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BROADCASTING AND DEVELOPMENT IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY: COMMUNITY BROADCASTING POLICY IN A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

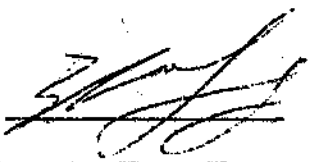
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Synopsis

Community broadcasting in South Africa has been identified as an ideal medium for the facilitation of participatory community development. The objectives of community ownership and participation in community broadcasting are perceived as the basis for the empowerment of people who were oppressed by apartheid. The establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in 1994 has provided the framework for the development of a community broadcasting sector. However, the interpretation of the IBA Act, and the general policy which is adopted towards community broadcasting will determine the long-term sustainability of the sector in South Africa. It will also determine the extent to which community broadcasting achieves the ideals of local development and empowerment. This dissertation addresses both the objectives for the use of community broadcasting in development, and the policies which are required for the development of the community broadcasting sector.

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signed: 

Bronwyn Keene-Young

8 December 1994

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Introduction

With the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, the focus on broadcasting has shifted from a concern with the propagandist role played by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) during apartheid years, to the potential for the utilisation of broadcasting in the service of national development and reconciliation. The establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA)- the independent broadcasting regulator - provides for the restructuring of the SABC into a representative public service broadcaster, while simultaneously opening the airwaves to other broadcasters, in order to promote a diversity of voices in South Africa. Broadcasting will be recognised as a three-tier system, comprising public, commercial and community broadcasting.

Community broadcasting will be the focus of this dissertation. As a small, local, non-profit medium, engaged in community service and facilitating community participation in programming, community broadcasting is an entirely new phenomenon in South Africa. In the past, South Africa has been dominated by national or regional broadcasting monopolies, providing little opportunity for public participation, and unable to meet the specific needs and interests of local communities. Community radio and television stations will provide alternatives from the mainstream media, while offering the potential for people to express their opinions within their communities.

The emphasis on the role of broadcasting in development has shifted from the public broadcaster to community broadcasting. While it is recognised that the SABC will play a central role in promoting national unity, as well providing development programmes, it is clear that the public service broadcaster will be unable to cater to the vast diversity of cultures and languages in South Africa; nor will it be in a position to fulfill the vastly differing development needs of the population.

In addition to this, however, there is a growing recognition of development as an empowering process. Instead of being the objects of development, current development theory (and practice by community-based organisations) stresses that people should be participants in and determinants of their own development. In this context the media's role

in development is no longer perceived as the dissemination of development information from a national broadcaster to a passive public; instead, development and empowerment are achieved by a decentralisation of media to a local level in which people can receive, as well as participate in creating their own media messages.

Participation in development is regarded as a cornerstone of empowering people to take control of their own lives. Communication - through the medium of community broadcasters - is seen as the practice of participation. Community broadcasters provide the forum for discussion of issues of concern to the community while simultaneously providing the community with the means to express itself to the outside world.

The capacity for self-expression has become a crucial component in development and self-empowerment. Under apartheid, people were treated as objects of separate development, and were deprived of their rights to political, economic and cultural expression. Under a democratic government, development programmes which stress only the material aspects of development, i.e. housing, formal education, health, etc., will overlook the salience of the restoration of dignity, self-expression and the capacity for social and political participation by previously oppressed communities.

Community broadcasting is thus perceived to have a dual role in development. One is the provision of local development information via the community broadcaster. The second is the process of establishing, managing and programming a community broadcaster within a community. It is the latter which forms the basis for community empowerment, the restoration of dignity and the enhancement of the right to self-expression and political participation.

These ideals of the role of community broadcasting in development are, however, subject to the reality of the socio-political context of South Africa. Political and racial conflict, and socio-economic deprivation play a dominant role in determining the extent to which community broadcasting can fulfill development objectives. Cultural expression, for example, is not only desired by previously oppressed communities. The institution of a democratic government in South Africa has given rise to a consolidation of conservative Afrikaans

nationalism, which also demands expression through community broadcasting. Moreover, because of superior access to broadcasting resources and skills, the "Boer-Afrikaans" radio stations which represent this renewed nationalism have greater capacity to broadcast than their counterparts in histo ally oppressed communities. People in oppressed communities lack the funding, skills and training which are prerequisite to establishing and sustaining a community broadcaster.

The ideals of participatory community development, therefore, are constrained by the socio-economic realities of the apartheid legacy. While the IBA Act allows for preference to be given to disadvantaged communities in the allocation of licences, there is no mechanism to facilitate the establishment of community broadcasters in disadvantaged commu ities. This "affirmative action" legislation is not sufficient to cater for the development of the community broadcasting sector, in the absence of a development policy toward broadcasting which makes provision for financial and other assistance to aspirant broadcasters.

Thus, development and empowerment **through** community broadcasting is inconceivable in the absence of the development **of** the community broadcasting sector. This dissertation is concerned with the realisation of the ideals of participatory community development by means of the active development of the community broadcasting sector.

Chapter 1 is a review of development theory from modernization, through dependency theory, to the ideals of participatory development. It is important to note that modernization, as a development philosophy, remains an important factor in the design and implementation of most development programmes, particularly those which are designed and coordinated at a central government level. While the substance of modernization development projects may differ to that advocated by earlier theorists, the strategy of "top-down" implementation of development decisions remains a common development practice. In reviewing participatory development theory, the centrality of cultural expression, empowerment and dignity is stressed within the context of participatory communication and community media. This chapter provides the theoretical context for the understanding of participatory development in the rest of the dissertation. It also raises some of the contradictions of participatory development which will have to be confronted by community broadcasters.

Chapter 2 provides a historical overview of broadcasting and development in South Africa. This chapter places the development ideals of community broadcasting within the historiacl context of apartheid. Under apartheid, people were subjected to the ideology of separate development. This resulted in severe oppression of blacks by the state, and a complete denial of human rights and dignity for the majority of the population. The state-controlled SABC was used by the government to propagate Bantu education, designed to promote the subjugation of blacks under apartheid rule. Simultaneously, the SABC was used as a propaganda instrument for the state, distributing false or misleading information to protect and advance the interests of the National Party government. In this context, the introduction of community broadcasting potentially provided two areas of opportunity to oppressed people. Firstly, they would be able to control their own broadcaster and ensure that it met their needs and served their interests as a community. This would facilitate the restoration of dignity which had been destroyed under apartheid broadcast programming. Secondly, they would be able to participate in the programming of the community broadcaster, thus accessing an outlet for the expression of their opinions and their participation in community affairs.

However, while these were thje express ideals of community broadcasting, the achievement of these objectives in practice proved to be difficult. Chapter 2 discusses the problems which faced community broadcasters, particularly with regard to the ideals of ownership and participation by communities.

Chapter 3 provides a brief overview of community broadcasting systems in other countries. While it does not directly deal with community broadcasting in development, it does assess the development of the community broadcasting sector, with reference to Western Europe and Latin America. While Western European models represent a similar regulatory and legal frameowrk to that in South Africa, Latin American community broadcasters are based on a similar form of community organisation to that which arose in South Africa in response to apartheid. The socio-political context of community development in Latin America is also similar to that of South Africa. As community broadcasting is an entirely new phenomenon in South Africa, this chapter is important in providing an indication of the difficulties and challenges facing established community broadcasters in other countries.

Chapter 4 provides a overview of the legal regulatory framework of community broadcasting in South Africa. It reviews the functions of the IBA with regard to community broadcasting, and analyses the submissions made to the IBA's public inquiry into conditions for the issuance of temporary community broadcasting licences. It raises some of the dilemmas and contradictions in the interpretation of the IBA Act and the IBA's Regulations for Temporary Community Broadcasting Licencees.

Chapter 5 presents proposals for a development policy towards community broadcasting. Based on the understanding that the IBA Act provides no more than a framework for the development of community broadcasting within disadvantaged communities, it advocates the provision of government subsidies and other financial assistance to aspirant broadcasters. This chapter also discusses community broadcasting policy in relation to national objectives of development and reconciliation. It raises the question of the extent to which community broadcasters can act in the interest of their community, not taking into account the need for national unity and development.

The objective of this dissertation is to review community broadcasting in South Africa within the broad national and international context, to raise debate about the manner in which community broadcasting is being regulated, and to make broad proposals for the development of the medium. It is based on the philosophy that community broadcasting can play a significant role in participatory community development, and thus contribute to national development objectives. This development philosophy holds that self-expression and community empowerment are essential components of sustainable development. As community broadcasters in South Africa have yet to be granted licences, the arguments discussed and proposals made in this dissertation are based on information which is continually changing. However, it is believed that the issues which this dissertation raises - at the beginning of the one-year experimental period for community broadcasters - may be of assistance in defining a long-term policy towards community broadcasting in South Africa.

Chapter 1. Broadcasting and Development

In order to provide a comprehensive overview of the use of broadcasting in development, it is necessary to discuss the historical trends in development theory. While the shifts in development theory, as outlined below, are presented historically, many of the theories still form the basis of current thinking. Modernization, for example, still underlies much development assistance to Third World countries, and is also the main development philosophy pursued by Third World governments, particularly in relation to the use of media in development. Similarly, the concern with the growing globalisation of mass media which are controlled by multinational corporations means that dependency theory remains a valid tool with which to analyse the global media system.

The history of development theory is generally regarded as comprising three stages: 1. modernization; 2. dependency; 3. participation. Analysis of the role of broadcasting in development has followed a similar historical pattern. The interest in broadcasting and development can be attributed to the "massness" of the medium. In modernization theory, the mass media, particularly radio and television, were regarded as agents of mass development - able to diffuse education and Westernisation to the large rural populations of countries of the Third World. In dependency theory, the trans-border flows of mass media products monopolised by Western multinational corporations, were blamed for the increase in poverty in the Third World and the homogenisation of national cultures.

The emphasis on broadcasting, therefore, has been on its utilisation as a mass medium, transmitting mass messages to a mass (uncritical) audience. The evolution of a participatory form of development which acknowledges the heterogeneity of societies in countries of the Third World and which regards them as more than mere consumers of Western economic aid and culture, has opened the way for a reevaluation of the role of broadcasting in development. In the new development, there is a new emphasis on small localised media which, by enhancing community communication, has potential as a tool in participatory development. This potential

role in development is the chief concern of this dissertation.

The idea of national socio-economic development came about in Western Europe and the United States during the 1950s through what was claimed to be a growing concern with the poverty in countries of the Third World. Another major, though less publicised concern of the Western World, was the strategic importance of Third World countries in the Cold War.[1]

International agencies were set up by the West, whose goal it was to provide development projects to Third World countries and thus assist in alleviating poverty and promoting self-reliance. The projects were usually conceptualised in the West, and then transposed to the Third World countries where they were aimed exclusively at material development. This development was measured by means of indices such as per capita income and gross domestic product (GDP).

The philosophy behind the development projects was to employ a linear development process which would accelerate Third World countries towards a Western system of free market economy and political democracy. This was regarded as the inevitable end to any development process. Development theorists and practitioners measured the countries of the world against the social evolution scale - the Western countries, as the most developed and "sophisticated" being at the top of the hierarchy, and the Third World countries near the bottom, epresenting the "lower order" of society. Development discourse accordingly characterised countries as "under-developed", "developing" or "developed".

The "traditional" systems of Third World countries were broadly regarded as equivalent to pre-Industrial Revolution Europe. The goal of development practice, therefore, was to expedite the inevitable process of industrialisation in the Third World countries, and assist them in "catching up" with the countries of the West. This approach to development was widely known as modernization.

Lerner (1958)[2] and Schramm (1964)[3] regarded the media as crucial elements in this "catching up" process. While their attitudes towards the people of Third World countries and their

approaches to the use of the media differed, they both regarded the modern industrial economy as the inevitable end of the development process.

Writing about modernization in the Middle East, Lerner referred to what he called "traditional society" in rather contemptuous terms. Arguing in favour of Westernisation, he declared that those who lived in this "more primitive, less comfortable" society, would, if given the opportunity, recognise that internationally, "the modernizing individuals are considerably less unhappy - and the more rapidly the society around them modernized the happier they [were]."[4]

Lerner maintained that exposure to images of Western society would accelerate the modernization of individuals in traditional settings. Images of wealth and opportunity would create the necessary desire for modernization ... stimulate response. He argued that the reason people in traditional societies failed to improve their conditions was that, unlike Westerners, they were unable to see themselves in the shoes of others more successful than themselves, and thus aspire to greater success. The ability to empathise with images of Western society was an important psychological predisposition to modernization.

The media was critical in generating this "empathy", or "psychic mobility" by bringing images of Western society to the traditional societies. In providing images of Western, developed society, the media would encourage urbanisation, as people pursued the models presented in the media. This was the first step in the evolution of the modern individual.

"The media teach new desires and new satisfactions. They depict situations in which the "good things of life" - of which most Middle Easterners never dreamed of before - are taken for granted. They portray roles in which these richer lives are lived, and provide clues as to how these roles can be enacted by others."[5]

After urbanisation, the phases of development progressed through literacy, media participation (with the individual being both a receiver and producer of media), and political participation. Lerner insisted that political democracy was the last phase in development and was critical of

those societies in which political participation was instituted before the completion of the urbanisation, literacy and media participation stages. Third World societies, he argued, were incapable of engaging in mechanisms of political democracy until they had successfully passed through the first three stages of development.

In Lerner's modernization model, the media were both an agent and an index of development. Because of their "massness" they were regarded as a "mobility multiplier" - a means by which to spread the message of modernization far and wide and thereby multiply the number of people who strived towards the Western mode of living. "Massive exports of Western media would help create the conditions for economic growth."[6]

It was the "massness" of the medium which resulted in broadcasting generally being regarded as a new and promising tool of development by development theorists and practitioners. In 1958, the General Assembly of the United Nations noted that the mass media had a role to play in the development of underdeveloped countries and called for a coordinated programme of action to develop mass media as an agent of development. Development theorist, Wilbur Schramm was commissioned by UNESCO to undertake research into, and propose a way forward in the use of, mass media for development purposes.[7]

Clearly influenced by prevailing development trends, Schramm adopted a modernization approach in his study. He regarded the use of the mass media in development as the only means by which Third World countries could "catch up" with the free market system and political democracy of the West. He envisaged the primary role of the media as a facilitatory mechanism which would unite the developing nation in its development goals and spread information about development programmes to the entire population. Because of the poor transport infrastructure, the vast rural populations, and the high levels of illiteracy in most Third World countries, the broadcast media would take the place of development agents in many areas. Like Lerner, he assumed that development would result through increasing the quantity of information available to Third World populations via the mass media.

Schramm stressed the importance of the governments of Third World countries making decisions about their own development. He maintained that development initiatives necessarily required a process of dialogue between the government as initiator and coordinator of development programmes and those for whom such programmes were targeted. Therefore, the decentralisation of the media was to be encouraged in order to give the people who were targets of development direct access to the broadcast medium. By establishing media in smaller geographically defined areas, a two-way dialogue between government and the people of a country would be facilitated.

While Schramm repeatedly emphasised the need for active local participation in development initiatives, his approach remained a top-down one. The focus of his work was on how governments could use the media to propagate support for development programmes which were designed and implemented by central government. Moreover, he regarded the mass media as a means of overcoming traditional values and norms which were viewed as obstacles to the process of modernisation. Implicitly, the mass media was to be used to change the values and attitudes of the targets of development programmes so that they adopted a world view which was conducive to the prosperity of Western economic models. The decentralised media which he was advocating would remain under the control of the government and were viewed more as a means by which the government would engage in effective communication than as an instrument for self-expression by local communities.

"If local media could supplement regional and national media, they could play the part of middlemen, interpreting the information and fitting it to local conditions and needs."[8]

Justifying the ethics of utilising the mass media in opposing resistance to development objectives, he argued that development programmes were implemented by "responsible leadership" of developing countries. The approval of these local elites was regarded as sufficient legitimation for the implementation of modernising programmes, regardless of the socio-economic gulf between the educated, urbanised leadership of a Third World country, and its illiterate, largely rural, peasant population. Resistance to development programmes from peasants would be regarded as unjustified or reactionary in the face of government support. The media's role in

this context was one of controlling people's attitudes towards government development programmes.

"... the mobilizing of human resources requires a great deal of attention to what the population knows and thinks of national development, **and especially to the encouragement of attitudes and social customs, and the provision of knowledge, which will be favourable to development** (own emphasis)."[9]

Ironically, while modernization stressed the development of traditional societies according to the values and norms of the economic systems of the West, this was clearly not mirrored in the attitudes towards freedom of speech. Western society's conventional principles of the independence of the media, minimal government interference and impartiality in content were not applied to the media in developing countries, either by governments or Western development agencies. The role which Schramm advocated for the media in developing countries as an instrument of development propaganda was entirely contrary to the role of the media in Western society.

A major study undertaken by Katz and Wedell[10] comparing the "promise and performance" of broadcasting and development in Third World countries cited centralised government control over the broadcasting media as one of the reasons for the failure of media to contribute to development. Governments were more interested in the utilisation of media to promote national unity, than in its potential to promote development. The concern with national unity was understood as promoting nationalism and identification with the government's development goals, but in practice became a means by which incumbent governments consolidated their power and hegemony. Most Third World countries lacked coordinated policies for the utilisation of media in development.

Broadcasting systems in most Third World countries were inherited from former colonial powers, and reflected the Western metropolitan models of the colonists. Countries which had previously been under British rule were served by broadcasting systems which were based on

the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). However, after liberation from colonialism had been achieved, newly-incumbent governments adapted these broadcasters to the service of state development goals. The media was carefully controlled in order to protect the interests of the political party in power, and to downplay any opposition to the status quo.

Katz and Wedell identified three roles which the broadcast media were expected to play in Third World countries. These were: national integration, modernization and the rediscovery of traditional cultures which had been repressed by colonialism. They questioned whether the mass media could cope with the demands of all three of these objectives and whether, in fact, the objectives were contradictory. As an example they postulated that national integration required uniformity while rediscovery of traditional cultures lent itself more to diversity.

"When the media are used for the communication of technical information to promote behaviour change, certain new problems arise. It becomes apparent, for example, that the policies of introducing a national language and of covering the entire country, which serve the goal of national integration are not well suited to the more local, familiar, and personal approach required for programs of modernization."[11]

Another question raised in the study was the appropriateness of mass development strategies, imported "wholesale" from the West, which were centrally implemented and coordinated by Third World governments. Katz and Wedell argued that the importation of Western technology inevitably resulted in the simultaneous importation of broadcasting values and software (i.e. programming) which reflected Western values. Television technology and software were the most prone to this importation of values because of the technical complexity of the medium and the high costs of producing programmes locally. Radio, it was argued, was more adaptable to the values and culture of local people because it was relatively inexpensive and simple to operate.

"Radio, it seems, is not as closely bound to the image of the urban, nuclear family relaxing together after a hard day's work. Radio is altogether more flexible, and although its program

schedule may be no less standardized than that of television, its contents are more familiar: radio programmes are more often homemade... The announcer is local; the names in the news are more familiar; the people of the radionovella are old friends; the chanting is authentic; the tunes are singable."[12]

Many development programmes had failed because of inefficient implementation, the use of Western educational and development methods which were unsuitable in local conditions, and a lack of communication between the targets of the development and the governments. This raised the question of whether the mass media would be more effectively utilised if decentralised and controlled on a local level.

Successful use of broadcasting in development was evident in community listening groups where villagers listened to development-oriented radio programmes together and discussed among themselves the issues raised in the context of the development needs of their local community. In some countries there was an opportunity to record responses to these programmes and send them back to the government. This was seen as a means to promote two-way communication between governments and their people.

Katz and Wedell called for an "anthropocentric" approach to broadcasting which would reflect indigenous needs and cultural values, rather than the culture and values of the West. This required a coordinated effort on the part of Third World governments, as well as a decentralisation of the media to a local community level. On the local level, the role of the media would not be to deliver development propaganda, but to provide the opportunity for communities to determine their own development needs.

"The integration of broadcasting into development has therefore to be seen not merely in instrumental terms. Broadcasting needs to contribute to the formation of development policy as well as its implementation."[13]

During the seventies there was a growing recognition that modernization had failed in uplifting

the socio-economic conditions of the developing countries. The onus of the cause for underdevelopment shifted from the assumed "backwardness" of the people of the developing countries, to the role of the Western aid agencies in increasing the economic dependence of the Third World on the West. This view criticised modernization on the basis that it failed to consider the world as a global economic system which operated on the terms and conditions, and therefore to the advantage of, the capitalist industrialised countries. The relative wealth or poverty of a nation was dependent on its relationship with the industrialised countries within this system.

Dependency theorists argued that development aid from the West was a new form of colonialism, designed to create new markets for Western goods by co-opting Third World countries into the international economy which was controlled by the West and thus maintain the superiority of the Western powers. Third World countries were forced, through economic development programmes, to focus their local economy on the export of primary products and raw materials to the capitalist countries of the West. They were consequently compelled to import manufactured goods and technology into their countries in order to provide for domestic food consumption and industrialisation which was imposed on them through modernising projects. In terms of the world economy, Western capitalist powers occupied the centre of the system, with Third World economies forced to remain on the periphery. The underdevelopment of the periphery countries persisted through the extraction of surplus value and direct oppression by the capitalist core.[14]. In effect, Western development aid, in the form of projects of modernisation, was designed to create greater dependency by Third World countries on the international economic system, reducing their ability to detach themselves from the system or to develop beyond their peripheral status.[15]

"The word [development] always implies a favourable change, step from the simple to the complex, from the inferior to the superior, from worse to better. The word indicates that one is doing well because one is advancing in the sense of a necessary, eluctable, universal law and toward a desirable goal... But for two thirds of the people on earth, this positive meaning of the word "development" ... is a reminder **of what they are not**. It is a reminder of an undesirable,

undignified condition. To escape from it, they need to be enslaved to others' experiences and dreams."[16]

Development theorists submitted that the centre/periphery relations were reproduced within each Third World country with the national elite representing and protecting the local interests of the Western capitalist powers. In this way, the national elites were able to ensure their own hegemony and privilege. The periphery, in this case, was the majority of the population which suffered the consequences of dependency: poverty, hunger and disease. In order to maintain their hegemony, and consequently the power of the Western countries over the periphery, the local elite used repressive measures to force their populations into accepting modernisation programmes.

The mass media along with all other mass communications technologies was regarded as yet another tool controlled by the multinational corpo[illegible]s to promote cultural as well as economic dependency of Third World countries. Along with Western technology, Third World countries had imported a media content which was ideologically disposed towards the maintenance of Western hegemony.

"The extremely assymmetrical flow of communications materials and cultural commodities between the advanced capitalist countries and those of the "Third World" is not simply a commercial exchange, but rather part of the process whereby the latter are dominated by the communications ideologies of the major capitalist countries. Also integral to this process is the incorporation of these countries into the market-oriented, consumer-capitalist economies through apparently neutral or harmless media products."[17]

Central to the understanding of the role of media in the cultural dependency model was the subordination of local cultures and values to cultural values and products which were primarily determined by Western consumer capitalism. Nations were seen to be losing their individual cultural identities to the consumerist homogeneity created by Western, particularly American media. The growth of transnational media, satellite communications and increasing

monopolisation of the media by powerful corporations exacerbated this threat. Global communications inequality served to entrench the hegemony of the capitalist core and enhance the socio-economic dependency of the periphery.

"The international information flow, left to itself and regulated only by the requirements of the market needs of its present powerful transmitters and generators, will stifle whatever chance yet remains for the sovereign determination of alternative growth paths in the many weaker nations of the world."[18]

Dependency theorists advocated a delinking or dissociation by Third World countries from the Western determined international economic system and a forging of economic and cultural relations with other Third World countries. This would involve redirecting development in order to make the peripheral economies more self-sufficient, and refocusing attention on indigenous cultures and values.

The recognition of the imbalance in the communications flow resulted in the commissioning of a report by UNESCO in 1980. The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, led by Sean McBride made several recommendations regarding international information flow[19]. The recommendations, termed the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), proposed: the "elimination of imbalances and inequities" in the global information system, including the "elimination of the negative effects of certain monopolies"; the strengthening of the "capacity of developing countries to achieve improvement of their own situations ... and making their information and communication media suitable to their needs and aspirations" [20]. UNESCO's attempts to facilitate a more equitable flow of global communications prompted much controversy, particularly from the United States, which argued that proposals referring to the elimination of monopolies were a threat to the free flow of information. However, NWICO was important in drawing international recognition to the concerns of cultural and media dependency.

Dependency theorists were criticised on the basis that their approach focused primarily on

relations between the Western economic powers and Third World countries and failed to take into account the particular circumstances of each country, as well as the contradictions in the relationships between multinational corporations, national elites and the peoples of each country. While in many cases national elites and multinational corporations had similar interests, local ruling classes had their own interest in oppressing their populations outside of the needs, and sometimes contradictory to the interests of foreign capital. Mattelart and others "realized the principal problem with this formulation was that it assumed an ideological superstructure could be created and reproduced elsewhere and somehow imposed on or implanted in a society without being, or becoming, a part of the internal dialectic or processes of change and social and cultural reproduction."[21]

Moreover, the assumption behind dependency theory was that the Third World constituted an homogenous block of passive consumers helplessly subject to the onslaught of cultural and economic imperialist forces. It was based on "a model of cultural influence which is static, mechanical and deterministic."[22] Dependency theory failed to take into account the initiatives by people in the Third World - through local media and community development initiatives - to resist the homogenisation and subjugation of their histories and traditions, in response to oppression by both imperialist forces and the local elites.

The dependency perspective, like modernization, viewed people as objects of economic and cultural imperialism of the West, disregarding their role as subjects in the interpretation and creation of meaning. The existence of local knowledge and processes of traditional communication were overlooked.

The writings of Brazilian educationist, Paulo Freire constituted a rejection of the determinism of both the dependency and modernization perspectives and provided a new shift in development thinking. Freire[23] emphasised a development or pedagogy which was initiated and controlled by those who had been oppressed by colonial or imperialist forces. This education for liberation rejected the conventional form of education as information transfer from a (learned) teacher to an (ignorant) student. Freire argued that this type of education was used to oppress people - to

turn them into uncritical, passive beings - in order to legitimise their subjugation to the interests of the oppressors who controlled the access to and means of education. This "banking education" was not a genuine development of the people, but consisted of "deposits" of so-called knowledge transferred between teacher and student. Revolutionary movements, in their eagerness to win people over to their way of thinking by means of propaganda and demagoguery, were also guilty of using "banking education". Freire maintained that, in order for true education to take place, knowledge could not be regarded as the exclusive preserve of the teacher. Education for liberation was a process of sharing of knowledge, which would enable individuals to understand and recognise their oppression through the use of their own knowledge and their own comprehension of their lives.

Freire proposed a "problem-solving" approach to education in which people would develop the capacity to critically analyse their situation, in order to enable them to take action to improve their lives. This combination of analysis (reflection) and action was referred to as "praxis". Freire stressed that praxis required that there be no distinction between teacher and student. In the "pedagogy of the oppressed", teachers and students became equals in the learning process. Any distinction which elevated the knowledge of the teacher above that of the student would be regarded as "banking education".

Freire's writings gave rise to a significant change of direction in development theory. The shift in development practice has been slower - development programmes, both those instituted by foreign aid agencies (particularly the World Bank and International Monetary Fund), and those adopted by governments, still reflect a primary concern with modernization practices. The interpretations and adaptations of Freire's theory have taken place on a more limited basis with some projects being more faithful than others to the concepts of praxis and problem-solving.

The new model of development rejected the philosophy of development which treated the so-called beneficiaries of development as passive objects in modernising programmes. The new development regarded people as active subjects in their own development. Instead of a "top-down" development, imposed by government and aid agencies on development beneficiaries, the

new method stressed a "bottom-up" approach. Needs were to be defined at a local level by the people themselves, instead of by development benefactors; the processes through which those needs were satisfied would also be decided upon, implemented and coordinated by local communities at a pace congruent with the capacity of the community. In the process, communities would use their own skills and resources to achieve their development goals.

Moreover, this self-reliance was not merely concerned with material need - it was aimed at enabling people to become full citizens in society. A central goal in the implementation of participatory development programmes was "empowerment", i.e. self-reliance and dignity - the converse of the dependency and inferiority perpetuated by modernisation theory. Therefore, social, cultural and political needs became an integral part of a development which emphasised human rights values such as freedom, equality, dignity, political and social participation and the right to inform and be informed.

"A development policy aimed at the satisfaction of fundamental human needs goes beyond the conventional economic rationale because it applies to the human being as a whole. The relations which are established between needs and their satisfiers make it possible to develop a philosophy and a policy for development which are genuinely humanistic."[24]

Because people in various communities and societies in different parts of the world had different needs, and different cultural values and norms, the new development could not be defined in universal terms[25]. Unlike modernisation in which development was seen in universal terms as a process of industrialisation and Westernisation, whereafter countries would achieve the status of "developed" countries, the new development was non-determinant. The processes and goals of development would be determined by those who were to benefit from development. This was not a fixed programme with an ultimate goal, but an ongoing process of reflection and action which people were to follow in order to adapt themselves to their environment, on their own terms. Any assistance from outside organisations was to be limited to a facilitatory role and all external input would be evaluated in terms of the people's own priorities and development

intentions.

"Another Development" adopted by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation in 1975[26], proposed the following pillars of the new development:

- It is geared to meeting human needs, both material and non-material.

- It is endogenous and self-reliant, that is, relying on the strength of the societies which undertake it.

- It is in harmony with the environment.

- Finally, it is based on the premise that Another Development requires structural transformations, since domination based on, for instance, class, gender or ethnicity expresses itself within the total social system.

Enabling people to participate fully in their development required recognition of and respect for "indigenous knowledge".[27] Instead of the community occupying the space of the ignorant and "receiving" knowledge which was being imparted to them by the "educated", the process would stress the indigenous knowledge inherent in the community, and would give rise to "knowledge empowerment". Indigenous knowledge was referred to as the ""accumulated knowledge and traditional skills and technology" of a people, culture or sub-culture[28]. It encompasses both technical and non-technical knowledge, including worldview, social and religious customs and taboos, vegetation, climate, ecology, communication patterns and music."[29]

Local communities would use their indigenous knowledge to engage in participatory research[30] as a process of analysing their situation and determining their needs. This endogenous research, which disregarded the traditional researcher/research-objects dichotomy was based on the reflection and action (praxis) espoused by Freire. Only by being an integral part of the research (reflection) process, could the community take action on the basis of recognition of their needs.

Participatory research could be facilitated by a professional researcher from outside the community, but the control of the research process and structure, remained in the hands of the community.

All forms of outside assistance would be determined and controlled by the local community. While external agents would provide assistance and act as catalysts for the development process, all decisions about how and whether to utilise that assistance would be left to the community. The participatory development agent's role would be to make herself and her skills redundant after a period of time, having facilitated the development of self-reliance.

The defining factor in the new development approach was participation - thus the use of the term "participatory development". At a local level this implied the ability of people to participate in determining their own needs and planning and implementing their own development. At a national (and even international) level, it meant equal opportunity to participate in political decision-making.

Mirroring the shift in development theory, focus shifted from the functionalist approach to culture and the media, evident in both the modernisation and dependency models, to the internal processes of cultural and media production within developing countries. This perspective, while acknowledging the unequal relations between the West and developing countries, and the economic and cultural impositions of Western technology and finance, sought to assess how culture was reproduced within developing countries in the midst of Western technology and ideology.[31]

"Far from being a top-down phenomenon only, foreign mass media interact with local networks in what can be named a "coerseductive" (for coercion/seduction) way, and therefore have radically different effects and meanings in different cultural settings. Far from being passive recipients, audiences are actively involved in the construction of meaning around the media they consume."[32]

"Culture" was no longer seen as another aspect of social relations, or a by-product of socio-economic development. Culture represented the totality of relations between people - their moral values, religious beliefs, political organisation, economic infrastructure and means of communication. Servaes' definition of culture attests to the all-embracing nature of the concept:

"Under the concept of culture one means material and immaterial aspects of a certain way of life, passed on and corroborated via socialization processes to the members of that society. This process is never linear. It is linked to [illegible] in conscious and unconscious ways; it is sporadic and ubiquitous and transcends geographic and "cultural" boundaries.... It not only concerns decisions about good and evil, etc., but also the way we eat, live, or dress. In this sense, culture can be described as a social setting in which a certain reference framework has found its basis or is "institutionalized" and which orientates and structures the interaction and communication of the people within that context."[33]

Communication, in this context, was the expression of culture in a community. Communication, which was the practice of the theory of participation, formed the indispensable framework of participatory development. Without communication, there could be no participation. In response to the notion of the passive receiver of top-down development communication, created by both the modernisation and dependency perspectives, the focus of theorists shifted to a recognition of indigenous culture and community communication as the basis for all development which aimed at self-reliance and empowerment.

A strong sense of cultural identity[34] and the belief in the ability to develop oneself, as opposed to relying on outside assistance, was regarded as essential in developing self-reliance. The homogenising influence of mass development programmes was rejected in favour of a new consideration for diversity - the recognition of people's history, culture and traditions - as a means to promote empowerment. However, encouraging diversity, when faced with the challenge of promoting national unity, and consolidating the ruling party's power base, was not recognised as a significant development strategy by the governments of most Third World countries; rather, the promotion of heterogeneity was viewed as a threat to the sovereignty of

the state. Max-Neef et. al, writing about development in Latin America in 1989 argued that the most urgent issue facing a democratic country was "how to respect and encourage diversity rather than control it"[35]. This was not a reaction to the promotion of national unity but was an opposition to "national uniformity".

"Relationships of dependence flow from the top downwards: from the macro to the micro, from the international level to the local level, from the social domain to the individual domain. Relationships of self-reliance, on the contrary, have greater synergic and multiplying effects when they flow from the bottom upwards; that is to say, to the extent that local self-reliance stimulates regional self-reliance, which, in turn, fosters national self-reliance."[36]

"Human Scale Development" aspired to a development which would facilitate diversity and foster "local spaces" in which people could rediscover their cultural identity and begin to engage in development action which would improve their political and socio-economic conditions. This was based on the recognition that people's sense of identity and self-worth had been eroded because of the imperialist system which maintained centre/periphery distinctions. "Processes which nurture diversity and increase social participation and control over the environment are decisive in the articulation of projects to expand national autonomy and distribute the fruits of economic development more equitably."[37]

Verhelst[38] stressed that all development was, in essence, cultural development. Verhelst referred to culture as an all-embracing concept - one which included every aspect of life, the economic and political organisation of a society, as well as the social.

"It is the idea of culture that gives both meaning and direction to economic activity, political decisions, community life, social conflict and so on. It is in fact culture that gives development its raison d'etre and its goal."[39]

Rooting Freire's concept of "problem-solving" education in a cultural development approach, Verhelst criticised both modernization theorists and revolutionary socialist movements for

disregarding cultural diversity and thus denying the identity of people in different communities. Modernisation theorists tended to regard indigenous culture as backward and an obstacle to Westernisation; revolutionary movements saw indigenous culture as reactionary and an impediment to class struggle. Development projects which were not strongly rooted in the local culture could not succeed in a manner which resulted in the empowerment and self-realisation of a particular community.

While acknowledging that the notion of cultural diversity was often misused for politically expedient purposes, Verhelst insisted that it was an essential factor in true development and empowerment of people. Like Max-Neef et al he argued for the "necessity for cultural diversity in the face of the unicity of the development concept."[40]

Radical dependency critics of development had rejected outright the concept "development" as a practice which contaminated local cultures[41]. In response to this Verhelst argued that to withhold all development initiatives on this basis would be "tantamount to burying one's head in the sand."[42] The cultural and economic imperialism of the West would continue regardless of the dissociation of development initiatives. What was needed was international solidarity with the people of dependent societies in order to bring about a development for liberation from the socio-economic imperialism of the West.

In terms of the participatory development model the mass media, which had long been regarded as the primary tool of Western capitalism for propagating a homogenising consumer culture, was seen to hold potential as a tool of communication for liberation and endogenous development, alongside more traditional media such as drama, song and dance.

Instead of the one-way, top-down, producer to receiver, directive utilisation of the media in development, it would be used to facilitate participatory development and empowerment of communities. Media access meant that individuals in communities would be both senders and receivers of messages[43]. The creation of media messages was no longer the exclusive preserve of those with "knowledge" and "professionalism"; it was a means of communication for any

person who desired to express themselves[44]. Moreover, messages could be created in the language and style which was most accessible to the local population.

Participatory communication theorists argued for the transformation of mass communication "into an instrument through which the social practice of dominated groups reaches its culmination. The message is no longer imposed from above, but the people themselves are the generators and actors."[45] Community-based media would therefore fulfil the roles of dialogue - horizontal communication between members of a community - as well as action, i.e. motivating members of the community in development for self-reliance.

Participatory media was not viewed in vertical terms (producer to receiver or vice versa), but as an horizontal exchange of information. This was important not only in promoting communication between individuals in a community, but also in establishing contact between communities. The media were the only means of communication which could effectively achieve this cross-community exchange of information, via local radio networks, local newspapers or travelling theatre or song groups[46].

The institution of media forms such as radio, newspapers and video in many cases required the assistance of specialists from outside of communities to train people in the technology and production of the media. The role of these agents, however, was to be a purely technical one - decisions regarding the content of the media messages and the distribution of the medium, and policies regarding the employment of the medium in development projects were to be left to the members of the community themselves. The objective of development agencies was not to communicate messages, but rather to develop the communicative capacity of communities.[47]

Major emphasis was placed on the capacity of community media to rediscover and promote cultural values and histories which had been negatively affected by colonialism or the imperialism of modernising development. It was argued that through the combination of traditional media and new media technology, communities would not only be able to enhance communication among themselves, but would also have the capacity to express their identity

beyond their physical boundaries. Various theorists indicated radio as the broadcast medium which was most suited to local adaptation for use by communities. This was not only due to the simplicity and inexpensiveness of the medium, but because it was regarded as adaptable to traditional styles of oral communication as well as local languages and dialects. Participation in the creation of media messages would demystify the mass media in the eyes of communities, as well as provide them with a voice to counter the homogenising influences of the national and international media.

Initially, participatory communication was regarded as one of the objectives in community development. Increasingly, it has been regarded as integral to the development process. Kivikuru[48] maintained that "communication within a community is considered important enough as an objective."

Keywords in the participatory development and participatory communications approach were "local", "community", "the people" and "participation". Very little attention was paid by participatory development theorists to the definition of these concepts. These words were used to reflect the opposite of the notions of mass, centralised, homogenising modernisation. Generally, participatory development was understood as taking place in a smaller geographical locality, rather than on the national scale. Participation could only be undertaken meaningfully if all individuals in a participatory development project were able to make a contribution in defining and satisfying their needs - therefore the numbers of people involved had to be small. Moreover, effective participation required a common starting point from which to communicate. Participation would be difficult, for example, in a situation where people spoke different languages, lived according to different values and customs and expressed vastly different needs. The words "local community" therefore referred to a limited geographical area, where people were linked together through a common history, common customs and values, and common needs.

In most cases, participatory development theorists and practitioners concentrated on rural areas. Here, the definition of "community" was relatively simple in the form of the village. The village

could be identified as a geographical locality by means of its boundaries, it consisted of people who shared a common history and values and it had a definite form of community organisation. The people of the traditional rural village invariably worked, ate and slept in the village, as did their children and children's children.

Using the idyllic rural village as a basis for participatory development presented several problems. Firstly, very few villages had not been affected by external influences. Urbanisation and migrant labour had changed the very nature of the rural village and the structure according to which it was organised. These influences affected the nature of community organisation within the village, (e.g. women taking the place of absent men as leaders in the village structures), as well as extended the notion of "community" beyond the village.

Secondly, while an emphasis on rural communities was justified in the light of the fact that the overwhelming majority of people in the Third World, particularly in Africa, lived in rural areas, participatory development theorists (Latin American theorists writing about their own countries are an exception) had largely neglected assessing "community" in the context of urbanisation, squatter camps, city ghettoes, etc. "Community" in poor urban areas was clearly distinct from both the "neighbourhood" analyses of Western European and Northern American community development theorists, as well as those which appeared to use the Third World rural community as their point of departure.

The third problem with contemporary participatory development theory was that questions of equality and participation within the community context were not fully analysed. "Indigenous community" was idealised as a concept. The insistence by participatory development theorists on acknowledgement of and respect for local knowledge overlooked the fact that in many contexts certain members or groups in a community were effectively excluded by the values and customs of that community, from participating in discussion or making decisions. The most obvious example was the exclusion of women from community decision-making in most traditional societies - a practice which was transferred to the cities during the urbanisation process, and which was exacerbated by poverty and oppression. This clearly revealed the

shortcomings inherent in Freire's writings. When Freire advocated education for liberation, his case studies referred to individuals and not to communities, disregarding the fact that many individuals were oppressed by their fellow oppressed because of their sex, age, colour, caste, or other factors.

Clearly, a community whose historical values and customs ascribed pre-determined, inferior roles to certain categories of individuals was undemocratic and oppressive according to Western notions of equality and democracy. Intervention in such practices and an attempt to alter them would be contrary to the principles of participatory development, particularly if the traditional leaders of the communities resisted and opposed such interventions. Linked to this was the question of the conditions under which participatory development could be practised. Certain development theorists[49] argued that participatory development and communication could not take place in a vacuum and that democratic community organisation was a necessary precondition for participatory development. How then, could participatory development be initiated in the absence of democratic community organisation? Attempts by participatory development agents to encourage democratic organisation would be faced by these questions: Under whose initiative was this goal pursued? and; Who decided whether the democratic organisation had reached a stage where it was sufficiently participatory to merit the introduction of participatory development practice?

"The main pitfalls emerging from inherent contradictions in the participatory process itself is the difficulty of achieving and sustaining a dynamic balance between ideology and strategy, between power and countervailing power, between conformist organisation and spontaneous non-conformist participation."[50]

The introduction of community communications and media complicated the search for definitions. Contemporary media analysis and legal terminology referred to a distinction between "geographical community" and ""community of interest". "Community of interest" did not necessarily require a geographical locality as a "community". Rather, it was seen as a group of people with common interests, e.g. women's groups, trade unions, classical music lovers, etc.

Some of these "communities of interest" were clearly groups which would advocate and engage in participatory development. However, they lacked the geographical tangibility which was assumed in most participatory development theory. Community communications and media also highlighted the issues of community identity, how it was formed and how it was propagated to outsiders. Which groups or individuals in the community exerted most control over the community medium and thereby controlled the propagation of community identity? As part of the participatory development project, was democratic community organisation a precondition for community media, or could community media be used as a tool to achieve democratisation?

These questions and issues will form the underlying basis of analysis in the rest of this paper. There are clearly no ready answers. Community organisation varies from society to society and the issues raised above may be more or less relevant in different countries. However, it is important that these considerations are borne in mind. At present, participatory development and participatory communications are defined more by what they are not, i.e. centralised, top-down, bureaucratic, homogenising government control, than by what they are. While this may be sufficient in defining an opposition to the practices and goals of modernisation, without a thorough understanding of what is meant by "community", "local", or "participation" in any given situation, participatory development is merely activist rhetoric which fails to take into account the complexities and contradictions in changing societies.

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Chapter 2. Broadcasting and Development in South Africa

Any discussion of broadcasting and development in South African necessitates an assessment of the historical context of broadcasting in the country and the ends to which it was used. Both colonialism and apartheid have excluded the black population from participating in society in any way - effectively, their right to access to and participation in communication was removed and replaced with a system which, through its communication policies, relegated them to secondary status.

An understanding of the historical context of broadcasting in South Africa provides insight into the contradictions of colonialism and apartheid. Through these systems of domination both the concept of "development" and the concept of "community" and "identity" were distorted in order to serve the interests of the white minority above those of the black majority over whom they ruled. More specifically, they were used to propagate and entrench the apartheid ideal and, by emphasising difference, ensure the deference of blacks to white authority.

This chapter outlines the evolution of broadcasting in South Africa and traces the concepts of development and community in relation to this history. It begins with the SABC under the British colonial administration in South Africa and ends with the growth of community broadcasting in the early 1990s, in response to the political reforms which were taking place at that time.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was established in 1936[1] and was modeled on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Both the SABC and the BBC operated according to Reithian principles of public service, the promotion of "high culture", and editorial independence and integrity. In the thirties and forties the SABC was the platform for the expression of British colonial interests. While it recognised the Afrikaans language, the representation of Afrikaans culture, religion and values was secondary to the dominant English vision of the Corporation. Most of the news, information and cultural programming provided on radio referred to Britain - effectively, the SABC was the voice of the Imperial Crown in

South Africa. News about, and the interests of, the black population were not represented at all on the SABC's radio service.

On the rare occasion that blacks did feature in the news it was when the issue or event in which they appeared was of fundamental importance to the white community. Even then, black individuals were referred to as "the natives", with little regard for their identity or place in society. Under colonial rule the broadcasting system barely acknowledged the existence of the majority of South Africa's people. To the rest - the whites - it advocated a colonial lifestyle based on the values and norms of British "high culture".

During the Second World War, a "rediffusion service" which basically comprised loudspeakers broadcasting messages in the black compounds was introduced, in order to counter rumours regarding the war. From the outset, therefore, the introduction of broadcasting to the black population was envisaged as a paternal measure of control. Having "served its purpose" during the war, the service was discontinued in 1945.

The advent of Nationalist power in 1948 saw a change in attitude towards the role of broadcasting in South Africa. Not only did it herald the genesis of a policy of extreme Afrikaner nationalism on SABC, outweighing the colonial tradition of the Corporation, but it also led to a recognition of the propaganda potential of the SABC in ensuring the submission of the black majority. Paternalism and control over the black population was the driving force behind the reintroduction of the diffusion service in 1951. The service was designed to: "provide the Native with entertainment in his own home and in this way contribute towards the prevention of crime; and secondly to contribute towards the education of the Bantu."[2]

"Education" in the broadcasting service basically referred to those programmes which entrenched the political power of the whites and attempted to convince blacks of their inferior status. From this time until the 1980s, modeled the national Bantu education system, SABC educational broadcasting for blacks was targeted towards preserving the hegemony of the white minority. Regardless of the SABC's statements of independence from government and its professed

editorial integrity, the "Bantu services" were openly acknowledged as a medium through which the state departments of Native Affairs, Bantu Education, and later the Department of Education and Training, could communicate directly with the black population. During the years, the [illegible]n programming format for blacks would encompass themes such as: "a sense of responsibility", "obedience and the need for education and training", "obedience to authority and respectfulness", "freedom is obedience", "education is not a passport to superiority", "the dangers of communism".[3]

SABC's educational programming was an extreme example of Freire's banking education. The SABC assumed its black audience to be passive receptacles which could be moulded into accepting their oppr sion as a societal norm. In order to achieve this, Bantu education was consciously designed to prepare blacks to accept inferior positions, e.g. as labourers, within South African society. What was evident, however, was that the education for submission by the state and state structures such as the SABC failed to suppress objections to apartheid oppression and organised resistance to white minority rule.

A crucial element of the apartheid education on SABC was the promotion of "own identities", in accordance with the policy of separate development. The approach was two-pronged. Firstly, news and information stressed the political and economic development of the homelands in programmes with titles such as: "This Week in the Bantu World", "I Like My Country"[4] and "A Place in the Sun"[5]. Coopted black leaders were used extensively on these programmes to expound on the advantages of the homeland system.

Secondly, there was an emphasis on enhancing the expression of traditional culture and history. This objective had to be seen within the narrow context of apartheid; it was clearly different to the universal goal of the upliftment and preservation of culture and history. Many of the proponents of community broadcasting in South Africa have advocated the use of radio and television to the ends of "rediscovering people's history" and "promoting culture". The SABC's engagement in the promotion of culture was designed to advance the ideology of separate development, and maintain the oppression of blacks under apartheid.

"With the compilation and presentation of programme material from the rich cultural treasury of the various Bantu peoples, Radio Bantu performs not only an important function of conservation but also promotes love and pride in that heritage, with stimulating effect on political development."[6]

The "cultural treasury" which the SABC promoted was ahistorical - taken out of its social and historical context with the aim, not of expressing the traditions of a people, but of distinguishing them as different from other people, i.e. whites. This cultural promotion took no cognisance of the struggle of black people against colonial oppression since the earliest days of the arrival of white settlers, and the cultural traditions which grew out of this resistance. Instead, it attempted to serve as a reminder to blacks of what was regarded as their "primitive" origins - that they did not belong in Western society. The contradiction in the system was evident. The state created a situation where, through the confiscation of land, exorbitant land taxes and enforced labour, urbanisation, and consequent Westernisation was enforced on blacks. At the same time, however, the SABC's Bantu services were directed towards the promotion of tribal culture "in order to revive old traditions among the urban Bantu."[7]

The apartheid state apparently saw the revival of tribal tradition as the protection of white superiority and thus persisted in its efforts. As late as 1977, when proposing a television channel for Africans, the SABC suggested that the programme material would consist mainly of the granting of independence to the homelands and redressing "the rapid extinction of traditions and customs."[8]

As the notion of "culture" was explicitly used towards ideological ends, so was the idea of "community". In apartheid discourse, "community" came to refer to a group of people of the same skin colour, e.g. white community, black community or coloured community. Later, when ethnic differences were exploited by the state, particularly with the establishment of the homelands, the terms "Zulu community" and "Xhosa community" were also used.

The SABC emulated this use of the term. The illusion of community service and community

participation was created. In reference to the Bantu radio programmes, the SABC maintained that "the service must stem basically from the Bantu community itself. As such it has actually become the life-like reflection of the Bantu world in all its constructive aspects. Within the framework of the Board's declared policy the Bantu community itself is responsible for the programmes, each language and cultural group according to its own tradition and customs."[9] Effective control of programming, however, was not undertaken by the "Bantu community" but by the Bantu Programme Advisory Board which consisted entirely of white Afrikaans-speaking men.

In the mid 1960s, regional radio services of the SABC were launched in the major cities of South Africa. The SABC referred to these as community radio stations because of their physical location in regional centres, their provision of information and news about the region and their organisation of various "community" activities such as fund-raising for local welfare associations, etc. However, control of these stations remained in the hands of the SABC and the stations broadcast in English and Afrikaans, targeting themselves exclusively at the white population.

The later introduction of African language services - in line with the ethnic divisions propagated by apartheid policy - saw references to the "Zulu community" and the "Xhosa community". The radio services established by the SABC took little cognisance of the urban black population who, particularly on the Reef, were living together with little regard for ethnic and language differences. The structure of the SABC's African language services, however, reflected the government's homeland policy - ignoring the urbanisation and subsequent mixing of cultures and languages which had resulted from forced land removals and the Group Areas Act. There was no national African language station. Each African language station serviced a particular rural area by carrying regional news. The PWV region - the largest urban area in the country and the focus of increasing urbanisation - was not covered in the regional news of any of the African language stations.

Aside from promoting apartheid policies on its Bantu services, the other primary goal of the

SABC was the advancement of Afrikaans culture and traditions. From 1960 onwards, the SABC aimed to enhance the status of Afrikaans above that of English and to "ensure that the Afrikaans language was given due respect"[10]. The SABC board was controlled exclusively by white male Afrikaners. Programming repeatedly stressed historical events like the Great Trek and Battle of Blood River, the Protestant Christianity of white Afrikaners and the survival of the Afrikaner nation against all odds. Programmes for immigrants were introduced, in which they were educated about the language and the values of Afrikaners.

The SABC Annual Report of 1969 described the achievements of the Afrikaans service as follows: "The thoughts and the dreams, the achievements, the knowledge and the ideals of the modern Afrikaner - this was a portrait in sound in a wide variety of programmes on the Afrikaans service."[11]

The "modern Afrikaner" however, was exclusively white. 0.93% of programming on the Afrikaans service was allocated to Coloured Afrikaans speakers, and named the Protea Service. During this programme government officials provided the Coloured community with information and messages from the state.[12]

In the late 1970s and 1980s internal and external opposition to the apartheid government increased. The adoption by government of the "total strategy" in response to what it perceived as the "total onslaught" by the liberation movements and international economic and political pressure, signalled the start of a much more intense propaganda effort on the part of the SABC and the blatant manipulation of information on the instruction of apartheid state officials. In reference to its coverage of the 1976 uprising, the SABC stated: "Every effort was made to place the disturbances in the Black townships in proper perspective and to cool passions. Factual information was disseminated and several responsible Black leaders were put on the air."[13]

During this period, the advent of the tricameral parliament spurred the SABC into employing additional Coloured and Indian journalists to service their respective "communities". A national radio service, Radio Lotus, which provided a service for the Indian "community" was launched

in 1982. Separate broadcasting services were also set up in the independent homelands. Initially intended to serve the propaganda function of the SABC within the homelands, some of these broadcasting services eventually challenged apartheid and provided space for the expression of oppositional views.

The evolution of the SABC therefore closely mirrored the changes in apartheid policies from 1948 onwards. At no point did the SABC provide a genuine public service. Both its station structure and its programming were aimed at promoting the "high culture of apartheid" and it effectively became the propaganda platform of the Nationalist government in preserving its hegemony. Its role in "development" and promoting "community identity and culture" was designed only to serve the ends of a system which, for the majority of the population, ultimately led to underdevelopment and a denial of their identity and culture.

South Africa approached the 1990s with a broadcasting system which had only served the interests of the apartheid government. Through legislation both the SABC and the Minister responsible for broadcasting held a veto power over applications for broadcasting licences. The SABC therefore exerted monopoly control over broadcasting in South Africa. However, two independent broadcasters, Radio 702 and Capital Radio took advantage of the apartheid state's recognition of homeland independence, and began broadcasting from the homelands into the urban areas of Durban and Johannesburg within "the Republic".

Under its licence conditions Radio 702 was only permitted the use of an AM frequency by the South African government. It started off as a music station but competition by SABC stations which were turning to FM Stereo forced it to adopt a new approach to its programming. Radio 702 began to market itself as a community station which both reflected the interests of and promoted the participation of the people of the PWV area. Its programming format consisted largely of talk-back programmes, interspersed with news and information. Radio 702 engaged in various services to people within its broadcast area such as the establishment of a Help-Line and a Crisis Centre (both modeled largely on Lifeline), and it was also involved in various children's charities.

Radio 702, as a station independent of government control, provided an alternative to the state propaganda of the SABC. By allowing people to phone in to programmes and express their views on air on matters which were anathema to the SABC, it was the closest South Africans had ever come to participatory, public interest broadcasting.

However, the self-proclaimed status of Radio 702 as a community station, directly accountable to the community in which it broadcast, was questionable. Firstly, as it was privately owned, it was directly accountable to its shareholders and not to the community it served. This in turn, meant that it was profit-driven - it needed to maximise its audience in order to increase its advertising income. Before 1994 this situation resulted in various actions by Radio 702 which were clearly driven by a profit motive rather than community interest. For example, its views of the apartheid government were critical but not oppositional. Unlike independent oppositional newspapers which adopted a clear editorial line signalling their opposition to apartheid and which often resulted in their banning or harassment, Radio 702 only set out its opposition to apartheid when the end of the system was inevitable. Even then, the profit motive of the station drove it to satisfying the needs of its white audience, i.e. the largest consumer group. In 1992, complaints from white audience members about the accent of an African news presenter on Radio 702 resulted in him being taken off the air. As black consumer power increased in 1993 and 1994, Radio 702 introduced several African announcers on its programmes. Its history was determined by its drive for profits rather than a sense of community responsibility.

The establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in early 1994 - through the multiparty constitutional negotiations process - led to the recognition of a three-tier system of broadcasting, encompassing public service broadcasters, such as the SABC and the TBVC states, commercial broadcasters such as Radio 702 and M-Net television, and community broadcasters. As the SABC had historically dominated the airwaves, and had been the platform for National Party government policies, the major public focus rested on the IBA's decisions regarding the restructuring of public broadcasting. A public inquiry into public broadcasting, cross-media ownership, and local content programming was the IBA's first priority.

Most proposals to the public inquiry surrounding the restructuring of the SABC weighed the SABC's responsibility to provide a public service for the diversity of languages and cultures in South Africa, to provide for educational services to facilitate reconstruction and development, and to promote national unity, while simultaneously dealing with the financial limitations on the SABC's services. It was argued that the function of a public broadcaster was to inform, educate and entertain in the best interests of the public. Internationally, however, public broadcasting systems were under threat from increasing commercialisation of broadcasting and the introduction of satellite and cable technology. Since the eighties the SABC had become increasingly reliant on advertising as its main source of income, while the licence fee system had foundered through a culture of non-payment and an inefficient collection system. Internationally, reliance on advertising was regarded as a perversion of public service priorities - heavy dependence on advertising resulted in public broadcasters making programming choices in terms of the consumer interest instead of the public interest. It was argued that the pursuit of advertising income would lead to the public broadcaster attempting to attract as wide a range of viewers or listeners as possible through the provision of programmes such as American soap operas, instead of concentrating on educational and informational programming, as well as programmes catering to minority needs.

"Free marketeers cannot find a place for minority tastes, controversial subjects, long-term expensive investigative journalism, educational or prestige cultural programmes."[14]

A major focus of concern by both the SABC and interest groups was the Corporation's involvement in and contribution to national development and the promotion of a spirit of national unity. The SABC's view of its own future differed with most other submissions on this matter. The Corporation argued that, in order to raise the revenue to fulfill its public service obligations it needed to subsidise its public service programming with commercial SABC-owned stations. There were two general responses to this: one that it would result in unfair competition for commercial broadcasters, and the other that it would result in "market censorship."[15]

The overriding concern with the SABC's role in post-apartheid South Africa was in its

contribution to development and national reconciliation. The Group of 13, representing prominent civil society, educational and broadcasting organisations, the Electronic Media in Education initiative and other submissions to the public inquiry, argued that a substantial part of SABC programming should be set aside for educational and developmental programming. In addition, there was a concern that the SABC promote national reconciliation while recognising and celebrating the diversity of cultures and languages in South Africa.[16]

While it was recognised that, regardless of the specific outcome of the public inquiry, the SABC would become more accountable and representative in its services, it was widely acknowledged that it would be incapable of fully providing for the interests of the vast number of cultural, language and religious groups in the country. Given that the majority of the population had been deprived of a medium which represented their interests, and through which they could express themselves, the demands on the "new" SABC to redress this situation would be unreasonable. The development role of broadcasting, therefore, was seen as a dual responsibility between the national or regional public broadcasters and independent community broadcasters, which would be in a position to serve the immediate development needs of local communities. There was also a concern that the SABC's prerogatives of national reconciliation and national development would override issues of local interest. Decentralising control of broadcasting to a community level would ensure that the hegemony of the SABC would be broken while providing a means of expression to those who had always been on the receiving end of broadcast messages. This was the ideal of participatory communication in development. The SABC, regardless of its future representivity and public responsibility, would be unable to provide access by individuals and groups to express themselves through radio and television in an unmediated and spontaneous fashion. This free access to the production of messages, coupled with the control of the medium by those who listened to it, was the cornerstone of community broadcasting.

The first official recognition of the concept of community broadcasting occurred well before the IBA's establishment. In 1990, the Minister of Home Affairs appointed a government Task Group on Broadcasting[17], in response to the political developments of February 1990. The Task Group operated according to the following principles:

1. The need to provide greater access for more voices and to stimulate competition in the broadcasting industry.
2. The requirement to restructure broadcasting in South and Southern Africa, while retaining the extremely important public service broadcasting function of the SABC.
3. The desire to establish a broadcasting industry that is free from political control and influence.
4. The need for an independent regulatory authority to oversee broadcasting in South Africa.

The Task Group and its findings were widely criticised, particularly from within the democratic movement in South Africa. The composition of the group was not only unrepresentative of South African society - all members except one were white and the majority were Afrikaans-speaking - but was skewed towards broadcasting industry stakeholders. The chairman was the SABC board chairman, and the group comprised high profile representatives of M-Net and the advertising industry. The findings of the Group held the potential for the entrenchment of the monopoly of existing broadcasters, i.e. M-Net and the SABC, and the provision of little space for independent interests.

The Task Group essentially envisaged a two-tier system, viz. public broadcasting and commercial broadcasting. It recognised community broadcasting as a possible additional tier, but in this regard placed emphasis on the limitations of the frequency spectrum and the advertising market. It was therefore apparent that The Task Group viewed community broadcasting as a local form of commercial broadcasting.

"Market segmentation has taken place. The nationwide radio services cater for broad categories of listeners but cannot do justice to the specific broadcasting needs of local communities, their activities and the need of business people to make their wares and services known to the community. South Africa has a wide variety of language, cultural, religious, community and minority audiences, each with certain general but also very specific needs and expectations in terms of broadcasting services."[18]

Dur[illegible]'s sittings, the Task Group was lobbied by a variety of educational, cultural and other

organisations who wished to apply for broadcasting licences. In 1991, the South African Students Press Union, a university-based organisation, presented the Task Group with a petition of 10 000 signatures demanding the right of campus radio stations to begin broadcasting.[19]

The Jabulani Conference at Doorn in the Netherlands laid the basis for the vision of community broadcasting which is presently evident in the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act[20]. Community or participatory broadcasting was defined as being "initiated and controlled by members of a community of interest, or a geographical community, to express their concerns, needs and aspirations without outside interference, subject to the regulation of the Independent Broadcasting Authority"[21]. Attended by a wide range of representatives from left wing and progressive circles, the conference resolved the following[22]:

1. The conference notes that no community broadcasting sector has existed previously in South Africa and that the active development of this sector is a priority.

2. The community sector should be independent from the other two sectors.

3. A national community broadcasting (sic) 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.

4. A national community broadcasting skills pool should be established which will:
4.1. Sensitise communities to the possibilities and scope of community broadcasting
4.2. Respond to requests for assistance and information
4.3. Assist with training where necessary
4.4. Distribute material and information within the skills pool.

5. Funding of community broadcasting should come from both the public and private sectors; details of this should be worked out by the communities themselves.

A subsequent meeting by community broadcasting activists at the Free, Fair and Open Conference in January 1992 in Cape Town noted that community broadcasting was based on "the ideals of participation, community ownership, non-profitmaking, community interest, and enables communities to express their needs and aspirations through access to the airwaves", and that community broadcasting served an important role in "education, development, and social and cultural life."[23] A proposal for the establishment of an independent body to regulate the airwaves, the independent control of the SABC, particularly during the run-up to the first democratic elections, and the recognition of community broadcasting by the proposed regulatory authority, was forwarded to a working group of the national political negotiations forum.

During 1992 and 1993, public focus on the broadcasting system was increasingly directed towards the control of the SABC during the run-up to the first democratic election. Under the control of its government-appointed board, it was feared that the ruling National Party would use the public broadcaster to its advantage during the election. The activities of the Campaign for Independent Broadcasting - a group of organisations campaigning for the appointment of an independent representative SABC board - and the collapse of constitutional negotiations in 1992, shifted public focus away from long-term broadcasting policies, towards a concern with immediate issues of ownership and control of the SABC.

During the same period, community broadcasting initiatives began to develop, largely outside of the public attention being focused on the SABC, although demands for general access to the airwaves were made in numerous campaigns against the SABC. The Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (Cosatu) negotiated with the SABC for airtime on its radio services, to broadcast weekly programmes to its members. The programmes dealt with workers' rights, voter education and health and safety issues, and were aired in different languages on the various radio stations. While the use of the SABC as a means to convey information to workers was criticised in some community broadcasting circles, Cosatu's programmes represented the first initiative in gaining access to the national broadcaster in order to provide development information for its members.

In the early 1990s, the only established small-scale broadcasters were those on university

campuses. Used primarily for conveying information to students, encouraging students to participate in various campus activities, and catering to student's music tastes, the campus stations historically existed for entertainment purposes. Most of these stations were connected to various campus areas via a cable system, and did not broadcast over-the-air. Occasionally the campus stations applied for and received temporary broadcasting licences for special occasions, e.g. orientation week or RAG. The campus radio stations were owned by the university administration and were therefore responsible to these authorities for their editorial content.

The state of emergency during the 1980s led to the re-evaluation of the role of campus radio at the University of Durban-Westville (UDW). Audwax, UDW's primarily entertainment oriented radio station began to broadcast information which was officially banned under the state of emergency. In the 1990s, other campus radio stations began to assess the potential role of campus radio in community service. Many universities, particularly "Bush" Universities (traditionally black universities in rural areas), were ideally placed to use their facilities to serve the people who lived in the areas surrounding the campus. In most cases the people living in these areas were black and working-class and had no access to broadcasting facilities to express their local concerns and interests. By making available the skills and equipment for broadcasting at the campus, while simultaneously extending the range of the broadcast signal to the areas surrounding the university, campus radio stations could become the centre for access to and participation in community radio.[24]

The integration of community broadcasting with national development and reconciliation objectives was seen as the driving force behind many community broadcasting initiatives. This was significant in the South African context where, in the past, community media had been utilised primarily as a means of organising community activity and opposition to apartheid. Community newspapers were established to provide an alternative to the hegemonic mainstream press (owned by big business or National Party interests), and to provide a platform for those engaged in the struggle for democracy. Unlike oppositional community radio in Latin America, community broadcasting did not play such an oppositional role in South Africa (with the exception of UDW's Audwax). Instead, community broadcasting only became a focus of

community media activists when the deregulation of the airwaves was a political and legal possibility. The reasons for this were several. Firstly, the SABC retained a monopoly over broadcasting skills and training, making it difficult for organisations to gain access to broadcasting resources. Secondly, defiance of the state monopoly on broadcasting would potentially have been met with extreme repression, particularly given the state's hegemonic control over the airwaves. Thirdly, there was little interest in the use of broadcasting as an oppositional medium inside the country. The ANC's Radio Freedom, broadcasting from Lusaka, was regarded as the "voice of the people", while the internal democratic structures concentrated on posters, flyers, resistance theatre, etc., as the medium of expression for the democratic movement.

In the early stages of community broadcasting, the first role of development which it was assumed community stations would fulfill was the provision of reliable information and voter education to the electorate in the run-up to the first democratic elections in 1994. Because of the delays in issuing community broadcasting licences, very few community broadcasters were able to fulfill this role on-air. The facilities of some established community broadcasters were used for the production of voter education programmes and cassettes which were distributed through community organisations or broadcast on the SABC. During this period, community broadcasters began to review their long-term development objectives.

The link between community broadcasting and development in South Africa in the nineties was part of the recognition that community media had to be turned to the service of reconstruction and development in anticipation of democracy. The struggle for community broadcasting therefore became a struggle for the recognition of the medium itself, within the broader context of the effort to devolve democratic decision-making to the community level - to promote a "people-centred" development. In the short term, community broadcasting was seen as a medium on which people could rely for factual and accurate information (unlike the SABC), while in the long term, its use in participatory community development was stressed.

Radio was regarded as the most ideal medium for participatory community broadcasting. Setting

up the broadcasting infrastructure for radio was relatively cheap, while elementary programming could be undertaken simply by means of a mobile cassette recorder. Most importantly, radio did not require its listeners or its programmers to be literate. Its accessibility for illiterate people was seen as fundamental to its potential contribution to community development. Up until early 1994, the introduction of community television was not viewed as a likelihood, nor a necessity. The community broadcasting sector concentrated its efforts on radio as it was the most affordable and accessible medium available to communities.

The foundations of "community" on which the idea of community broadcasting was established were formed during the struggle against apartheid. Apartheid not only destroyed communities, through legislation permitting forced removals, the Group Areas Act, etc., but it also created communities through the very same legislation.[25] Migrant labour and forced removals thrust people of different backgrounds, cultures and language groups together - often in extremely cramped living and working conditions.

While apartheid forced people together on the basis of race, it was the resistance to apartheid which created "community" out of the situations which resulted from forced removals. The brutality of apartheid served to create a community identity which was based on race and resistance to the status quo. Community organisations were elected in order to oppose the illegitimate local and national government structures, and civic associations represented a forum for the airing of grievances about local services, as well as a basis of organisation for resistance. Thus, while the creation of "community" was an involuntary act, forced upon people by state policies, a sense of identity and common interest was quickly forged. Bozzoli (1987) pointed out that dispossessed communities were drawn together in unity against the forces of oppression which originally dispossessed them and which remained a threat. Community loyalty was forged as a means of "self-defence and reconstruction." However, the dehumanisation of people under apartheid simultaneously enabled the exploitation of ethnicity, resulting in community conflict and leading to a rupture in community relations and general disruption of community activities. Communities which suffered extreme poverty and deprivation were susceptible to political and criminal manipulation which took advantage of that deprivation to sow conflict.

Community broadcasting activists argued that the basis for community understanding and identity was communication. Apartheid removed the capacity for people to undertake in participatory communication by denying people's right to freedom of expression, while simultaneously inundating them with propaganda through national state broadcasting services. This enabled the state to create division by using communication in its own interests. A community broadcaster, which would be directly accountable to all who constituted the local area in which it broadcast, would serve only the interests of the community and defend these interests, if necessary, from interference by the state or any other party. The basis of community organisation which already existed in South Africa formed an ideal springboard for community broadcasting initiatives. "Through decades of struggle we have fashioned a detailed network of organisations which are well-heeled in democratic procedures. This is the organisational backbone of participatory radio."[26]

Bush Radio, by 1994 the most well-established community radio station in the country, began as an initiative between the University of the Western Cape and the Cassette Education Trust (CASET). CASET had already had extensive involvement in community media through the production of audio cassettes which were distributed through community organisations, such as trade unions, civic organisations, educational organisations, community health services women's groups, etc. Using CASET's organisational network, Bush Radio popularised itself in the working-class areas of the Cape Flats and a managing committee with representatives of these organisations was set up to coordinate and manage the activities of the station. Eventually, Bush Radio moved from the UWC Campus to CASET's offices in Salt River, which were more accessible to the Cape Flats community.[27]

Bush Radio was legally defined as an association not for gain. Its station policy, as outlined in the Bush Radio constitution stated that it dedicates itself to:

- the free, fair and open expression of ideas

- promoting popular participation in all aspects of community development

- advancing the dignity, rights, socio-economic and cultural well-being of all South Africans

- democratising South Africa's broadcasting environment.

Its aims and objectives included: building the spirit and practice of participatory community radio amongst all the people of South Africa; facilitating the training and development of all members of the community to participate in community radio; developing effective democratic organisational structures for community radio; providing a forum of communication that was accessible to all communities; promoting high quality community radio.

Bush Radio membership was open to all community organisations, non-profit service organisations and individuals who concurred with its aims and objectives. Decisions regarding station policy were made at a general meeting of all member organisations or individuals. According to the constitution the number of delegates which an organisation could have at a general meeting depended on three factors: the size of the organisation, the nature of the organisation and whether the organisation was local or regional. The general meeting elected the coordinating committee which was responsible for the day-to-day management of the station. The staff of the radio station had full participation rights in the general meetings. Open Forums were meetings which were open "to all who support the aims and objectives of Bush Radio". The Open Forums were able to make recommendations to the Coordinating Committee although only full members could vote at these meetings.

Despite repeated attempts Bush Radio failed to get permission to broadcast from the Minister of Home Affairs. In defiance, Bush Radio went on-air for a few hours in 1993 and a charge of illegal broadcasting was laid against it. The charges were eventually dropped when the government failed to lay charges against another illegal broadcaster - Radio Pretoria - in late 1993. Radio Pretoria was a white right-wing station which refused to stop broadcasting after its temporary licence had expired. The political sensitivities around the status of the white right wing resulted in a reluctance on the part of government to close the station, and Radio Pretoria continued to broadcast and to initiate right wing radio stations in other areas of the country. The

indisputable hypocrisy of the government's divergent approaches to Radio Pretoria and Bush Radio led to the charges against Bush Radio being dropped.[28]

Because it was unable to broadcast, Bush Radio concentrated on the training of community members and the upgrading of skills. Volunteer programme producers and on-air broadcasters from the community were referred to as networkers. They were required to undergo a networker training course which would equip them with the skills needed to broadcast. Other training initiatives, such as the Durban Media Trainers' Group (DMTG), were set up in various centres of the country. DMTG accessed skills resources at Capital Radio and the SABC's Radio Zulu and concentrated on preparing a pool of broadcasting skills as a prerequisite to developing community broadcasting infrastructure.[29]

Bush Radio also undertook training programmes for other potential community radio stations. In many ways, Bush Radio became an access and resource centre - providing information on the establishment and management of a community radio stations, running training courses and letting its facilities for the production of programmes such as voter education. Bush Radio saw its long term role as one of a "mother station" which would provide support and infrastructure to smaller community radio stations in the area, as well as constitute the centre of a regional network of community stations. Under this system it was envisaged that each region or province in the country would have a mother station which could be accessed for skills training, technical and administrative assistance and programme production.[30]

The composition and structure of Bush Radio represented a democratic approach to broadcasting which was previously unknown in South Africa. Organisations which were representative of the people within Bush Radio's intended broadcast area and which themselves were democratically elected, formed the controlling body of the station. These organisations popularised Bush Radio within their own constituencies and recommended members of their organisations for training in programme production and presentation. Institutional membership, however, raised the question of the extent to which other views within the community would be represented. Essentially, Bush Radio was a radio station aimed at a geographically-based community, but

which was controlled by several communities of interest, i.e. trade unions, educational organisations, etc. Each organisation was managed through a hierarchy (albeit democratically elected), and the extent of participation by ordinary members of organisations depended on the person or people who were mandated to sit on the controlling structure of the community radio station. The community radio station was a structure which "belonged" to particular institutions, as opposed to an organisation which was obligated to the entire community. This situation was complicated by the inability of the radio station to broadcast and thus encourage more active participation by community members. The development of greater accessibility to the radio station by members of the community was an issue which was raised repeatedly at Bush Radio Open Forum meetings between 1992 and 1994. One of the strategies used in an attempt to engage in more direct interaction with people in the community was the arranging of field broadcasts which were "loudspeaker" broadcasts in common community areas such as shopping centres. Bush Radio networkers attempted to make contact with a wider range of institutions in the community, such as schools and churches, which were not represented on the coordinating committee.

The initiation and management of a local, geographically based community radio, by organisations which represented particular interests within the community, but did not necessarily represent the interests of the whole community, presented a paradox in participatory communication. Essentially, participatory communication was regarded as an activity which should be initiated by "the community" themselves. This implied that such communication would either evolve from an organisation which was representative of the entire community - i.e. through an election in which every person who lived in that particular area had the ability to participate - or, in the more idealistic approach to participatory communication, evolve naturally outside of any formal community organisation. In the case of Bush Radio, the community radio initiative was developed by organisations which had considerable membership in the Cape Flats, but which were not representative of the "whole community", i.e. had not been elected through a general community election process. Without the initiative and involvement of these organisations, however, the community radio project would not have developed.

The contradiction between the ideals of spontaneous, unmediated participatory communication

and the skills and technology required in community broadcasting highlighted the difficulties which community broadcasters faced in fulfilling the ideals of participatory communication in the immediate term. Louw (1993) pointed out that the initial support and lobby for community broadcasting came from middle-class intellectuals and activists and not from grassroots community initiative. In attempting to legitimise the community broadcasting project, the activists would set about a process of popularising the initiative, and encouraging community membership and participation. This presented a contradiction in the notion that community broadcasting was a means of communication initiated, controlled and managed by the community it served. While there was little doubt that models such as Bush Radio were inherently more democratic than public service or commercially-oriented broadcasters, they still represented a largely unidirectional form of communication interaction.

"In general, South Africa's community radio activists had, up until 1992, forged ahead and left grassroots structures behind. This, of course, violated the very definition of community radio which these activists claimed to be working towards. One of the effects of the skewing in favour of middle class organisers was that these media activists consequently dissipated enormous amounts of energy trying to set up "consultation" mechanisms with "the community" so as to overcome the violation of their own theoretical model. Success in this regard has varied from area to area."[31]

In the context of participatory communication models it was clear that once a mediating structure, i.e. the community broadcaster, was established to foster community communication, it would require other mediating structures or "gatekeepers" to manage the communication process. In the case of community radio - although it was less formal than television or commercial or public radio structures - a certain level of skills was required in management and control, as well as programming and broadcasting on the radio station. This necessarily involved a hierarchy which controlled access to the station. This hierarchy could be more or less democratic, but it would be unable to facilitate the unrestricted, spontaneous form of communication which was perceived to characterise participatory communication. It was clear that, in the context of community radio, participation needed to be measured in relative terms,

and the restrictions of the medium as a **mediator** had to be taken into account.

However, this did not mean that Bush Radio was not promoting community development. By providing a platform from which community organisations could communicate with their members was integral to the advancement of organisational objectives and the consolidation of membership of these organisations. Moreover, Bush Radio played an integral role in the development of other community broadcasting initiatives, such as training, provision of facilities, etc. It was clear that Bush Radio had arisen out of a developmental need - this need had first been expressed through the demand for CASET programmes and it naturally translated into a demand for a more efficient and accessible information medium, i.e. radio.

Nevertheless there were inherent contradictions in the use of community broadcasting as a medium of development and the notion of participatory communication for development. This was more pronounced in cases where community broadcasting was used for the purpose of development which required specialised knowledge. Radio Zibonele[32] was a community health radio station broadcasting to an area called Griffiths Mxenge in Khayelitsha on the Cape Flats. The station was based at the Zibonele Health Centre - its equipment was kept under a bed in the centre - and was staffed entirely by community health workers who were trained at Bush Radio. The radio station broadcast for two hours per week in Xhosa - the predominant language spoken by the people in the community - using a low-power transmitter which reached an area within a 5 kilometre radius of the Centre. The initiative for the station came from an Argentinean doctor who worked at the centre, and who had experience with the use of community radio in Argentina in providing people with information on health issues. In addition to information presented by the health workers, members of the community who had had significant experiences with health-related issues, were requested to share these experiences with other members of the community on the radio. Individual community members were also reminded of appointments at the health centre through announcements on Radio Zibonele. Feedback from the community, through house visits by community workers indicated that there was a demand for more health information and less music. (In its early stages of broadcasting, the station broadcast a high music content).

What was significant about Radio Zibonele was the high demand for its services even with its limited broadcasting time. Since the 1970s, SABC radio had been broadcasting information on health issues on Radio Xhosa and other radio stations. Yet, the demand for Radio Zibonele from the Khayelitsha community clearly indicated that there was a need for a broadcasting service which addressed the immediate needs and problems of that community. The credibility of Radio Zibonele was also an important factor. The health workers who presented the programme lived and worked in Khayelitsha and were therefore part of the community which was being serviced by Radio Zibonele. This understanding of the community, relationships between people in the community and, most importantly, the mode of communication in the community, gave Radio Zibonele an integrity which was not possible for the national public broadcaster.

The provision of health information by Radio Zibonele was a specialised development function. The station enabled the health centre to expand and improve its services by engaging in health development and education. While the community broadcasting process was initiated by the health centre, and the health workers retained editorial control over the programmes, the radio station provided a development service which was shown, by means of letters, to have wide community support. The authority of the community health workers over health matters was recognised by the community and the community radio initiative eventually became a necessary component of community health care. Through regular physical contact with the community, the health workers were able to encourage participation in the programming. Nevertheless, because of their expertise and in the community interest, they retained final editorial control over what was broadcast.

The notion of participatory communication for development, and community ownership of communication projects therefore had to take into account various development areas of specialised knowledge which required control over programming by experts. Ideally, as in the case of Radio Zibonele, these experts were recognised as an integral part of the community and were directly responsive to community needs. This was what elicited demand for Radio Zibonele as opposed to the health programmes of Radio Xhosa which were designed outside of the community and were unable to take into consideration the particular circumstances and social

conditions of the particular community. The physical accessibility of Radio Zibonele and its programme presenters demystified the broadcasting medium in the eyes of the community and this was a necessary precondition for promoting community participation in the health programmes on the station. In sum, Radio Zibonele's credibility arose from the fact that it was initiated by an established and respected institution in the community.

Similarly, Radio C-Flat[33], also broadcasting to the Cape Flats areas was initiated by the People's Express, an established community newspaper since 1985. The People's Express viewed community broadcasting as an extension of the development activities of the newspaper, particularly in the context of the high illiteracy rate in the area and the consequent limited newspaper readership. Radio C-Flat was owned and controlled by the People's Communication Group which owned the People's Express. During the run-up to the 1994 election, Radio C-Flat engaged in extensive voter education broadcasts and the programmes produced were distributed to other broadcasters around the country. Nevertheless, while Radio C-Flat arose directly out of an established community institution, its philosophy on participation was considerably less pronounced than that of Bush Radio and Radio Zibonele. Its emphasis lay instead on providing a professional service and attracting a substantial audience. Radio C-Flat was also not averse to community radio stations generating profits through advertising, believing that this was the only manner in which a community broadcaster could be sustained in the long term.

Other community broadcasting initiatives did not originate from organisations or institutions within the local community. Peace Radio[34], an initiative by the Western Cape Peace Committee aimed at providing a forum for discussion about conflict and promoting peace in the Western Cape region. While the regional peace committees - set up in terms of the National Peace Accord in 1991 - comprised of representatives of all political organisations and other interest groups in the region, they basically constituted the imposition of a national government initiative on the country's regions, as opposed to evolving out of community initiative. Thus, while Peace Radio encouraged volunteers from the Western Cape region to be trained at the station, and worked with several community-based organisations, the ownership of the station did not lie with the people in the region, but with an official state structure.

A.L.X. FM[35], a community radio station which was established in Alexandra in 1994 was aimed at development programming with maximum involvement by all sectors of the community. Members of the A.L.X FM board consisted of prominent individuals within the Alexandra community, including representatives of the adjacent hostel. On the surface, the inclusivity of the ownership structure of A.L.X. FM represented an ideal in community ownership. However, the facilitation of the project by broadcasting professionals who were "outsiders" to the Alexandra community, raised questions about the extent to which the project was owned by the community or controlled by external forces.

The community radio initiatives reviewed above represented varying interpretations of the concepts of community service, accountability and participation. While all of them stressed that their primary obligation was to the communities in which they broadcast, the extent to which they facilitated participation and community ownership of the broadcasters differed. The common philosophy of the broadcasters was that the community broadcasters had to adopt an inclusive approach towards their listeners, and that such inclusivity was integral to the development ethos of community broadcasting. This differed to the philosophy and practice of the right-wing rebel broadcasters, which will be reviewed in Chapter Four of this paper.

What was also evident from the above-mentioned community broadcasters was that some form of democratic community organisation was a necessary precondition for the establishment of a community broadcaster. The extent to which these organisations democratically represented the entire community receiving the broadcasts varied. However, organisational and management skills, administrative infrastructure, as well as community acknowledgement and recognition, formed the basis for the integrity of community broadcasters and the potential for their long-term survival. Moreover, only established organisations with a proven financial track record were in a position to raise funds from local or foreign donors. The notion of participatory communication for development which arose out of informal, non-organisational community interaction was thus unrealistic in the face of the infrastructural and organisational requirements for the operation of a community radio station.

In December 1993, the National Community Radio Forum (NCRF) was launched, as a vehicle for the promotion of community broadcasting in South Africa. Comprising the development-oriented and participation-based stations such as Bush Radio, Radio Zibonele and the SASPU campus stations, the NCRF aimed to "promote and coordinate the ideals of effective community participation in the broadcasting as well as the development processes." The NCRF coordinated existing community broadcasting initiatives and intended to popularise the concept of community broadcasting around the country. Because most communities were unaware of the concept of community broadcasting, popularisation of the medium was regarded as a priority.

The preamble to the NCRF constitution provided the framework for the role of community broadcasting stating that, by definition, community radio stations:

1. Serve geographically founded communities or communities of interest

2. Have ownership solely representative of their locality or community of interest and be independent of party-political influence

3. Are controlled by a non-profit entity and operated for non-profitable purposes

4. Operate with the support and participation of the community they serve

5. Have their general management and programming policy made by people who are democratically representative of the various interests in the community, including the paid and voluntary broadcasting workers

6. May be funded from a variety of sources including donations, grants, sponsorship, advertising or membership fees

7. a. Enable the development, well-being and enjoyment of their listeners through meeting their information, communication, educational or cultural needs;

b. Encourage their participation in the radio station by providing them with access to training, production and transmitting facilities

c. Stimulate innovation in radio programming and technology

d. Involve those sections of the community who have been historically disadvantaged and/or who are under-represented in existing broadcasting services

8. Recognise the right of paid broadcasting workers to join a union and encourage the use of volunteers.

9. Transmit programmes that are mainly local in origin

10. a. Reflect the diversity of views in the listening community;

b. Provide a "right to reply" to any person or organisation subject to misrepresentation

c. Have a programming policy which encourages the development of a participatory democracy which combats racism, sexism and other discriminatory attitudes.

The implications of the establishment of the NCRF[56] for community broadcasting and community development were twofold. Firstly, it formed the basis of a proactive lobby for the popularisation of community broadcasting in South Africa. This represented a departure from the idea that community broadcasting would grow naturally from communities' desires to express themselves. It was acknowledged that the development potential of community broadcasting would not be fulfilled unless people were aware of the potential of the medium. Years of apartheid oppression under which people had been passive listeners to propagandist information broadcast through the SABC, had resulted in a mystification of the broadcast medium. While those who had benefited under apartheid had access to the training, skills and infrastructure to establish community broadcasters, access to the basic resources for community broadcasting were beyond the reach of most oppressed communities. The first step in empowering people to express themselves through the media was to demystify the production and broadcast process in order to prove to them that, given the resources and skills, they could also have the capacity to create and broadcast information. While embarking on this process of education, the NCRF

would also lobby state structures for the recognition of the potential of the medium in contributing to development and democratisation.

The second implication of the establishment of the NCRF, was that it provided a coordinating structure for funding and training. Most community broadcasters were dependent on foreign donors for financial assistance. It was recognised that in most areas, communities did not have the financial means to sustain a community broadcaster. Moreover, foreign donors were cautious in their approach to funding development initiatives which were controlled by lesser known organisations. More established organisations were thus able to access funding while grassroots community organisations were overlooked. The NCRF, by developing a close relationship with community broadcasting initiatives, was in a position to serve as a conduit for funding.

Similarly, the NCRF intended to establish opportunities for training in all skills required for running a community radio station - from programming and broadcasting to general management. This function would be relieved from Bush Radio which had provided the central access to training for most broadcasting initiatives. The NCRF also intended to establish a network of NCRF members through which they could engage in the exchange of programme material and provide infrastructural and skills support for each other.

It was clear from the preamble to the NCRF constitution that the forum did not specify a particular definitio community". The assessment of community broadcasting initiatives and the extent to which they could contribute to development was regarded as a function of the newly-established Independent Broadcasting Authority which would have to "consider each community group upon its merits and examine carefully the claims of community representation and support."[37]

However, the NCRF maintained that there were three determining elements of a community broadcaster. Firstly, it had to be owned and controlled by the community. This included community ownership of the means of production and broadcasting at the radio station, and accountability by all staff members of the station to the broader community. Secondly, the

community broadcaster had to be run for non-profit purposes. Any excess income from funders, sponsorship or advertising had to be used for the benefit of the radio station or for the community as a whole, e.g. the building of a school. Thirdly, the station had to be accessible to all members of the community "regardless of educational qualifications, skills or other qualities".

Although not explicitly stated, it appeared that the NCRF perceived the ideal community broadcaster as one which was geographically based and which therefore was obligated to all the people who were resident in a particular area. This was implicit in the part of the Preamble of the NCRF constitution which stated that community radio should reflect the diversity of views in the listening community. This inclusive approach towards community broadcasting was different to the understanding of a communi broadcaster which was primarily responsible to a particular "community of interest", e.g. trade union members or members of a particular cultural group. By extension, therefore, it appeared that community broadcasting's contribution to development was perceived by the NCRF in terms of the development of people who occupied a particular area, and was obliged to take into consideration the diversity of views, opinions and cultures in that area.

This perception of community broadcasting owed much to the organisations which constituted the NCRF. Most organisations which belonged to the Forum had their origins in the United Democratic Front structures which opposed apartheid within South Africa during the 1980s. Most of them were organised on a local community level, encouraging people in particular areas to work through their elected civic structures to promote community resistance to apartheid. These organisations adopted an inclusive approach towards community organisation; communities were organised on the basis of residential areas (trade unions were organised on an industry basis but were integrally involved in local community activities). None of the organisations was based on a defined cultural, religious or language group to the exclusion of other cultures or languages. This was both a necessity of community organisation and a reaction to the cultural division sown by apartheid policy. This did not mean, however, that community broadcasters did not intend to celebrate and promote cultural values of communities; rather it implied that the

promotion of culture, language and religion would not be exclusive, and would be based on a recognition of and respect for cultural and linguistic diversity within a particular broadcast area.

The NCRF's guidelines for setting up a community radio station also reflected the notion of a broadcaster which was geographically based. The first step was a "needs analysis", whereby a survey would be conducted within a particular area to ascertain the demand and need for a community broadcaster. This would be followed by "a long and unending process of consultation with major stakeholders in the community". During this process a management structure, representative of the views of the community would be established, and this structure would identify a group of workers who would manage the station in the community interest. Programming would be based on extensive discussion with different community interests.

With the imminent establishment of the IBA and the arrival of democracy in South Africa, community broadcasting's contribution to development was viewed primarily in the context of local communities and geographically defined community organisations. As such, it was seen as an extension of community based development initiatives. However, as will be seen in Chapter Four, a significant lobby for the recognition of community broadcasting as a means for exclusive cultural expression placed a question mark over the extent to which community broadcasting would be considered primarily as an instrument for the development of communities oppressed under apartheid.

Notes

1. Most of the information regarding the history of the SABC is drawn from various SABC Annual Reports from 1936 to 1990. This information was first compiled by the author for a submission by Media and Broadcasting Consultants to the IBA inquiry on public broadcasting in 1994.

2. SABC Annual Report 1952 p36

3. SABC Annual Report 1981 p88

4. SABC Annual Report 1962 p29

5. SABC Annual Report 1969 p34

6. SABC Annual Report 1971 p12

7. SABC Annual Report 1959 p6

8. SABC Annual Report 1977 p57

9. SABC Annual Report 1960 p5

10. SABC Annual Report 1969 p23

11. Ibid p9

12. Ibid p25

13. SABC Annual Report 1976 p13

14. Van Zyl, J. Public Service Broadcasting: A New Ethos Submission on behalf of the Group of 13 to the IBA inquiry into public broadcasting, November 1994.

15. Issues Paper arising from submissions to IBA Inquiry into Public Broadcasting IBA, Johannesburg, 1994

16. Submission by the Group of 13 to IBA inquiry into public broadcasting, 1994.

17 Report of the Task Group on Broadcasting in South And Southern Africa
Government Printer August 1991 pxvii

18. Ibid p75

19. Curtis, W. The People Shall Broadcast! - The Battle for the Airwaves in Louw, E. (ed) South African Media Policy: Debates of the 1990s A. Terepos Publishers Bellvl 1993

20. Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves Conference Report Doorn Netherlands August 1991 African-European Institute

21. Ibid p67

22. Ibid p68

23. "Free, Fair and Open" South African Media in the Transition to Democracy Cape Town February 1993 Part Three of Papers, Recommendations & Resolutions

24. Report on the Community Radio Sector in a Democratic South Africa prepared by Media and Broadcasting Consultants for Danida 1994

25. Bozzoli, B. (ed) Class, Community and Conflict South African Perspectives
Ravan Press Johannesburg 1987

26. Bush Radio Liaison Committee 1991

27. Interview with Edric Gorfinkel of Bush Radio 27 June 1994

28. Report on the Community Radio Sector in a Democratic South Africa

29. Rama, K. & Louw, E. Community Radio: People's Voice or Activist Dream? in Louw, E. (ed) South African Media Policy: Debates of the 1990s p71 to 78

30. Information on Bush Radio's internal structure and activities is largely drawn from an interview with Eric Gorfinkel on 27 June 1994, as well as minutes of Bush radio general meetings and Open Forums, and Bush Radio's public newsletters.

31. Community Radio: People's Voice or Activist Dream? p77

32. Information on Radio Zibonele is sourced from a presentation made by representatives of the station at a community broadcasting seminar organised by FAWO in Johannesburg in November 1993.

33. Information on Radio C-Flat is sourced from the submission which the radio station made to the IBA's public inquiry into community broadcasting in 1994.

34. Information on Peace Radio is sourced from the submission which was made by the station to the IBA's public inquiry into community broadcasting in 1994.

35. Information on A.L.X. FM is sourced from the licence application made by the station to the IBA.

36. Information on the NCRF is sourced from the Media and Broadcasting Consultants Report on Community Broadcasting to Danida, as well as from internal planning documents of the NCRF.

37. A Case for Community Radio Discussion Document of the NCRF 1994

Chapter 3. Community Broadcasting in Other Countries: Problems and Solutions

Community broadcasting in Scandinavia and Western Europe holds several lessons from practical experience which are relevant to the introduction of the medium in South Africa[1]. While the stages of industrial development and the specific circumstances which gave rise to community broadcasting in these countries differed to those in South Africa, they were also motivated by the political, cultural and social concerns of local communities.

One of the major factors driving the evolution of community broadcasting in industrialised countries was the threat to cultural sovereignty and national values with the increasing encroachment of transnational - primarily American - media. Ironically, while dependency theory viewed Third World countries as the primary victims of this media imperialism, it was community groups in the industrialised countries which led the way in opposing the homogenising effects of commercial transnational media. Equipped with the resources and finance to set up community radio and television, and assisted by a broadcasting philosophy which stressed deregulation, community broadcasters in Western Europe secured legal and political recognition of their right to broadcast.

The only area of the Third World where community broadcasting flourished was in the countries of Latin America. Here, it was not as much a reaction to transnational homogenising media, as a tradition which was rooted in opposition to oppressive governments and ruling elite control over the mass media. The history of community broadcasting in Latin America mirrored the history of the struggle by communities against state oppression. Unlike in Western Europe, community broadcasting in Latin America was never explicitly recognised in law, and its development thus took place within a highly deregulated framework.

This chapter will review various models of community broadcasting systems. Two international areas will be covered. Firstly, primary attention will be given to the "local broadcasters" of Western Europe with specific reference to Scandinavia and the Netherlands. The manner in which community broadcasting has been regulated in these countries through legislation and

strict conditions regarding community service bears relevance to the legal position of community broadcasting in South Africa. On the other hand, the spontaneous and unregulated circumstances of community radio in Latin America will be discussed in the context of community organisation and resistance in confronting state repression. The manner in which communities in Latin America organised around particular socio-economic issues is similar to community organisation among oppressed people in South Africa.

Internationally, the common factor in the development of community broadcasting was that it was initiated by communities themselves. Unlike public broadcasting which was established and protected by the state, and commercial broadcasting which grew out of a capital profit-motive, community broadcasting developed from the "bottom-up" - it was only acknowledged in law and in broadcasting policy after pressure from citizen groups for its recognition. It represented a dissatisfaction with the existing broadcasting services and a need for a local medium of expression.

In Europe, the growth of community broadcasting media in the early seventies placed the concern of local identity above all other factors in community communication. "Local identity" was constructed in reaction to two trends: the homogenising effect of transnational media on national culture; and the increasing recognition that the traditional public service broadcaster was incapable of providing for the information needs of the entire national population. The former trend reflected the concerns of cultural imperialism theorists, identifying the threat to national identity by a global media culture that fostered an homogenous audience designed to consume American soap operas and music videos. In response to this threat, many countries adopted a system of local content quotas, in which broadcasters within the country were required to devote a certain proportion of programming time to indigenous productions.

The protection of the integrity of national culture and the promotion of national values was seen as one of the primary functions of the public broadcaster. This responsibility was seen as a national one - which was conceptualised and implemented at a central level according to the understanding of the public broadcaster as the custodian of national identity. However, advanced

satellite technology which allowed for foreign broadcasters to transmit signals directly into countries, and thus bypass national broadcasting regulations, increasingly rendered local content quotas ineffective. Moreover, the increasing variety of programming choices resulted in the decrease in size of the public broadcasting audience, thus threatening the existence of the public broadcaster.

The commercialisation and monopolisation of the media, coupled with technological advances in cable and trans-border satellite technology was also a prominent factor in the mobilisation of community broadcasting resources. The profusion of foreign-owned and produced software on commercial channels was viewed as an encroachment on the capacity to express local opinions and engage in debate on immediate issues. Specifically, concern was raised about the shift in the philosophy of broadcasting from **public service** to **consumer interest**, where, in most cases, consumer interest was shaped by cross-channel American or Americanised media.

In addition to this, with the rise of the ideal of participatory democracy in the sixties, many political and social activist groups, such as trade unions and student organisations, argued that the public broadcaster did not provide the means for people to express themselves on issues of concern to them. For the broadcast media to be seen as a truly public resource, necessitated public access to the broadcast media to engage in political debate and express opinions. These activists simultaneously argued that the public broadcaster, as an established and rigid institution, was not necessarily representative of the views and interests of the entire population. For example, Danmarks Radio[2], the public broadcaster of Denmark was "accused of being highbrow, leftist and biased towards the culture of the capital at the expense of provincial life".[3]

The evolution of community broadcasting in South Africa, while largely being seen as a tool for the implementation of national development plans at a local level, was also determined by a dissatisfaction with the post-apartheid national values being expressed by the public broadcaster. The dominance of right-wing Afrikaans submissions to the IBA's public inquiry on community broadcasting, was rooted in a rejection of the SABC's attempts to create a national identity in which all language and cultural groups would be treated equitably.[4]

In Western Europe, the fact that even public broadcasters which were independent of government control and which were designed to indiscriminately serve the interests of the entire population, were regarded as unrepresentative, indicated the political pressure for self-expression and resistance to the imposition of an assumed national identity and unicity. Moreover, the strength of the lobby from marginalised groups and rural areas, indicated a Western European derivation of the centre-periphery phenomonen where communities which felt alienated from the national values being propagated by the public broadcaster sought an alternative means of expression. In addition, the national media systems - both broadcasting and print - in European countries, were being increasingly centralised and monopolised. In Sweden[5] one of the factors behind the introduction of neighbourhood radio was the decline in the sixties of the number of independent local newspapers owing to financial pressures.

Ironically, the advanced technology which threatened cultural sovereignty also provided an economic incentive for the development of community broadcasting. Local radio and television in Europe originated on the cable system which, in the early seventies, was regarded as a "spare" channel. The advantages of cable were relatively unexploited by both commercial and public broadcasting systems, and governments thus made it available to local interest groups for experimental broadcasting. Hollander[6] submitted that the approval of governments in Europe for experimental local cable radio and television was motivated more by a willingness to postpone a decision on the future of local programming, than as part of a coordinated policy strategy. In many cases experimental licences were granted for an extended period - in Scandinavia for three years.

The delimitation of the broadcasting area or "community", was, in most cases, created by the limitation on broadcasting radius, in the case of over-the-air transmissions, and by local ownership of cable systems. Over-the-air transmissions, for example, were usually restricted to low-power transmitters broadcasting with a radius of no more than ten kilometres. The Danish frequency spectrum plan for radio was allocated according to municipality - each municipality being assured of at least one frequency. Communities were similarly serviced by locally established cable channels.

The reluctance on the part of governments to accept community stations as part of the broadcasting environment was motivated by a wariness towards the decentralisation of ownership on cable, which could result in increasing commercialisation of the cable system. This viewpoint was not entirely unfounded - the introduction of community stations resulted in increasing commercial interest in the local cable system. Moreover, the non-profit status and indeed, the very survival of community broadcasting was threatened by the consistent lack of resources available to these broadcasters. Even those community broadcasters which utilised advertising as a source of revenue were forced to compete with commercial, more professional broadcasters, for advertising. This resulted in the gradual professionalisation and consequent commercialisation of many community broadcasters.

As a counter-measure to local commercial stations, governments and broadcasting authorities encouraged the establishment of regional public television stations to serve a more diverse audience than the national public television station and thus compete with local cable television programmes. In Sweden and Britain, the public service corporations also established local radio stations which remained under the editorial and administrative control of the public broadcaster. This, however, did not stem the demand from communities for autonomous local radio and television.

It was clear that there were competing notions of community and public service in the philosophy of local broadcasting. In all cases, "local" referred to "small", often defined in terms of municipal or suburban boundaries. McCain and Lowe[7] identified three types of Western European local broadcasting: "national" referred to the local broadcasters managed and controlled by the national public broadcaster; "independent", they defined as small commercial broadcasters whose primary activity was to attract advertisers and make profits; "community" referred to non-profit stations whose primary activity was to serve the "community of interest" or "geographical community" to which it broadcast. The primacy of community service and responsibility above national control and commercial gain resulted in local community broadcasting being regarded as the ideal in community service, relative to the other two models. However, many hybrid models developed and levels of democratic organisations in these

community broadcasting stations varied with reg the extent of access and participation by community members.

The obstacles involved in sustaining community broadcasting financially in the general absence of coordinated funding policies raised questions about the continued survival of the medium in Western Europe. Certain countries such as Switzerland and Germany opted for commercial local broadcasting from the outset. Others, such as those in Scandinavia and the Netherlands strived to maintain a public community service model. However, most of them were ultimately forced into accepting advertising in order to survive financially. In this regard, television, with its weighty demand on resources and skills, presented a greater problem than radio.

Linked to the issue of financing was the increasing professionalisation of the community broadcasting sector. The struggle for funding resulted in the exclusion of smaller stations while broadcasters operated by established institutions such as trade unions and religious groups, upgraded their production facilities and employed permanent staff in order to professionalise their services. While such groups represented a wide spectrum of interests that were ignored by mainstream media, in effect they represented the "community broadcasting elite", crowding out non-institutional, grassroots voices. Professionalisation in the sector also resulted in increasing pressure from private broadcasters who viewed community broadcasting as a medium for commercial exploitation. Again, community television faced the greatest commercial threat.

The experimental phase of community broadcasting in most Western European countries marked the first tentative steps towards a decentralisation of control of the broadcasting system. The structure of the community media system, while based on common principles, varied from country to country. In Sweden, Neighbourhood Radio was regulated by a central authority which issued licences permitting associations to broadcast. Associations did not own particular transmitting stations; they applied for time - granted in blocks of fifteen minutes - on the local transmitter. The allocation of time was determined by a local board which was representative of all the associations using the medium and associations were charged in proportion to their time allocation.

The Swedish public broadcasting system was largely owned by voluntary associations, trade unions, religious organisations educational groups, etc., through a 60% shareholding by these groups. The print media and business shared the remaining 40%. The majority shareholders, however, had little influence on the management of the public broadcaster and argued for a more adequate means by which to express themselves. The fact that these associations also dominated Neighbourhood Radio, albeit on a locally organised level, indicated a duplication of control at the local level.

In the Neighbourhood Radio system, only associations which were recognised as representative of a group within the local community, and which had been established for at least one year, were granted permission to broadcast. Individuals were not allowed to broadcast on their own behalf. No commercial organisations were permitted to broadcast and no advertising was allowed. Essentially broadcasting was restricted to a "community of interest" which existed within a geographical boundary. Most programmes broadcast by these associations concentrated on the activities of the association concerned.

Neighbourhood Radio was used by a wide variety of organisations. By 1990 more than 2 200 associations had been granted broadcasting permits. Unlike in other countries, political parties were freely permitted to utilise broadcasting time, and the amount of broadcast time allocated on Neighbourhood Radio therefore increased during campaigns which preceded general elections. Outside of election periods, however, religious organisations dominated broadcasting time.

Neighbourhood Radio did not provide for general community access to and participation in programming. Its potential as an instrument of democratic community communication was thus questionable. The strict requirements regarding distribution of airtime to associations enforced an institutionalisation of the neighbourhood medium. Hedman[8] maintained that Neighbourhood Radio had actually become a communication system between and within organisations, rather than a radio "of the people" or "for the people". Public participation was limited to call-in lines on chat shows. The majority of listeners at any one time were the members of the association which happened to be broadcasting and the size of the listenership therefore depended on the

transmitting organisation. The costs of airtime resulted in the larger organisations (usually with a national funding resource) dominating airtime while smaller organisations (usually funded locally) received less exposure. The lack of a coordinated subsidy system increased these inequalities. All these factors, particularly the lack of non-organisation access, reduced the potential of Neighbourhood Radio as a public forum for discussion and debate.

Moreover, as most associations were concentrated in the well-populated urban areas, the feasibility of running such a service in rural areas was restricted. Even within urban localities, the associations' emphasis on information about their own activities resulted in much of the content not reflecting general local issues and concerns.

The community broadcasting system in Denmark allowed for a greater level of public access. The majority of stations broadcasting were owned by community radio associations which adopted an open stance on participation, and which were staffed mainly by volunteers. Stations which belonged to interest groups gradually adopted a more open approach towards the participation in programming of non-interest group members. As in Sweden, the stations run by newspapers were more professional than the others and also maintained a professional staff. With television, trade unions maintained a relatively high professional standard, broadcasting both union information, as well as issues of local community interest.

Through this approach to community broadcasting, the special interest organisations were more rooted in the community culture than in Sweden. However, as services professionalised, less and less access by non-professionals in the community was possible. This occurred more with television, which required extensive skills, than with radio. In addition, the level of professionalisation and expense of resources required for television resulted in many of the smaller participatory access stations being squeezed out of the system.

Ownership and control of stations was also more open than in Sweden and during the experimental period some licences were granted to individuals. Licences, which were granted by local boards comprised of local organisations and representatives of the municipalities,

required stations to be physically and culturally based within the local community. Business interests were not permitted to have a significant share in the broadcaster, but programme sponsorship and up to five minutes of advertising per day were legally recognised as sources of revenue. Other sources of income were listener donations, game shows such as bingo, public subsidies from local authorities and, in the case of special interest stations, finance from parent organisations. There was also a "Robin Hood" scheme whereby financially wealthy stations were required to donate percentages of their revenue to a fund for poorer stations.

Empirical research undertaken by the Danish Ministry of Culture[9] in 1985 on both community radio and television during the experimental period in Denmark showed that not only were the media well received by audiences, but listener demand for local news and information was significant. What was also evident from the research on community radio was that listenership in smaller towns was greater than that in the capital, indicating that the sense of community was more pronounced at the provincial level.

Research conducted by the University of Oslo[10] on Norwegian community television showed similar results. The same number of cable channels (on which community television was broadcast) was available to those in smaller and larger towns. However, public interest in the medium was higher in the smaller towns.

Regulations governing community broadcasting in Norway were similar to those in Denmark. Community television operated primarily on cable although difficulties with cable owners restricting access for community stations resulted in the granting of several over-air frequencies for community television use. Increasing strain on funding resources for community television resulted in the authorities eventually conceding to an advertising system. Other revenue was received from the conventional sources of funding for community television.

Because of the financing requirements, only established organisations, or those with significant public grants were able to sustain the service. While local programming and responsibility was encouraged through the legal requirement that 50% of broadcasting time be devoted to local

issues and that owners of stations were to be resident in the local area, the promotion of community interests was restricted by lack of funding and access to skills. Typically, this resulted in the domination of the sector by professional interests such as newspapers. Christian organisations set up production companies which sold professionally produced programmes to community stations. Many of these programmes originated outside the country - mainly the United States. The ideal of local community service thus conflicted with "community of interest" programmers eager to propagate their messages.

Many stations, however, did provide a local community service, coaxing community members to become involved in local activities and providing access to the medium for anyone who wished to provide information to the public. In addition, community events - particularly local authority meetings - were broadcast live. Most of these stations were staffed by volunteers. Others, however, used a core of professional staff to assist non-professional community members in the production of programmes and the use of the medium. While people had been uncertain of the function of community television before its introduction, they participated enthusiastically once given the opportunity. In this way one of the primary goals of participatory community broadcasting - to receive and produce messages via the medium - was achieved.

Experiments with community broadcasting in the Netherlands[11] were premised on the notion of the medium as a tool for local development. According to the regulations governing the experimental period, stations had to be controlled by people or organisations who were representative of the local community and the subject matter of programmes was restricted to local issues. These regulations still obtain today. In addition only one licence per municipal area was allocated. The Ministry of Culture provided each station with a funding grant which was intended to fund the establishment and administration of the station. Advertising was strictly prohibited until as recently as 1991. Since then community broadcasters are required to reach an agreement with the local newspaper on remedies for loss of local revenue should the broadcaster wish to carry advertising. Most local authorities provided community broadcasting subsidies and contributions were collected from listeners.

Programming largely dealt with local political issues - including live broadcasts as in Norway - and the mobilisation of community activity in support of particular projects or issues. Free access by community members to broadcast their own messages and participate in programme production was emphasised. It was found that members of communities with a high level of internal organisation participated in community television more than others. There were certain characteristics of local communities which determined a high level of listenership to and participation in the community broadcaster. These were: universal access to the medium within the local area; weekly transmission of programming; a homogenous local population; a significant level of community consciousness; and an established media culture within the community.

Contrary to the Scandinavian models, the Organisation of Local Broadcasters in the Netherlands - the official representative of community broadcasters - opposed the delegation of the responsibility for allocating licences to local authorities. It was believed that this would lead to a measure of control by local authorities over community broadcasters and prevent the impartial and independent production of local news and information.

The Dutch ideals of community broadcasting as an insrument of local development and change did not materialise significantly in the community broadcasting system. What occurred was a significant democratisation of the media and a reconceptualisation of radio and television as a two-way communication medium. However, according to Stappers et. al the success of the community broadcaster, and the necessary precondition for its use in community development was an established community organisational structure and a sense of community identity. This was particularly relevant in the South African context where the early need for community broadcasting was expressed most strongly within communities which had already developed an identity through their opposition to apartheid and their striving towards the improvement of living standards within their community.

"While it has been demonstrated that it is possible to produce radio and television programming with and by volunteers, that alone was unable to build a sense of community. Where a lively

community and local press already prospered, local broadcasting also thrived. Where an active public sphere already existed, there was also space for another medium of communication - local broadcasting. Where such public sphere was absent, neither the population nor the local authorities became enthusiastic about the medium. **If one thing has become clear during the past years of experience it is that solidarity and community are not created by community broadcasting but community broadcasting does flourish in a climate of community and solidarity.**"[12]

The concept of community identity and the expression thereof was crucial to the development of policy towards community broadcasting. While community identity was presented as a constructive, affirming phenomenon, it could also be asserted aggressively, and with little regard for the rights and dignity of other communities. This was evident in the use of Neighbourhood Radio by neo-Nazi organisations. The delineation of community identity and the means by which it was expressed was a major consideration in the South African context, after years of racial hatred and division.

The formulation of community broadcasting policy also necessitated an understanding of what was meant by "community", "community participation", and "community access". In Swedish Neighbourhood Radio model community broadcasting implied access by established non-governmental organisations to local audiences. The community broadcaster was primarily seen as a means for relaying information about the various public representative organisations in a particular locality. Communities, in this case, were essentially passive listeners or viewers unless they made use of their organisational membership to gain access to programming. In other contexts, community broadcasters which were operated and controlled by newspapers were viewed as local public broadcasting structures - transposing the role of the national public broadcaster to inform, educate and entertain into the local arena. The model of community broadcasting widely applied in the Netherlands stressed both community public service in terms of programming that addressed local issues, and participation in and access to the community broadcaster. This system represented the decentralisation of the control over message production to the lowest common denominator - the non-professional citizen expressing opinions about her

immediate environment.

The latter model constituted the rallying point for community media activists. However, it was also the model which was internationally under threat because of lack of resources and consistent pressure from commercial broadcasters. The creation of hybrid models of finance was possible, but recognition of access and participation as basic tenets of community broadcasting would most likely require government policies for enabling these principles to survive.

Community broadcasting in Latin America[13] was deeply rooted in the concept of immediate and spontaneous access to the broadcasting station, by listeners within the community. Unprotected by legislation, regulations or subsidies, and barely tolerated by government, local community stations spontaneously developed from community cultures which were historically interactive, with a strong oral culture and a distinct sense of community identity. Community radio therefore represented a co-option of technology to the service of the expression of community identity and culture.[14]

Community organisation in Latin America grew out of opposition to oppressive state apparatuses and the simultaneous privatisation of state functions[15]. Communities organised themselves at a local level to address socio-economic issues, as well as the broad lack of political democracy. The nature of "community", however, was dependent on the external factors which formed community identity at any one point in time. Many community organisations grew out of the Catholic Church, adopting liberation theology as a basis for their activities.[16]

Unlike other countries of the Third World, broadcasting in Latin America was highly privatised and not controlled by a state monopoly[17]. Latin American countries were also subject to the transnational encroachment of American satellite television. At the national level, little was done to counter the increasing homogenisation of the airwaves, the Brazilian telenovellas being a noteworthy exception. The public service and development role of broadcast media was, in large part, left to the local radio stations.

"... in Latin America there are hundreds of people's radio stations under the control of labor unions or peasant groups or operated by voluntary agencies in support of popular issues. These radio stations provide time slots for various grassroots organisational networks, provide alternative news reporting from the perspective of lower-status interests in a form very different from the commercial radio stations, give access to local music and drama groups, provide programmes of formal and non-formal basic education, support campaigns for the improvement of health and agriculture, etc."[18]

These radio stations emphasised the importance of access by all members of the community to the medium, in order to express individual viewpoints. Some were owned by local businessmen, with the production and transmission of programming usually taking place on the business premises. Funding was raised through advertisements placed by local business or professional services.

The development activities of Latin American community broadcasters, as well as the extent to which they provide for participation and community access, represented the ideals of community radio in the South African context. While South African community broadcasting was to be regulated, as opposed to the spontaneous growth of Latin American community radio, the use of the medium by community organisations at a local level, confirmed the potential for development which was initiated and controlled by local communities, outside of state development strategies.

In geographically isolated Bolivian mining towns, self-reliant and self-maintained stations had been part of the culture of mining communities for almost thirty years[19] - much longer than the Western European community broadcasting system. Miners used their electrical skills learned in the mines to set up community radio stations and the stations were funded by individual union dues. Many of the stations broadcast in indigenous languages and were staffed by volunteers from the mining community.

Unlike their counterparts in industrialised countries, rural community broadcasters in Bolivia

faced extreme political oppression, including the physical destruction of radio stations and threats to the lives of audience members, in order to retain their independence and achieve their goals as voices of the Bolivian miners.

During times of peace, miners' radio stations presented programmes centred on the mining union, local cultural activities, and education. During military coups, they provided a basis for organisation of resistance to the military. Often, during the latter periods, the stations were forced by the military authorities to stop broadcasting - in this event, the struggle to begin broadcasting freely again became a symbol of the miners' defiance. As the stations were networked, enabling the exchange of information and the broad organisation of worker and cross-community activities, they generally became symbols of coordinated opposition to oppressive regimes and expression of local resistance.

The high level of political and community consciousness amongst the miners was a primary factor in the enduring success of their radio stations. This coupled with their importance to the economy and influence in the general labour movement provided a basis of strong social organisation which sustained the mining communities through crisis periods. However, the level of politicisation also presented a problem for the radio stations. Political rivalry within the union influenced the programming and control of stations and resulted in a change of personnel every time a different faction became a dominant force in the union.

While the miners' radio stations were legal, the state actively opposed them - attempting to reduce their influence by facilitating commercial opposition. In the face of this, and direct force, the miners managed to sustain their radio stations. However, the gradual closing down of the mines had an increasingly damaging effect on the social organisation of the mining communities, and consequently, on the miners' radio stations. Mining communities were being broken up as miners were compelled to seek work elsewhere, destroying the social fabric which created the community stations.

The Bolivian miners' experience represented an ideal in spontaneous grassroots organisation of

community broadcasting. It also laid emphasis, once again, on the importance of the existence of a community structure and identity within which the community broadcaster is rooted and to the development of which it could contribute.

"These rural radio stations do not view themselves as tools for development. They do not have the resources to originate or sustain ... elaborate development projects... But as communications media that are integrated into the daily lives of the people and are responsive to the community, they have a substantial potential as agents of change."[20]

South Africa's community broadcasting environment represents a combination of the regulatory framework of European broadcasting and the community development ideals of Latin American local radio. Enabling community broadcasters to develop in South Africa requires both a regulatory mechanism, and a coordinated development policy which recognises the central role which the medium can play in the social, political and economic empowerment of people at a local level. The following chapters will discuss the legal regulations providing for community broadcasting in South Africa, as well as proposals for the recognition of community broadcasting in broad development policy.

Notes

1. Much of the information in this chapter about community broadcasting in Europe is drawn from Jankowski, N., Prehn, O. & Stappers, J. (eds) The People's Voice Local Radio and Television in Europe
John Libbey London 1992.
This book is the most comprehensive overview of community broadcasting in Europe. The authors point out, on page 265, the surprising lack of information on community broadcasting, considering the number of community radio and television stations broadcasting in Europe.

2. Prehn, O., Svensen, E.N., Peterson, V. Denmark: Breaking 60 years of broadcasting monopoly in Jankowski, et. al. (as above) p45 to p61

3. Ibid, p.45

4. See Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

5. Hedman, L. Sweden: Neighbourhood Radio in Jankowski et al (1992)

6. Hollander, E. The Emergence of small scale media in Jankowski et al. (1992) pp7 to 15

7. McCain, T. A. & Lowe, G.F. Localism in Western European Radio Broadcasting: Untangling the Wireless in Journal of Communications Vol.40 No.1 p86 to 101

8. Sweden: Neighbourhood Radio in Jankowski et al (1992)

9. Ministry of Culture Community Radio and Local TV: Future Prospects Copenhagen 1985 as published in Jankowski et al (1992)

10. Wener, A., Host, S., Ulvaer, B.P. Publikums reaksjoner pa satellit- og lokalfjernsyn', Report No. 75 University of Oslo, Institute for Media Research 1984 as published in Nymo, B. Norway: Deregulation and Community TV in Jankowski et al (1992) p 78 to 89.

11. Stappers, J., Oldenaan, F., De Wit, P. The Netherlands: Emergence of a new medium in Jankowski et al. (1992) pp 90 to 103.

12. Ibid p 101

13. Katz, E. & Wedell, G. Broadcasting in the Third World Promise and Performance
Macmillan London 1978

14. Martin-Barbero, J. Communication, Culture and Hegemony From the Media to Mediations
Sage London 1993

15. Keck, M.E. Social Movements and Democratisation in Brazil in Development and Democracy Volume 8 November 1994 pp 2 to 9

16. Loveman, B. NGOs and the Transition to Democracy in Chile in Development and Democracy Volume 8 November 1994 pp 19 to 26

17. Broadcasting in the Third World

18. White, R. Media, Politics and Democracy in the Developing World, Paper Sommatie '88 Veldhoven April 1988 p22

19. O'Connor, A. The Miners' Radio Stations in Bolivia: A Culture of Resistance in Journal of Communications Vol 40 No. 1 Winter 1990 p102 to 110

20. Gwyn, R.J. Rural Radio in Bolivia: A Case Study in Journal of Communications Vol 33 No 2 1983 p86

Chapter 4. Legal and Regulatory Framework for Community Broadcasting in South Africa

The establishment in South Africa of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), through the process of multi-party political negotiations, took control of broadcasting out of the hands of the state, and heralded the end of the SABC's monopoly over the airwaves.

The IBA consisted of eight councillors who were nominated by the public and selected by a multi-party panel in a public hearings process. The councillors were to be representative of South Africa society as a whole, and, among them, to retain the various skills and expertise necessary for the administration of broadcasting in South Africa. The interpretation and application of the IBA Act was to be determined by the IBA councillors.

A three-tier system of broadcasting consisting of public, private and community was recognised within the IBA Act. Moreover, the legislation made specific provision for promoting the development of people who were historically disadvantaged by apartheid, as well as the compensating for cultures and languages which had been repressed through the domination of English and Afrikaans. Among the Objects of the Act[1] were:

- to promote the provision of a diverse range of sound and television broadcasting services on a national,regional and local level which, when viewed collectively, cater for all language and cultural groups and provide entertainment, education and information (s2a)

- to ensure that broadcasting services, viewed collectively -

    i. develop and protect a national and regional identity, culture and character (s2c)

- to ensure that, in the provision of public broadcasting services -

    i. the needs of language, cultural and religious groups;

    ii. the needs of the constituent regions of the Republic and local communities; and

    iii. the need for educational programmes are duly taken into account (s2e)

- to encourage ownership and control by persons from historically disadvantaged groups (s2f)

- to ensure that private and community broadcasting licences, viewed collectively, are controlled by persons or groups of persons from a diverse range of communities in the Republic (s2i).

From a development perspective, the most crucial provision of the Act, was the reference in the Objects to encouraging "ownership and control by persons from historically disadvantaged groups" (s2f). It was this provision which provided the IBA with the tools to adopt an empowerment approach towards the allocation of licences and the development of broadcasting in general.

Initially, the IBA legislation stipulated that additional broadcasting licences would only be granted once an inquiry had been undertaken into the status of the SABC. This was amended in Parliament to enable the swift issue of temporary community broadcasting licences in order to begin the process of opening up the airwaves. This, however, could only be undertaken after a public inquiry into community broadcasting, leading to regulations governing the issuance of temporary community licences.

During the inquiry the IBA received a large number of submissions from various general interest groups, broadcasting interest groups and prospective community broadcasters. This process was to set in motion a one year experimental period during which community broadcasters who were granted temporary licences would test the support of their audience and the extent to which they were serving the community interest. The experimental period, like those undertaken in Northern Europe, would determine the form which community broadcasting was to take in South Africa, and provide the basis for future community broadcasting policy. As most community broadcasters were inexperienced in broadcasting, it would also serve as a development period during which broadcasters could gain experience in financial and editorial management of a broadcaster.

The vast majority of submissions to the public inquiry were concentrated on community radio.

It was clear that the expense and expertise involved in establishing community television as well as the lack of a South African precedent for local television, determined that radio would be the dominating medium during the experimental period.

The IBA Act defined a community broadcasting service as a broadcasting 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. (Section 1)

"Community" was defined as including "a geographically founded community" or "any groups of persons or sector of the public having a specific, ascertainable, common interest."

While the provisions referring to community broadcasting did not specify that preference would be given to those who had been historically disadvantaged by apartheid, the spirit of the Objects of the Act indicated that this was the case. The IBA also set up a process of hearings which was more accessible to disadvantaged communities. After receiving written submissions, the IBA Councillors travelled to different regions in the country in order to hear oral submissions from interest groups and potential broadcasters. Very few of the written submissions which were posted to the IBA's head office in Johannesburg were from disadvantaged communities. However, the regional hearings enabled representatives of these groups to submit their proposals to the IBA in person. It was clear that in order for community broadcasting to contribute to development, the process of hearing submissions and inviting applications had to be as accessible to the public as possible, taking into account that many people did not have access to the funds required to make submissions in Johannesburg. It also gave people who were unable to articulate their ideas in writing the opportunity to present their case in person.

The submissions to the public inquiry[2], and the subsequent licence applications provided the first indication of how community broadcasting would be defined. While the Act indicated two "types" of community, it did not provide further specification on the distinction between the two. The IBA adopted an open approach to the definition of "community", placing the onus on applicants to specify the nature of their service. However, the submissions made to the public inquiry fell into two broad categories, from which tentative definitions of the distinctions between geographically founded communities and communities of interest could be drawn.

"Geographically founded community" represented an inclusive understanding of the term "community". It consisted of the totality of people who lived within a given geographically defined area, and included the totality of languages, cultures and religious convictions of people in that area. It was formed on the basis of local identity, i.e. identification with the particular geographical location. Its identity also derived from the shared interests of the total population in that area, by virtue of the fact that they shared a geographical space which presented them with certain common problems or challenges, for example the improvement of social services in the area. In this case, representing the community interest involved representing the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity within the geographical boundaries of that area. Encouraging community participation implied the equitable access to and involvement in the control, management and programming of the broadcaster, for all people within the geographical area. Because of the uniqueness of each geographically founded community, it was highly unlikely that national or regional broadcasters would be representative of their specific interests and needs. For this reason, geographically-founded community broadcasters could argue that their service would complement national or regional broadcasters.

Other submissions, representing "community of interest" broadcasters, adopted a more exclusive approach towards the concept of "community". "Community of interest" was formed on the basis of "group" identity, where the group was defined by people who spoke a particular language, practised a particular religion, etc. A "community of interest" could exist within a geographically defined location, but would only represent the interests of a particular group within that location. Identification with a "community of interest" meant recognising oneself as

part of the group, and, more importantly, being accepted by the group as a member of that group, based on linguistic, religious or other characteristics. Serving the community interest in this case implied the advancement of the common interests of that particular group. Community participation would be restricted to those who formed part of the group or, in some cases, those who were regarded as custodians of the group's identity and values.

The majority of submissions made to the public inquiry were from conservative Afrikaans "communities of interest". The submissions based their understanding of "community" on the notion of cultural or language group (the apartheid understanding of "community"), as opposed to the primarily geographical definition observed by those who advocated community broadcasting as an instrument of community development. Every submission made by Afrikaans interest groups stressed that South Africa comprised different language and cultural communities, each of which required their own access to means of expression. In essence, most of the submissions were based on the cultural policies of apartheid and separate development. Ironically, these groups based their interpretations of the role of community broadcasting on the new Interim Constitution[3] which provided that: "Every person shall have the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of his or her choice" (s31); "Every person shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, which shall include freedom of the press and other media.." (s15(1)). They also referred to the provision in the new Bill of Rights which protected languages which had been dominant under apartheid, referring to the "non-diminution of rights relating to language and the status of languages existing at the commencement of this Constitution." (s(9)(f)).

The lobby by white Afrikaans cultural and political interests had to be understood within the context of the transition from apartheid to democracy. During National Party rule, Afrikaner nationalism was actively fostered by the state and state structures, to the exclusion of all other cultures and languages. The enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools led to the 1976 Soweto uprisings in which black students rejected the imposition of the language of their oppressors. The promotion of white Afrikaans cultural and political hegemony was the driving force behind the SABC's news, information and entertainment programming.

The transition to democracy signalled the end of Afrikaans cultural domination and required the upliftment of African languages and cultures which had been scorned by apartheid. Simultaneously, however, English became the principal medium of expression during political negotiations and, after the April 1994 elections, of the new government and parliamentary structures.

The concern surrounding the loss of white Afrikaner hegemony was spearheaded by political motives. In 1993, a group of right wing Afrikaners applied for and were granted a temporary broadcast licence to run a radio station which would promote an Afrikaans cultural and religious festival. When the temporary licence expired, the station - Radio Pretoria - refused to stop broadcasting. The premises of the station were guarded by armed members of the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in order to prevent attempts by the state to seal the station's transmitter. Radio Pretoria became known as the voice of the Afrikaans right wing, which opposed the political transition process in the country and the loss of Afrikaner domination. The National Party government, conscious of the political sensitivity surrounding Radio Pretoria, made little attempt to stop the broadcasts. Radio Pretoria continued to broadcast programmes comprising Afrikaans music and literature, speeches by right wing leaders and announcements from right wing political parties. In March 1994, during the collapse of the administration of the Bophuthatswana homeland under popular pressure, Radio Pretoria called on all right wing men to meet with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging "commanders", in order to invade Bophuthatswana and "protect" the discredited administration. Several people were killed, including AWB members and many others were assaulted by the AWB commandoes in and around Mmabatho. After the national elections Radio Pretoria stopped broadcasting, submitting itself to the authority of the IBA.

The diminishing dominance of Afrikaans under the new political order was seen as a threat to the survival of Afrikaans language and culture. The perceived threat was intensified by the apparent intentions of the SABC to reduce the quantity of Afrikaans programming on its television services. The Afrikaans radio service of the SABC continued to broadcast exclusively in Afrikaans, but widened its representation of Afrikaans culture in information and

entertainment programmes to include "other Afrikaners", i.e. the large number of Afrikaans-speaking Coloureds and Africans in the country.

In the light of the success of Radio Pretoria, community broadcasting was turned to as the alternative means of expression for white right-wing Afrikaans interests. While generally referring to community broadcasting as an outlet for different cultures and languages, the submissions made to the IBA's public inquiry were clearly advocating that preference be given to Afrikaans interests. This was evident in arguments that Afrikaans was a threatened language, and should therefore be given preferential access to community broadcasting licences. Right-wing groups believed that, with the transformation of the SABC, African languages would be catered for and therefore had no necessity of recourse to community broadcasting.

The submissions also argued that those cultural groups which had already developed an infrastructure for community broadcasting should receive preference in licence applications. Many called for the immediate granting of a broadcast licence to Radio Pretoria, stressing the potential for conflict and a threat to the stability of the government of national unity should the IBA not recognise the need for Afrikaners to express themselves. Most submissions stressed that there should be no control whatsoever over programming content - that the cultural groups should be left to decide this for themselves.

It was clear that the political impetus which originally led to the establishment of Radio Pretoria broadened to a much wider concern with the preservation of Afrikaans culture and language in the period following the elections. Nevertheless, implicit in the majority of submissions was less a concern with the preservation of Afrikaans as a language widely spoken in South Africa, than the fear of the diminishing status of Afrikaans as a white language, carrying white cultural and religious values. This was evident in the number of submissions which declared their intent to establish stations which were based on the values and ideology of Radio Pretoria in different parts of the country. The intention was, in most cases, that these stations would primarily act as relay stations for Radio Pretoria, with the latter producing 80% of the programming material, with the remaining 20% reflecting the particular interests of white Afrikaners within the

broadcast area of the relay stations.

Radio Pretoria's oral submission at the IBA public hearings stated that the fundamental point of departure for the station - and its network of 14 other radio stations - was "the furtherance of their Christian, Protestant and Western heritage". The promotion of Afrikaner "identity" was also stressed although not defined by the Radio Pretoria network. Radio Vryheid argued that "the Afrikaner people formed a substantial component of society but there was no radio station which primarily furthered the values, culture and experience of the Afrikaner people." The submission referred to the SABC's Radio Lotus service for Indians, as an example but made no reference to SABC's Afrikaans Stereo. Radio Ysterberg and Radio Lichtenburg condemned Afrikaans Stereo on the basis that it had become a "multicultural radio station", attempting to satisfy the interests of all who understood Afrikaans and, in the process, reducing the language and its culture to the lowest common denominator of the heterogenous listening public. Those Afrikaners who aspired to a "Protestant, Christian, Western and civilised inheritance", i.e. "Boer Afrikaners" required their own means of expression.

The overwhelming response by Boer-Afrikaans interest groups to the public inquiry on community broadcasting raised questions about the extent to which they would dominate the community broadcasting sector. "The high media profile of Radio Pretoria's bid for airspace highlights the contradictions in both the Independent Broadcasting Act and the kind of multicultural SA its architects envisaged."[4] As a group they had access to resources, equipment, skills and funding which far surpassed the capacity of broadcasters from historically disadvantaged communities. The Radio Pretoria network of stations fulfilled all the requirements of the Act: they formed a discernable community of interest; they had access to the skills, expertise and equipment required to run a station (many stations employed ex-SABC staffers); they had proved their ability to administer a station; and, most importantly, they had the support of a significant number of established cultural organisations, political groupings, and many individuals, all of whom had made separate submissions to the IBA in support of Radio Pretoria and aligned Boer-Afrikaans stations. Moreover, these stations were ready to begin broadcasting immediately. The number of broadcasters from black communities which were ready to

broadcast was proportionately much smaller than the Boer-Afrikaans network.

Effectively, while the objectives of the IBA Act encouraged "ownership and control by persons from historically disadvantaged groups", the historical economic and educational advantage of the Boer-Afrikaans community ensured that they had greater capacity to set up and sustain a community broadcaster than those previously oppressed by apartheid.

Other cultural groups also made submissions for temporary licenses on the understanding that they constituted a community of interest. Unlike the Boer-Afrikaans submissions, however, these constituted a small proportion of the total number of submissions. Representatives of the Portuguese-speaking community asked that they be recognised as an immigrant minority which was not served by the existing services of the SABC. It was unclear whether this group regarded themselves representative of the black Mozambican Portuguese-speaking immigrants in South Africa, or whether the service would primarily be aimed at white Portuguese and Mozambican immigrants. Three different Muslim groups in the Cape Town area stated that, as a religious and cultural minority and part of the disenfranchised majority, community radio would assist in the socio-economic development of the Muslim community, as well as revive a sense of identity and pride in Muslim culture.

The difficulty in defining community support for a broadcaster which defined itself as serving a community of interest was evident. In the case of the Muslim community, each submission originated either from an established Muslim institution, or claimed the support of a significant number of Muslims in the Cape Town area. "Muslim Radio" referred to the Muslim Judicial Council as a facilitating body for community broadcasting, the Islamic Media Corporation claimed that they represented 300 000 Muslims living in the greater Cape Town area, while "Islamic Radio Station" was an initiative of the Gatesville Islamic College of Southern Africa. The existence of different interests within the broader community of interest group could not be discounted. The NCRF submission to the public inquiry proposed that, in the case of conflicting applications, the IBA conduct its own survey to ascertain which applicant had the greatest support. Resolving the situation in this manner, however, could lead to friction between the

different applicants. A possible alternative in resolving the situation could be the IBA's facilitation of an agreement between the groups to share transmission time.

The Act and the Regulations for Temporary Community Radio and Television Licences[5] also did not provide a mechanism for prioritising needs of certain communities of interest over others, in terms of the size of the respective communities. For example, the Act and the Regulations would equally recognise the right to a community licence of the Muslim population in the Cape Peninsula (which represented a significant proportion of the total population), and, for example, those who practise Buddhism (which represented a low proportion of the total population). Because of the limitations of the frequency spectrum, a means of prioritising community of interest applications by taking into account the size of the community of interest, was necessary.

Most of the development-oriented submissions to the public inquiry advocated an inclusive approach to community broadcasting. The sizes of these communities ranged from a few thousand people, to several million, for example Radio Soweto. However, the common philosophy of these groups was the recognition of the diversity of interests and cultures within the geographical boundaries of the community broadcaster and the broadcaster's obligation to represent and foster this diversity. The submissions maintained that programming would be undertaken in the various languages of people in the community, proportionate to the size of each language group. However, there would not be particular programmes for particular cultural and language groups. Programming would aim at dealing with issues that faced the local community as a whole, and would be undertaken by volunteers drawn from the community and trained in production and broadcasting techniques. The volunteer staff would form the majority of the radio station's personnel, thus reducing costs while ensuring non-professional access to the station. Most of the submissions came from communities which had been oppressed under apartheid, but which viewed development as an issue that encompassed more than health, employment, education and cultural issues. Many of the submissions indicated the extent to which local business could benefit from community broadcasting. The informal sector and those small businesses marginalised by the formal business sector would have the opportunity to advertise their products and services on community broadcasters, thus enabling them to compete,

to a certain extent, with the dominant market forces. While subsidising the running costs of the community broadcasting operation, small business would also be able to encourage members of the community to support them.

The development perspectives on community broadcasting were largely based on the position of the NCRF, as discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. However, many of those advocating the use of development in broadcasting were vague in their definition of development. Many simply stated that community broadcasting would be used to uplift and develop the local community. Several maintained that community broadcasting should be used in the service of the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), providing a means for interaction between the government and local communities who were targets of development. Others were more specific about the type of development they envisaged but failed to illustrate how these objectives would be brought about through the medium of radio. The submission by Radio Teemaneng in Kimberley, for example, proposed that community radio would be aimed at resolving the illiteracy problem in the region (estimated at 68% of the population). While the medium of radio obviously overcame the illiteracy barrier by addressing people orally in their own language, the use of the medium in redressing the level of illiteracy was unclear.

The lack of clarity on the precise utilisation of the broadcaster in the service of community development was understandable considering the absence of a model on which to base development initiatives. The SABC had historically held exclusive control over the distribution of apartheid education over radio, and the paternalist nature of its education programmes provided little indication of how broadcasting could be used in the service of participatory communication and development. Radio Zibonele[6] represented the only functioning example of community broadcasting for development but other communities around the country were largely unaware of the Zibonele project.

Nevertheless, the overriding perception of community broadcasting among these groups was as a means for socio-economic upliftment and local community empowerment rather than a means of expression for a particular culture or language group. It is noteworthy that no submissions

came from "Xhosa communities" or "Sesotho communities", aiming at the promotion of their language and culture. The developmental submissions stressed that all the languages of the particular area would be used in their programming, and the expression of diverse cultures would be facilitated. Two aspects of community broadcasting were seen as essential: firstly, that it provide a service which was responsive to local needs and interests for the upliftment of the community; secondly, that participation was an essential component of that community service, i.e. community access not only referred to listening to programmes, but also to the participation in the creation and production of programmes.

The submissions made by university campus radio stations similarly stressed the contribution of community broadcasting to development. Most of these stations wanted to broadcast beyond the borders of their campuses into the surrounding communities and make their facilities and skills available to people within these communities in order to produce their own programming. The infrastructure available to universities was regarded as an ideal basis for a community broadcaster in areas where communities did not have the access to funds, equipment or skills to establish broadcasters within their communities.

It was noteworthy that several submissions made for geographically based community radio stations did not arise out of established community institutions or elected community organisations. These submissions came from individuals or groups of individuals which intended to engender community support through their broadcasting activities. They had no particular development goals, other than "providing a service" for the local community, and their intentions to promote community participation in the broadcaster were unclear. The process of establishing the community radio station was opposite to that advocated by the NCRF and aligned radio stations, in that it involved individuals who were not elected representatives of the community (or any part of it), founding a station and then canvassing support from the community in which it intended to broadcast, in the form of opinion surveys, signatures, etc. This did not concur with the "bottom-up" approach advocated in participatory communication and there were no structures which ensured the accountability of these stations to the communities in which they broadcast.

The distinguishing characteristic of these stations was that they were not rooted in community ownership. The broadcasting station was owned by individuals and the extent to which they were responsive to community needs, and permitted community participation, would be determined by these individuals alone. The relationship between ownership and community empowerment was overlooked by the IBA Act, and in the Regulations on Temporary Community Broadcasting Licences. The Act stipulated only that a community broadcaster had to be governed by a "non-profit entity" and "carried on for non-profit purposes". It did not require proof of community ownership - through an elected organisation or an established community institution - of the means of programme production, and broadcast transmission. While these broadcasters would be required to prove community support and encourage participation, in their application for a community broadcasting licence, they did not hold any direct obligation to the community, nor were they accountable to its representative structures.

Another shortcoming of the Act and the Regulations, with regard to the broadcaster's accountability to the community, was the lack of a definition for the requirement to "encourage members of the relevant community or those 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." Participation, in itself was not a requirement, merely the encouragement thereof. A community broadcaster could maintain that it provided for such participation by means of phone-in programmes and chat shows. Participation could be subjectively applied with certain interest groups in the community being overlooked or deliberately ignored. The potential for the disregard of the provision of participation was greater in those instances where the community broadcaster did not arise from an initiative of an organisation rooted in, and democratically elected by, the local community.

The limits of participation were particularly relevant to community of interest broadcasters. Community broadcasters in this category would most likely be controlled by particular organisations, each with particular organisational hierarchies. The capacity for unfettered participation from any member of that community was unlikely considering the primary objective of the broadcaster would be the propagation of its organisational objectives. Particular interests

which could threaten the existing leadership or hierarchy of the organisation could be excluded from expression on the community broadcaster. The experience of the Bolivian miners's stations[7] indicated that the extent to which the radio station served the interests of all union members was dependent on which faction happened to be in control of the union, and thus the station at any particular time.

Submissions made by commercial broadcasters which argued that it was possible for a community radio station to make a profit while simultaneously providing a community service and allowing for community participation were rejected by the IBA Council. These submissions clearly failed to comply with the non-profit provisions of community broadcasting as defined in the Act, and entrenched in the Regulations.

A number of submissions were made by Christian organisations, and other interest groups, all of who intended to use community broadcasting to further the principles and popularise the objectives of their organisations. Some of the development-oriented submissions mentioned above originated from Christian churches in local communities which intended to employ the medium in the service of empowerment and socio-economic upliftment. Other Christian submissions - mainly evangelical groupings - had a more missionary approach, intending to popularise Christianity and Christian experiences across the country. A small proportion of the submissions represented particular interest groups, th most advanced of which was the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra which intended to use community radio to popularise classical music among the population of the Western Cape.

The submissions made during the inquiry period formed the basis for the IBA's Regulations on Temporary Broadcasting Licences. The most specific requirements of the Regulations were those pertaining to proving community support for the broadcasting station. Licence applicants had two options in this regard: to institute a scientifically based market survey research project, or to provide letters of support and signatures from a substantial majority of the community they intended to serve Given the financial limitations of a survey, most licence applicants chose the latter option.

An amendment of the IBA Act[8] added four additional factors in the consideration of temporary licence applications: 1) whether the applicant was willing to provide the proposed service on an AM frequency (in the case of radio); 2) the degree to which the applicant proposed to provide for regular news services and current affairs programmes; 3) whether the language or languages to be used by the applicant would cater to the relevant community; and 4) the technical expertise which would be available to the applicant.

The reference to whether the applicant was prepared to use the AM frequency for radio was an acknowledgment of the limited number of FM frequencies available for community broadcasting on the frequency spectrum. However, it presented a difficulty for most applicants. The equipment for broadcasting on AM was more expensive than that on FM, while FM radio receivers were more widely accessible and cheaper than AM receivers. Moreover, the reception quality of an FM signal surpassed that of AM. In its allocation of frequencies, the IBA was compelled to determine which broadcasters merited priority for FM licences in the context of the difficulties associated with broadcasting on AM.

The consideration given to the provision of news and current affairs represented a preference for development-oriented community broadcasters. Some submissions (e.g. those made by individuals who did not formally represent the community within which they broadcast) appeared to be intent on providing music during the bulk of programming time, with occasional news broadcasts and community announcements. These broadcasters would receive relatively less favourable consideration than those which considered themselves to be primarily information, development and education oriented.

The consideration of whether the community broadcaster was to broadcast in the language of the community appeared redundant in the light of the importance placed on community support and participation. If the latter two requirements were to be fulfilled it followed that the broadcaster would have to use the medium which was most widely used in the community. In defining "community support" and "community participation", the language issue would be resolved. Nevertheless, it presented other difficulties which had to be addressed by the IBA. Licence

applications by Boer-Afrikaans stations referred to the number of Afrikaans-speakers in their areas, in order to justify a Boer-Afrikaans radio station. However, a large proportion of the Afrikaans-speakers identified by them were black - and thus did not form part of the racially exclusive Boer-Afrikaans community as defined in the submissions.

The requirements regarding technical expertise available to licence applicants presented a difficulty with regard to the development-oriented stations. Historically denied access to such skills because of apartheid education policies and the SABC's monopoly over broadcast training, most disadvantaged communities did not have the requisite access to a skills pool. While the NCRF was established to attempt to redress this situation, even its resources were limited. Various broadcasting training institutions in the major centres provided courses on production and management skills for prospective community broadcasters. However, there was a vacuum in training opportunities for rural-based communities, most of which would have to rely on volunteers to staff and manage their community broadcasters.

The issues raised in the legal requirements of the Act and the Regulations underlined the difficulties in the legal interpretation of "community", "community support" and "community participation". However, the socio-economic context in which community broadcasters were to establish and maintain themselves raised additional concerns about the growth and sustainability of the sector as a whole.

The widespread lack of financial and skills assistance available to prospective community broadcasters highlighted the tension between the provisions in the Act and the absence of mechanisms through which the provisions could be translated into reality. The legal provision for preferential treatment for "historically disadvantaged communities" had little value in practice. The IBA was faced with a situation where, by virtue of superior access to facilities and finances, the community broadcasters which fulfilled most of the requirements of the Act and the Regulations were those which represented the interests of historically privileged groups. No formal mechanisms existed to ensure the "levelling of the playing fields" in the community broadcasting environment.

This was conspicuous in the IBA public inquiry's visits to areas outside of the major centres of the country. Very few submissions were made from disadvantaged communities in the North West, Northern Transvaal, Free State and Eastern Cape regions. Those organisations that made oral submissions in these areas did not have the infrastructure or finances to begin broadcasting -their submission merely revealed their intentions to set up a community broadcaster. Moreover, the most probable reason for the low attendance at the inquiries in these areas was the lack of awareness about community broadcasting, particularly in remote rural communities.

The difficulties of translating the promise of the Act into the practice of empowerment and development were evident. By stipulating preferential treatment for disadvantaged communities, the Act was only providing a framework for the development of community radio. If the lack of resources available to disadvantaged communities was effectively excluding those who were invariably regarded as the beneficiaries of community broadcasting, the democratisation of the airwaves would simply result in the perpetuation of a broadcasting elite at a local level. In addition, the promotion of diversity in broadcasting would founder as those who benefited from apartheid, i.e. white broadcasters, were in an advantageous position because of their access to funds, skills and resources.

The solution to this situation was not to restrict the number of licences granted to the more privileged communities. As geographically based communities or communities of interest, they had equal rights to a broadcasting service which would provide for their cultural, information and language needs. Instead, what was required was the upliftment of disadvantaged communities to enable them to have equitable access to broadcasting skills and resources.

The other factor in the empowerment process was the extent to which groups and communities were aware of the notion of community broadcasting and the potential benefits which community broadcasting would hold for development. The lack of interest in the regional public hearings - particularly in rural areas where illiteracy was high and there was little or no access to information - owed even more to ignorance about the medium and the process, than it did to the lack of broadcasting resources available to communities.

It was clear that community broadcasting would not be able to fulfil a developmental and empowering role if proactive steps were not taken to popularise the medium and facilitate the establishment of community broadcasters through the provisions of finances, equipment, skills and other resources. This approach to community broadcasting and development presented its own difficulties, both in terms of the role of the IBA, and the ideals of participatory development. These issues will be discussed in the following chapter, in an attempt to define a development policy approach to community broadcasting and development.

Notes

1. Independent Broadcasting Authority Act No. 153 of 1993

2. Most of the information in this chapter is sourced from the written and oral submissions made to the IBA during its public inquiry into temporary community broadcasting licences in 1994. The information is available in a summarised form in the IBA's Issues Paper: Criteria for Issuing of Temporary Community Radio Broadcasting Licences 1994. Both the original submissions and the Issues Paper are available to the public at the IBA offices in Rosebank.

3. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 200 of 1993

4. Ashurst, M. New authority seeks communities of the airwaves in Business Day 14 July 1994

5. IBA Regulations and Application Forms for Temporary Community Radio and Television Licences. These Regulations, published by the IBA after the public inquiry, were drawn from the proposals made during the public inquiry regarding the process and structure of community broadcasting licences. A draft was made available for public comment, whereafter the final regulations were published. See Appendix A.

6. See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

7. See Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

8 Additional provisions of Section 47A(2)(f) of IBA Act No. 153 of 1993

Chapter 5. Community Broadcasting and Development in South Africa: Policy Options

Defining policy towards broadcasting in South Africa requires political decisions. South Africa's broadcasting regulatory structure, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), is largely based on regulatory models in advanced industrialised countries, particularly those in Canada, Britain and Australia. All of these countries have established democratic political, legal and broadcasting systems. None of them are faced with the development and reconciliation challenges of South Africa, emerging from 400 years of oppressive colonial and apartheid rule. Broadcasting regulators in the Western world have adopted a largely "hands-off" approach towards broadcasting, defining their role primarily in terms of allocating licences, regulating frequencies and adjudicating complaints about the programme content of broadcasters.

In most of the Third World, the approach to broadcasting has been vastly different. Based on a recognition that broadcasting previously served the colonial regime, Third World governments harnessed national broadcasting systems to serve the needs of reconciliation and development. Broadcasting was regulated and controlled entirely by the state. However, as mentioned previously, the concern by Third World governments to establish and maintain the hegemony of the ruling party took precedence over the utilisation of broadcasting towards development ends.

South Africa is faced with a situation in which its development needs are similar to those of other Third World countries, but where the new broadcasting dispensation is regulated according to liberal principles of freedom of expression and independence of the media. Simultaneously, the broadcasting environment is being reregulated to include a wider range of voices and to be more representative of South African society.

The IBA, as the broadcasting regulator, and the government, as the initiator and coordinator of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), are faced with two options in defining policy towards the broadcasting environment in South Africa. The liberal option - as employed by Western countries - would be to recognise the function of the IBA as a relatively passive

arbiter of the airwaves, i.e. its task would be limited to receiving licence applications, developing broad policy with regard to broadcasting, and enforcing certain conditions and requirements on licensees. The state would have no involvement in this process whatsoever, other than passing the annual budget of the regulator in parliament.

The development option, on the other hand, would involve a proactive approach by the IBA and government to the fulfilment of the requirements of Section 2(f) of the IBA Act, i.e. the active raising of funds, and the provision of equipment and skills training to, particularly, community broadcasters which originate in disadvantaged communities.

However, the issue of government assistance for community broadcasting is not limited to developing countries such as South Africa. In Europe, the local broadcasting sector has called for government subsidies to support community media. In the Netherlands[1], government subsidies were provided for the establishment and administration of community broadcasters.

"Even if a government prefers not to be concerned with the contem of broadcasting, it is - or should be - involved in the realization and viability of community broadcasting. Particularly when it is acknowledged that community broadcasting is desired for reasons of pluralism, it is not enough to simply allow community broadcasting through creation of a system of licensing. It is equally important to formulate legal and policy conditions under which community broadcasting can develop."[2]

In South Africa the development of community broadcasting needs to be seen as an integral component of the national development programme. This would require the adoption of a development policy towards the regulation of the broadcasting industry in general, and to the interpretations of the Act's provisions for affirmative action in particular. While this is clearly not the task of the IBA alone, the regulator is seen as holding primary responsibility for realising the empowerment of broadcasters from disadvantaged communities.

"The IBA is an agency of social - and to a lesser extent - economic development. Its

performance could well become the litmus test that determines our expectations of future non-governmental development initiatives."[3]

The government has already indicated that it intends providing assistance for community broadcasters, in the recognition of 1) the domination of the media environment by white interests, and the consequent need to promote black voices on air and 2) the role which community broadcasting can play in local community development[4]. Moreover, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) makes several references to community participation in development and two-way communication between government and local communities, and specifically refers to the promotion of community-based media as part of the RDP.

Internationally, however, media has not been viewed as an integral part of development. As discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation, the development of media, and media's contribution to development were allocated secondary priority, after needs such as housing, education, health, etc. Instead of being perceived as integral to these development initiatives, promotion of media and communication was seen as an additional development task - one which could only be addressed once basic material needs had been fulfilled. It was evident that this resulted in development which was driven by a top-down approach, and in which participatory communication did not play a defining role.

The RDP's pledge towards support of community media, therefore, has to be assessed within the general strategy towards the implementation of national development programmes. While the government has stressed that community participation and feedback will be an essential part of the development process, there are, as of the end of 1994, no evident signs of the means by which the government intends to achieve this. Moreover, the nature of community involvement in the RDP will have to be assessed. "Involvement" which implies community participation in development projects which the government has designed and implemented is quite different from "involvement" by local communities in determining their own needs and the means by which they will fulfil them. Moreover, to date, statements by government regarding development

have stressed economic concerns above those of human rights, dignity, cultural development, self-empowerment, etc. The general philosophy towards the concept of development and the implementation strategies of the RDP will determine the extent to which the government will support community broadcasting.

The development of a diverse, representative broadcasting industry on the one hand, and the role of broadcasting in development, on the other, are the responsibility of both the IBA and the government. A broadcasting development policy will have to be jointly determined and implemented in order to achieve these broad objectives.

The one-year temporary community broadcasting licence period will be a crucial measure of the potential for the long-term survival of community broadcasting within those communities that lack the resources and skills to sustain a functioning radio station. The IBA Act has provided the legal framework for community broadcasting to contribute to empowerment and development. Within this, a strategic development policy towards community broadcasting has to be implemented[5]. This policy will have to provide for four areas of need in community broadcasting: funding; training; general awareness of the medium itself; and the contribution of community broadcasting towards national development and reconciliation. All four areas require a proactive policy which goes beyond the mere regulation of the frequency spectrum, and which permits a measure state involvement in the development of the medium.

The financial capacity of communities to sustain their broadcasters is clearly one of the major policy considerations which need to be addressed. Many of the licence applications which have been made to the IBA indicate that community broadcasters are facing financial difficulties, even before they begin broadcasting. Other community broadcasting initiatives have collapsed before reaching the stage of submitting a licence application as they lacked the funds and resources to sustain the initiative.

At present, those development-oriented community broadcasters which do have funding are financed almost entirely by foreign donors and aid organisations, viewed as development aid

contributions. While this assistance is valuable in the short term it raises the same dilemma as all external development assistance in that it does not provide for the long-term sustainability of the project. The redirection of foreign funding from non-governmental and civic activities to the Reconstruction and Development Programme initiated and coordinated by the legitimate democratic government means that funding available for community development projects is decreasing. Even the limited amount of funding available from foreign donors cannot be relied on for the development of community broadcasting in South Africa.

Revenue from local advertising has been widely proposed as the most ideal and sustainable means for funding community broadcasters. Moreover, it is seen to be a positive contribution to local economic development as it will promote local business. However, reliance on advertising presents several problems. The first is the general perception that heavy reliance on advertising income might result in the broadcaster being answerable to commercial interests, instead of to the community it was intended to serve. This question continually arises during debates on the funding of public broadcasting services.

Secondly, regardless of the principles regarding advertising and community service many towns do not have the business and commercial capacity to provide adequate funding to a community broadcaster. This has resulted in rural community broadcasters requesting a very wide broadcasting radius - some exceeding 30km - so that they can draw advertising from businesses in more than one town. This jeopardises the notion of community broadcasting as local and participatory - the larger the broadcasting area of the station, the less direct participation was possible.

In addition, particularly in rural towns, local newspapers draw revenue from an advertising "cake" which is barely large enough to sustain the local newspaper. A community broadcaster which relies on local advertising revenue would be in direct competition with the local newspaper and, as has happened in Europe, could threaten the survival of the local newspaper. The same difficulties mentioned above apply to corporate sponsorship of community broadcasting programmes.

In terms of sustainable funding, there are several options which could frame policy towards community broadcasting. The most obvious is a government subsidy, as part of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. National or regional government would provide an annual development subsidy to community broadcasting initiatives from all over the country. The subsidy would be administered from a central trust fund, controlled by an independent board of community representatives. Government contribution to the development of community broadcasting would ensure sustainable funding, as well as provide encouragement to foreign funders to contribute to the development fund. Community broadcasters would be allocated funds on the basis of need, and the extent to which they were providing a development service to the community. Strict requirements regarding community ownership and unrestricted community participation would have to be fulfilled before a broadcaster qualified for assistance.

Government subsidy could also be provided in the form of local government funding of community broadcasting initiatives within the local authority's area of jurisdiction. While this would allow for more efficient coordination of funds at a local level, the system would have to be carefully administered so as to prevent local government interference with or influence over the control or programming of community broadcasters.

Both of the above options present difficulties from a liberal perspective of broadcasting regulation. However, it must be borne in mind that the IBA is also entirely dependent on government funding. The contradiction between dependence on government funding and independence from government control or influence can be reduced through the establishment of publicly accountable, representative structures which administer this funding. While it is important that community broadcasting be perceived as integral to national development, its autonomy from government can be assured by means of an independent development trust.

A community broadcasting policy which provides for government funding would require the IBA to stipulate limitations on advertising revenue. A situation in which community broadcasters are subsidised by government but also compete with other media for advertising revenue, would be regarded as unfair competition, particularly for small private broadcasters. This issue has already

been raised in reference to the SABC's dual funding from licence fees and advertising income[6]. There are three policy options in this regard. One is to place a complete ban on advertising on community broadcasters. This would be counter-productive as it would effectively prevent community broadcasters from ever becoming self-sufficient. A second option is to require community broadcasters to pay a levy of their advertising revenue which would benefit other media, particularly local newspapers. However, it is unlikely that community broadcasters will be in the financial position to donate any of their income to other media institutions. The third option is to place a limit on the amount of revenue which a community broadcaster can raise through advertising. Because financial circumstances differ in different parts of the country, the IBA would have to enforce specific licence conditions regarding limitations on advertising. In an area where two or more community broadcasters or newspapers are competing, the limitations on advertising would be strict, whereas in areas where a community broadcaster is the sole source of local information for the community, greater reliance on advertising revenue would be permitted.

In addition to a government subsidy, another source of income for community broadcasters is the imposition of a levy on the advertising profits of private broadcasters. This levy would also contribute to the central community broadcasting development trust. This proposal also has to be assessed in terms of the potential use of paid advertising by community broadcasters. A system in which community radio stations are being subsidised by commercial stations while simultaneously competing with the commercial stations for advertising revenue would constitute unfair competition.

A community broadcasting development trust, containing funds from government and levies from private broadcasters would have to be administered in such a way that it facilitated sustainable development of community broadcasters and did not result in a situation where funding was poured into a "black hole", i.e. where the funding invested in community broadcasting led to little improvement in development or empowerment of communities. The provision of funding could therefore not occur in a vacuum. The community broadcasting development fund would have to allow for the provision of training, equipment and skilled personnel to assist

communities in establishing and maintaining their radio or television stations.

The approach to the utilisation of the community broadcasting development fund would therefore be one in which the process of establishing the community broadcaster constituted development and empowerment in itself. Before receiving funding to start broadcasting, communities would be required to nominate individuals to undergo skills training in management, financial accounting, programming, presentation, etc. Only once these courses had been successfully completed would funding for the establishment of the community broadcasting station be made available.

The contradictions between such an approach to the development of community broadcasting, and notions of participatory communication for development are evident[7]. In theory, participatory development stipulates that the process must be initiated, implemented and coordinated by the community. The policy advocated above provides for a high level of external intervention in the development process. While the community would be integrally involved in determining the structure and operation of the broadcaster, the manner in which it did so would be measured by outside agencies. For example, the level of democratic decision-making in the community would be assessed by the community broadcasting development trust - an external agent.

This contradiction deepens in the context of the lack of awareness of the medium of community broadcasting and the need for a policy to popularise the use and benefits of community broadcasting. Once a policy of advocacy has been implemented, the notion of spontaneous community initiative is reduced. The introduction of an unknown medium into a community, and the promotion of that medium to the community's benefit initiates a process which, at least in its early stages, is shaped and determined by outside forces. If this process is implemented by agents which are insensitive to the needs, resources and capacity of the community concerned, ownership and control of the broadcaster will remain beyond the reach or interest of the community.

Popularising community broadcasting need not necessarily involve an invasion of foreign ideas and procedures into a community, however. During the one-year temporary licence period, provision should be made for visits by community representatives from different parts of the country, to functioning community broadcasters. These community representatives will then be in a position to form an opinion of the medium, whereafter they would return to their communities to discuss the relative benefits of a broadcaster within their community context. Should the community be interested in such an initiative, further steps could be taken to access the advice and support of experts in the field and, eventually, to apply for the funding and resources required for the establishment of a station. Training, advice and support should, as far as possible, be undertaken by members of the community who have received skills training from an established training institution.

Policy towards providing resources for the development of community broadcasting thus implies more than a financial commitment to sponsorship of the medium. A coordinated policy providing for skills training, provision of expertise, participatory research procedures, a central resource base, and other factors involved in facilitating the growth of the community broadcasting sector, will be integral to a development approach towards the medium. Realising this policy will require a financial commitment of both government and the private broadcasting sector. Such financial commitment, however, must be based on a recognition of the rights of communities to determine their own approach to community broadcasting and development, and an acknowledgement of community ownership of and participation in community broadcasting.

Providing disparate communities with access to and control over a broadcasting medium has generally been regarded by governments as a potential threat to national security and a spirit of national reconciliation. In most African countries, state control over broadcasting has been premised on the need to unite the country with a single message, and a single identity. In practice, as has already been mentioned, broadcasting was used to entrench the hegemony of the ruling party.

In South Africa, where national reconciliation is a government priority, government's approach

towards developing community broadcasting will provide an indication of the extent to which it is prepared to consent to diversity and dissent. In its allocation of temporary community licences, the IBA has indicated that there will be maximum tolerance of divergent political viewpoints. The recognition of the right of a community to define itself as Christian, Protestant, Western, Boer-Afrikaner[8] - essentially referring exclusively to white Afrikaners -represents an acknowledgement of significant political dissent.

Nevertheless, the necessity for the IBA to weigh constitutional rights against the national priorities of reconciliation and development will become apparent during the one year experimental broadcasting period. The primary concern regarding community broadcasting and development, i.e. the establishment of a policy to assist disadvantaged communities with resources, skills, training and funding, has already been discussed above. Such a policy would contribute to the two-pronged process of the development of community broadcasting within local communities, and the contribution of community broadcasters to local development. However, community broadcasting policy will also have to take into account the national socio-political context within which community broadcasting occurs, and upon which it is premised.

The question to be raised is to what extent the IBA has to take into account broader socio-political ramifications of issuing licences to particular broadcasters. The IBA Act provides broadcasters with relative freedom in determining programming content, within the boundaries of particular licence conditions, the IBA's Code of Conduct[9] and special legal provisions regarding broadcasting during election periods. However, while the Objects of the Act refer to the promotion of ownership of broadcasting by persons historically disadvantaged by apartheid, it does not specifically outlaw any broadcasting practices or programming which perpetuate inequality. The rights to freedom of expression are further enshrined in the Bill of Rights, and have yet to be interpreted by the Constitutional Court with regards to limitations on hate speech, racism or sexism.

A case in point would be the exclusive nature of some of the licence applications[10], particularly the Boer-Afrikaans radio network. A liberal interpretation of the IBA Act and the Bill of Rights

would fully acknowledge the right of such stations to be racially exclusive both in content and structure, thus implicitly acknowledging that a community of interest can be determined primarily on the basis of skin colour. However, given the particular racist context from which South Africa is emerging, there is a perception that permitting the existence of such stations would defy the prevailing spirit of national unity and reconciliation in the country. This situation would be complicated in the context where a black community living within the geographical area of one of the Boer-Afrikaans radio stations objected to the station on the grounds of racial exclusivity.

Resolving such questions involves the balancing of the liberal regulatory structure of broadcasting with national development prerogatives. It also requires a strategic approach to issues of political sensitivity. Disallowing radio stations which are based on race or ethnicity could further inflame conflict, while simultaneously encouraging sympathy with reactionary movements. The approach of the IBA towards the granting of licences therefore requires a strategic assessment of the socio-political repercussions in each community.

A liberal approach to the granting of licences in which the IBA makes decisions on the basis of information placed before it by applicants, is therefore insufficient. While the independence of community broadcasters is recognised by the Act, each broadcaster has to be evaluated in terms of its position within a complex socio-political environment.

For example, the potential for conflict in the issuing of particular temporary licences should be a prominent consideration in the granting of licences. This would apply particularly to areas which have historically been subject to political violence. A submission to the IBA public inquiry by Zululand Community Radio[11] indicated that the radio station would be situated at the University of Zululand and would serve communities within a 50km radius of the campus, including Enseleni, Port Durnford, KwaDlangezwa, Ngwelezane, Richards Bay and Empangeni. Several of these areas are racked by conflict between supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and those of the African National Congress (ANC). While conflict in most of the country decreased in the post-election period, there has been little change in the levels of violence in the

KwaZulu/Natal areas.

Zululand Community Radio acknowledged the violence in the area by identifying a key communication need of expressing and promoting "the overwhelming desire by ordinary people to recreate a sense of community."[12] The question which would have to be addressed in this context is whether community broadcasting could be used as an instrument to promote peace in the absence of any formal communication between the conflicting sides, or whether formal cooperation between the two sides is a precondition for the establishment of a community broadcaster. Setting up a community broadcaster outside of a formal agreement between conflicting parties on the functions and obligations of the broadcaster, could potentially result in the radio station being perceived as partisan, thereby possibly increasing levels of conflict.

In this case, the IBA would have to take into account the extent to which the community broadcaster is supported by both sides in the conflict. This would involve an assessment of the opinions of both parties. An application form[13] which states that the broadcaster has the support of a wide range of community organisations in the area, and which provides proof to this effect would be insufficient. In an area such as Natal where conflict has resulted in extreme polarisation, it is unlikely that many community organisations remain impartial, or that they are perceived as such. Thus even if such a community broadcaster has overwhelming support from people in a particular area, it will still be incumbent on the IBA to assess the extent to which such support is representative of the conflicting parties. Moreover, merely situating the community broadcaster in a particular area, in this case, the University of Zululand, could lead to the perception that it favoured a particular political perspective. Factors such as physical locality would therefore also have to be accounted for.

The consideration of equality and empowerment of marginalised groups will also require a proactive policy by the IBA towards the allocation of community broadcasting licences. While the Act indicates that preference be given to groups historically disadvantaged by apartheid, this has generally been interpreted as black communities. The issue of the empowerment of women, particularly black women, is not specified in the legislation or in any of the Regulations

pertaining to community broadcasting licences. Making provision for the empowerment of women will require stricter requirements regarding ownership, control and participation by women in community broadcasting structures.

At present, while the application form requires that applicants prove community support, there is no specific requirement that this support is representative with regard to gender. Moreover, community broadcasters are not required to specify whether they are encouraging ownership and participation by women. The potential for patriarchal control over broadcasting resources, restriction of women's access to skills and training, and the propagation of information which perpetuates women's oppression has not been formally recognised.

A development policy approach to the issue of women's empowerment in community broadcasting would require broadcasters to demonstrate their commitment to women's equality and development. This would include proving support by women for the community radio station, as well as showing that women had a significant stake in the ownership of the broadcaster. It would also require applicants to illustrate how they intended to ensure the training and participation of women in programme production and broadcasting. As many women would not have the means to lodge formal complaints with the IBA about their exclusion, the extent to which women were recognised in the controlling structures of the community broadcaster would have to be actively monitored. This approach would probably meet with opposition from traditional hierarchical structures within communities, as well as accusations of lack of respect by the IBA for cultural norms. However, in the absence of a policy providing for the empowerment of women in and through community broadcasting, many community broadcasters would serve only to entrench the values and norms which foster the inferior status of women.

In general, a development policy towards community broadcasting would require the reconciliation of the freedoms guaranteed within the constitution, and by which the IBA Act was bound, and the national objectives of reconciliation and development. For the IBA, this means an obligation not only to defend but also to actively promote the affirmative action provisions of the Act. For the government, it requires a financial commitment to the development of

disadvantaged communities, thereby creating equal opportunity for access to and participation in community broadcasting.

A determinant development strategy by the IBA and government towards community broadcasting will no doubt be criticised as improper interference in the freedoms associated with the media. However, if the IBA and the government disregard a responsibility to the latter, the inequality, racial conflict and underdevelopment caused by apartheid would be perpetuated. Without the adoption of an active development approach in the regulation and administration of the broadcasting sector, the achievement of development objectives, as well as the democratisation of broadcasting is unlikely to become a reality. This could result in, at best, a broadcasting system which is unequal and unrepresentative; at worst, a system which perpetuates the conflict and divisions generated by apartheid. This would have repercussions not only for the community broadcasting sector, but for community organisation and national development as a whole.

The opening up of the airwaves therefore requires not only a liberalisation of broadcasting regulation from apartheid state control, but a strategic development policy which will facilitate control and ownership of community broadcasting by oppressed communities, and thus contribute to national development, reconciliation and the promotion of equal rights for all South Africans.

Notes

1. See Chapter 3 of this dissertation for a discussion of European and Latin American community broadcasting models.

2. Van Eijk, N. Legal and policy aspects of community broadcasting in Jankowski, N., Prehn, O. & Stappers, J. (eds) The People's Voice Local Radio and Television in Europe
John Libbey London 1992 p233

3. Ashurst, M. New Authority Seeks Community of the Airwaves in Business Day 14 July 1994

4. ANC Reconstruction and Development Programme
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5. The policy proposals in this chapter are based on a paper given by the author at a workshop on future information policy in South Africa on 12 February 1994. The workshop was facilitated by Media and Broadcasting Consultants and was intended to raise debate within the ANC on its approach to government policy on information. The title of the paper was Community Media Policy in South Africa - a Discussion Paper.

6. Many submissions to the IBA's public inquiry on public broadcasting in South Africa maintained that the SABC's revenue from both advertising and government sources, provided the Corporation with an unfair advantage over commercial broadcasters which were trying to enter the market.

7. See Chapter 1 of this dissertation for a discussion on development theory.

8. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the Boer-Afrikaner community of interest submissions to the IBA.

9. Schedule 1 of the IBA Act of 1993. See Appendix B.

10. In November 1994 the IBA began public hearings on temporary community broadcasting licence applications.

11. The submission by Zululand Community Radio was made orally at an IBA public hearing. The transcript of this hearing is available at the IBA's offices in Rosebank.

12. Aims and objectives of Zululand Community Radio.

13. A copy of the application form for temporary community licences is attached in Appendix A.

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APPENDIX A

28 BAKER STREET , ROSEBANK , 2195 , PRIVATE BAG X31 , PARKLANDS , 2121 , TEL (011) 447- 6180/7 FAX (011) 447-6185/9

REGULATIONS AND APPLICATION FORMS FOR TEMPORARY COMMUNITY RADIO AND TELEVISION LICENCES



INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY

CO-CHAIRPERSONS: MR PETER J DE KLERK, DR S MOKONE-MATABANE
COUNCILLORS: MR W LANE , MR J MATISONN, MR F A MEINTJIES, MS L F SHOPE-MAFOLE, PROF H C VILJOEN

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY

No. R. 1994

REGULATIONS RELATING TO THE CRITERIA ACCORDING TO WHICH THE SUPPORT FOR AN APPLICANT FOR A TEMPORARY COMMUNITY BROADCASTING LICENCE BY THE RELEVANT COMMUNITY OR BY THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH OR PROMOTING THE INTERESTS OF SUCH COMMUNITY SHALL BE MEASURED

The Independent Broadcasting Authority has, under section 78(1) read with section 47(1)(c) of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1993 (Act No. 153 of 1993), made the regulations in the Schedule.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates –

(i) "applicant" means an applicant for a temporary community broadcasting licence contemplated in section 47A of the Act;

(ii) "the Act" means the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1993 (Act No. 153 of 1993),

and any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Act shall bear such meaning.

Criteria for measuring support of community or of its associates or promoters

2. (1) For the purposes of enabling the Authority to take in account whether, as regards the provision of the proposed broadcasting service, an applicant for a temporary community broadcasting licence has the support of the community or of those associated with or promoting the interests of the community as contemplated in section 47(1)(*c*) of the Act, such support shall be measured according to the criteria prescribed in this regulation.

(2) The criterion according to which –

(*a*) the support of the community shall be measured, shall be the extent to which the proposed broadcasting service will be listened to or viewed, as the case may be, by the community;

(*b*) the support of those associated with or promoting the interests of the community shall be measured, shall be the extent to which the proposed broadcasting service will be provided with funds or other resources sufficient to ensure its viability.

(3) Evidence of the relevant support and of its extent as measured according to a criterion mentioned in subregulation (2) shall be provided in the manner provided in regulation 3 or 4.

Methods of providing evidence

3. (1) Subject to the provisions of subregulation (3), an applicant may provide evidence of whether, as regards the provision of the proposed broadcasting service, the applicant has the support of the community or of those associated with or promoting the interests of the community, as the case may be, by providing at least two of the following four categories of documents:

(*a*) A list, substantially in the form annexed, containing –

(i) an appropriate declaration that, as regards the provision of the proposed broadcasting service, the applicant has the support of each signatory;

(ii) the signatures of members of the community;

(iii) the name and address of each signatory; and

(iv) the personal characteristics of each signatory which qualify him or her as a member of the community, which may include gender, age, religion, language and any other relevant characteristic;

(*b*) correspondence, minutes of meetings, lists of *bona fide* members of voluntary associations and any other documents that show whether, as regards the provision of the proposed broadcasting service, the applicant has the support of the community;

(*c*) letters or other documents that show –

(i) the amount of funding which the proposed broadcasting service is likely to receive from each different source, whether donations, grants, sponsorships or advertising or membership fees, during each month of the period for which the licence may be granted;

(ii) the extent of resources other than funding which the proposed broadcasting service is likely to receive and the sources thereof; or

(*d*) any alternative documentary or other evidence that shows whether, as regards the provision of the proposed broadcasting service, the applicant has the support of the community or of those associated with or promoting the interests of the community, as the case may be.

(2) The Authority may require the production of proof on affidavit of anything contained in any document furnished as provided in subregulation (1).

(3) The Authority may, notwithstanding that an applicant may have provided any documents contemplated in subregulation (1), require the applicant to provide results of a survey conducted as contemplated in regulation 4 –

(*a*) if competitive licence applications have been made as contemplated in regulation 8(2) of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (Temporary Community Broadcasting Licences) Regulations, 1994; or

(*b*) if the Authority has reason to believe that such documentary or other evidence that has been provided is not sufficient to show whether, as regards the provision of the proposed broadcasting service, the applicant has the support of the community or of those associated with or promoting the interests of the community, as the case may be.

Survey

4. (1) An applicant may, in stead of providing evidence as contemplated in regulation 3, provide results of a survey which shows whether, as regards the provision of the proposed broadcasting service, the applicant has the support of the community or of those associated with or promoting the interests of the community.

(2) Such a survey shall be conducted –

(*a*) by a person or body who is affiliated to –

(i) the Association of Marketing Research Organisations; or

(ii) any other association of persons or bodies who conduct market research or

opinion polls and which has a code of conduct or ethics that is acceptable to the Authority and that the members of such association are obliged to observe; or

(*b*) by any other person or body who is acceptable to the Authority –

(i) on the basis of the qualifications or experience or professional membership of the persons who conducted the survey; or

(ii) for any other reason.

(3) Where the survey is conducted to show the extent to which the proposed broadcasting service will be listened to or viewed, as contemplated in regulation 2(2)(*a*), such survey shall –

(*a*) relate to the particular community to be served by the proposed broadcasting service;

(*b*) ascertain the personal characteristics of each respondent which qualify him or her as a member of the community, which may include gender, age, religion, language and any other relevant characteristic;

(*c*) in the case of an application for a licence in respect of –

(i) a temporary community sound broadcasting service, ascertain –

(*aa*) whether the respondent possesses or has access to a sound radio set; and

(*bb*) if so, whether it is an FM, medium wave AM or short wave AM set;

(ii) a temporary community television broadcasting service, ascertain whether the respondent possesses or has access to a television set;

(*d*) ascertain the nature of the broadcasting programmes which each respondent habitually listens to or views and the days and times when he or she habitually listens to or views, as the case may be;

(*e*) ascertain the extent of interest of each respondent in receiving the proposed broadcasting service, after he or she was informed about the nature of the programmes to be carried by the proposed broadcasting service and of the days and times when they will be broadcast;

(*f*) establish such further information as may be relevant by reason of the nature of the proposed broadcasting service or of the relevant community.

(4) Where the survey is conducted to show the extent to which the proposed broadcasting service will be provided with funds or other resources sufficient to ensure its viability, as contemplated in regulation 2(2)(*b*), such survey –

(*a*) shall ascertain the amount of funding which the proposed broadcasting service is likely to receive from each different source, whether donations, grants, sponsorships or advertising or membership fees, during each month of the period for which the licence may be granted;

(*b*) shall ascertain the extent of resources other than funding which the proposed broadcasting service is likely to receive and the sources thereof;

(*c*) in the case of a proposed broadcasting service that will broadcast advertisements, may, where the community concerned is geographically founded, relate to advertisers whose place of business is situated outside the geographical area concerned;

(*d*) shall provide such further evidence as may reasonably be required by reason of the nature of the proposed broadcasting service or of the methods by which such service will be funded.

(5) The survey shall be conducted in accordance with the code of conduct for marketing

research of the Southern African Marketing Research Association.

(6) The applicant shall provide, together with the survey results –

(*a*) the name, address, qualifications and experience and professional membership, if any, of the person or body who or which conducted the survey;

(*b*) the period during which the survey was conducted;

(*c*) how the data were collected;

(*d*) if any respondent was interviewed by telephone or any other method than in person, the reason that such other interviewing method was utilised;

(*e*) times of the day when the survey was conducted;

(*f*) the characteristics and qualifications of the field workers used in conducting the survey;

(*g*) the instruments used in the survey;

(*h*) problems experienced during the conducting of the survey and how they were resolved, with particular reference to non-response;

(*i*) a summary of the results and as many detailed tables as possible;

(*j*) a distribution of the sample errors for all the variables reported in the results;

(*k*) a questionnaire containing the questions reported in the results and, if the survey was carried out in more than one language, the questionnaire used in all the languages;

(*l*) the sampling methods employed;

(*m*) the geographical areas covered by the survey; and

(*n*) any other information relating to the carrying out of the survey as may be relevant.

Short title

5. These regulations may be cited as the Independent Broadcasting Authority (Temporary Community Licences: Criteria to Measure Community Support) Regulations, 1994.

LIST OF SIGNATURES

We, the undersigned, hereby declare that ..... (*the applicant*) has our support as regards the provision of a proposed ..... (*nature of service*) broadcasting service in ..... (*area*).

Full names	Physical address of residence or workplace of signatory	Personal characteristics of signatory which qualify him or her as member of relevant community (*may include gender, age, religion, language or any other relevant characteristic*)
1.	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
2.	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
3.	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
4.	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
5.	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
6.	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
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GOVERNMENT NOTICE

INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY

No. R.... 1994

REGULATIONS RELATING TO PROCEDURES CONCERNING APPLICATIONS FOR, THE GRANTING OF AND OTHER MATTERS RELEVANT TO TEMPORARY COMMUNITY BROADCASTING LICENCES

The Independent Broadcasting Authority has, under section 47A(3) of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1993 (Act No. 153 of 1993), made the regulations in the Schedule.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates –

(i) "short-term licence" means a temporary licence with a term of validity not exceeding 30 days;

(ii) "temporary licence" means a temporary community broadcasting licence contemplated in section 47A of the Act;

(iii) "the Act" means the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1993 (Act No. 153 of 1993),

and any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Act shall bear such meaning.

Notice inviting applications

2. (1) The Authority may, when it intends inviting applications for a temporary licence, cause a notice to that effect to be published in the *Gazette*.

(2) Such notice shall state –

(*a*) the licence area;

(*b*) the applicable technical parameters, which may include the frequency or frequencies available;

(*c*) the person with whom an application shall be lodged;

(*d*) the period within which the application shall be lodged;

(*e*) the application fee payable in terms of regulation 3;

(*f*) the licence fee payable in terms of regulation 10 if the application is successful.

Application fee

3. Every application for a temporary licence shall be accompanied by an application fee of R500 paid by means of a cheque in favour of the Authority.

Applications

4. (1) An application for a temporary licence may be made –

(*a*) pursuant to a notice contemplated in regulation 2; or

(*b*) by the applicant at his or her own instance, and irrespective of whether any such notice has been published.

(2) An application for a temporary licence shall be considered by the Authority if it is received

by the Authority –

(*a*) by 16h00 on or before 15 November 1994;

(*b*) after that date, only in the case of –

(i) an application for a short-term licence; or

(ii) an application invited in terms of a notice contemplated in regulation 2.

(3) Every application for a temporary licence shall –

(*a*) be substantially in the form contained in Schedule 1;

(*b*) be properly and legibly completed in any official language; and

(*c*) be accompanied by the other documents required in the form.

(4) An applicant may be required in writing by the Authority to provide the Authority, within the period specified by it, with such further information as may be reasonably necessary with a view to enabling it to properly consider the application.

Representations by interested persons

5. (1) (*a*) The Authority shall cause to be published in the *Gazette* a notice –

(i) containing particulars of –

(*aa*) the applicant;

(*bb*) the community;

(*cc*) the licence area; and

(*dd*) the applicant's proposals in relation to the nature of the service; and

(ii) inviting interested persons to lodge with the Authority their written representations in relation to the application within two weeks as from the date of such notice or within such further period as the Authority may on good cause shown allow.

(*b*) The Authority shall cause such notice to be published –

(i) within 14 days after 15 November 1994, in the case of an application in respect of a licence area which includes any area specified in Schedule 2, other than an application for a short-term licence;

(ii) within 14 days after receipt of an application, in the case of –

(*aa*) an application in respect of any other licence area; or

(*bb*) an application for a short-term licence.

(2) (*a*) Any person who lodges representations pursuant to a notice in terms of subregulation (1) shall at the time of lodgment provide proof to the satisfaction of the Authority that he or she has sent by registered post or delivered a copy of such representations to the applicant concerned.

(*b*) Any person who has so lodged representations may be required in writing by the Authority to provide it, within the period specified by it, with such further information as it considers necessary.

(3) The applicant shall –

(*a*) submit his or her written response (if any) to any representations lodged in terms of subregulation (2) to the Authority within one month of the date of the notice contemplated in subregulation (1) or within such further period as the Authority may

on good cause shown allow; and

(*b*) at the same time provide proof to the satisfaction of the Authority that he or she has sent by registered post or delivered a copy of such written response to the person having made such representations.

(4) (*a*) The Authority shall provide the Broadcasting Technical Committee established in terms of section 21(1)(*a*) of the Act with a copy of the application, and of such representations, further information and response (if any).

(*b*) The Authority shall provide the applicant and each party who made representations with a copy of any written report of that Committee.

Hearing

6. (1) The Authority shall hold a hearing in respect of every application for a temporary licence.

(2) Such hearing shall be held as soon as may be reasonably practicable, due regard being had to the provisions of regulation 5, and at such date, time and place as shall be determined by the Authority and made known by written notice sent by registered post or delivered to the applicant and each party who made representations.

(3) At the hearing –

(*a*) the applicant and each party who made representations in terms of regulation 5(2) shall be afforded an opportunity to be heard;

(*b*) the parties referred to in paragraph (*a*) may be assisted and represented by any person of their choice.

(4) Hearings held in terms of this regulation shall be open to the public.

(5) The Authority may at the hearing require the applicant or any party who made representations to provide such further evidence as it considers necessary in support of any submission made by him or her in relation to the application, including –

(*a*) affidavits or other documents;

(*b*) evidence to be given by witnesses.

(6) The Authority may postpone the hearing –

(*a*) to afford any party an opportunity to respond to any matter of which the Authority may of its own accord have taken cognisance;

(*b*) to afford any party an opportunity to respond to any further information provided in terms of these regulations; or

(*c*) if in its opinion a postponement is necessary for the proper consideration of the application.

(7) If the Authority postpones the hearing without a day having been determined for the holding of the adjourned hearing, the Authority shall by written notice sent by registered post or delivered to each of the parties make known the date determined by the Authority for the reconvening of the adjourned hearing.

Application for short-term licence may be considered without representations or hearing

7. The Authority may exempt any application for a short-term licence from any of or all the provisions of regulations 5 and 6 to such an extent and on such conditions as it may deem fit if, having regard to the limited period in respect of which the licence is applied for, the Authority is satisfied that compliance with such provisions would serve no useful purpose.

Considerations and criteria to be taken into account

8. (1) In considering an application for a temporary licence, the Authority shall, with due regard to the objects and principles as enunciated in section 2 of the Act, *inter alia* take into account–

(*a*) the matters mentioned in section 47(1) of the Act, namely –

(i) whether the applicant is fully controlled by a non-profit entity and carried on or to be carried on for non-profitable purposes;

(ii) whether the applicant proposes to serve the interests of the relevant community;

(iii) whether, as regards the provision of the proposed broadcasting service, the applicant has the support of the community or of those associated with or promoting the interests of the community, which support shall be measured according to the criteria prescribed in the Independent Broadcasting Authority (Temporary Community Licences: Criteria to Measure Community Support) Regulations, 1994; and

(iv) whether the applicant proposes to encourage members of the community or those associated with or promoting the interests of the community to participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast in the course of such broadcasting service;

(*b*) the matters referred to in section 47(2) of the Act, namely –

(i) the demand for the proposed broadcasting service within the proposed licence area;

(ii) the need for the proposed service within such licence area, having regard to the broadcasting services already existing therein;

(iii) the capability, expertise and experience of the applicant;

(iv) the applicant's record and the record of each person who, if a licence were granted to the applicant, is or would be in a position to control the operations of the applicant either in his or her individual capacity or as a member of the board of directors or top management structure, in relation to situations requiring trust and candour; and

(v) whether either the applicant or the person referred to in subparagraph (iv) has been convicted of an offence in terms of this Act;

(*c*) in addition to the matters specified in paragraphs (*a*) and (*b*), the following additional considerations and criteria contemplated in section 47A(2)(*b*) of the Act, namely –

(i) in the case of an application for a sound broadcasting licence, whether the applicant is willing to provide the proposed service on an AM frequency;

(ii) the degree to which the applicant proposes to provide for regular news services and current affairs programmes on matters of interest to the community;

(iii) whether the language or languages to be used by the applicant will serve the community; and

(iv) the technical expertise which will be available to the applicant.

(2) If there is more than one licence application relating substantially to the same frequency and licence area, the Authority may, with due regard to the objects and principles as enunciated in section 2 of the Act and to the matters specified in subregulation (1), determine the most suitable applicant.

Decision on application

9. (1) The Authority, at or after the hearing, and after having duly considered the relevant application, the representations (if any) made in accordance with the provisions of regulation 5(2), the applicant's written response thereto (if any), any written or oral report of the Broadcasting Technical Committee, any further information provided in terms of these regulations and any other evidence tendered to the Authority (but subject to the provisions of regulation 7) and with due regard to the objects and principles as enunciated in section 2 of the Act and after taking into account *inter alia* the matters specified in regulation 8, shall grant or refuse the application.

(2) The Authority shall provide written reasons for its ruling.

(3) Upon having reached a decision on any application, the Authority –

(*a*) shall make known the outcome thereof by written notice sent by registered post or delivered to the applicant and to each party who made representations;

(*b*) may make known such outcome by any other means which it considers appropriate.

Licence fee

10. A temporary licence shall not be issued until the applicant concerned has paid to the Authority a licence fee of R50 in respect of each month or part thereof of the term of validity of the licence determined in terms of regulation 12(1).

Conditions

11. (1) Subject to the provisions of the Act and these regulations, the Authority, in granting any application for a temporary licence pursuant to a ruling in terms of regulation 9(1), may impose such terms, conditions and obligations appropriate to such licence and consistent with the objects and principles as enunciated in section 2 of the Act, as it deems fit.

(2) The Authority may –

(*a*) grant the application on condition that, before the licence is issued, the applicant shall comply with any term, condition or obligation imposed in terms of subregulation (1)

which is stipulated by the Authority and made known in writing to the applicant.

(*b*) issue the licence subject to any stated term, condition or obligation so imposed in terms of which the licence holder shall comply therewith within a stated period.

(3) Any term, condition or obligation imposed in terms of subregulation (1), other than one made known as provided in subregulation (2)(*a*), shall be specified in the temporary licence to which it pertains and shall upon the issue of such licence acquire the force of law.

(4) The holder of a temporary licence shall commence with the broadcasting service to which such licence relates on such date or within such period not exceeding six months as shall be determined by the Authority or within any extended period granted by the Authority on good cause shown, and upon failure by the holder so to commence with the said broadcasting service, the temporary licence relating thereto shall lapse.

Term of temporary licences

12. (1) The term of validity of a temporary licence shall be for such period not exceeding one year as the Authority may determine.

(2) The term of validity shall commence with effect from, as determined by the Authority –

(*a*) a specified time and date; or

(*b*) the date on which the holder of the licence commences with the broadcasting service to which the licence relates.

(3) The holder of a licence with a term of validity contemplated in subregulation (2)(*b*) shall inform the Authority in writing of the date of commencement of the broadcasting service.

(4) The term of validity of a temporary licence shall not be extended, but any holder of such a licence may apply for any new temporary licence at any time before or after his or her existing licence has ceased to be valid as provided in subregulation (1).

(5) During the term of validity of any temporary licence, the Authority may, in terms of a notice contemplated in section 41 of the Act or regulation 2, invite applications for any category of broadcasting licence in respect of the same frequency and licence area as those to which such temporary licence relates, with a view to the granting of any such broadcasting licence with effect from a date after that temporary licence has ceased to be valid.

Record of programmes broadcast

13. These regulations shall not be construed as relieving the holder of a temporary licence from any obligation imposed in terms of section 55(1) of the Act.

Records, public inspection and copies

14. (1) The Authority shall keep a record of all applications and other documentation received by it and of all its proceedings, findings and rulings at any hearing in terms of these regulations.

(2) Such records shall be open to public inspection by interested persons during the normal office hours of the Authority.

(3) The Authority shall at the request of any interested person and on payment of such fee as may have been prescribed, provide him or her with a copy of or extract from any such record.

Short title

15. These regulations may be cited as the Independent Broadcasting Authority (Temporary Community Broadcasting Licences) Regulations, 1994.

Schedule 1

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR A TEMPORARY COMMUNITY BROADCASTING LICENCE

INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY

APPLICATION FOR TEMPORARY COMMUNITY BROADCASTING LICENCE

TO: INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY
IBA House
26 Baker Street
Rosebank
2196

Private Bag 31
Parklands
2121

By hand delivery/Registered post

Note:
a. Please refer to the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1993 (Act No. 153 of 1993), and regulations and any guide issued by the Authority for the assistance of applicants for temporary community broadcasting licences.
b. Any information requested in this form may, if lengthy, be contained in an appendix.
c. Where any question in this form does not apply, the words "not applicable" must be inserted in full.

1. PARTICULARS OF APPLICANT (Person or body applying for licence)	
1.1 Full Name of Applicant:	Send notices and communications to the following person at the address below
	Name:
Street address	Street address
Postal address with postcode	Postal address with postcode
Telephone No. (including area code)	Telephone No. (including area code)
Fax No.	Fax No.

1.2 Abbreviated name of applicant (if any): .....

1.3 Proposed name of broadcasting service: .....

1.4 Legal form of applicant *eg* voluntary association, section 21 company, trust, other (attach copy of constitution, memorandum and articles of association or other founding document certified by two office-bearers of the body): .....
.....

1.5 If registered: .....

Office of registration: .....

Registration No.: .....

Date of registration: .....

1.6 Is the Applicant non-profit: .....

If "Yes" how is this claim justified: .....
.....

If "Yes" what precautions are in place to ensure that the Applicant is always non-profit:
.....

2. PARTICULARS OF CONTROLLING ENTITY (if any)

Is applicant controlled by any other person or body: .....

If "Yes":

2.1 Full name of controlling entity: .....

2.2 Abbreviated name (if any): .....

2.3 Legal form of controlling entity *eg* voluntary association, section 21 company, trust, other:
.....

2.5 If registered: .....

Office where registered: .....

Registration No.: .....

Date of registration: .....

2.6 Is the controlling entity non-profit: .....

If "Yes" how is this claim justified: .....
.....

If "Yes" what precautions are in place to ensure that the Applicant is always non-profit:
.....

3. NATURE OF TEMPORARY SERVICE

3.1 Is the Licence sought for an event or events? .....

If "Yes" describe the event or events and the expected starting and finishing dates and times: .....

3.2 Explain your plans and requirements: .....

.....

3.3 For what period is the licence required: .....

3.4 If a licence is granted, when will the service begin operations: .....

4. THE COMMUNITY

4.1 How many members does the community have: .....

4.2 Is the community geographically founded: .....

If "Yes" describe the geographical area: .....

.....

If "No" describe the group of persons or sectors of the public and its specific common interest: .....

.....

Describe the salient features of the population of the area: .....

.....

4.3 Describe how the broadcasting service will serve the community: .....

.....

4.4 Describe how the proposed broadcasting service will encourage 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: .....

.....

.....

4.5 Describe the demand for the proposed Broadcasting Service and how this has been measured:

.....

.....

4.6 Describe the need for the proposed service and how this has been measured: .....

.....

4.7 Describe other broadcasting services existing in the proposed licence area: .....

.....

5. FINANCES AND MANAGEMENT

5.1 How is the broadcasting service to be funded: .....

5.2 State, in respect of each person or body which will be in a position to control the applicant, directly or indirectly, either in his or her personal capacity, or as a member of the board of

directors or other governing body or top management structure of the applicant or its controlling entity (if any):

Full Name : .....

I.D. No. or birth date : .....

Home Address : .....

Business Address : .....

Nationality : .....

Gender : .....

Occupation : .....

Qualification : .....

5.3 Attach the record of the applicant and of each person referred to in 5.2 above in relation to situations requiring trust and candour.

5.4 List and attach copies of any management agreements, consultancy agreements, network agreements, franchise agreements or any other agreements relating to the proposed service and its management: .....
.....

5.5 Give particulars of any interest in another broadcasting service, or proposed interest in another broadcasting service, held by the applicant, any controlling entity or any person exercising any material degree of control in the operation of the service: .....
.....

5.6 Provide information that the resources and financial arrangements of the applicant are such that there are reasonable prospects that it will be able to provide the service: .....
.....

6. THE PROPOSED LICENCE AREA

6.1 Describe the geographical limits of the area: .....
.....

6.2 Reasons for selecting this area: .....
.....

7. TECHNICAL MATTERS - Give particulars where known

7.1 Give particulars, with make and model names, of each proposed transmitter item of equipment to be used in broadcasting: .....
.....

7.2 Preferred frequency band on which it is intended to broadcast: .....

7.3 Proposed effective radiated power (ERP): .....

7.4 Proposed power output: .....

7.5 Proposed antenna polarisation: .....

7.6 Proposed horizontal broadcasting pattern: .....

7.7 Proposed type of transmission apparatus: .....

7.8 Physical address or deeds registry description of location of proposed transmitter:
.....

7.9 Geographical co-ordinates or map reference of transmitter's position: .....

7.10 Site height above sea level: .....

7.11 Effective antenna height above site: .....

7.12 Proposed service area: .....

7.13 Give full particulars of the precautions to be taken against interference with other broadcasting services: .....
.....
.....

7.14 Give full particulars of the person/s who will be in charge of the power, transmission and technical matters:
.....

7.15 Attach a pattern of the radiation if available.

8. COMPLIANCE WITH LAWS

8.1 Confirm whether consents, permissions or other authority is required in terms of laws relating to the environment, town planning, occupational health and safety, or copyright:
.....

8.2 If so, whether all such consents, permissions or other authority are being or have been obtained: .....

8.3 Confirm whether the applicant is in possession of a copy of the current Code of Advertising Practice of the Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa:
.....

8.4 Confirm whether the applicant is in possession of a copy of the Code of Conduct for Broadcasting Services: .....

9. PROGRAMMING

9.1 Proposed hours of broadcasting: .....

9.2 Attach particulars of the proposed programme policies indicating the proportion of time to be given to such items as local news, national news, international news, children's programmes, young people's programmes, adult programmes, contemporary popular music, contemporary light music, classical music, other music, talk shows, advertising, etc.
.....

9.3 Give particulars of the proportion of time to be allocated to particular languages:
.....

9.4 Give particulars of any network arrangements: .....
.....

10. OTHER INFORMATION

Set out below or attach in a schedule any other information which may be relevant to the application or which may assist the Authority in considering the application, having regard to the objects and principles as enunciated in section 2 of the Act and to the considerations and criteria mentioned in regulation 8 of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (Temporary Community Broadcasting Licences) Regulations, 1994:

.....
.....

The applicant acknowledges that statements in this form and accompanying documents will be relied upon by the Authority, and confirms that to the knowledge and belief of the applicant all such statements are true and correct.

Signed:

Date: _____ Signature: _____

Full names of signatory: _____

For and on behalf of: _____
Name of applicant

Note: attach copy of resolution by applicant authorising signatory to sign this application on behalf of the applicant.

Witness:

_____ _____
Name of witness

Schedule 2

PROPOSED LICENSING AREAS IN RESPECT OF WHICH APPLICATIONS WILL BE DEALT WITH

AFTER 15 NOVEMBER 1994

A. Certain magisterial districts in the province of Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging

Alberton	Germiston	Roodepoort
Benoni	Johannesburg	Springs
Boksburg	Kempton Park	
Brakpan	Randburg	

B. Certain magisterial districts in the province of the Western Cape

Bellville	Kuils River	Simonstown
Cape	Mitchells Plain	Stellenbosch
Goodwood	Paarl	Wynberg

-ooOoo-

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY

No. R. 1994

REGULATIONS RELATING TO PROCEDURES CONCERNING APPLICATIONS FOR AND THE GRANTING OF TEMPORARY BROADCASTING SIGNAL DISTRIBUTION LICENCES FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE PROVISION OF BROADCASTING SIGNAL DISTRIBUTION FOR HOLDERS OF TEMPORARY COMMUNITY BROADCASTING LICENCES

The Independent Broadcasting Authority has, under section 78(1) read with section 34 of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1993 (Act No. 153 of 1993), made the regulations in the Schedule.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates –

(i) "temporary community broadcasting licence" means a temporary community broadcasting licence contemplated in section 47A of the Act;

(ii) "temporary distribution licence" means a temporary broadcasting signal distribution licence issued to the holder of a temporary community broadcasting licence for the purpose of the provision by such holder of broadcasting signal distribution for himself or herself exclusively;

(iii) "the Act" means the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1993 (Act No. 153 of 1993),

and any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Act shall bear such meaning.

Application for a temporary distribution licence

2. (1) The Authority shall not consider an application for the grant of a temporary distribution licence to any person other than the holder or prospective holder of a temporary community broadcasting licence.

(2) An application for a temporary distribution licence shall –

(*a*) be substantially in the form annexed;

(*b*) be properly and legibly completed in any official language; and

(*c*) be accompanied by the other information required in the form.

(3) An applicant may be required in writing by the Authority to provide the Authority, within the period specified by it, with such further information as may be reasonably necessary with a view to enabling it to properly consider the application.

(4) (*a*) The Authority shall provide the Broadcasting Technical Committee established in terms of section 21(1)(*a*) of the Act with a copy of the application and of such further information (if any).

(*b*) The Authority shall provide the applicant with a copy of any written report of that Committee in relation to the application.

Decision on application

3. (1) The Authority, after having duly considered the relevant application for a temporary distribution licence, any further information provided, any report of the Broadcasting Technical Committee and any other evidence tendered to the Authority, and with due regard to the objects and principles as enunciated in section 2 of the Act, shall –

(*a*) subject to the provisions of paragraph (*b*), grant the application;

(*b*) refuse the application if the application for a temporary community broadcasting licence in respect of the broadcasting service to which such temporary distribution licence relates has been refused.

(2) The Authority shall provide written reasons for its ruling.

(3) Upon having reached a decision on any application, the Authority shall make known the outcome thereof by written notice sent by registered post or delivered to the applicant.

Conditions

4. (1) Subject to the provisions of the Act and these regulations, the Authority, in granting any temporary distribution licence pursuant to a ruling in terms of regulation 3(1) –

(*a*) shall stipulate the nature, number and transmission characteristics of the transmitters approved by the Authority for use in providing the licensed broadcasting signal distribution;

(*b*) may impose such other terms, conditions and obligations appropriate to such licence and consistent with the objects and principles as enunciated in section 2 of the Act, as it deems fit.

(2) The Authority may –

(*a*) grant the application on condition that, before the licence is issued, the applicant shall comply with any stipulation, term, condition or obligation imposed in terms of subregulation (1) which is specified by the Authority and made known in writing to the applicant;

(*b*) issue the licence subject to any stated stipulation, term, condition or obligation so imposed in terms of which the licence holder shall comply therewith within a stated period.

(3) Any stipulation, term, condition or obligation imposed in terms of subregulation (1), other than one made known as provided in subregulation (2)(*a*), shall be specified in the temporary distribution licence to which it pertains.

Term of temporary distribution licences

5. (1) The term of validity of a temporary distribution licence shall be concurrent with the term of validity of the relevant temporary community broadcasting licence issued to the holder concerned.

(2) The term of validity of a temporary distribution licence shall not be extended, but a holder of such a licence may apply for a new temporary distribution licence at any time before or after his or her existing licence has ceased to be valid as provided in subregulation (1).

Change of transmitters or transmission characteristics

6. The holder of a temporary distribution licence shall make written application to the Authority for any –

(*a*) change of his or her transmitters;

(*b*) addition to or reduction of the number of his or her transmitters; or

(*c*) change in the transmission characteristics of any of his or her transmitters.

Records, public inspection and copies

7. (1) The Authority shall keep a record of all applications and other documentation received by it and of all findings and rulings in terms of these regulations.

(2) Such records shall be open to public inspection by interested persons during the normal office hours of the Authority.

(3) The Authority shall at the request of any interested person and on payment of such fee as may have been prescribed, provide him or her with a copy of or extract from any such record.

Short title

8. These regulations may be cited as the Independent Broadcasting Authority (Temporary Broadcasting Signal Distribution Licences) Regulations, 1994.

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR A TEMPORARY DISTRIBUTION LICENCE

INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY

APPLICATION FOR TEMPORARY BROADCASTING SIGNAL DISTRIBUTION LICENCE

TO: INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY
IBA House
26 Baker Street
Rosebank
2196

Private Bag 31
Parklands
2121

By hand delivery/Registered post

Note:
a. Please refer to the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1993 (Act No. 153 of 1993) and regulations and any guide issued by the Authority for the assistance of applicants for temporary community broadcasting licences.
b. Any information requested in this form may, if lengthy, be contained in an appendix.
c. Where any question in this form does not apply, the words "not applicable" must be inserted in full.

1. PARTICULARS OF APPLICANT (Person or body applying for licence)	
1.1 Full Name of Applicant:	Send notices and communications to the following individual at the address below
	Name:
Street address	Street address
Postal address with postcode	Postal address with postcode
Telephone No. (including area code)	Telephone No.(including area code)
Fax No.	Fax No.

2. THE PROPOSED LICENCE AREA

2.1 Describe the geographical limits of the area: .....
.....

3. TECHNICAL MATTERS - Give particulars where known

3.1 Give particulars, with make and model names, of each proposed transmitter item of equipment to be used in broadcasting: .....
.....

3.2 Preferred frequency band on which it is intended to broadcast: .....

3.3 Proposed effective radiated power (ERP): .....

3.4 Proposed power output: .....

3.5 Proposed antenna polarisation: .....

3.6 Proposed horizontal broadcasting pattern: .....

3.7 Proposed type of transmission apparatus: .....

3.8 Physical address or deeds registry description of location of proposed transmitter:
.....

3.9 Geographical co-ordinates or map reference of transmitter's position: .....

3.10 Site height above sea level: .....

3.11 Effective antenna height above site: .....

3.12 Proposed service area: .....

3.13 Give full particulars of the precautions to be taken against interference with other broadcasting services: .....
.....
.....

3.14 Give full particulars of the person/s who will be in charge of the power, transmission and technical matters:
.....

3.15 Attach a pattern of the radiation if available.

4. COMPLIANCE WITH LAWS

4.1 Confirm whether consents, permissions or other authority is required in terms of laws relating to the environment, town planning, occupational health and safety, or copyright:
.....

4.2 If so, whether all such consents, permissions or other authority are being or have been obtained: .....

The applicant acknowledges that statements in this form and accompanying documents will be relied upon by the Authority, and confirms that to the knowledge and belief of the applicant all such statements are true and correct.

Signed:

Date:_____ Signature:_____

Full names of signatory:_____

For and on behalf of:_____
Name of applicant

Note: attach copy of resolution by applicant authorising signatory to sign this application on behalf of the applicant.

Witness:

_____ _____
Name of witness

-ooOoo-

APPENDIX B

Schedule 1

CODE OF CONDUCT FOR BROADCASTING SERVICES

(Section 56)

Preamble

1. The fundamental principle to be upheld, is that the freedom of all broadcasting licensees is indivisible from and subject to the same restraints as those relevant to the individual person, and is founded on the individual's fundamental right to be informed and to freely receive and disseminate opinions.

General

2. Broadcasting licensees shall-
(a) not broadcast any material which is indecent or obscene or offensive to public morals or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the population or likely to prejudice the safety of the State or the public order or relations between sections of the population;
(b) not, without due care and sensitivity, present material which depicts or relates to brutality, violence, atrocities, drug abuse and obscenity;
(c)exercise due care and responsibility in the presentation of programmes where a large number of children are likely to be part of the audience.

News

3. (1) Broadcasting licensees shall be obliged to report news truthfully, accurately and objectively.
(2) News shall be presented in the correct context and in a balanced manner, without intentional or negligent departure from the facts, whether by-
(a) distortion, exaggeration or misrepresentation
(b) material omissions; or
(c) summarization.
(3) Only that which may reasonably be true, having due regard to the source of news, may be presented as fact, and such facts shall be broadcast fairly with due regard to context and importance. Where a report is not based on fact or is founded on opinion, supposition, rumours or allegations, it shall be presented in such manner as to indicate clearly that such is the case.
(4) Where there is reason to doubt the correctness of a report and it is practicable to verify the correctness thereof, it shall be verified. Where such verification is not practicable, the fact shall be mentioned in the report.
(5) Where it subsequently appears that a broadcast report was incorrect in a material respect, it shall be rectified forthwith, without reservation or delay. The rectification shall be presented with such a degree of prominence and timing as may be adequate and fair so as to readily attract attention.
(6) Reports, photographs or video material relating to matters involving indecency or obscenity shall be presented with due sensitivity, due regard being had to the prevailing moral climate. In particular, broadcasting licensees shall avoid the broadcasting of obscene and lascivious matter.
(7) The identity of rape victims and other victims of sexual violence shall not be divulged in any broadcast without the prior consent of the victim concerned.

Comment

4. (1) Broadcasting licensees shall be entitled to comment on and criticize any actions or events of public importance.
(2) Comment shall be presented in such manner that it appears clearly to be comment, and shall be made on facts truly stated or fairly indicated and referred to.
(3) Comment shall be an honest expression of opinion.

Controversial issues of public importance

5. (1) In presenting a programme in which controversial issues of public importance are discussed, a broadcasting licensee shall make reasonable efforts to fairly present significant points of view either in the same programme or in a subsequent programme forming part of the same series of programmes presented within a reasonable period of time and in substantially the same time slot.
(2) A person whose views have been criticized in a broadcasting programme on a controversial issue of public importance, shall be given a reasonable opportunity by the broadcasting licensee to reply to such criticism, should that person so request.

Elections

6. During any election period, the provisions of sections 58, 59, 60 and 61 of this Act shall apply, and all broadcasting services shall in terms of those sections be subject to the jurisdiction of the Authority.

Privacy

7. In so far as both news and comment are concerned, broadcasting licensees shall exercise exceptional care and consideration in matters involving the private lives and private concerns of individuals, bearing in mind that the right to privacy may be overridden by a legitimate public interest.

Paying a criminal for information

8. No payment shall be made to persons involved in crime or other notorious behaviour, in order to obtain information concerning any such behaviour, unless compelling societal interests indicate the contrary.



Author: Keene-Young Bronwyn Elaine.

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