasting bills passed from 1993 (IBA Act) to 2000 (ICASA), all faith stations are obliged to play a wider community role by including voices from the community, as part of compliance regulations.

3.3.6 Volunteerism: bedrock of community radio

Community radio relies on the goodwill of its community to supply it with a voluntary workforce, voluntary contributions and voluntary engagement in joint community and community radio activities. It is its weakness and its strength (Tleane, unpub.). Uslaner (2000) notes a strong link between volunteerism, charity and religion. Volunteerism is a stronger force among members of a strong cohesive society. Trust and religion shape civic participation. Trust and solidarity facilitate cooperation between citizens; help to reduce problems such as poverty and crime; increase political participation and allow for a better government, certainly at a local level. People volunteer their time to help others because they feel a moral compulsion to do so. They also offer financial contributions to community projects that benefit their own religious organisation and reject materialistic values in favour of higher ideals such as social improvement, putting self-interest aside in favour of communitarian sentiments. However, without the ‘glue’ of a committed faith or socio-political engagement, individual volunteers use the community radio as a springboard to a career in commercial broadcasting. “The founding principle of community radio … to give voice to the voiceless … is often abused by journalists who are driven to make money, or who clamour for fame” (Mgibisa, 2005: 40).

3.3.7 From bonding to conflict

There is a natural connection between faith and a commitment to a higher moral authority. The linkage between social conscience and religion is not so simple. While

religious values may call you to do good works, they may also make you wary of people who do not share your faith. Rabbi Jonathon Sacks in his Reith Lecture: “Persistence of Faith” (1990-91) contends that the basic problem of modern social life lies, “not with our economic and political systems, but in a certain emptiness at the heart of our common life” (In Fenton, Hems, Passey and Tonkiss, 2000: 63-64). He argues that religions have a substantial contribution to make in solving this problem, specifically by 'creating communities', and by “charting our shared moral landscape, that sense of a common good that we need if our communities are to cohere as a society” (Fenton, et al., 2000: 64). These can generate a high degree of social cohesion and act as inclusive.

Social cohesion is founded upon a sense of communality and responsibility of its members towards each other (Helley, 2003: 19; see also Van Zyl, 2003; 2005). Central to understanding how communities are formed, and in the case of South Africa destroyed and re-formed, are concepts of identity, commonly-held values and beliefs, and mutual interdependence (Wolff, 1960; Alpert, 1939; Goode, 1996). On the negative side, entities sharing common values -community associations, religion and religious associations - while inclusive to the faithful, can act as exclusive agents, and thereby generate conflict.

The critical approach to media deploys the notion of community as being often characterised by “highly unequal internal social relations and by exceptional hostility to those who are on the outside” (Helley, 2003: 19). Considerations of identity have the potential *both* to tear communities apart and bring them together (Hoover, Marcia and Parris, 1997: 79). Peters (1999: 104) considers the question of the size of the community and mentions the dilemma of having a large community causing “confusion of the multitude”, and a small community being dominated by “the cabals of the few”. Community radio can wreak havoc and break up society, as was the case in Rwanda in 1994. Identity is not a monolithic statement, but a socially interactive process and the medium of radio can help to recall shared values or common needs to counteract the potential for rising levels of insecurity. “Assertions of worth that are not grounded in shared values lead to counter assertions from threatened groups. At the same time, to ignore differences is also damaging to democracy” (Glasser, 1999: 78).

Community participation manifests itself through a high degree of volunteerism and altruism, which has arisen from the idealism of early public radio to 'serve in the public interest'. As noble as volunteerism can be, managerial difficulties of the station can partly be attributed to the high number of volunteers. Tleane (unpub.) attributes the failure of stations to be financially stable to their reliance on volunteers and their ongoing battle to keep staff. Volunteers in a disadvantaged community, who would otherwise face unemployment, offer their services, with the hope that this will lead to skilling and employment opportunities. They benefit from the networking and social bonds that are pre-requisites for a strong community, and are enriched due to the accumulation of 'social value' and 'social capital' accrued from the vibrancy of civic culture (Putnam, 2000).

3.3.8 Social capital

Community radio's wealth of ideas and creative thinking derives from its social capital which is itself founded on social trust (Putnam, 1995a, 1995b). Integration into associative networks fosters the development of social trust - itself being the pre-condition of political participation - and "consequently, guarantees both functioning democracy and flourishing economic life" (Roβteutscher, 1999: 1). Social capital constitutes a force that helps to bind society together by transforming individuals from 'self-seeking and egocentric calculators' into members of a community with a social conscience and a sense of mutual obligation. They become "members of a community with shared interests, shared assumptions about social relations and a sense of the common good" (Newton, 1997: 576).

In fact there is a noticeable shift towards fitting 'social capital' into the context of community development: the task of building community assets, some of which are social, in and for the benefit of poor neighbourhoods (Newton, 1997: 576). The decline of volunteerism and associative activities are symptoms of a breakdown of civil society: "Social cohesion, civic trust, and collective efficacy are expressions of societal strength, and essential contributors to a well-functioning democracy" (Heimann, 1961: 286). These notions are further consolidated in the theory that radio as a medium bonds and binds disparate people.

3.4 The Public Sphere

The theory of the public sphere offers a theoretical framework for identifying the effectiveness of radio as a forum for public debate, exchange of opinion and as a means to empower marginalised communities. Habermas (1989) defines the public sphere as private people who join to form a ‘public’ as a way for civil society to articulate its interests. Habermas’ theory enables this research report to compare the ‘public sphere’ of the geographic station and that of the faith station, and explore the role of radio in the civic forum of debate and dialogue between the listenership and local leaders.

Sparks (2000: 75) believes the normative value of Habermas’ ‘public sphere’ theory is considerable. He identifies three key attributes of Habermas' account of the public sphere, which remain an aspiration to media theory. These defining characteristics of the public sphere are first, that "access is guaranteed to all citizens"; second, that the citizens "confer in an unrestricted fashion" (Habermas, 1974:14); and third, that a public sphere in contemporary society would necessarily be embedded in the mass media.

These can be used as norms against which we can measure the performance of actually existing media systems, including community radio, by asking: To what extent are they open to all citizens? To what extent is debate free and uncensored? And to what extent are citizens, participants in, rather than spectators at, the debate? The public sphere is primarily concerned with the public as the active subject of discussions. The resulting ‘public opinion’ is formed from the exchange of ideas debated in the public sphere. Thus Sparks concludes, the theory of the public sphere “sits more comfortably with radical theories of democracy which value active and participatory citizens” (Sparks, 2000: 76), and draws the valid and valuable link between media and democracy which, for the purposes of this report, offers a realm of enquiry to understanding the effectiveness of community radio as a media system: “They produce the public sphere in audible form” (Rosen, 1999: 34).

3.4.1 Whose voice?

Community radio serves public interest on a smaller, more local scale, providing communities with access to locally-produced content and information (Jankowski and Prehn, 2002). However, questions of hegemony, of ownership and governance affect which 'voice' of the community is heard.

Ownership of community radio ranges from government to non-government, religious to secular. Radio Kiritimati in the South Pacific and Kothmale Radio in Sri Lanka are examples of community radio stations set up and partly funded by government "but with little government interference" (Dagron, 2001: 18-19). On the other hand, in the Philippines, non-government organisations UNESCO and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) have provided the Tambuli network of 20 radios with technical assistance, while progressive priests and pastors serve the network at grassroots level and have been "... entirely identified with the local population" (Dagron, 2001: 19). Among the early radio models in Latin America, the Roman Catholic Church in Bolivia made sure that the aim of Radio Pio Langa XII was to consolidate the faith and "fight communism and alcoholism" (Dagron, 2001: 18). Radio Kwizera in Tanzania on the other hand served the refugee population on its western borders.

From Dagron's case studies mentioned above, we see that in the hands of the state, community radio can become an extension of state radio propaganda; in the hands of trade unions and peasants, it becomes a powerful force and one which can threaten established authorities of Church and State.

3.4.2 Subaltern counter publics

The public sphere is a series of overlapping spheres and also provides a forum for 'counter publics' – a term used by (1992) who holds the term to be useful "in societies with structural social and economic inequalities" (in Young, 2002: 171). Haas and Steiner share Fraser's discomfort with Habermas' unifying public sphere: it "deprives subordinate social groups of venues for intragroup deliberation about their respective needs and interests" (Haas and Steiner, 2001: 66).

Fraser describes two public spheres; the larger general one and the more specific 'interest' group, which Haas and Steiner call an "organisational public sphere". The debate forwarded by the authors has a direct bearing on the role of community radio and the position of each of the two models under discussion. The geographic community can be positioned in the general public sphere, whereas the community of interest creates an 'organisational public sphere', ideal for more marginalised or 'subaltern counter publics', which are maybe less articulate or confident in public discourse. Fraser (1991) favours a public sphere composed of multiple discursive domains, since, in socially stratified societies, "arrangements that accommodate contestation among a plurality of publics better promote the ideal of participatory parity than does a single, comprehensive, overarching public". The authors agree with Fraser and celebrate the "emancipatory potential of the dialectic" (Haas and Steiner, 2001: 129).

Proponents of advocacy radio call for a 'conflict model' that better represents oppositional voices and the underlying nature of class struggle in modern South Africa (Amner, 2005). Whether a community would seek, or even want to challenge the 'hegemonic forces' within their community radio is open to question. For the most part these are made up of the very leaders who have taken the community through the complex process of applying for a community radio licence. These leaders often develop a sense of entitlement and take up membership of a power structure in order to benefit personally, using their position to enhance their leadership role within their organisation and within their religious or geographic community.

3.5 Public radio as a public service

This section looks at the public service model as the mother board from which community radio was born, incorporating core values of social responsibility, serving in the public good and retaining editorial independence from government interference and commercial self-interest.

The overarching ideal of the public service broadcaster is cultural and intellectual enlightenment of society based on the principles of: universality of service, diversity

of programming, provision for minority audiences including the disadvantaged, sustaining an informed electorate, and cultural and educational enrichment (Avery, 1993). The concept of communication as an 'entitlement' and the public service radio model as a national resource has its roots in United States public utility law in the early nineteenth century when the 'public interest standard' was developed at state level and adapted to federal regulation in the late nineteenth century (Champlin and Knoedler, 2006).

In western democracies, public entitlement incorporates the democratic case for public broadcasting. It is a right of the people to have a national broadcaster, and that broadcaster should be independent of the government, but accountable to Parliament in the form of an independent broadcasting authority. Its core value is to serve for the overall good of the people.

3.5.1 Serving in the common good

The principle of 'serving in the common good' is one of governance and civic participation that goes back to Ancient Greece and Aristotle, who supported the concept of people being allowed to speak and voice their opinions. Aristotle's belief in 'the common good' has been the underlying thread running through theories of democracy from Thomas Aquinas to John Locke, who believed that the 'good of the people' was the aim of political society. "The welfare of all citizens rather than that of factions or special interests should be served impartially" (Glasser, 1999: 68-9). Nor was this a particularly authoritarian model, as deciding what is good for the people – the common wealth- would be arrived at with the people by compact or tacit agreement and would be founded on law.

The notion of 'public' or 'common good' became a normative principle and the driving force behind the concept of representative democracy. It is not however solely the domain of western liberal democracy. It is also present within an Islamic framework and together with 'public good practices' is central to Islamic ethos. They are used "to achieve the ends of social justice" (Fakir, 2002: 1). Possessions, property and wealth of an individual or of society must show responsibility (*fardh*) to use and dispose of possessions and wealth in a just way (Fakir, 2002). However, the

philosophy of ‘serving in the common good’ remained within the theoretical framework of ‘custodianship’, in the case of Islamic society, and ‘representational democracy’ in the case of western democracies. Radio broadcasters and educators acted as ‘bona fide’ protectors or ‘gatekeepers’ of the public interest, broadcasting educational material according to accepted standards of what people should know. This is comparable to the role of Parliament, which, in a democratic society, represents citizens and makes decisions on our behalf. Similarly, the press (ideally free and independent from state control) represents ‘public opinion’ and in line with democratic principles, is “built on the canons of social scientific enquiry, consistency, objectivity and reliability” (McQuail, 1992: 13-14).

3.5.2 Development journalism and the public service model

Public radio is a communication strategy devised by government as part of a national development plan aimed at dealing with inequalities of communication within a given population (Kunczik, 1992). It incorporates the skills of ‘development journalism’ as a normative approach. From the point of view of the people, it is of utmost importance to have access to a media, “oriented to the needs of the population” (Kunczik, 1992: 23). The aims of the government on the other hand are two-fold: “to acquire acquiescence from the governed ... and to serve its own interests of holding onto power” (Kunczik, 1988: 205).

In the ideal public service model of which development journalism is a part, the government aims to do both, but where this has failed or proved inadequate, local community media step in to bring local dialogue for local solutions, promoting identity and social organisation in a way that generally supports the values of community and maintenance of local order (McQuail, 1994). Both the centre and periphery of society are brought into stronger connectivity, allowing communication to mediate for social change. Radio is social glue both in national and local terms. It creates community (Van Zyl, 2003:17).

The ideal public broadcaster owes its loyalties “to the public – not politicians and advertisers” (Kupe, 2004: 47). The *BBC* under its first director general Dr. Reith went further, defining the public broadcaster as a national cultural resource, responsible to

its citizens with the three-fold aim to educate, inform and entertain (Chapman, 1992: 8). In times of state emergency it resorts to being "a useful instrument for war and governance" (Lewis and Booth, 1989: 21). But if, like the BBC, the public broadcaster is protected from partisan government interference, then it can become "an island of truthfulness amid a sea of rumour and propaganda" (Crissell, 1994: 23) and a source of information to rely upon.

However, if as in the case of American public radio in 1927, the service is deregulated to allow more advertisers' support, the danger arises that "… the public service ideals of raising the educational and cultural standards of the citizenry [become] marginalized in favour of capitalistic incentives" (Avery, 1993:1).

3.5.3 Breaking the hegemony of the national broadcaster

Breaking the hegemony of the national broadcaster was supported by commercial radio operators in pursuit of their commercial interests, and by media activists in pursuit of a people-based communication form. Even at its most socially responsible, the top-down nature of the public radio model meant that questions of social upliftment and enrichment were still defined by the 'professionals'. Liberals criticised the authoritarian model for having become a "closed, elitist, inbred, white male institution" (Avery, 1993: 1).

The clash between the public broadcaster and the growth of commercial radio provoked an ideological debate in the United States in the early 1920s concerning the role of the expert, and the needs of ordinary people. It merits a brief mention here as it provides a bridge between the public radio ethos of social responsibility, and the participatory democratic direction that alternative media and community radio were seeking.

3.5.4 The great American debate: public journalism

The battle-lines between commercialism and social responsibility in public media were represented by American journalist Walter Lippmann and philosopher John Dewey. Lippmann (1923) argued that the nature of democracy had fundamentally

changed given the large scale of modern society. It was impracticable to expect the average citizen to be sufficiently well informed and to want to participate in what Lippmann considered the impossible ideal of direct democracy. Society was too complex. Successful democracies he thought would instead have to rely on trained experts in government to make and explain their decisions. Journalists would assist by disseminating those decisions to the citizenry, and the professionalisation of journalism would be characterised by their objectivity in reporting (Champlin and Knoedler, 2006).

John Dewey (1927) disagreed. He questioned whether the journalist could decide what was in the common good in light of the commercial interest driving the owners. Dewey rejected the idea that journalists could be objective and doubted that there was a 'truth' out there. So, given that a correct representation of 'the truth' is rare, if not impossible, Dewey proposed that views are formed through debate and discussion. He called it the "public conversation" (Rosen, 1999: 21). However, the commercialisation of mass media made this ideal unlikely. American journalist William Bradford Huie encapsulated the new social and economic reality when he spoke of being, "… in the truth business" (Glasser, 1999: xiv), indicating that the media industry 'sold the truth' and was a commercial enterprise like any other. Such proponents of the free market and commercialism left little room for idealism of social responsibility and 'serving in the public good'. However, the ideals were never lost.

The importance of these debates is their link to later discussions on the role of community radio; the necessity to hold this public conversation at the most local of levels, by-passing mass media, and learning to operate as a low-scale, non-commercial radio model in a free market economy.

Dewey's vision of a 'public conversation' was taken forward in the1970s by proponents of the School of Public Journalism in the United States. Peters (1999), however, concurs with Lippmann that there is a need to take the scale of the nation-state into account in order for there to be any effective dissemination of information. Nevertheless, the key concept remains: public journalism is "a theory and a practice that recognises the overriding importance of improving public life" (Rosen, 1993: 50). Journalism and public media in general should serve in the public interest and not

private interests; it should serve democratic principles of freedom of expression with social responsibility and put the community back as the subject and object of journalism (Blevens, Gade and Merrill, 2001). The people should be represented at a more localised level by journalists embedded in their community and in dialogue with the citizens.

3.5.5 Social role of public radio

The prime role of journalism becomes channelled to writing for the good of the public with the goal of taking responsibility "to stimulate public dialogue on issues of common concern to a democratic public" (Rosen, 1999: 24); nor are community radio workers professional journalists with the literary skills of those working in print or commercial and national broadcasters. They are community workers, acting as live DJs and presenters who belong less to a professional, more to an 'interpretive community' deploying their informal networking skills to "construct reality using narrative and story telling; they work via a sense of their own collectivity and produce texts that determine the shape of what is read and share interpretations of events" (Zelizer, 1993: 223). In the community set-up, they would unite not through the larger community of journalists' interpretation of key events, but with their listenership and exchange localised interpretations of local key events.

So, while scientific enquiry and objectivity remain the hallmark of good journalism in the field of print, it is the notion of participative communication and diffusion – of reaching so many people at once and being accessible – that makes radio such a powerful tool for disseminating social messages and educating 'the masses' at a local level. As the saying goes, "The media do not tell us what to think; they tell us what to think about" (Van Zyl, 2005: 62).

Sometimes it is a bit of both. The American 'Progressive' movement in the late nineteenth century sought to use radio for education and break down its use into small educational radio units operating in land grant universities (McCourt, 1999). Their method, as with all community and alternative media, was the "appropriation of communication technologies in the service of local populations" (Howley, 2005: 40) and "putting nascent technology to educational use" (Stavitsky, 1990: 12). These

were local, small-scale, not-for-profit models of communication that laid the grounds for more widespread use of local radio initiatives for social change; change which is defined less by those in power, more, by those beneficiaries of change.

Community radio in South Africa has turned to these values for its own raison d'être, and its effectiveness should be measured according to its service in the public good rather than from a perspective of professional success, listener ratings and adspend.

3.6 Summary

These criteria were carried forward by proponents of community radio. Their activities in providing localized content by local producers would help to break down what Rosen referred to in his writings as "fortress journalism". Community radio in the new South Africa is embedded in the broadcasting legislation and in that respect is regarded as a 'public utility' which needs to be protected as a right for all people who are entitled to independent sources of information. The ethos of public radio to educate and uplift society, to mobilize and enrich cultural life has been the main inspiration for the two community radio models in South Africa.

The rise of mass media in an unregulated broadcast landscape and a free market economy like that of the United States, has seen the role for public radio left on the periphery of society, as a "palliative" or "a broadcaster of gaps"- "... providing those services which are uneconomic for commercial broadcasters" (Mccourt, 1999: 23). However, in developing countries community media can provide that "two-way exchange of ideas between the core and the periphery" (Faringer, 1991: 98) and paradoxically, it is this position on the periphery of society that has given community radio its raison d'être, particularly in South Africa, where under apartheid the majority of its Black, Indian and Coloured communities were marginalized by the white minority government. In a regulated broadcast environment community radio is expected to represent the poorest, most disadvantaged people and to be the voice of the voiceless.

Dewey shared the Durkheim principle that society exists "not only by transmission, by communication, but it may fairly be said to exist in transmission, in

communication" (Dewey, 1916: 5-6). Society existed in and through communication and the next logical step was that, "… as we analyse communication we analyse society" (Duncan, 1960: 112). Social ties are "indicators of community cohesion" (Jankowski, 2002: 38) and without communication the organic solidarity and collective knowledge of the community would dissipate.

The main elements of participatory communication "are related to its capacity to involve the human subjects of social change in the process of communicating" (Dagron, 2001: 34) and their potential to change behaviour. "Participation is the behavioural component of social identity … the behavioural expression of identification with a group or category" (Omoto, 2004: 145).

The long- term effects of participatory communication are that it instils a sense of community pride; it offers more horizontal, less vertical structures of communication; it allows for the process of learning, rather than a top-down 'campaign' approach; there is a longer-term value to be gained from establishing participatory democratic communication; it is less individualistic, and lays greater emphasis on the collective; social messages are designed with, not for the people and are specific to the community, rather than being a 'one-size- fits-all' mass media solution; it seeks to satisfy the beneficiaries and not the needs of those donors who might see the good of a campaign and impose it on the community; the community takes ownership of the process through active participation "rather than persuasion for short-term behavioural changes that are only sustainable with continuous campaigns" (Dagron, 2001, 34-35).

The political implications of such participatory communication are enormous, cutting through the issue of power by strengthening internal democratic processes. Dagron (2001: 18) holds up the Bolivian community radio network Radios Mineras as a "classic example of 'total participation'". However, such total control by the community is often regarded as a threat to local stability and in this case, government forces moved in to shut the network. Participation in countries with a history of censorship and oppression has political consequences. The need for local participation is expressed to varying degrees in the organisational structures as well as in the content of alternative and community media.

As the early Latin American priests had discovered in their attempts to alleviate poverty through ‘radio schools’, communication is essential. However, to be effective it must be linked to interactive-ness and the participation of the ‘beneficiaries’ in their own development, which in turn is linked to democracy. “Community media democratizes power by giving people a voice to speak … among themselves about their own issues” (Kupe, 2005: 46).

Community radio is a social organisation contributing to social change through open access, debate and promoting community based initiatives. Among the most relevant experiences of community radio are those stations that have successfully established themselves as examples of participatory communication for social change (Dagron, 2001: 18).

Chapter 4
Research Methods

4. Introduction

This research report poses the question: Which community radio model in South Africa serves its community more effectively: the special interest or the geographic model? In Chapter 3 the broad theoretical framework attempted to locate community radio, identifying the main disciplines that are relevant to a community radio model – sociology, communication, culture and media theory. This was in response to the fact that community radio, as a human resource and the community radio station as a social enterprise are founded on certain principles of democratic participatory forms of communication with the specific aim of improving the life of the community. The chapter established certain features and criteria for defining community radio and a basis for comparing the two models.

Chapter 4 will outline the methodology and a rationale for the methods chosen and show how they aim to answer the three research questions posed in Chapter 1:

1. *Which model is more effective in achieving the goals of community radio?*

2. *Which model is more effective in terms of establishing a culture of democratic governance and community participation?*

3. *Are these models still relevant and useful in the South African context?*

4.1. The comparative case study

The two community radio models under review are the special interest model, represented by *Radio Islam* – a Muslim faith station; and the geographic model, represented by *Soshanguve CR*.

The comparative case study is appropriate since the aim is to examine two different models from a single perspective – its effectiveness. The case study is first and foremost exploratory and explanatory, the aims of which are not to isolate that which is unique, but rather to set up common indicators based on the same criteria in order to compare and identify the one which best performs the same task. Some features of community radio are typical to both models and therefore lend themselves to a comparative case study analysis.

4.1.1 Case study methodology

This relies on in-depth and telephone interviews, as well as primary and secondary documentation. A case study is an empirical inquiry and invites the criticism that it is too subjective or that the results are not widely applicable in real life. On the positive side however, the merit of the case study is that the researcher considers not just the voice and perspective of those interviewed – 'the actors' – but also of the relevant groups of actors and the interaction between them. "This one aspect is a salient point in the characteristic that case studies possess. They give 'a voice to the powerless and voiceless'" (Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg, 1991, in Tellis, 1997: 1).

Typically the case study takes as its unit of analysis a system of action, in this case governance and participation in community radio, which is viewed as being two sides of the same coin of 'effectiveness' and not easily quantified. The two values can be observed at a particular point in time and assessed along a continuum of evolving practices, which are aimed at reaching ideal goals as established in the theoretical framework (see Chapter 2) and which are encapsulated in the broadcasting Acts (IBA, 1993; ICASA, 2000). Those aspects that are indeed quantifiable rely on primary and secondary documentation, such as minutes of meetings, constitution of the board of governors and programme log-sheets.

4.1. 2 The value of qualitative research

Qualitative research involves the use of qualitative data, such as interviews, documents and participant observation data. These are appropriate when trying to understand and explain social phenomena within its cultural and historical context (Borg and Gall, 1989, in Ngwenya, 2007: 48). Data tools used in this report consist of a) primary sources: interviews with four stakeholders of each station and observational techniques such as participant observation; and b) secondary sources: interpreting documentation.

In addition, qualitative research selects the interviewees for their relation to the object being researched; in this case the two community radio models, measured against the two standards: that of governance and participation. It is “purposeful sampling ... from which the most must be learned" (Merriam, 1998: 48).

4.1.3 Triangulated research strategy

Triangulation is the application and combination of several research methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. Triangulation of objective and subjective methods proves the best way to assess an institution like a community radio whose membership is a ‘community’ and whose staff is a largely fluctuating volunteer force (Tomaselli and Dunn, 2001). Hence triangulation strengthens the validity of the findings by talking to a variety of stakeholders and narrowing down their relation to the station to two key areas: participation and governance. Documentation, onsite observation and interviews form the basic approach.

It is a predominantly qualitative study. The merits of that are that this allows a flexible approach in an area where there are varying degrees of homogeneity within the community radio sector and within each model of community radio.

4.2 Community radio criteria

Tomaselli and De Villiers (1998), with reference to White (1982), outline what they consider the features common to community radio stations. These are in no preferential order: (a) autonomous, (b) encourage community participation, (c) supported by a cadre of community volunteers, and (d) avoid becoming commercialised. Hendy (2000) supplemented this list: (a) for the community's benefit, (b) smaller than state or commercial stations, (c) more participatory than mainstream media because they are 'closer' to the listening community (Haron, 2001: 3; see also Jankowski and Prehn, 2002).

According to the first IBA legislation, a community broadcasting service means a service which:

(a) is fully controlled by a non-profit entity and carried on for non-profitable purposes;
(b) serves a particular community;
(c) encourages members of the community served by it or persons associated with or promoting the interests of such community to participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast in the course of such broadcasting service; and
(d) may be funded by donations, grants, sponsorships or advertising or membership fees, or by any combination of the aforementioned

(IBA Act No. 153 of 1993).

4.2.1 Criteria for this research report

In order to assess the effectiveness of the two models of community radio, this research report looks at criteria to do with governance and participation, taking as its baseline 'democratic participation', of which there are two aspects: one is the legal requirements stipulated by ICASA for a set of democratic procedures to be put in place and monitored. This question of 'compliance' offers the researcher a quantitative assessment of governance in terms of the number of meetings, attendance as well as gender balance and election terms of board members. The other aspect relates to listenership, the channels in place for participation and for

democratic governance, use of those channels, participation in station programming and its operation.

4.2.2 Rationale for ten indicators

In personal discussions with Ms S. Vawda, Director of the Johannesburg-based monitoring and evaluation company, 'Systems Approach' (2007), we systematically listed those indicators which would provide strong evidence of good governance and community participation. The ten indicators selected to compare the 'geographic' station and the faith-based 'community of interest' station are: governance, participation by the community, funding and financing, management, feedback structures, listeners' involvement, interaction between station and community, volunteers, access, skills building. These are described further below:

1. Governance: To be an effective station and acting within the rules of compliance, the board and its constituent members must show: gender balance; execution of duties; rotation of members. The board members receive no remuneration. There must be no conflict of interest. A board member may not have any executive position of a political party or trade union. The board should form sub-committees; hold regular board meetings; call the annual general meeting (AGM) and elections every three years; prepare the community for meetings well in advance; prepare an agenda and provide the relevant documentation for public scrutiny and approval.

2. Participation by the community: Meetings must be made public. The AGM must be in quorum and representative of the whole community with representations from stakeholders: listeners, advertisers, funders and local government.

3. Funding and financing

Listeners can support their station through voluntary membership fees or 'loyalty pledges', consisting of voluntary subscriptions, possibly debited direct from personal bank accounts. Fund-raising can include forming partnerships with local organisations and businesses in order to encourage their sponsoring particular programmes.

4. Management: The manager is appointed by the board and must have good communication/democratic skills at an operational level. He/she is answerable to the community and to the board.

5. Feedback structures: (i) Formal: These can consist of listeners' forums, audience research, peer review, community mapping; (ii) Informal: These are usually in the form of phone-ins, interactive talk shows, a policy of 'open door', outside broadcasts (OB) to engage the public and gauge opinion, and a 'Complaints and Compliments' register of which the public must be aware and to which it must have access.

6. Listener involvement: Listeners' associations (LAs) are a way of gathering feedback on a regular basis about specific programmes, and finding out if topics are relevant; linking the content of a programme to the community by discussing content and discussing ways of extending the messages through community-based organisations (CBOs); and by suggesting other radio formats. In a more formalised relationship the elected 'leader' of the LA liaises regularly with the programme manager to discuss improvements or confirm present trends.

7. Interaction between station and community: There are community campaigns that the station can initiate and lead, such as awareness-raising campaigns on HIV/AIDS or alcohol and substance abuse. There are also opportunities for the station to support existing CBO campaigns.

8. Volunteers: The station relies on the good-will of the public to help it to operate. People enrol as presenters, newsreaders, disc jockeys and radio talk-show hosts. With directives from management, volunteers can fund-raise for the station as well as help to set the agenda at an operational level and offer business support such as free auditing services, maintenance and technical skills.

9. Access: The station's location is a help or a hindrance. If it is in a good location, the public has access to it by public transport. The station should be clearly visible and identifiable and have an 'open door' policy. In certain instances the question of

languages used on air indicate the degree of accessibility across different language and ethnic groups.

10. Skills-building: The station offers an entry point into the labour market by offering volunteers the chance to learn broadcasting and radio journalism skills on the job. Within the station volunteers should be encouraged to attend in-house as well as outside training courses and to pass on this training at the point when he/she wishes to leave.

4.2.3 Rationale for choice of respondents

In a cross-case study, four key players have been identified from each station for on-site interviews or telephonically. These were chosen from four areas of community radio life which were judged to be the most affected by issues of governance and participation, or lack thereof: the board; management; the listener who is also a voluntary presenter with input into programming and feedback; and an advertiser or donor. All these respondents are directly affected, in one way or another, by the managerial practices of the station.

A **member of the board** is elected by the community at the AGM and, together with other publicly-elected board members or trustees, is 'the custodian' of the station, concerned with issues of governance and providing support to management in terms of guidance and social networking.

The **station manager** is appointed by the board and is in charge of the daily running of the station.

The **volunteer presenter** is an indication of public involvement, of the reliance of the station on unpaid staff and a clue with regards to the sustainability of the station. The volunteer also gives insights into the policy of the station with regards to providing skills training and offering promotion into longer-term, paid employment.

The **advertiser** benefits from a well-functioning radio and loyal listenership, which are both signs of a well-governed station with high levels of passive participation.

In the case of *Soshanguve CR* interviews were held telephonically April-May 2007 with:

1. Thuli Mzamnin (board member: treasurer/trustee)
2. Lebelo Maleka (station manager)
3. Maurice Mzize (volunteer presenter)
4. Geoffrey Shankman (Railway Furniture chain)

In-depth personal interviews were conducted with Lebelo Maleka, station manager on the first site visit to *Soshanguve CR ,* 4 January 2005 and on the second site visit, 9 February 2007. These visits also served as observation visits.

In the case of *Radio Islam,* interviews were held telephonically with:

1. Liyaquat Laher (board member)
2. Moran Dorath (station manager)
3. Katija Bibi Sahib (volunteer news reader)
4. Amina Bibi Kariola (business woman and advertiser)

In-depth personal interviews on site visits were conducted with Ismail S. Variavar, programmes manager, at frequent intervals between 2005 and 2007. A shorter interview was carried out with Azhar Vadi, a news presenter trainee at the ABC Ulwazi Newsroom Workshop in 2006.

4.3 Respondent interviews

Two sets of questions were formulated in similar ways across respondents to encourage consistency in data collection and cross-case comparisons. They were clustered under the two headings: governance and participation. Respondents were asked:

1. What does the board of governors consist of?
2. When was the last AGM held? What were the attendance figures?
3. What are the main issues around governance at your station?
4. Is the role of management satisfactory?
5. How does the station receive feedback from its listeners?
6. What kind of funding has been received for the community radio station?

7. What available channels are there for listener feedback?
8. What activities have taken place to show involvement between the radio station and the community?
9. How is the question of volunteerism handled in the station?
10. Is there free and open access to the station?
11. What languages are relevant for the listeners?
12. What skills building has taken place at the station?

4.4 Documentation

Documents considered relevant were: minutes of board meetings; AGM meeting minutes; documentation of fund-raising events; access to the complaints or law suits taken against the station if they occurred; log-sheets, programme schedules and letters form listeners to management; also monitoring reports by ICASA monitors. The documents on the legal case brought against *Radio Islam* throw light on the transformation that the station had to go through in order to keep its license.

4.5 Problem Areas

In the qualitative process of data collection there are weaknesses that come from single method, single-observer, and single-theory studies. For example, the main weakness of using interviews is the anecdotal nature and the personal bias of the evidence. Another weakness lies in the selection of the respondents. In the case of the six chosen from each community radio station, none of the interviewees is representative of a larger group; nor can this selection of stakeholders be considered representative in a way that a sampling research would. Furthermore, all interviewees were identified by the station manager at the respective stations and could thus be considered biased. However, an ‘alternative’ dissenting voice would be no more or less representative than the opinions of this selection. It would be another voice.

In terms of representivity the proportional representation process means the majority have greater access to radio than minority groups, whereas in alternative participatory processes, giving a voice to the voiceless should mean that minorities and marginalised groups have greater access to community radio.

Thus it becomes clear that weaknesses in the case study methodology generally lie in its lack of rigor: the case study is not based on a scientific approach and therefore provides very little basis for generalisation and deduction (Yin, 2002).

CHAPTER 5
Data findings and comments

5. Introduction

This chapter identifies the areas of comparative research with regard to the geographic station, *Soshanguve CR*, and the faith based station *Radio Islam.*

The first part of this chapter offers a brief description of each radio station's community based on interviews carried out at site visits to the stations and the community maps that radio personnel were asked to draw up for the Department of Communication in 2004. The second part of this chapter offers a brief overview of the ratio of community to religious issues in the broadcasts of both stations.

5.1 The two stations' communities

(i) **Soshanguve**

Soshanguve is a semi-rural or peri-urban area and includes Winterveldt and Brits. Like so many black townships it was artificially created from evictees from other black areas. It was founded in 1973 and its name indicates the different ethnic groups that this location includes:

So	**shan**	**gu**	**ve**
Sotho	Shangaan	Nguni	Venda

Sesotho speakers consist of Setswana and Pedi 25%
Nguni consists of Zulu and Ndebele 15%
Shangaan consists of Xitsonga and Venda 20%
English 10%

Area:

Soshanguve is situated in Gauteng near mining fields.
There is a Magistrates court, an ODI prison, the nearby Tshwane University of Technology founded 1993. Several miles away is the George Mukhari Hospital.

Municipal boundaries redrawn. Since 2004 it is a part of Tshwane Municipality. Area receives better delivery of services as part of the capital city.
Services: High levels of sanitation, water, electricity but suffers from water and electricity cut-offs. 90% flush toilets 99% inside toilets 96% sanitation
Unemployment: According to 2001 employment figures quoted in the community mapping, there is a labour force of approximately 1million, of whom approximately 800,000 are unemployed or not "economically active". That represents roughly three quarters of the working population not generating an income.
Lack: Paucity of sports and recreation facilities.
Community includes Tshwane University of Technology; Magistrates court; library, schools, clinic George Mukhari Hospital. 4 police stations. ODI Prison.
Transformation: Mkhatshwa Village, former hostel successfully adapted into family units.
Tourist attractions: Gaabo Motho Cultural village: African Shangaan resort.

(ii) Lenasia

Background: Lenasia is an urban area. It is called Lens for short and was formed in the 1960s by a British officer, Captain Lens. Various Indian and Asian people were forcibly removed to Lenasia from Fietes and Pageview.
Area: The Township has a sixty kilometre radius and according to the municipality is called region 11. Areas include former apartheid townships: Roshnee, Azaadville, Fordsburg, Kliptown, Eldorado, Orange Farm. The station has listeners as far away as Marlborough near Sandton in the north.
Population: Muslim population breakdown: twice as many Indian to Black

4430 Black male	6519 Coloured
2845 Black female	6553 coloured
Total: 7275 .Blacks	Total: 13072 Coloureds/Indians

Religion in Lenasia: 55% Muslim; 45% Hindu; 5% Christian.
Economy: Lenasia is a booming urban centre but peripheral poorer farming communities. There are "tracts of "high potential agricultural land".
There is "rapid and sustained growth in population and number of households".

1996-2004: Lens has experienced an economic boom. There has been 29% growth in relative terms and a “rapid and sustained growth in population and number of households”.
Consumer spending: 41% is Lenasia; 16% Soweto; 7% Orange Farm
Employment: There are 320,000 new formal jobs. *Trade Winds Shopping Centre* is due to create new jobs.
Migration has pushed up unemployment figures. Lenasia attracts migrants with Muslim background from other places in Africa-– Nigeria, Egypt, Somalia, and S. Africa Western Cape.
Main challenges: Crime, hawkers, police inaction
Forecast: personal income stagnation; decline in buying power, increase in employment; more jobs but lower incomes
Long term prognosis is good. There is a predicted rise in black incomes, bridging the gap between Indian and blacks.

5.2 Governance

The function of the Board, as described in the ABC Ulwazi Training Manual (2006: 19), is to formulate the radio station’s policies and to oversee operations of the station. Its role is to guide, “... not “managing” or “operating” but setting the course, giving advice, monitoring, analysing processes and results, taking corrective action … to become effective community service programme delivery agents and financially sustainable entities”.

> “The board should generally be representative in terms of the demographics of the area and as such, making it the rightful custodian of the station for the community who are the owners. Such a position, it is presumed, encourages participation which in turn promotes equality in terms of access and control” (Ngwenya, 2007: 24).

According to the July 2008 Annual Compliance Report compiled by ICASA monitors, “The board is not responsible for the day-to-day running of the station” (Appendix A, para.5, p.8). That is the work of the station manager who is appointed by the board

and who is responsible for seeking board approval of any other managers s/he deems necessary to help to run the station.

Good board structures are a prerequisite for effective participation. There is a need for a well-functioning board that meets regularly and for a system of line managers who report to, and receive feedback from, the station manager and the Board. Overall, the board and station manager must be held accountable to the annual general meeting (AGM) and give proof of transparent financial statements, gender policy and balanced programming to ICASA and to its own community.

(i) Soshanguve CR

Management and control of *Soshanguve CR* is in the hands of the board of trustees which is comprised of 6 members, three male, three female.

Soshanguve CR has a weak board structure and is currently meeting neither ICASA's compliance criteria, nor its own constitutional requirements to have a functioning board that meets regularly. The last AGM was held in November 2005. The reasons given for the station's failure to convene again in 2006 or 2007 were, one, "the delay in obtaining financial statements from its auditors and two, the fact that two of the board members relinquished their positions" (Appendix A, para.3, p.3).

These indicate that the power base at board level is weak and that there has been little to no participation of the community at the AGM and public meetings level, and therefore no elections. After the 27 November 2005 AGM, (Appendix B) there were nine board members on the Trust of *Soshanguve CR; s*even were active and there was a good gender balance of 3 women: 4 men. Two further trustees were 'passive' founding members. That number of 7 was reduced to 6, with two out of six failing to commit on a regular basis. In an interview with the treasurer Ms. T. Mzamnin (2007) the explanation given was lethargy as well as pressures on women members in particular to combine official duties with those of family and job.

In addition, Maleka (2006) laments the station's inability to gain financially from government campaigns due to non-cooperation of some board members to hand in

tax clearance certificates needed to facilitate VAT registration for the station, which are obligatory requirements for the provincial Department of Communications (DoC) in the metropolitan district of Tshwane.

In the Operational Report submitted to the 27 November AGM 2005, (Appendix B), Maleka notes, that not registering for VAT poses “a serious problem as it limits the station from making any business with the government departments” (para1.4.p.5). The station is being deprived of +-R24, 000 per month. In addition, the failure of the board members to cooperate with submitting tax clearance certificates is jeopardizing the station’s application for the renewal of the broadcasting licence, which was due to expire 30 April 2006. However, ICASA monitor, Mr. S. Rankin (2008) explained that during the conversion process, no station will lose its licence.

Mzamnin (2007) speaks highly of Maleka. In her opinion he provides strong leadership as station manager, but agrees, he makes no attempt at any horizontal or participatory measures such as rotating positions in order to empower other members of the radio station or listenership to take managerial responsibility. He talked of ‘grooming’ a manager to replace the marketing manager who had resigned. However, with only a low wage on offer this was proving difficult. His focus is on building networks with local government and businesses, skills which the treasurer of the trustees praised very highly.

In my observation, Maleka is in a position of control, which goes unchallenged and which is strongly defended by albeit, a weak and unrepresentative board. Without a pool of community leaders willing to volunteer their services and stand for elections, *Soshanguve CR’s* board remains in the hands of a few people who are not democratically-elected but who merely extend their tenure due to their inability to attract fresh candidates.

(ii) Radio Islam

According to the 2007 ICASA Monitoring Report of *Radio Islam*, (Appendix C, para. 6, p.7) the station has 15 active board members, 9 male and 6 female. As one can see from the organogram (Appendix D), they work in four sub-committees: finance, marketing, programming and technical This gives a more even spread of power than

is possible for a board of only six members as is the case at *Soshanguve CR*. Also, in contrast to the geographic station, board elections take place every three years and AGMS are held regularly every year.

"The best of people are those who serve people" (Hadeeth). *Radio Islam's* board fulfils its obligations to meet every two months, as do the four sub-committees. Meeting procedures and minutes are meticulously kept. Participation at board level is part of the religious duty of the board members and they have met 22 August 2006; 8 November 2006 and 31 January 2007.

From the documentation, *Radio Islam* has sound governance in place and in 2004/5 was able to meet the DoC requirements of tax clearance and VAT registration, thus benefiting financially from the first round fee of R24, 000 a month and in the 2005/6 second round an increased fee of R27, 000. In addition, taking part in these DoC initiatives has benefited the station from the point of view of increasing its capacity to produce monthly programmes on HIV/AIDS, women, disability, children, youth, health and education provision (Appendix E).

5.2.1 Women in Radio Islam

Jamiatul Ulama formerly of the Transvaal (JUT) now JU of South Africa, declared as one of its objectives for supporting *Radio Islam*: "To encourage substantive and formal gender equality in order to ensure meaningful participation by both men and women in all spheres of broadcasting..." (Appendix F, para.1.p.1). The JUT was formed in 1923 and is a long-standing and substantial council of theologians serving the religious needs of the majority of Muslims. It derives its spiritual authority from the Islamic University, Darul Uloom of Deoband, India. According to their December 2002 document, the JU was originally formed to offer spiritual guidance in all aspects of the Muslim faith: to act as arbitrators and resolve disputes on the basis of Islamic theological principles; advise members on all aspects of Islamic law as well as serve the Muslim community in its social, charitable and welfare needs and "...to find the appropriate balance between the fight to free speech....editorial independence..." and the best interests of the Muslim community (Appendix F, p.82).

Ms. Z. Khan presented a case study of Radio Islam on behalf of Women's Net to the Department of Communications Workshop, 6 September 2001 (Appendix G).
In it she outlines how *Radio Islam* began broadcasting on 11 January 1997 in line with the JUT's principles, but raised public objection because of its ultra-orthodox policy towards women, not allowing them to feature on radio as presenters, or work as sound engineers, producers or in any other capacity, but instead confining them to particular tasks, such as conducting research, administrative duties, and providing other types of back-up support. In November 1997 members of an organisation based in Lenasia, Youth for Islamic Enlightenment and Development, YIELD, challenged this orthodox interpretation of Islamic law and lodged a formal complaint with the IBA claiming that the exclusion of women was a form of gender discrimination, incompatible with the spirit of community radio and the new Constitution of South Africa

In the station's defence, the programmes manager and JU member, Ismail S. Variava, argued that the station was serving the needs of the Muslim community and upholding its morals and values rather than discriminating against women. He maintained that the station was operating in accordance with the principles laid down in the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet, subscribed to by the majority of Muslims in the area. The station's higher authority, the JU, argued that subject to the laws of 'Satr' (the laws of concealment), "... There should be no free mixing with (strange) women, and that the voice of the woman is part of her 'awra' (private part)" (Haron, 2001: 18).

The Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI), in their presentation letter to the IBA in 1998, (Appendix H), recognised that there were two freedom of expression issues at stake: "The freedom of expression rights of women and their right to be treated and regarded equally by the radio station that is meant to serve the entire community, and on the other hand, the freedom of expression rights of the holders of the Radio Islam licence and their right to freely practice and express their religious convictions." They pleaded for a compromise solution "that addresses the specific complaint against *Radio Islam* in a way that does not threaten the future existence of the station" (Seleoane, 1997).

The Broadcasting Monitoring and Complaints Committee (BMCC) of the IBA ruled against the station. In line with rules of compliance the station's renewal of licence was therefore in jeopardy. Consequently, *Radio Islam* could either choose to lose its license or conform.

After much consultation with the JU leadership in Johannesburg, as well as with the international Islamic community, *ulama*, the station and its board were able to reassess the situation and change the policy of the station. It was finally agreed that women could indeed be represented and management set up a 'gender policy'. Responding to the FXI, *Radio Islam* indicated that it would have women on air, and open the airwaves to other organisations such as YIELD, to reflect the diversity of opinion and belief within the Muslim faith:

> *"Radio Islam* does not want to conflict with the Constitution, or any law of the country. Gender equality is important for us and we will comply with statutory and other requirements" (Variavar, 1997).

The impact this change of policy has had on the station shows in the increase in women participation both as workers in the station and as listeners. A four-year licence was finally granted with a number of licensing conditions. These included talk shows, call-in programmes and a help line to ensure a diversity of perspectives. The IBA also instructed *Radio Islam* to ensure that women participated actively in the broadcasting of programmes and as committee members. ICASA monitors concluded:

> "Whilst Radio Islam has been able by and large to fulfil its licensing conditions, MCU (Monitoring and Complaints Unit) is sceptical about complete participation of women on this radio station. No clear evidence could be found to indicate that women actively participate in the management of the radio station" (ICASA Monitoring Report on Radio Islam, 2002).

Since then however, *Radio Islam* has a gender policy in place, which marks a radical departure from its earlier approach to women's participation. The gender policy

acknowledges that *Radio Islam* erred in claiming that the Islamic religion barred women from being heard on air. It aimed to rectify this misunderstanding by:

- Ensuring that there shall be no unfair gender discrimination and promoting substantive and formal gender equality in all spheres of broadcasting, including the presentation of material on air by women;
- Promoting an equal representation of women on its Board of Management;
- Appointing an internal Gender Monitoring Committee to serve as an advisory body and a channel for complaints by the station's members and the community in general.
- Ensuring the Gender Monitoring Committee will work closely with the IBA.

Due to the outcomes of this case, public pressure and the demands of broadcasting legislation to comply with gender balance, *Radio* Islam revised its gender policy. Whereas before 1998*,* the station had no women at board or managerial level, at the AGM of 26 August 2007 ten women stood for election, of which the six women with the highest votes were elected along with nine men (Appendix E, para. 6, p.7).

In *Radio Islam* there is a fairly fixed hierarchy of good leaders. However, introducing women on to the board has produced a major change that has modified the influences of the male dominated structures. Women participate in board meetings and are a robust part of the station’s governance:

> “Women are given equal space at meetings. We have a Purdah (curtain) separating the men from the women, but women have the opportunity to express their opinions and these are taken into consideration. We all have an equal say in the running of the station” (Khan, 2001).

5.3 Public participation

According to Laher, (2007), public attendance at the AGM of either station is considered 'high' when 80 -150 people attend. From a listenership of 20-40,000, this is a very small percentage.

(i) Soshanguve CR

Soshanguve CR aims for broad representation of the community by inviting two members from each CBO or NGO in the area to represent some 18-20 organisations.

(ii) Radio Islam

Radio Islam has held an AGM annually since its inception. Minutes for 2006 and 2007 are available (Appendix E &J). The efficiency with which the public is informed of the AGM and other public meetings is exemplary. However, attendance is low. According to board member Laher, (2007), the last AGM in November 2006 had only 150. At the 26 August 2006 AGM, concerns were raised that "many people do not attend", this in spite of the fact that, according to Laher, 500-600 members had received notice of the AGM by post 6 weeks in advance in accordance with the Section 21 Company's Act. 1500 listeners who had filled out voluntary membership forms were contacted by post 3-4 weeks prior.

Programmes manager, Variavar (2006) explained that all AGMS are announced daily on air and notice of all public meetings is posted in, *The Sunday Times Extra* as well as in the station's newsletter, with a readership estimated at over 25,000. Notices also appear in *The Indicator*, the largest community newspaper in Lenasia.

5.4 Funding and financing

According to The Broadcasting Act, "... a community broadcasting service may be funded by donations, grants, sponsorships or advertising or membership fees or by any combination of the aforementioned" (BA Act section 1, 1999).

Both stations have an excellent record in attracting adspend and persuading local businesses and advertisers to sponsor certain broadcasts.

(i) Soshanguve CR

On 4 January 2006 I visited the station manager, Lebelo Maleka, at Soshanguve CR. The following is taken from that interview.

In 2006 station manager, Lebelo Maleka took over additional marketing managerial tasks and claimed that he raised considerable income for the station by fostering good business relationships with three local furniture stores: Railway, Morkels and Russells. The food chain, Pick ‘n’ Pay provided free catering for the 2005 AGM. The station works closely with these businesses. Pick ’n’ Pay’s social responsibility representative, has a strong bond with the station. However, neither party could provide documentation on monies raised.

Soshanguve CR’s community members do not give pledges. Instead the station engages the listeners in fundraising on special dates, for example, for “Ten Years of Soshanguve CR”. In my opinion, Maleka has a deep political commitment to the ‘struggle history’ of the community and the station’s founders. This is one reason he gave in the interview, as to why he will not accept foreign donor funding, even though it was originally with CAF-Dutch money that the station was kick started in 1996-7. However, when money that was ear-marked for a minibus was spent on the transmitter instead, the relationship between the Dutch donor and station was terminated, revealing a lack of transparent auditing procedures and managerial capacity to account for the money or to comply with funding conditions correctly.

Deals with *Voice of America* and Coca Cola*,* which would have brought the station revenue were also rejected because, in Maleka’s own words, “these would have bound the station to unacceptable conditions”. Maleka seeks to be independent from institutional sources of funding. However there are exceptions. The provincial DoC funded the station’s first studio equipment which the British High Commission later upgraded.

According to Ms. N. Mtana, assistant director in policy development unit, and project Manager at the Department of Communications, (2007), in 2004/5 the DoC initiated campaign to increase capacity at community radio stations, participating stations were required to produce one programme a month on a range of stipulated social issues. In return, each station received R24, 000 a month. However when *Soshanguve CR* was unable to provide tax clearance certificates or VAT registration in 2005, it was barred from taking part in the second round of the DoC initiative.

(ii) Radio Islam

According to the minutes of the 12th AGM, 2007: "Auditors have to be more cautious of non-profit organisations, as the government wants to know where the monies are spent" (Appendix E, para. 7, p.12). Variava (2005) claims the station has the advantage of having a community willing to pay for membership to the station on a voluntary basis. Monthly donations are given via 'pledges' which are debited from their account. Donations are high, especially during Muslim festivals such as Ramadaan; for example, when the community was asked to help the station move premises, one member donated R100, 000 to buy the land on which to build a new station from scratch. The rest was raised entirely from voluntary contributions.

The ICASA monitoring report (2007) is satisfied with the audit statements for the financial year 2006-7 (Appendix C, para. 8, p.9).

5.5 Management

Quantitively, the number of managers at each station is indicative of the spread of power and responsibility, the delegatory powers of the station manager and the layers of decision-making processes.

(i) Soshanguve CR

Soshanguve CR is dependent on two managers:

1. Lebelo Maleka, station manager;
2. Nolulama Sithole, programmes manager

According to the last AGM minutes available, of 27.November 2005 (Appendix B, Page 1), the marketing manager was Harold Matjene. However, in 2006 he resigned. His duties were taken over by station manager, Lebelo Maleka. There is a record of an acting news editor Virginia Hlokota but there was no such person or position at the time of the station visits in 2006/7.

It is clear that with so few staff there can be no sub-committee groups. According to the programmes manager, Mrs. N. Sithole, staff takes part in "constructive criticism" meetings at weekly or two weekly intervals (2007). However, there was no documentation of these meetings available.

(ii) Radio Islam

According to ICASA documentation, *(*Appendix C) *Radio Islam* is run by a 3-man management committee: the station manager, Ml. Heider Dhorat; the programmes manager, Ishmail Variava and Mrs. Zeenat Nosarka. There are six heads of department: technical, advertising, production, reception, programmes and outside broadcasts. They are accountable to their 'line managers' through regular committee and staff meetings. The flow of written reports from each manager to the station manager is "very critical" as these inform the board meetings and AGMs (Variavar, 2005).

5.6 Feedback structures: formal and informal

Feedback can be assessed by looking at formal and informal means available to the community radio station to assess its listeners' opinions. Formal feedback includes listeners' surveys, registers of attendance at AGMs, the logging opinions from all incoming calls to phone-ins and talk shows as a measure of feedback to a particular question, and finally the use of a complaints register.

(i) Soshanguve CR

According to my observation, the station does not have documentation of listeners' surveys or community research. Feedback is live on air or generated by phone- ins and outside broadcasts. Six outside broadcasts were held in 2006. At these events,

listeners are invited to express their opinion on the station and its programming, but there is no documentation or proof of any recommendations taken up.

In our interview on 4 Jan. 2006, station manager, Maleka rejected the concept of Listeners' Associations. They were set up but subsequently disbanded, because, according to Maleka, they had become self-important and proved "too troublesome, wanting changes in everything on a daily basis". He reiterated that for public feedback*, Soshanguve CR* relies solely on *the* AGM, public events, outside broadcasts, phone-ins, talk shows and 'open-door' visits. However, there was no documentation to prove how much feedback the station in fact received.

(ii) Radio Islam

In 1994 *Radio Islam* carried out two community needs' assessments before applying for a licence. One was a survey of demand, need and support from the community while the other surveyed support from the mosques. On the basis of this groundwork, the station has a good knowledge of its community and its needs.

In October 2006 the station carried out its second "Listeners' Survey" in two parts: one at the end of Ramadan and one at the end of November. The results are reflected in a "Composite Report" on the survey and the AGM (Appendix K). The two hundred responses together with those from *Radio Islam's* AGM, gave the basis for the changes that needed to be implemented. One of the changes was to move the Labour Law programme to an evening air time. Furthermore, a pilot project was run in the month of Rabiul-Awwal, "… in which all aspects of the Seerah of Rasulullah was discussed throughout the day. This was favourably received" (Appendix K, p.4).

Variavar explains (2007) that the station is currently researching how best to set up Listeners' Associations, the aim of which is for a representative group of listeners to listen to specific programmes. A leader is chosen from the group who steers the discussion along certain guidelines. The discussion is reported back to the programme manager who can decide how best to use the information, and assess the value of the programme. Other formal structures include a complaint's register, or the more formal structures of the BCCSA – the complaints' association of broadcasters, or the ICASA's newly formed Complaints and Compliance Committee.

Community participation is reflected in their regularly held AGMs and the station's open door policy. Like *Soshanguve CR*, outside broadcasts are also a popular and effective way of interacting with the public to gage their needs and support. However, there are no statistics available. In my research I found that *Radio Islam* also engages via an e-mail newsletter, an interactive website and Satellite Radio Islam.

5.6.1 Complaints and general contraventions

As mentioned in 5.2.1 (see above) a complaint was lodged against the station by members of the community regarding the lack of women participation. According to the ICASA 2007 Monitoring Report, the station received only one complaint in 2007 but "this was handled internally by Radio Islam" (Appendix C, para. 9, p.8).

Programmes manager, Variava also doubles up as the complaints official for Radio Islam. According to ICASA Monitoring Report (Appendix C, para.9, p.8, the one complaint the station received was handled internally.

5.7 Listener involvement

Both stations rely on listener call-ins, open door access, outside broadcasts (OBs) and the AGM for listener input.

(i) Soshanguve CR

There has been no AGM since 2005. Instead *Soshanguve CR* offers phone-ins, talk shows, phone-in competitions, letters, OBs and open door access. The station's station manager Maleka has no consultative process in place to involve listeners' groups, the listenership or presenters with regards to the content of programmes that he receives from outside providers. Maleka (2006) justified his refusal saying that such productions do not involve his station at any point, either at inception or during production. They only require the programme to be flighted and he considers the flighting fee too small. Thus, in my opinion, he does his staff and community a disservice by excluding his programme manager and presenters from any participatory decision-making process. He denies them the democratic process of

assessing programme content and consulting with them how best to use the research contained in the productions.

(ii) Radio Islam

According to my observation, management structures reflect the religious hierarchical structures of Islam. Participation is not a concept that arises from such structures. Discipline and duty stem from the belief system, from the JU who are the religious scholars/ custodians of the faith and of the station, and from the sense of religious commitment on the part of the community to support the station. However, as a community radio station it is legally obliged to have participatory processes in place, (ICASA, 2000). These consist of public access, phone-ins, regular AGMs, listeners' surveys and internal discussions on setting up listener's associations

Radio Islam has no Listeners' Associations in place although the station is currently investigating the viability of this, according to Variavar (2007). As the station concentrates on transmitting interpretations and teachings of Islam, participation is, in my opinion, limited to those community –based programmes which make up roughly 10% of the total programming, in which presenters invite questions or contributions on local issues. *Radio Islam* makes use of outside broadcasts (OBs). Shoppers and business owners at the new shopping mall, Trade Routes, have easier access to the station and in turn the station can gain input from listeners. Such activities, says Variavar, also raise funds and increase brand awareness of the station.

5.8 Interaction between station and community

This is high in both stations. Both stations have started initiatives as well as taken part in existing campaigns.

(i) Soshanguve CR

Community-based programming forms approximately 90% of the geographic station's content. Community activities are listed in Appendix L. These include fund-raising initiatives. *Soshanguve CR* has donated funds to the Luvuyo orphanage, Jabulani place of safety and Lotus orphanage home. It has run campaigns: "Stop

the convict-nyaopi" -against a locally-produced drug. Over the Christmas period, the station initiated the campaign to 'put a smile on a child's face' in which listeners were asked to identify a child in the community and donate clothes and presents.

According to the Operational report submitted to the AGM 27 November 2005 (Appendix B), the station was awarded "Social Impact Award 2004" by Christ Centred Church in Soshanguve, and from the Department of Communications they received a reward of R10, 000 for the "Best Performing Community Radio 2004/2005" in the Gauteng Province.

(ii) Radio Islam

According to the minutes of the AGM 26 August 2006, (Appendix J) *Radio Islam* has benefited "thousands of people", including the Tiba Services for the Blind. Their educational programmes have benefited 2,000 learners by providing basic Deeni Taalim – religious education that provides religious and moral upliftment.

The Al Ihsaan Youth Foundation pledges to host a youth programme, and a weekly programme called Islamic Helpline offers professional counselling sessions by women for women. The station contributes fifty per cent towards the total expenses of the programme. Other projects include annual winter collections of clothes and blankets for the campaign "Winter Warmth" and collections of spectacles which are donated to the visually impaired. The station has supported international fund raising activities to help survivors of the Pakistani earthquake and the tsunami disaster, linking these campaigns to Muslim aid services in the area. In 2007 the station began a new project with Flakfontein, a disadvantaged informal settlement on the edge of Lenasia. This joint venture aims to give support to the community in general and orphaned children in particular.

In 2008, the DoC awarded *Radio Islam*: Best governed community radio station in the country and best series on women abuse (Appendix D, p.2).

5.10 Volunteerism

(i) Soshanguve CR

According to station manager, Maleka (2006), the station was initially launched with the help of dedicated volunteers from a politically active residents' movement. Their aim was to create a community radio station, which can give voice to their grievances and contribute to the social and economic improvement of the people. However over 50% of Soshanguve are described as unemployed or 'not economically active' and are not in a financial position to support the station with voluntary contributions or pledges. It is fair to deduce from that that, those who wish to dedicate their time voluntarily learn broadcasting skills on the job; they do not necessarily come equipped with the kind of expertise in broadcasting, management or operations that would help the station to become self sustainable and attract more skilled support.

At the time of this research, the majority of *Soshanguve CR's* staff consisted of 17 unpaid volunteers. They each received transport costs of up to R 200.00 a month. There is a high turnover of staff mainly because volunteers use the station to learn certain broadcasting skills and then move on to paid employment opportunities. Over the years, fourteen presenters have been 'poached' by SABC and *Radio Pulpit,* a successful, commercial Christian radio station based in Tshwane, according to Maleka (2006).

In the Operational Report (Appendix B, para.1.6) Maleka states quite bluntly, that "the turning over of volunteers is a barrier to quality programming and sustainability".

(ii) Radio Islam

Islamic culture promotes the culture of 'giving of alms' and the act of giving is seen as a supreme virtue - an essential ethos that supports both the Muslim social fabric and economic system. It is intrinsic to a Muslim's way of being (Fakir, 2002). Therefore in Lenasia, many people voluntarily offer pledges, and a very wealthy business class contributes on a monthly basis. The station does not rely on volunteer presenters. It rather draws in staff with a high level of education, mostly from the tertiary institutions and pays them a fee accordingly. In our interview,

Ms.K.B. Sahib (2006) explained how she joined as a volunteer, was monitored for three months, given training and then offered a paid, semi-permanent position.

The majority, 25-28 of *Radio Islam's* staff is fully paid; there are 5-6 part-time and 5-6 hourly paid members. A small pool of volunteers comes to gain work experience or fill in as a vacation job, but they are mostly university students. This, in my observation puts the station on a sound footing and provides the sort of consistency that builds listener loyalty. The Muslim presenters are also not equipped with the DJ skills of *Soshanguve CR* and therefore, logically, less likely to be 'poached' by commercial stations. Thus there is a lower turnover of staff with one presenter having moved to a commercial station and one other to *Channel Islam*.

A reliable pool of off air volunteers is available to offer their services to fix technical problems, work on the internet, or help with the building of the new station.

5.10 Access

According to the ICASA position document, "it implies the equitable access to and equitable involvement in the control, management and programming of the radio, by all interest groups in the area" (Section 13.1). According to MISA, community ownership implies "a bottom-up, participatory process, which promotes non-discriminatory access" (MISA Position Paper, 2006).

(i) Soshanguve CR

During my visit on 4 January, 2006, I noted that any potential visitor is discouraged by the position of the station, which is set in a dark unfrequented part of a run-down shopping centre, Nafcoc. It can only be accessed across a bleak parking lot. As a shopping centre it attracts very little business and few customers. However, this centre also houses the local municipality office for social services, providing the station with easy access to the municipal services.

The participation of 'community concern groups' are not welcomed by station manager, Maleka, who calls them "troublemakers" (2006): "They find illegal solutions and *toyi toyi* around over everything, for example, over electricity pricing or cut offs".

During the 4 January 2006 site visit, a bishop from the Zionist Christian Church (ZCC) who was at the heart of a controversial exchange of opinion came to talk to Maleka without any previous appointment, proving that the station does have an open-door policy in spite of its unfavourable location.

Soshanguve CR offers no access by internet. Communication with the station is problematic. During this research every e-mail sent to the station manager bounced back or went unanswered. Faxes were not followed up. The only efficient way to reach the station manager was to phone or visit in person. However, throughout this research, Maleka was not easily accessible as he was often out of the station attending meetings or conferences and networking with local businesses.

(ii) Radio Islam

I noted on my various visits, including 21 December 2005, that the station was easily accessible in its old premises and the new premises are equally easy to find, located in a residential area. Most of the visitors come to buy the religious CDs and books, which have been advertised on the station. *Radio Islam* offers accessibility thorough an efficient phone, fax and e-mail service, a reception area in the station with publications, an interactive internet and a satellite access, *Satellite Islam,* which requires a specific Radio Islam Decoder. This service makes up for the gaps in the station's outreach due to the less than even signal of its medium wave frequency. The station's call-in programmes, "now have many satellite listeners calling in from all parts of the country" (Appendix E, p. 8).

On religious days and during festivals the station takes a 'live feed' from the mosque giving people access to the most important scriptures and sermons. For those with internet, programmes can be heard via live streaming. The station offers a highly interactive website with local and international news, the latest programming schedules and print outs of items from popular programmes such as cookery tips. Their website http://www..radioislam.co.za is updated on a daily basis by a regular number of staff and volunteers.

The *Radio Islam* website received 50,000 hits a month at the time of the site visit 2006/12/21. Much of the internet traffic is occurring at night which "is a pretty good indication that much of that "traffic" is coming from the other side of the world". According to the AGM minutes, (Appendix E, p.8) there are 62 countries recorded and in 2006 the station website had 10,420,753 hits generated by 105,840 visitors.

Radio Islam also gives out a free newsletter which has seen subscribers increase to 5,200. Readership is estimated at 25,000. It goes out regularly five days a week to national and international subscribers and can be accessed easily by e-mail (Appendix E, p. 8).

5.11 Skills-building: training and development

(i) Soshanguve CR

According to the Annual Compliance Report (ICASA, 2007) *Soshanguve CR* does not fulfil its requirements under Clause 6 of Schedule C "to ensure that there are mechanisms in place for staff development through training" (Appendix A, para.6, p. 10). The station does not allocate any budget for internal training but has used the services of outside training institutions, MAPPP-SETA and the DoC for staff development.

Although *Soshanguve CR* suffers from the fast turnover of volunteer staff, Maleka considers this to be part of community radio's mandate to create skills and improve employment opportunities in the community. As part of his own upgrading of skills, Maleka takes part in major international conferences such as the Youth Conference in Malta 2005, and the follow-up meeting in Berlin 2006. His absence was one of the reasons given for the cancellation of the 2005/6 AGM.

In February 2007, two volunteer presenters were sent to attend MAPPP-SETA accredited radio production courses organized by the National Community Radio Forum (NCRF) in Johannesburg, which historically is not intended to be a service provider for training but a representative forum aimed at the betterment of the community radio sector.

The station has experienced a shortfall in language presenters who have been attracted to job offers at SABC. In 2005/6 two went to SABC TV channels; one to *Thobela FM* and two more to *Kwezi FM*. Over the past five years, the station has lost 14 presenters to commercial radio or the national broadcaster. Maleka mentions in the 2006 Operational Report (Appendix B) that the station suffers when a presenter leaves and has to be replaced in that language in order to remain compliant with ICASA. The station has been warned it must fill the gaps within 60 days of the warning or face penalties from ICASA monitors for non-compliance.

(ii) Radio Islam

Radio Islam has a larger pool of staff, consisting of salaried staff and volunteers. This enables the station to send one or two staff for training without that proving disruptive to their broadcasts. In-house training at *Radio Islam* is a strong factor. There are daily mentoring and monitoring processes which aim to improve presenters' radio skills in response to listeners' comments. *Radio Islam* has a high participation rate at all community radio related training workshops and conferences, (DoC Conference on Community Radio, Durban March 2007) at the NCRF and NAB AGMS (2005/6,) at ABC Ulwazi workshops and training; Round table workshop, ABC Ulwazi Johannesburg (2006/11/21) and discussions held (Institute for Advanced Journalism, November 2007).

5.12 Programme ratio of community-based: faith

Radio Islam	**Religious content**	**Local news**	**Other** *national /international news)* **10%**
	80%	**10%**	
Soshanguve CR	**10%**	**30%**	**60%**

The two types of community broadcasting are diametrically opposed to each other.

For *Soshanguve CR,* community-based programming constitutes
90% of total programming; **10%** religion

For *Radio Islam MW*, community programming constitutes
20% of total programming; **80%** religion.

These figures are approximate and based on the January 2008 programme log sheet of *Soshanguve CR* and the Autumn/Winter programming schedule 2006 of *Radio Islam* (Appendix M).

Comparing the two programming schedules, *Soshanguve CR* produces eight times more community content than *Radio Islam*, in seven languages.

(i) Soshanguve CR

Fulfilling ICASA licence obligations are more onerous for *Soshanguve CR*. The station has to cater for seven languages in specified percentages of air-time. Setswana 25%; Pedi 20%; Zulu 15%; Ndebele 10% Tsonga 10%; Venda 10%; English 10%. 80-90% of its programming is dedicated to community matters. Listener participation is at its maximum during community-based programming when local issues that directly affect the community are discussed in the form of a talk show or 'phone-in', and calls are taken freely.

In 2005/6 the station worked closely with the Mahube Youth Development Forum who wrote and produced their own radio dramas, a method which is in line with Maleka's strong belief that a community radio station must have ownership of everything it produces and broadcasts. By March 2007 these programmes were no longer running, because the youth forum had closed.

The Community Policing Forum interacts with the community on a weekly basis through talk shows and phone-ins. There are also daily 'police warnings' slots to update the public on traffic incidents or crime.

"Ex- Inmates of ODI Prisons": In 2005/6 so-called "ex-combats" were invited regular weekly slot to describe experiences in prison and advise youth against crime.

"The Residents": This is a regular weekly programme, which brings the constituents of the area into contact with someone from the Mayoral office or a Tshwane municipality spokesperson.

"Dingangisano tsa Sedumedi" and "Bokamoso Ba Rona"*:* These are phone-ins dealing with religious issues which mainly involve the local Zionist Christian Church (ZCC). The station plays local gospel music and attracts the most listeners and callers. They number about 50 in three hours. Other Christian churches in the community have committed themselves to working with the community radio station because of its close relationship with the listeners. Pastor David Ramekosi for example has been producing programmes with his own equipment and at his own cost. Leaders of the Christian churches, as with all religious leaders, exercise a powerful presence.

Soshanguve CR's manager, Maleka*,* has not felt confident enough to offer gay and lesbian groups a programme on air although he was approached by a group in Tshwane. He was sure the station would lose important revenue from clients among the local churches and their congregation, who would find such debates unacceptable. However, during the World Aids Day campaign in December 2006, the station aired an outside broadcast that covered the gay and lesbian movement's contribution with no such negative commercial repercussions (Maleka, 2007).

(ii) Radio Islam

Radio Islam has a relatively easier task, providing 95% of its programmes in English with one programme a week in Zulu and one in Afrikaans. Language is a medium for Islamic instruction and Arabic is taught on air as the language of daily prayers and Qur'an readings. A large number of Somalis moved into Lenasia, as well as Bengalis and Pakistanis. Therefore Urdu has been included as a language medium. While there are many cultural differences among the national practices of Muslim immigrants, these are not accommodated on *Radio Islam.* For example the station will not play instrumental music, although this would be acceptable in other Muslim cultures. In an interview, Mr. A Vadi (2006) expressed the belief that the station

remains a consistent faith base, with strong Tablighi orientation, giving interpretations of the Qur'an for all Muslims.

Radio Islam has 14 news broadcasts a day and, according to their website, the station prides itself on the balance between secular and Islamic content.

Since 1998 when *Radio Islam* was challenged by ICASA to include women in their management structures as well as on air, women's programmes comprise 13% of the talk aired at the station (Appendix C, p.5). This compares to 14% at *Soshanguve CR* (Appendix A, p.13).

Chapter 6
Findings and Analysis

1. Introduction

The effectiveness of the community radio station is assessed by its ability to serve the needs of its community, to involve the community in the station's programming as well as the running of the station and to manage these processes in a transparent and democratic manner. In this chapter I offer a personal evaluation of challenges facing the two community radio models and how they met the criteria which I set up to measure their 'effectiveness'.

Tleane pinpointed in his yet unpublished research findings that an urban or peri-urban geographic station in a black township faces harsher challenges than the urban-based special interest station. These challenges include: high levels of poverty among the listeners; low levels of communication and management skills; a lack of willingness among the community leadership to serve as board members regularly and consistently; a poor business environment making it difficult to raise revenue or adspend, and the culture of entitlement that produces a core of paid managers and a high number of unemployed staff working as volunteers. Such a station struggles to sustain itself financially. Station management relies on personal links to local government and business structures for ongoing financial support as well as content of programming, with the result that principles of democratic governance, public participation, accountability and transparency among board members, management, volunteer staff and the listenership are increasingly blurred.

Soshanguve CR serves a community of many different language groups with diverse interests, yet without regular AGMs or special public meetings these interests are not represented in a democratic public forum. Taking the temperature of public opinion from voices recorded at outside broadcasts or from radio phone-ins is considered a way of involving the community in the running of the station, but these methods are no substitute for the AGM which is the main forum where the public can challenge or approve of station board members whom they have elected. The AGM offers management the opportunity to give a thoroughly documented account of the

station's finances, while the community can ask questions and demand answers and thus hold the station's management to account. The AGM is a minimum standard of democratic participation and in this respect *Soshanguve CR* has failed to live up to the ideals of serving the community and having a radio station for, by and of the people. As Tleane also noted in his site visit report (unpub.) the few people in charge of the radio station treat it as their fiefdom and do not engage the community in its management. Thus the station fails to become an effective tool for social change. The issues of democratic governance and participation are discussed below.

6.1 Governance

Firstly, the geographic station generally broadcasts from among poorer socio-economic groups and therefore has difficulties attracting people from the community into positions on the executive board. Many expect remuneration, which is not allowed, or expect personal advantages, which may produce a conflict of interest. The 'faith-based' community of interest model on the other hand is better able to call on its followers to dedicate themselves to board and management duties. It becomes an extension of the church, or in this case, the mosque. A philosophy of giving is present among all faiths. In the Muslim faith it is defined as a duty. Giving more than what is obligatory will result in 'barakah'- a reward in the hereafter (Fakir, 2002).

Tleane (unpub.) found that generally speaking, this kind of passion which is present in the faith-based stations is found wanting in the geographic stations. This research report confirms that religious faith, a common language and commonly-held values create a cohesion in the listenership of Lenasia's *Radio Islam* which help to sustain the station as a financially sustainable social enterprise with regularly held AGMs, board meetings and internal management meetings. . The more heterogeneous community of Soshanguve is less committed to ensuring the long-term sustainability of the station as its forum to do so, the AGM, is non-functioning.

6.2 Commercialisation of community radio

Many accuse the broadcast legislation (IBA 1993 / ICASA 2000) of having set stations up to fail, particularly geographic stations in rural areas with little or no

chance of earning adspend from a community high on unemployment and low on entrepreneurship (Ngwenya, 2007). The station becomes a community juke box with the result that instead of heightening awareness on human rights, social and health issues the geographic station is more drawn towards the entertainment format (Mgibisa, 2005). This practice is popular with advertisers as such programming will attract listeners. However, the listeners become passive consumers and do not act as engaged members of a social enterprise that the community radio station was conceived to be. Although a station is run as a not-for-profit organisation, it has become increasingly common for the board to appoint a station manager who is best placed to adopt corporatist methods of survival, where attracting advertising and programme sponsorships becomes the standard against which the management of the station is judged (Tleane, unpub.).

The geographic model is more likely to orientate itself to the commercial radio model in order to raise funds, as few in the community are able to support the station with donations. Therefore the geographic station is almost entirely reliant on forming partnerships with local and regional businesses and raising commercial revenue. The board must provide support to the station manager to undertake 'corporate' measures, network with local businessmen and attract investors.

The faith station keeps the loyalty of its faith community precisely because it steers away from commercialism and pop culture. *Radio Islam* follows a strict form of Islam which forbids any music or lyrics on air other than the religious, but it draws large revenues from local Muslim businesses that see it as part of their religious duty to maintain their station through adspend.

"Few things are more indicative of the cultural differences between Europe and the Arab world than the sounds which emerge from the radio" (Ruthven, 2000: 80). The difference in sound is due to the fact that, apart from the calls to prayers and religious singing, there is no popular music. Variavar (2005) explains that *Radio Islam* is not a proponent of popular culture but of Muslim culture, which is defined within the parameters of Islam so that, for example, the gardening, cookery and women's programme are directly linked to stories around the Prophet and to relevant

texts taken from the Qur'an. Even local news content on health, crime or service delivery are set in a spiritual context.

6.3 Volunteerism

As previous research has noted (Teer-Tomaselli, R. 2004), high unemployment and low income levels mean that the geographic station is more reliant on volunteerism. However, the high influx of unemployed youth as volunteers is not conducive to either quality programming or participatory management. The young use the opportunity that the station affords them to promote a DJ culture, market themselves and then move to the greener pastures of commercial or national broadcasting. They do not contribute to, or gain from taking part in any participatory processes; indeed if they did they might demand a stipend and a greater say. As volunteers, many express fear of speaking out, or feel they have no right to.

Mr. A. Vadi outlined in an interview (2006) that volunteers working at *Radio Islam* are mostly from tertiary institutions, temporarily giving up free time to gain work experience. Being scholarly and having a 'teacher role' transfers to the station presenters a high degree of authority, and this encourages, in my opinion, professionalism as a broadcaster. The presenters are highly literate, write scripts which they read and rely less on the live ad lib style of their counterparts in the geographic stations. Their main complaint is less to do with their status as volunteers and more to do with the age difference between them and the older management and leadership of the station. There is a generational problem.

6.4 Public sphere

The two models create a counter public sphere to mainstream media and the public and commercial broadcasters. The geographic model and community of interest model are aspects of the dualism between what Haas and Steiner (2001) refer to as the 'general public sphere' and the 'organisational public sphere', the latter being ideal for 'subaltern counter publics'.

From the programming log sheets of *Soshanguve CR,* it is clear that the 'geographic model' tends to play the role of the 'generalised sphere', covering issues such as service delivery, education and municipal elections. It takes into account the many languages and interests of its community on a proportional representation basis.

Radio Islam on the other hand, as the 'special interest' model' forms an 'organisational sphere' that has more scope to offer 'alternative' views. These views come as a result of being a minority and of having a Muslim constituency. *Radio Islam* provides the Islamic narrative on international affairs, drawing its news sources from Arab news, *Al jazeera, Haae, BBC Middle East, SKY, Google News*, *WN Network*, *Iraq Daily*, *Middle East Online*, *The Palestinian Chronicle*, *Khaley Times*, and also *Haaretz.com* for Jewish news. Thus the station challenges most mainstream media discourse. It also includes in its late night programming internet streaming of *Alternative Radio*, a free radio service with contributions from independent Middle East commentators such as Robert Fiske and John Pilger, commentators known for their radical analyses.

Seen in these terms of publics and counter publics, *Radio Islam* offers a way to help narrow at least one gap. It represents a Muslim majority within a minority ethnic community of Indian/Asians who are 2.6% of the population. In short, *Radio Islam* serves its mainly Muslim community, 95% in English, and is served in turn by a prosperous Muslim business community and a well-established body of local religious *Al-Ulima* (religious scholars) as well as *Umma*- members of the international Islamic community, who are accessible via live streaming on the internet. The listenership of *Radio Islam* is made up of 'concerned citizens' who are at the same time 'devout Muslims', - a dual advantage.

The listenership of *Soshanguve CR* is also made up of concerned citizens and is also diffuse but requires programming in all seven languages. This detracts from the homogeneity of the civic community. While numerically the station has a larger listenership than *Radio Islam*, it does not play the same cohesive role that an Islamic station does, holding both an ethnic and a religious minority together. The transregional/ transnational outreach that *Radio Islam* makes use of via the internet and live streaming could never be the goal of a station like *Soshanguve CR* whose

constituency is essentially made up of localized communities communicating in their respective vernacular.

6.5 Communication for social change

It would be perhaps more apt to say that the geographic station "strives to fulfil the ideal of community radio as a tool for social change and for re-building civil society" (Van Zyl, 2005: 4).

The social advantages for a community with its own community radio station are accumulative and part of the ongoing democratic processes that give people a greater say in their own development. Nevertheless, the political dimension of a truly participatory process of communication is more radical. It contributes to putting power in the hands of the people:

> "It is important to be conscious about the political implications of participation in development and participatory communication" (Dagron, 2001:34-35).

As the case of *Soshanguve CR* shows, participatory communication does not sit well with those in power. In their eyes, the participation for example of listeners' associations in the running of the station creates instability and threatens not only the power structures in place, but the commercial viability of the enterprise. For these reasons, certain practices in the governance and management make the realisation of participatory democracy in the community radio station very remote.

As far as the faith-based station is concerned, social change is seen within a religious context.

Radio Islam is the transmitter of religious beliefs and values. "The theology of the oral word has always been central to a person-centred idea of knowledge" (Ruthven, 2000: 359). *Radio Islam* fits into this oral-based culture. In terms of faith teachings, the station has highly specialised staff and a community of listeners who interact with each other on questions of faith. The faith requires scholars at the station to educate

and enable ordinary Muslims to fulfil their daily religious obligations. *Radio Islam* and its scholars is the transmitter for the rules and laws contained within the Qur'an as well as interpreter for the beliefs, practices and teachings. All teachers of scriptures including *Radio Islam* must have authorisation to teach. This authorisation is called an *ijaza* or licence and guarantees the authenticity of the teacher and the teachings (Azami, 2000).

The reliability of the transmitter, in this case the radio station and its presenters, is as significant as the knowledge being transmitted and becomes part of the science of *hadith*, the *isnads* or chains of transmission that takes precedence over content and is known, significantly, as ilm al-rijal -'the science of men'" (Ruthven, 2000). In transmitting these authorized scripts and teachings, *Radio Islam* is imbued with an authority as a teacher of the faith, a guide of the codes of practice and as a law-giver.

A major part of *Radio Islam's* content comes from its role as transmitter of Islam and gatekeeper of Islamic values and culture as interpreted by the Jamiatul Ulama (JU). Its claim to being "Your favourite family learning station" is a strong acknowledgement of its aim to fulfil its role in the service of the Muslim faith and its community. The broadcasting day follows the prayers and rituals of every practicing Muslim so that whether at home or at work the listener can take part in the daily practices by listening to the radio. Every Friday there is an outside broadcast and a direct feed from the 'masjid' transforming the radio into a loud speaker and an extension of the mosque. Its prime aim is to hold the community of Islam together, not to challenge political authority for social change.

6.6 Participation

"Participation is the behavioural component of social identity…the behavioural expression of identification with a group or category" (Omoto, 2004: 146). Weak participatory structures at management level are indicative of the lack of willingness of the community to participate but rather to leave the station 'in safe hands'.

In terms of management of both the geographic and the faith station, if there is little or no turnover of managers or board members, the hegemonic style of management can go unchallenged for years. The station becomes the property of the few instead of a public asset for the many. With a large pool of volunteers and a consequent high turn over of staff, management can justify its steadfast clinging to their positions, with the euphemistic "consistency" of management. In both models of station, the centrist authority of those in management can lend a false sense of stability to a situation where in fact volunteers come and go and the board and management remain unchallenged and weak.

As people with strong political identification, or strong ethnic identification, are more likely to participate in political parties (Omoto, 2004), so those with strong religious identification participate in their religious organisations. *Radio Islam* strengthens religious identification. Among the communities of Soshanguve, both the Zionist Christian Church and local politics play central roles in people's lives and the station reinforces both the political and religious identities within the community. Participation, even though at the level of passive listening, is high during religious programming on both stations, and they use religious fervour to involve their listeners in the life of their respective station.

6.7 Conclusions

The creation of the community radio sector in South Africa was the culmination of years of debate and activism by political, religious, trade union and civic leaders as well as media practitioners and broadcasting professionals. This broad front sought to break the yoke of apartheid and the monopoly of the state broadcaster in order to establish free and independent media in a new, democratic South Africa. The goals of community radio since its inception in the years of the Defiance Campaign in the 1980s, have been to encourage local communities to take part in shaping their own destiny, to find a voice and speak up after years of suppression and engage in a media form that provides a more accessible, user-friendly, localised alternative to mainstream media, namely, community radio. In short the over-arching aim has been to empower communities and individuals to redress "the unequal spread of resources that served to confirm racial notions of superiority and inferiority" (Green

Paper, 1997) so that community broadcasting could “deepen democracy and build a new value system” (Naidoo,1998).

With this in mind, this research report posed three questions, the answers to which are summed up below.

Which model is more effective in achieving the goals of community radio?

Certainly, having Muslim minority interests represented on *Radio Islam has* deepened democracy. The station offers the community of Indian-Asians in Lenasia the chance to find its voice and become part of a pluralist society, no longer excluded on the periphery, but included in the multicultural stream of voices in a pluralist South Africa. *Radio Islam* is more effective in meeting the needs of its Islamic community than a geographic station would be. The ratio of religious to community-based programming suits the needs of the religious community. These needs are defined centrally by the JU, but confirmed locally by means of regularly-held AGMs, listeners’ surveys and radio feedback programmes, and internationally by the internet-linked global network of Islam online. *Radio Islam,* like its geographic counterpart, is primarily securing a community for itself – a listenership. However, in addition, it is securing its place in the macro-structures of Islam and identifying itself as apart of the transnational community of Islam through not only its use of Arabic, the language of the Qur’an, Urdu and English, but also in its use of live streaming and the internet.

Due to this specialisation *Radio Islam* offers less coverage of community issues than *Soshanguve CR* does. However any community issues that are covered are then contextualised to place them within the theoretical framework of Islamic teachings. Broadcasting in Zulu and Afrikaans is a way of reaching out and being part of the local community while offering those listeners explanations of Islam.

Soshanguve CR plays a more overtly political role, acting as mediator between the constituent members of the municipality and its elected councillors. The geographic model recognises language differences but caters for those ‘interest’ groups who share culture and language with others in the community. This happens on a

proportional representational basis. Majority groups have the majority of airtime at their disposal.

The biggest complaint from proponents of the geographic model such as *Soshanguve CR* is that the community of interest station has an inherent, economic advantage. However effectiveness is terms of meeting the needs of the community cannot and should not be measured in purely economic terms.

In his famous formulation of the "sympathy principle" in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) Adam Smith describes how social bonds are made from the desire to secure the sympathy of others through engaging in actions “that evoke associations of suffering or, alternatively, of heroism and self-sacrifice”. This ‘mutuality’ places a higher worth on these more socially useful ties than on mere economic advantage. This research finds that in spite of its poorer socio-economic environment, and weaker governance structures, *Soshanguve CR* has an effective ‘mutual’ relationship with its community, supported by its local Church leaders, councillors, CBOs, NGOs and business sector.

Which model is more effective in terms of establishing a culture of democratic governance and community participation?

In terms of the ten indicators used, *Radio Islam* is more consistently democratic in the way management addresses the needs of its religious followers and engages them in the annual general meetings and listener surveys. The governing body is conscientious and loyal due to the fact that serving the station is regarded as a religious duty. Religion and faith attract participation, and clearly those who participate are religious and faithful. Therefore the nature of the democratic participation and governance are clearly framed within an Islamic discourse.

The democracy deficit at management level of *Soshanguve CR* is partly the result of the centrist attitudes of ex-comrades who worked in an underground anti-apartheid movement throughout the 1980s. The comparison between Robert Mugabe claiming presidency and talking of “My Zimbabwe” and the station manager, Maleka’s attitude to his position is one which Maleka in a telephone conversation accepted positively

(2008). With no community 'interference' (otherwise known as participatory democracy), no donations 'from foreign donors', or support from a not-for -profit organisation like ABC Ulwazi, (otherwise known as partners in skills and capacity building), the lack of any structures to ensure the emergence of new leadership is justified by the claim that the community has a station that has been able to stay on air for 15 years.

Are these models still relevant and useful in the South African context?

The answer is an unequivocal yes. Both models have served their purpose as defined in the milestone IBA Act of1993, the Broadcasting Bill of 1998 and the final Broadcasting Act 1999. These acts reaffirmed and legislated for the principle of freedom of speech and the plurality of voices in community radio considered vital for promoting a diversity of culture in a democratic society.

Both models of community radio are in line with patterns of community broadcasting that have occurred throughout the developed and developing countries. Minority interest groups want a voice, not necessarily one based on religion, but one which expresses that group's culture and language in which religion may or may not play an intrinsic part. Not to give them a voice isolates them further and increases the sense of 'otherness' and alienation in society.

Looking at *Soshanguve CR* and *Radio Islam* and its two communities, this research accepts that the geographic station serves as a 'generic' model because it is non-racial and all-inclusive, but rejects the notion that 'one size fits all'. Nor does this paper accept any inference that the 'community of interest' model draws sustenance from the old apartheid divisions of ethnicity and language. After two rounds of ICASA monitoring and licensing country-wide, these two stations have survived because they identify and address not the only the interests of the 'congregation' but of the whole community.

In an e-mail communication Mr. D. Hotchkiss reiterated his belief that:

> "... community of interest stations do not feed "factionalism and sectarianism"...in fact quite the opposite. ...People of other faiths do

> listen to these stations at times just out of curiosity. But this is what builds bridges. A faith only makes sense in its context, and by listening to a radio station of a different faith, we gain that appreciation" (2006).

The "worrisome chasm" that concerns Ibrahim (2004: 41) is a socio-economic one, and will not be closed by preventing middle-class 'activists' from taking the initiative to close the gap; nor by ridding the community radio sector of its 'minority interest' stations. Of all these service providers, the community radio sector serves communities at a grassroots level in all eleven languages and many more local dialects, in all the four main ethnic groups, of which the 'African group' makes up 76.7 % of the total population and the 'Indian/Asian' group makes up 2.6%. They were all historically disadvantaged. The advantages Ibrahim (2004) refers to came about as a result of the struggle against the inequities of apartheid in the late eighties to early nineties by Christians and Muslims, Jews and atheists, Communists and Liberals. All have benefited from the breakdown of the white-dominated National Party. In Lenasia, businesses flourish (Variavar, 2005). In Soshanguve, the people enjoy the benefits of belonging to the Tshwane metro area with the capital city, Pretoria as its hub. This region is registered as one of the country's least deprived areas in South Africa.

The divisions in South Africa's towns and communities have not been resolved or dissolved by the restructuring processes legislated for in the Municipal Structures Act (2000); nor has the special interest model of community radio reinforced those divisions, although it certainly reflects them. On the contrary, the activities of *Radio Islam* have increased civic involvement in the community, a sign of increased democratic spirit. The exposure of the radio station and its form of Muslim faith to broadcasting legislation and public opinion has proved a surer guarantee that democracy is served rather than eroded by their having their own station.

Research into community development projects shows that one project comes on the back of an accumulated success in previous projects (Blakely, 1977). Volunteer support or membership of civic organisations also extends to other associations that promote social improvement. This ripple effect strengthens civil society and contributes to an overall confidence to practice community participation at all levels

in community life, be it in the ward committee, the community development forums, parents/teachers associations and the plethora of voluntary associations (Omoto, 2004; Putnam, 2000).

The first stage of practicing democracy at the level of radio broadcasting and moving away from the racist, authoritarian structures of apartheid have brought into effect some one hundred and twenty stations that are relatively successful and sustainable. The failure of those to stay on air is due to poor governance, poor business skills, poor accounting and auditing skills, lack of community support, misuse of government or donor funds and having board members with conflicting interests (Ratshilumela, 2005).

The new Electronic Communications Act (2005) simplifies the issuing of licences to radio and television. The Act has redefined the three-tier broadcast model into three classes with a 'class' licence for each tier. 'Community radio' becomes a class, and the community radio applicant is no longer required to identify the community as 'special interest' or 'geographic', but must rather identify the needs of the community and offer guarantees that as community broadcasters, they can meet those demands. Mr. S. Rankin, ICASA monitor, (2008) explains that these are then registered a class licensee. However, as radio frequencies are in short supply and competition is fierce, applicants will need to offer even more robust proof of 'demand', 'need' and 'support' before their application is granted in the future.

Community radio applicants for geographic areas that provide a service to the socially and economically disadvantaged will have priority (Rankin, 2008). This in my opinion enables a 'well-off' community, for example Franschhoek in the Western Cape, to apply for a geographic licence on the basis that it promises to serve and involve the majority of extremely disadvantaged within its footprint. This makes more economic sense, than for a poor struggling community to attempt to lobby, gather support and find the resources to apply on its own behalf. And then fail.

The challenges of maintaining the ideals of community radio while at the same time staying financially viable and independent from commercial or government pressures are being taken up by many active media practitioners including the Media

Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) .The government under the ACT 14 of 2002 established the Media Development and Diversity Agency as a statutory body. The MDDA is entrusted with the responsibility of promoting media development and diversity in South Africa by providing financial and other support to community (non profit) and small commercial media projects, so as to ensure that each and every South African citizen should have access to a choice of a diverse range of media.

In their submission to the ICASA Position Paper on Community Broadcasting Policy the MMDA called for regulatory definitions that, "… emphasise that a community service should be owned by a 'not-for-profit organisation the structure of which provides for membership, management, operation and programming by members of the community".

However the consensus model of community radio has evoked the criticism that ICASA has had a neutralizing impact on community radio by not allowing radical voices on community radio (Amner, 2005). The present philosophy of promoting the 'ideology of community' as a part of the 'one goal' and 'one debate' approach around nation building eliminates the more radical voices. Amner, lecturer at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, asks in his paper: "Who's afraid of advocacy?" and believes community radio has a choice to make between two traditions of journalism: one, the organised public sphere mode which is "avowedly partisan and propagandistic"; the other, the general public sphere which comes from the public service model. The latter "upholds virtues of balanced pluralism". But it is the former that is missing: "… the partisan strand of radical democracy that upholds advocacy, radical or alternative journalism as a means of redressing inequality – one that frames a story, adopts a point of view, raises one's voice in a 'good cause'" (Amner, 2005).

Martin Jansen, director of Workers' World Productions in Cape Town, also criticizes the 'one message' of mainstream media which "portrays the country in corporation-friendly terms" whilst organised workers in poor communities struggling for "a better life for all", are portrayed as negative and destructive to the national interests". In a draft for ANC media policy paper (2007) Jansen regrets the negative vision of a community radio sector falling prey to commercialism and the lack of direct

democratic community control, “compromising their independence and community orientation in order to secure a share of the corporate and government marketing revenue for survival ”.

Jansen and Amner in their separate ways seem to be proposing a ‘community of interest’ of, for and by the majority. The poor they say are actually the majority, not the minority, yet their voices are not heard and they are further marginalized. Quoting from Fraser (1994), Amner (2005) states that a community needs institutions that best help narrow the gap in participatory parity between dominant and subordinate groups. There are dangers in consensus building:

> “... any consensus that purports to represent the common good...should be regarded with suspicion, since this consensus will have been reached through deliberative processes tainted by the effects of dominance and subordination” (Fraser, 1992: 131).

The need for advocacy radio is a strong one and the community radio station is the ideal forum for these debates. It would strengthen the geographic model by returning it to its original purpose of social empowerment. The ‘ownership’ of the station through participatory programmes and democratic managerial structures would keep in check the hegemonic voices in the community whose political agenda could drive the debate to the point of causing more conflict than cohesion. This author agrees with Haas and Steiner, that the effect of this pluralism of voices would be the “emancipatory potential of the dialectic” (2001: 129).

Radio Islam is a form of advocacy radio- advocating Islam. However, it is more than a faith station. It provides a public platform for a religious minority in Gauteng, which, as a result of apartheid structures, became concentrated in Lenasia. The lumping together of Indians and Asians in one geographic area has contributed to the marginalisation of the community which *Radio Islam* has helped to overcome. The station has provided the community with a public sphere and a bridge between their faith and ethnic group and the broader civil society.

In the last one and a half decades of democracy, South Africans have been finding their voice. Ethnic groups and minority religions have been challenging widely-held assumptions about 'equality'. They read the Constitution and demand *equal* rights, not rights proportional to their size. The trend is for more communities of interest, less centralization of local media into 'geographic' structures, and more networking among interest groups across borders. Smaller, more alternative and radical 'subaltern counterpublics' have the internet at their disposal.

As mentioned before, Fraser (1992) favours a public sphere composed of multiple discursive domains, since, in socially stratified societies, "arrangements that accommodate contestation among a plurality of publics better promote the ideal of participatory parity than does a single, comprehensive, overarching public". She values the 'community of interest' model as a way of asserting people's interests in the face of a majority interest group. "Subaltern counter-publics represent publics whose interests have been excluded by dominant publics and who therefore need and deserve opportunities to articulate alternatives".

Blakely (1979:17-18) recognises the value of the community's articulation of its needs and vision that help "to improve human interaction and decision-making processes within the community". In fact he sees the very process of problem-solving as a cohesive factor that transforms a group into a 'community'.

It is an optimistic and humanistic standpoint and represents a genuinely viable alternative for social interaction and problem solving. Not only can people's productive potential be released through the design of more human institutions and organisations, " ... but the community is oriented towards socioeconomic goals that will close gaps between human aspirations and currently available resources" (Blakely, 1979:17-18).

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Main websites

African National Congress
http://www.anc.org

The Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa
http://www.bccsa.co.za

Government Communication and Information
http://www.gcis.gov.za/

Independent Broadcasting Authority of South Africa
http://www.icasa.org.za

Freedom of Expression Institute
http://www.fxi.org.za

Human Sciences Research Council
http://www.hsrc.ac.za

National Association of Broadcasters
http://www.nab.org.za

National Community Radio Forum
http://www.ncrf.org.za

Media Development and Diversity Agency
http://www.mdda.org.za

South African Advertising Research Foundation
http://saarf.co.za

Interviews

1. Lumko Mtimde, (CEO of MDDA)
2. Gabriel Urgoiti, (consultant for Open Society Foundation)
3. Adele Mostert, (former director General of ABC Ulwazi, Johannesburg)
4. Peter Rice, (marketing manager, Radio Khwezi)
5. Thuli Mzamnin, (*Soshanguve CR* board member: treasurer/trustee)
6. Lebelo Maleka, (*Soshanguve CR* station manager)
7. Maurice Mzize (*Soshanguve CR* volunteer presenter)
8. Geoffrey Shankman (*Soshanguve partner:* Railway Furniture chain)
9. Liyaquat Laher (*Radio Islam* board member)
10. Moran Dorath (*Radio Islam* station manager)
11. Katija Bibi Sahib (*Radio Islam* volunteer news reader)
12. Amina Bibi Kariola (*Radio Islam* business woman and advertiser)
13. Ismail S Variava (*Radio Islam* programmes manager)
14. Azhar Vadi (*Radio Islam news presenter)*
11. Sean Rankin (ICASA Advisor to Council)
12. Desirée Lebaea (former DoC project officer)
14. Martin Jansen (director of Workers' World Media Productions, Cape Town)
15. Rod Amner, (lecturer, Department of Journalism and Media Studies, University of Rhodes, Grahamstown)
16. Noxolo Mtana, (assistant director in policy development unit, and project Manager at the Department of Communications)
17. Shamima Vawda, (director Systems Approach, Johannesburg).

APPENDICES

A. ICASA Compliance Report on Soshanguve CR, July 2008
B. Soshanguve CR's AGM Report, 27 November 2005
C. ICASA Monitoring Report on Radio Islam 2007
D. Radio Islam Organogram
E. Radio Islam AGM, 26 August 2007
F. Jamiatul Ulama: Theological background to Radio Islam
G. Case study of Radio Islam on behalf of Women's Net to the Department of Communications Workshop, 6 September 2001
H. FXI Representation to IBA /Radio Islam Licence Enquiry 1997
J. Radio Islam AGM, 27 August 2006
K. Radio Islam Radio Survey, Composite Report
L. Soshanguve CR Formal System for Community Participation
M. Programme log sheet of *Soshanguve CR* (January 2008) and the Autumn/Winter programming schedule 2007 of *Radio Islam.*