THE ROLE OF GOVERNANCE IN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNITY TELEVISION: A CASE STUDY OF SOWETO TV

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ABSTRACT

This study is a qualitative single case study. It explores the role of governance in facilitating community based television stations to achieve effectiveness. The case study is South Africa's most successful community TV station, Soweto TV. With a 3.1 million viewership, the highest audience numbers in South Africa, Soweto TV is regarded as the most effective community TV station in the country. Since governance is a function of effectiveness, this study therefore asks what role governance plays in the effectiveness of Soweto TV.

The study found that governance did in fact play a role in the helping Soweto TV achieve effectiveness. However the study showed that the type of governance that helped Soweto TV achieve it effectiveness could not be typically described by Cornforth and Hippel and Hopt's conceptual framework. Rather Soweto TV had a unique approach to how it achieved effectiveness through informal internal governance processes and formal indirect governance of Urban Brew. The unique relationship between Soweto TV and Urban Brew which even though was a clear contravention of ICASA set policy was key to its 3.1 million viewership. The main recommendation of this study for Soweto TV is to internally build and strengthen their own managerial services and governance frameworks instead of outsourcing expertise and experience from external parties as they did in their relationship with Urban Brew.

DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Management) in the field of Public Development) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree for any degree or examination in any other University

Jacqueline Marula Maphala

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DEDICATION

Firstly, to my wonderful father, Ngoako Maphala, my greatest role model and inspiration, you are the epitome of strength and resilience. From you I have learnt that nothing is impossible. The confidence you have in me and the love you have shown me throughout my life has given me wings.

To my Arnie , Dr. Arnold Wentzel , who encouraged me to go back to school and to complete my Masters, you reminded me every time I thought it was insurmountable that I was capable of succeeding . Thank you for giving me the support that I needed to build this dream and for believing that I have the talent to go even further. You've helped me find my voice. PHD here we come!

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Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The need for people to be heard and have a voice in society reflects one of humanity's most important yearnings, which is the need to matter and feel significant. To 'have a voice' means to have the capacity to impact and influence decision-making and negotiations that take place in society meaningfully (Nossek, 2003). Individuals within society seek to make these decisions and be part of such negotiations.

Nossek (2003) propounds that to be heard is to be seen, have one's presence acknowledged and irrevocably exist. But within our societies, the social arrangements and structures have not always recognised and acknowledged the voices of all individuals. In fact, throughout history, societies have been designed to reflect the voice of the dominant and powerful (Zhaouxu & Napoli, 2006). It is the voices of the elites that were heard, and it is the elites, on behalf of societies, who made decisions and led negotiations (Howley, 2005).

These dynamics of power and control have never been better enacted and apparent than in television broadcasting. When we track the history and the introduction of television, it exhibits the same social arrangements and structuring of voices in society and reflects those who were heard and those who were not; and, in essence, those who mattered and those who didn't (Howley, 2005). The technological development and progression of television as a conduit of these voices has visualised the power relationship between different groups of people; and, more importantly, how the dominant voices shape how we see reality. Television, as the name purports, is about ‘telling’ a ‘vision’, and is humanity’s powerful communication device that disseminates the vision and the ideas of those who have a voice (Armstrong, 2007).

This is the reason why the need to transform broadcasting as a whole - in many different nations across the continent and, by implication, world – has been such an important agenda in the television space (Armstrong, 2007). The interests of the few powerful groups - which dominated mainstream television broadcasting around the globe - were therefore supplemented by alternative television, which was oriented towards specific communities. Community Television was independent from the undue influence of state and market. Its influence injected broadcasting with the desperately needed diversity and inclusiveness that mainstream TV lacked (Milan, 2009).

The important intervention of community TV was supported further by research conducted by Dan Mastro that showed that the manner in which images are represented on television influences how viewers see themselves in society (Kirkpatrick, 2001). Another study by Susanna Stern revealed that children identify more with characters they see on television than individuals who are of their racial ethnic group (Milan, 2009). Thus, for the misrepresented, disadvantaged, stigmatised and repressed groups in mainstream television, this research holds serious implications.

This research further corroborated the need for change and need for alternative television to reaffirm and validate communities. The introduction of community television (CTV) was therefore about balancing the scales and it gave ordinary people the opportunity to have their voices heard. Through CTV, issues that the community considered to be relevant were discussed and regarded as good enough to be broadcast (Carpentier, Lie, & Servaes, 2007). This critical role played by CTV in its consideration of the misrepresented, disadvantaged, stigmatised and repressed groups reaffirmed the key and real value that it dispensed to communities: that is, deepening democracy through creating access and participation in broadcasting. CTV gives the community a voice and real meaning. CTV, in essence, as the research revealed, helps communities to strengthen their internal identity and reaffirm their presence in society (Balas, 2007).

1.2 Defining Community

As one tracks community history across the world, it is interesting that the term 'community TV' is not commonly used for this type of alternative TV. The expression 'community TV' enjoys the use of different terms depending on which part of the world one finds oneself in. In the USA, for instance, they speak about 'public access television'; in Europe, they speak of open channels; and, in South Africa, we speak of 'community TV' (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). However, despite the different terms, different countries call their alternative TV, this type of television serves the same purpose. These stations share the idea of catering to a community. They embody a type of programming that is a break from mainstream television and the pressures of advertisers that are oriented towards certain elites. They facilitate the opening up of the broadcasting space to other voices, placing emphasis on self representation.

Hadland, Aldrige, Ogada and Adams (2005) shed light on this concept of what community is. They posit that no matter where one is in world, the identity of community captures the idea of a group of people actively constructing their identity (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). They go on to say that the idea of community is not something that is imposed on people from the outside, but rather something that its members construct.

According to Carpentier, Lie and Servaes (2007); communities can be defined according to a few ways. Firstly, they can be defined according to geographical location: these types of communities enjoy close and concrete ties and construct their identify as a result of living in close proximity to each other (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). Secondly, they recognised what they call 'community of interest'; and this type of community they define as a group of people who construct their identity based on common interests; for example, politics, religious beliefs or profession. Lastly, Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams (2005) recognise another community called ‘user groups’, which are formed over geographically defined cyber spaces.

So, whether community is defined in terms of geographical space, as in Brazil and South Africa, or based on community of interest, as in Nigeria and the USA; what connects groups of individuals to each other to form communities is the feeling of belonging and connectedness to each other or to a common cause. This tells us that as we look at different types of alternative television models across the world; we are, in fact, looking at the same ‘animal’, namely community TV. For the purpose of this study, we will conflate the terms used for alternative television around the world into one, namely, ‘community TV’ (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005).

1.3 Community TV in the USA and Europe

In the USA, community TV was introduced in the 1960s and 70s as a strategy to break through the barriers that were introduced by the ‘beast’ that was broadcasting television (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). The development of community TV in the USA took a guerrilla-style approach, in that, when the first community TV, Cable TV Incorporated; broadcasted in 1968; its boldness to go against the beast encouraged a culture of video collectives to take root (Nossek, 2003). This proliferation of guerrilla TV, which allowed people to speak for themselves, led to nearly 1800 CTV stations in the USA springing up (Armstrong, 2007). The CTV landscape in the USA has managed to flourish and remain sustainable because it enjoys the support of legislation. USA mainstream television networks are mandated by law to provide access to CTV on their platforms (Kellner, 1981). This means that CTV receives fees from government and commercial TV to fund their activities.

In Europe, CTV was also strengthened by the Berlin Declaration on Open Access to Knowledge in the Sciences and Humanities that was signed and promulgated into law by Germany, Poland, France, Poland and Norway (Kirkpatrick, 2001). This declaration ensures that television broadcast takes the side of grassroots' people (Kirkpatrick, 2001). Therefore, Kanal TV, CTV in Germany, was legislated into existence by this very declaration. As in the US, the CTV landscape is cultivated and protected by government. In Denmark, CTV is also subsidised by the mainstream television sector (Kirkpatrick, 2001). Australia, which has approximately 10 CTV stations, also has worked hard to ensure that its CTV is sustainable. Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams (2005) describe CTV culture as 'booming', and this is because of the government commitment and support through CTV friendly legislation. The strength of CTV in the USA, Europe and Australia is a reflection of value being placed on creating public access to television broadcasting (Milan, 2009).

1.4 Community TV in Africa

In Africa, the beginnings of community TV can be traced back to Nigeria, who pioneered television, transmitting its first broadcast in 1959 (Kirkpatrick, 2001). Egypt and Ghana then followed suit;, however, South Africa, fearing that television would threaten white supremacy, only had their first broadcast in 1976 (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005).

To reiterate, the interesting journey of CTV in Africa is best followed from the Nigerian experience, which today prides itself on 1800 TV stations (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). The story of alternative TV in Nigeria emerged as result of the political instability and social changes that were taking place in the country. When Nigeria received its independence in the 1950s, the then regional governance the west in 1959, the east in 1960 and the north in 1962 established regional broadcasting stations to advance and strengthen their political interest (Ifedayo, 2013). The National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) was born in the interim in an effort to centralise all states and federal TV stations. NBC then became the National Television Authority, NTA (Umeh, 1989).

Since the first broadcast in Nigeria, the television space remained under state control. However, when a new military regime took power, the Decree of 1992 was promulgated, which liberated television from state capture (Ifedayo, 2013). In 1999, the country returned to democracy, and, with the improvement of education in the country; the freeing of air space led to the proliferation of alterative television. Umeh (1989) states that 1,5 TV stations were popping up every year; and, in last 16 years, Nigerian CTV space grew substantially as groups of people wanted self representation in the TV space (Ifedayo, 2013). CTV in Nigeria therefore emerged as a need to have a political voice. After years of being suffocated by military rule, communities were formed and organised around their political affliction (Umeh, 1989).

1.5 Community TV in South Africa

The need to liberate broadcasting from state repressive institutions mirrors the broadcast experience of South Africa. The need for democratic transition and freedom in broadcasting was what was expressed when the idea of CTV in SA was explored. The 1991 genesis of community TV in SA therefore re-emerged as a response to the struggle that was won against apartheid and its repressive state media machinery (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). CTV was created to ensure that the ills of the past were redressed, ensuring that television was no longer to be used as an instrument of repression and propaganda,.

At the 1991 Jabulani Freedom of the Airways Conference, 60 delegates discussed the future of broadcasting in SA, and the resolution was reached that broadcasting in SA needed to open up to include all different sectors of society. The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA), the regulator of airways, made provision for CTV in SA and saw CTV as an imperative course of action in developing democracy and freedom and removing the imprint of a repressive past (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005).

Essentially, the role of community TV in South Africa, as stipulated by the ICASA Broadcasting Act of 1999, is: firstly, to create a media climate where information production and dissemination serves the interests of the previously disadvantaged and marginalised group; secondly, to operate in way that is not dominated by the interests of commerce; and, lastly, to cultivate a climate of participatory democracy (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005).

When CTV started in the 1990s, CTV stations were given temporary licences, and when these lapsed, they would have to go back to ICASA and reapply. The first CTV stations that were granted temporary licenses were Soweto TV, Cape Town TV and Durban TV. Soweto TV was the first to receive a one-year licence in 2007.

Currently, the CTV landscape is littered with many other CTV networks. Bay TV, Tshwane TV and Northwest TV have received licences for more than one year. The rest – for example, Fresh TV, Alex TV, Thembisa and GAU TV - still are granted one year licences, after which they have to reapply.

Soweto TV now boasts the highest audience rating and nine years of uninterrupted broadcasting since the days of receiving test licenses. Soweto TV has the largest audience base in South Africa, with a viewership of 3.1 million (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). Compared to Cape Town TV's viewership of 200 000 viewers, Soweto TV is a community TV beast (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005).

Community TV stations, as non-profit organisations, are increasingly trying to grapple with the turbulence and complexity of a rapidly changing media environment (Higgins, 1999). CTV, like their commercial counterparts, are faced with the same broadcasting demands, such as production and broadcasting costs. They have to manage the resources they receive to meet their goals. CTV employs staff members who are trained and uses equipment it has to account for to the community. In recognition of the need to mitigate such challenges and become effective, the need for innovations in governance models has become important (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). The impact and contribution of organisations, whether non-profit or for profit, are directly affected by the effectiveness of their governance models (Schulich, Hayday, & Armstrong, 2007).

The policy and legislation set out in the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa's (ICASA) Broadcasting Act of 1999 make provision for the kind of services community TV should provide. However, there is no clear regulation that informs how community TV, as an NGO, should be governed in order to be effectively provide these services (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005).

1. 6 Problem Statement

There is a long and theoretical culture of community TV literature going back to its birth in the 1960s in America to today in South Africa with community TV stations, such as Soweto TV; broadcasting to a 3.1 million strong audience (Howley, 2005; Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). A great deal of the literature found on community TV (both on the continent and globally) focuses on the key role of community TV as an important engine for creating a media environment that opens itself up to ordinary people (Nossek, 2003; Milan, 2009). In essence, the key themes that are highlighted in the literature on community TV place great focus on improving access, participation and empowering the marginalised and stigmatised through the development of content (Howley, 2005).

For example, Brazilian community TV is regarded as having an effective strategy in a "global struggle to democratise communication and ensure that local authority exists in the wake of rampant media privatisation" (Kirkpatrick, 2001). Similarly, in South Africa, the same is true: the current literature focuses on elucidating and defining this role of participation and deepening democracy (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). However, little clarity is given on how these organisations are guided in the decision-making to meet these set objectives.

The literature on the governance of NGOs mirrors the same problems reflected in the literature found on community TV. There is great focus given to the importance of the functions and roles NGO play as public services and programme agents (O'Tolle & Meier, 2011). However, as Cornforth (2003) postulates, much of the current literature on the governance of non–profit enterprises is scarce and further reiterates this knowledge gap.

1.7 The Purpose Statement

Given that community TV plays an increasingly important role in achieving public participation and deepening democracy for the previously disenfranchised communities, their ability to effectively achieve these set standards has become an emphasised area (Evens & Hauttekeete, 2008). Cornforth (2003) expresses that the boards within non-profit organisations play a significant role in ensuring that they are publicly accountable and perform well. Therefore, the purpose of the research is to examine the role that governance plays in helping community TV achieve their set objectives with a specific focus on Soweto TV.

1. 8 The Significance of the Research

Cornforth (2003) explains that the ability of non-profit organisations to perform well rests on the role the board plays, which means it rests on its governance. In South Africa, the performance and effectiveness of community TV stations in SA differ greatly. On the one hand, Soweto TV has an audience of 3.1 million viewers, so, compared to its counterparts Cape town TV, Tshwane, Bay TV and One KZN it enjoys incredible success (Hadland, Aldridge, Ogada, & Adams, 2005). With very little literature existing on the governance of CTV, the significance and contribution of this research will be to help regulatory bodies, such as ICASA, to improve their policy and regulations regarding the governance of community TV as well as their ability to perform effectively. Furthermore, this research will help shed light on how other community TV stations can govern themselves so that they can become more effective in achieving their goals.

1.9 Research Question

What is the role of governance in the effectiveness of community TV?

To answer this question, the study will focus on the most successful community TV station, Soweto TV, which, as indicated above, prides itself on a 3.1 million strong viewership. In the television environment, regardless of whether it's commercial or community; audience numbers are an important indicator of organisational effectives (Zhaouxu & Napoli, 2006). By governance, this study speaks to Cornforth's (2003) definitions that focus on the concise principles and methods employed to inform the decisions made by the board in the achievement of goals. Cornforth (2003) terms this the stewardship role of boards and further elaborates that it pertains to 'their ability to hold management to account and to see that the resources of the organisation are used properly'. Effectiveness will be measured by the degree to which the internal controls, as informed and underpinned by these principles and methods, help the community TV station achieve its stated goals and objectives.

1.10 Data Presentation

This research report will be presented in the following manner:

Chapter 1: This section will encompass the introduction, which will cover issues pertaining to the background of the community TV. The background will provide a national, continental and global perceptive on the phenomenon of community TV. It will look at the history of community TV from these aforementioned geographical perspectives. This section will detail the research problem, research purpose and question of research methods and how data/information will be collected.

Chapter 2: This section will cover the arguments linking the research to current academic debates. We will cover issues on the meaning of governance and how governance means different things to different people. It will address governance and the pluralism of 'good' and argue that good governance is value-laden In light of the last point, it will discuss how to determine the value of governance and consider theories of governance. It will also offer a framework for NPO governance and the relationship between governance and effectiveness.

Chapter 3: This section will cover the research results and analysis.

Chapter 4: This chapter offers a presentation of research results and analysis.

Chapter 5: This section is a general analysis of research.

Chapter 6: This section offers the conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature review will pinpoint the research that has been undertaken within the existing discipline that is related to the research problem being addressed (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012:30). As such, the literature will conflate the present applied work, best practice and literature; including that located within the issues of governance and role it plays in community television.

The literature review will focus primarily on governance and how it has evolved. The literature review will argue that governance is not a monolithic concept, but that it is value-laden and should be contextually interpreted. Particular focus will be given to the role contextually defined governance will play in understanding community television. These areas that will be explored will help in the inquiry and pinpointing of both the research questions as well as the problem statement.

2.2 Governance Means Different Things to Different People

The concept of governance is not a recent concept. Early discussions can be traced back to times of Aristotle and Plato. It's first introduction in development circles can be found in the much quoted paragraph on the World Bank's 1989 report: "Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to sustainable Growth. A Long-Term Perspective Study" (Vyas-Doorgapersad and Simmonds, 2011:57). The formal study of good governance, however, has a much longer history. With the evolution of the state, the concept of good governance has flourished (Vyas-Doorgapersad & Simmonds, 2011:57).

Despite the long heritage of the concept, there is no firm agreement around a single definition of governance or its institutional quality. A number of different authors and organisations have produced a wide array of definitions that concern themselves with different areas of focus (Sebola, 2014:998). However, what is interesting about these definitions is how they cover a wide scope of issues. Sebola (2014:996), for one, defines good governance as the manner in which the responsibility is discharged. Stoker (1998:34) adds to Sebola's definition that good governance is the execution of political power to manage a nation's affairs in a way that safeguards ideals: such as openness and accountability; the rule of law; freedom of press; heightened levels of participation at levels for people on the ground; and the constructions of a legitimate; pluralistic political structure. Vasudha defines governance as 'the practice of collective decision making' (2008:2). In support of Vasudha's definition of governance; Page (2013:588) adds that governance consists of public decisions and actions that shape "laws, rules, judicial decisions, and administrative practices that constrain, prescribe, and enable the provision of publicly supported goods and services".

Other definitions, like the one offered by Fukuyama, focus on specific institutions, such as the state. Fukuyama (2013:350) defines governance as a government's ability to make and enforce rules and deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not. Lastly, the World Bank defines governance as the power that is exercised in the management of the country's economic and social resources for development (Sebola 2014:998); hence, it lies in the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This definition includes the manner in which governments are chosen, regulated and replaced. It also includes the ability of the government to effectively come up with and implement policies that work and the respect the public and the state give to the institutions that champion and govern economic and social interactions among them (Mustafizur, 2006:389).

Even though there are many different definitions that have been given for governance that cover a broad range of issues, one should not conclude that there is a total lack of consensus in this area. We can draw a line that connects the above-mentioned definitions, around two key areas: (1) the idea of power or the exercise of power in how decisions are made; and (2) a focus on the ultimate outcome of that power in creating public value. This notion of public value is further corroborated by Mustafizar (2006:389) who states that good governance emerged as a vital concept in the 'fulfilment of basic human needs and providing the necessities for prosperity'.

Governance therefore involves using power and deciding on how it should be used to create some greater good, whether it is within the state or in an organisation. Fukuyama (2013:350) explains how power is related to governance when he argues that power is about the execution and performance of agents in carrying out the wishes of their principles. Sebola (2013:1000) further connects the concept of power to public value by explaining that the outcome of what is executed should be able to promote the general welfare of society or enhance the quality of life of the citizens.

It is also important as well to highlight that the concept of exercising power and achieving greater good does not just reside within the confines of the traditional domain of state. It is applicable to any context where power can and should be exercised in pursuit of some greater good, so this includes corporate organisations and non-profit organisations.

What is interesting to note from the above observations is that, despite the overlaps; the many different definitions of governance tell us that governance means different things to different people (Mafunisa & Khalo, 2014:968). The question is why different people view one concept such as governance so differently. Bevir (2001:18) sheds some light on this question. He explains that the reason why people see or view the same concept differently is because of their different narratives. Narrative, he explains is a framework or paradigm that is shaped by variables inherent within different contexts. The variables that we find within each context include those relating to values, beliefs and norms that help build and shape what people term as their reality and ultimately how they act (Bevir 2001:20).

There has been great debate over whether reality is objective or subjective.

Different paradigms over time have asserted their different take on what constitutes reality. The positivism paradigm, for one, asserts that the world is external and that there is a single objective reality, regardless of the participant's perspective or belief (Wagner, Kawulich, Garner: 2012:57). While the anti-positivist paradigm, which includes the intepretivist and transformative paradigms; asserts that reality is multiple and relative depending on the systems of meanings. This, they assert, makes it even more difficult to interpret in terms of fixed realities (Wagner, Kawulich, Garner: 2012:57). The positivist and anti-positivist paradigms are binary opposites in terms of their understanding of reality; however, the general consensus in literature in terms of what we believe about the nature of reality is that it is subjective and contextual and not objective, as positivism would like to submit (Wagner, Kawulich, Garner: 2012:57).

The positivist and anti-positivist paradigms have shaped and influenced the many interesting debates that have emerged within the governance paradigm. The major debate on governance within these two paradigms swirls around the concept of good governance. The literature identifies two major perspectives/movements that have emerged from this debate. On the one hand, the first perspective looks at good governance as a mere label, a neutral description for a administrative process, that helps different institutions within society utilise their power to achieve public value or good (Mustafizur, 2006:388). This group sees governance and good governance as the same concept. Authors such as Sebola (2014) prefer to conflate the meaning of good governance and governance, citing the lack of consensus that exists on either concept. This perspective therefore starts with good governance as the objective and rational ground for accepting or rejecting arguments within the governance discourse.

The other group rejects this approach and criticises those that regard good governance as neutral and value-free as naïve, stating that the adjective 'good', preceding 'governance' already presupposes a predefined ideological, philosophical and theoretical framework (Mustafizur, 2006:389). The result of this, as criticised by this anti-positivist movement, is 'merry-go-round' of debates, where arguments and debate spin around the same terms and ideas without change. This movement further claims that it is defeatist to think that any new contribution can be offered to governance discourse while using the ideological paradigms that are controlled by a specific group (Maserumule, 2014:980).

Anti-positivism makes special mention of the unequal balance of knowledge production that gives certain groups the power to control concepts and frame reality. Here it is stated that those who wield hegemonic power impose their understanding on what ought to be the meaning of concepts on the less powerful (Maserumule, 2014:983). This sentiment is carried forward by Karl Marx who states that those who own the means of power also own the production of knowledge to such an extent that they control the mental production of knowledge and ideas, thereby acknowledging that knowledge is produced to perpetuate the domination of the social classes (Vasudga & Stoker: 2009). This perspective, therefore, acknowledges the challenge of disentangling ideas and concepts from the bounds of a dominating paradigm. It is within this backdrop that this movement motivates for vigilance in how we frame controversial issues such as governance, and to refrain from using terms and ideas that allow certain concepts to remain unchanged. It for this reason that they disagree with the assertion made to conflate good governance and governance.

Maserumule (2014), who rejects conflating governance and good governance, sheds light on the fundamental arguments put forward by this paradigm, which are about how unique narratives determine how we make sense of governance and what we deem to be good. Maserumule does this by explaining first how the concept of governance evolved and arrived at its current usage and how it evolved from a centralised framework to a decentralised framework. He provides this change by tracing the historical antecedents of governance discourse from the times of Plato and Aristotle and to the modern time of the World Bank. In this journey of evolution, he explains historical antecedents of good and argues the importance of why the adjective 'good' preceding governance cannot be regarded as a political and neutral term, as asserted by authors such as Sebola (Maserumule, 2014:987).

2.3 Governance and the Pluralism of Good

What is the difference between governance and good governance and why is this distinction important to our understanding of governance as a whole? We have mentioned above that there is a tendency to conflate the terms 'good governance' with 'governance', but, as indicated, Maserumule disagrees with this stance. Maserumule (2014) states that we cannot treat the definition of what good is as homogenous. This, he states, is because different people regard what good is differently. He asserts that it is a mistake to treat good governance and governance as one homogenous concept because it invalidates alternative knowledge systems and philosophies from shaping this concept (Maserumule, 2014).

He unpacks this assertion and begins his inquiry into the definition of 'good' by looking at the historical antecedents of what good is. According to Maserumule (2014:967), what is good is subject to the way in which different groups of people construct reality.

Plato and Aristotle were the first to grapple with the question of what good is in their pursuit to determine responsible governance (Vyas-Doorgapersad & Simmonds, 2011:60). In their quest to understand what constituted responsible governance, they linked the notions of 'good' and 'common good' to governance, and, alternatively, linked governance to the question of establishing a just and good society.

Plato's concept of 'good' addressed the issue of knowing what good is and entrusted this 'knowing' of what good is to philosophers. Aristotle's idea of 'common good', on the other hand, places the question of what good is in the hands of the majority (Maserumule, 2014:967). According to Plato, 'knowing what good is' is a characteristic of human personality and he argued that the state was 'naturally good'; while Aristotle proposed that 'common good' is an idea that cannot be left in the hands of a few (Maserumule 2014:968). According to Aristotle, the majority must determine what is good and there is a strong emphasis on collectivism in a democratic sense.

Aristotle and Plato's philosophies, which were preoccupied with governance in the quest to establish a just society, were not the only contributions to this ideological paradigm. There are other philosophies that have contributed to definitions of what is meant by 'good' in terms of governance that should be highlighted. Some of these definitions are grounded in religion and argue the notion of 'good' from the perspective of the Christian faith. Others, on the continent, are rooted in African philosophy, which focuses on the concept of humanism and provides for the notion of collectivism as a key variable of the common good (Maserumule 2014:986). The African philosophy of humanism emphasises the importance of society over the individual (Maserumule 2014:965).

In light of the above, in the context of Africa and the focus of this thesis, it is worth noting, firstly, as Mkandawire (2007) asserts, that the conceptual underpinning of these philosophies represents two different centers of thinking: one Western and the other an African perspective. The generalisation, however, which is usually drawn between these two views, is that Western and African philosophies are binary opposites. However, this is not the case, especially considering the interesting parallel that can be drawn between Aristotle's idea of common good and the African philosophy of humanism. The proposition of the African philosophy of humanism that people are first and foremost social beings can be linked to Aristotle's idea of collectivism (Maserumule 2014:977).

These different philosophical paradigms that Maserumule highlighted illustrate the point asserted by anti-positivists that different groups of people have their own unique definitions of what is good. What is also interesting to note in Maserumule's inquiry is that different groups preoccupied themselves with defining what governance is and what 'good' is within their own context. As Bevir (2001:18) posited with his thesis on narrative, different groups of people made sense of governance using the narrative of their context.

Maserumule highlighted this point to show us: firstly, that governance is not a new concept; secondly, that it has been a preoccupation in many different societies; and, lastly, to show how important the narrative of each society was in constructing their own version of good governance. This supports the anti-positivist paradigm that acknowledges the unique ability of people to construct their own understanding of reality. This theory rejects confining a concept to certain rigid frameworks. This further challenges the above assertion found in literature by authors such as Sebola, which posits that good governance is a neutral label or single rational ground for making arguments. What can be concluded from Maserumule's inquiry is that the idea of 'good' is not monolithic, fixed or objective; but it is rather a value-driven and contextually interpreted concept.

The point stressed and reiterated in this regard is that good governance means different things to different people. Maserumule encourages vigilance when debating the concept of governance. Vyas-Doorgapersad and Stoker (2011:63) support Maserumule's contention and further add that there is a need to disentangle governance from the narrative of dominating paradigms when we try to make sense of our own. We therefore need to start to use our own terms and values to determine what good governance is. This means that those who conflate governance with good governance make the mistake of building a new foundation on old foundation of other people's knowledge. This is the argument that Maserumula wanted to illustrate when he made the argument to create a distinction between good governance and governance.

2.3 Good Governance is Value-laden

The argument to make a distinction between good governance and governance revealed an important assertion made by the anti-positivist paradigm and that is of the importance of different narratives in shaping our understanding of governance. Bevir (2001:19) explained that narratives consist of people's own unique values, beliefs and norms that shape reality and actions of different people. We identified above that there are two movements: one that agrees with conflating governance with good governance and another that rejects this position. The question that follows is how governance and good governance came to be known as homogenous terms in the current usage.

Maserumule (2014) explains that during the third wave of democratisation, international institutions - such the World Bank and the IMF, UN and EU - saw their financial intervention as an important strategy towards creating sustainable development in Africa. As Sebola (2014:1002) contends good governance was raised amidst Africa's disintegrating bureaucracy, corruption and maladministration, poverty and underdevelopment. As alluded to previously, we hear of it in development discourse in the much quoted paragraph on the World Bank's 1989 report: "Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to sustainable Growth. A Long-Term Perspective Study". Maserumula admits that it was within murky waters of Africa's bad governance that good governance was born.

The response of the World Bank and IMF, in conjunction with the Western nations, to Africa's crisis was to deliver development strategies using what they called 'Structural Adjustment Programmes' (SAPs). The purpose of Structural Adjustment Programmes was to provide a development framework that would direct and guide how developing states exercised power and managed resources; and therefore promoted the concept of a just and good society (Maserumule, 2014:988).

What is thought-provoking is that the architecture of these SAPs was based on the same blueprint used to achieve developmental success for developed nations. It appears that the rationale behind this decision was that if they replicated the models that succeeded in the developed nation within the developing nation, that they would deliver the same success. Maserumule (2014) explains that this paradigm is consistent with the homogenisation thesis in that it maintains that phenomena are understood through an examination of an influential trend in current thought.

So, the World Bank took a framework that had worked well within developed states' narratives and put it forward as a framework that would work well in a completely different context. As argued earlier, homogeneity is very problematic; especially when dealing with a context that has its own unique way of making sense of the world. The World Bank was, in essence, prescribing a good governance framework to African states, which, as stated earlier, had already framed and shaped their own unique understanding of good governance. The African paradigm of governance is different to that proposed by the World Bank's liberalism since it prioritised the welfare of the collective above economic priorities.

Mkandawire (2007) explains the disconnection observed above as a consequence of a fact-value dichotomy that is usually found within governance discourse. Maserumule (2014:990) provides an explanation to Mkandawire's assertion, suggesting that this is a result of the conflict that arises when value judgments are propounded as facts. Fact-based judgements are, by nature, based on concepts that are regarded as objective and neutral; while value-based judgements are based more on the unique interpretation of reality (Vasudha & Stoker, 2009:56). Vasudha and Stoker (2009:56) further posit that the tension between these terms arises when a value–judgment, which often has the look and feel of a fact-based judgement, gets promoted in a different context. The World Bank at that point had the power of financial leverage in terms of providing humanitarian aid, making it easier to get weakened African states to implement SAPs (Maserumule 2014:989).

SAPs, however, did not deliver the intended outcomes they promised: in fact, they exacerbated poverty and inequality in most African countries. The World Bank's definition of good governance lost credibility as a panacea to Africa's bad governance. Sebola (2014:999) explains that the gap started to widen rather than shrink as African leaders continued to extract economic resources from society for their personal gain. He explains that viewing good governance and democracy through the microscopic lens of advanced capitalist countries as way of solving Africa's problems no longer proved sufficient; especially amidst problems African states were facing (Sebola 2014: 1002).

It is worth noting that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund first proposed SAPs to Africa when they established the Alternative African Framework to Structural Adjustments Programmes (AAF-SAPs) to provide an alternative epistemological framework to the SAP framework (Mkandawire, 2007:3). The AAF-SAP framework rejected the original SAPs' minimalistic state and market-orientation approach and warned that it lacked the human consideration and failed to consider the people as the true beneficiary of development. It failed to focus on how the welfare of society would be promoted. The World Bank did not take heed of the recommendation offered by the AAF-SAPs and went ahead with their own framework, and, as mentioned, the SAPs failed and exacerbated the problems in Africa (Mkandawire, 2007:3).

Mkandawire (2007:4) gives his diagnosis of why SAPs did not yield the desired outcomes, pointing to the overly simplified assumption that the term 'good governance' assumed. Good governance under this paradigm assumed that, "Liberalism is the only ideological, philosophical and theoretical paradigm from which *good governance* could be understood". African scholars continue in this line of thinking by attributing the failure of SAPS to the fact that the very concept of good governance is essentially Western in origin, and, as a result, its claims will therefore advocate the interest of the West over those of Africans (Mkandawire, 2007:4). It is this idea of universal applicability that justified imposing a 'copy and paste idea' or 'copy cat' model while ignoring the complexity of the context that it finds itself in.

Vasudha and Stoker (2009:67) criticise the World Bank approach by emphasising the faulty thinking of liberalism that assumes homogeneity of context. They further elaborate that the Western administrative context cannot be considered the same as African administrative contexts to ever justify using it as a model for an African type of governance. In agreement with Vasudha and Stoker's criticism, Sebola (2014:1002) further adds that the African administrative context differs from the east, north, west and south of Africa, and explains the mistake on the part of the World Bank definition of good governance in assuming that good governance is a politically and culturally neutral concept.

Critics are therefore calling for a good governance definition that considers the complexity of variables within different context and includes various voices in its interpretation. This sentiment is as expressed well by former South African President Thabo Mbeki when he emphasised that good governance is the key to addressing most of the continent's political and economic problems: such as, war, violence, poverty, human abuse and inequality (Maserumule, 2014:987). However, he stated that the achievement of good governance in Africa is only likely to be a success if it is based on the known principles that are friendly to African political administrators. (Maserumule, 2014:987).

This very statement, along with arguments made by others, indicates that there is some degree of consensus on the value of governance as a transformative process in terms of building effective political and institutional apparatus that work to help achieve the goals of development or public value. There is however dissension on what constitutes a good governance framework within different contexts. As already mentioned, critics are calling for a good governance definition that considers the complexity of variables within different contexts and is inclusive of various voices in its interpretation. They are advocating the use of a context-specific term; as well as having ideas and knowledge in conceptualising what good is.

Therefore, rather than using categories, terms and definitions that have been framed by a Western context, critics are opting for a governance framework that is representative of the narrative of each context. This idea is encapsulated holistically by Maseremula (2014) when he contends that good governance is not an objective reality, but a 'trans-contextual, value-laden and multidimensional concept with multi-vocal meanings'. If we then consider Maserumule's submissions that good governance is 'value laden', meaning that no one paradigm can claim sole ownership over the term, as correct; then the question posed at the beginning of this section still stands: How did the terms 'governance' and 'good governance' become known as homogenous? This paper would like to offer the following as an explanation.

We noted that earlier that - in the much quoted paragraph on the World Bank's 1989 report: "Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to sustainable Growth. A Long-Term Perspective Study" - the ascendance of good governance on the global development agenda gained notoriety as a panacea to African administrative crisis as result of the West. The anti-positivists made a special mention of how global hierarchies affect knowledge development frameworks in the world, especially in terms of how concepts are defined and promoted. The World Bank, in agreement with Western nation, was a powerful hegemony during this period. As the dominating power, the World Bank not only introduced and set the agenda of governance in modern development discourse, but they also defined it and defined how it would be executed for other nations. SAPs were the good governance frameworks engineered to deliver sustainable development to Africa.

However, as mentioned already; SAPs failed. The assumption in this regard would therefore be to dismantle the SAPs' paradigm and present alternative African frameworks in its place. However, as the anti positivists already explained, the power of the West is not just located in their political muscle, but resides very much in their power to define: a power that many African scholars claim still has not yet been relinquished. We see the expression of this power, as critics maintain, in the current use of terms and language in governance debates. African scholars maintain that we see it vividly when African authors, such as Sebola, continue (in current and future discourse) to use the very same terms as those imposed by the West in the past (Mkandawire, 2007:4). This is a sign of control that African scholars, in support of the anti positivist paradigms, warn us against when they reject conflating good governance with governance. If we consider terms and concepts - as indicated in Maserumule's philosophical inquiry on what is 'good' - as carriers of the history and culture of people's ontological heritage; this means that if we continue to use those very terms in own debates, we continue (as Karl Marx posited) to reinforce their domination over us (Mkandawire, 2007:6).

It is because of this above warning that many African scholars speak about the process of dismantling concepts as a key approach to engendering a spirit of pluralism in governance discourse (Thiong'o, 1993:34). This position fundamentally represents the argument presented by the anti-positivist movement in their call to disentangle the notion of Western good governance from these frameworks; and instead allow people's indigenous knowledge systems to determine what good governance means. The narrative of each context, as articulated by anti–positivists, holds within it keys that will unlock the power of governance to deliver the good it is intended for. However, this narrative cannot be interpreted or constructed by anyone except the people who find themselves within that context. What this then tells us about the fundamental tension between the positivist and anti-positivist paradigms in governance is that it is a struggle for power over the concept of governance: as they fight for the power to interpret good in governance through people's unique perspective, disentangling it from the hegemonic power of the West and expressing it through an African narrative and context.

2.5 Theories of Governance

In the previous section, we argued the importance of making a distinction between governance and good governance. Munisa and Khalo (2014) propounded that governance means different things to different people. Bevir (2001:23) supports their notions, but further adds that the differences in the meaning of governance reveal far more than just tension and contradictions. Bevir (2001:20) explains that differences in governance point to different narratives under which they were constructed. A narrative, as posited by Bevir (2001), is an explanation that helps us understand how the beliefs, values and desires of people influence their actions. Using this definition of narrative as an ontological basis of argument, means that each definition of governance highlights a unique narrative that explains how the beliefs, values and desires of individuals steer their actions.

Above, we provided the various definitions of different authors and how each pointed to a specific area of focus. Stoker (1998:26), who defined good governance as: "the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs in a way that secures openness and accountability, the rule of law, freedom of press, increased grassroots participation and the building of legitimate, pluralistic political structures"; focused his definition on how power is managed. Fukuyama (2013) defined good governance as, "a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not"; and focused his definition on the capacity of the state.

Vasudha and Page (2009) focused their definition on decision–making; and, lastly, the World Bank defined governance as, "the power that is exercised in the management of the country's economic and social resources for development", and this definition focused on how state apparatus can function to serve the markets (Maserumule, 2014:980). Each of these definitions and each area of focus, despite some overlap, represents a unique narrative.

Narratives can be explained by theories that provide rationality for the views, perspectives and actions that various individuals take (Bevir, 2001). As we begin this process of unpacking what these theories are all about, it is important to highlight that there is no one theory that runs straight through everything that can be said about governance; nor is there one theory that provides a starting point from which all else follows. However, a good starting point for this theoretical inquiry would be to look to the social sciences for direction. Social science provides a framework from which we can reliably trace the development of knowledge and the ways in which people construct their understanding of reality. Social science research identifies that knowledge diverges from two main areas of analysis: one that adopts a centralised framework of understanding the world; and one that adopts a decentralised approach to framing ideas (Wagner, Kawulich, Garner: 2012:55).

The one paradigm, which asserts itself as a central and objective framework for understanding the world, is called the positivist paradigm. The positivism paradigm has been a subject of great philosophical criticism because of the basis of its premise (Wagner, Kawulich, Garner: 2012:55). Positivism is based on the idea of pure experience. By 'pure experience', this paradigm suggests that human behaviour and actions can be explained objectively through social facts. Contrary to this centralised framework, is the decentralised approach that explains that human behaviour and actions are saturated with subjective beliefs and desires. This paradigm asserts that the world is not given as pure perception, but rather that different people perceive the world differently because they hold different theories (Bevir 2001:2). This decentralised approach is known as the interpretivist paradigm. According to Bevir, it is within these positions of positivism and interpretivism that we unpack the theories of governance.

The theoretical discussion begins with the rational choice and the sociological institutional traditions, because, according to Page (2013), governance theory tends to cluster loosely around these two theories. The rational choice tradition assumes that people are motivated by commercial incentives and scrutinises the interests and incentives that are a consequence of these formal and institutional workings. The rational choice theory explains how people would behave if their actions were structured around their preferences. As Page (2013:590) asserts, rational choice theory conceptualises actions as rational strategies for achieving the economic desires of people, there is a sense in which it seems to reduce the rationality of political protagonists to be purely driven by self-interest.

Vasudha and Stoker (2009:113) offer their criticism by further arguing that there are challenges with rational choice theory logic. The first problem with the theory has to do with delineating collective action. That is, if individuals simply justify the reasons for their actions solely based on economic rewards they will receive, why would they ever choose to do something that will benefit others more than themselves? Rational choice does not provide an explanation for individual action that is selfless, altruistic or philanthropic. Related to the first problem just discussed, the second problem with rational choice theory, according to its critics, has to do with social norms. This theory does not explain why some people conform to social norms of behaviour that steer them to act in a selfless manner or why some people feel the deep need to serve and to put the interests of others ahead of their own (Vasudha & Stoker, 2009:113).

The third argument against rational choice theory is it treats individuals as an island. According to critics of individualistic theories, they fail to explain and take into consideration that individuals live within communities: they live within a larger social structure (Page, 2013:105). That is, there must be another way in which social structures are explained so that they can no longer be reduced solely to the actions of individuals (Page, 2013:105). The criticism outlines and highlights some of the problems that were associated with the neoliberalism narrative of defining good governance.

The neoliberal narrative of governance, as offered by the World Bank sponsored definition, emphasised economic interests over public interests (Maserumule 2014:998). Moreover, the idea of free and open competitive market economies within a supervised state was the dominant paradigm proposed by this narrative as a structure able to overcome the problems of sustainable development in Africa. What lurks behind this definition, as Page (2013:107) submits, are ideas of "neoclassical preferences, utility, rationality and profit maximisation choice"; ideas that are "based on theoretical rational choice model of self interest or preference".

Recognising the same observations as Page, Bevir (2001:33) posits that there it is a very narrow view of self-interest that enabled the World Bank to treat 'preferences, utility and rationality' as a monolithic narrative of governance. They did so without regard for the particular circumstances in which they were introduced; making it a reflection of a positivist centered framework. The thinking behind decisions and views to implement governance that focused solely on economic interest, without regard for the human centered interests, shows a complementary relationship with the rational choice theory paradigm.

The sociological institutional tradition, on the other hand, assumes that people take part in a network or arrangements of social exchanges and it explores the informal relationships and norms that mould and evolve from the interactions among them (Page 2013:105). The sociological tradition contradicts the rational choice assumptions in that the action and behaviour of people is self-interest based. It is based on the assumption that people are involved in networks of social interactions, shifting the focus from the individual approach to one of collective perspective (Page 2013:105).

Institutionalism further asserts that actions are steered and shaped by the institutions within which individuals find themselves, whether those actions take place within different states or other geographical levels (Bevir 2001:211). The clear concession that this theory makes is that formal institutions are understood in terms of rules or norms, and it goes as far as to speculate that formal institutions can explain and perhaps even determine behaviour. The assumption is therefore that people act according to institutionally prescribed norms or rules, and that we can read people's beliefs and desires from their social location. Bevir (2001) challenges this assertion, stating that the problem with the institutionalism position is that it defines institutions through fixed terms, where operating procedures or rules are concrete and assumes that they limit the actions of those subjects within these institutions.

Furthermore, this theory does not take into account that the people within these institutions have their own unique cultures and meaning that inform their actions. Nor, as Page (2013:108) posits, in support of Bevir, does this paradigm ask the question of how meanings and actions that are created, recreated, and changed, reforming the institutions. Instead, it assumes that those who fall under the institutions will be bound to follow the procedures and rules as set out by the founders of the institution and that the institution itself will not change. The World Bank, which defined governance through emphasising effective and efficient institutions, has a complementary relationship with the institutional paradigm.

Good governance, under the auspices of the World Bank, largely concerned itself with public administration as a state apparatus that is competent, uncorrupt and accountable in the manner that it conducted the business of governance (Sewell & Cloete, 2013:961). Furthermore, it highlights prioritising economic aspects of governance through transparent government actions, effective management of resources and the stability of the regulatory environment for private sector activity. This definition as seems to stipulate that self-organising and inter-governmental networks need to be functional and specialised to achieve economic changes (Bevir 2001:18).

The narrative of network governance mirrors that of institutionalist theory in that it treats people within institutions as if they are bound to follow the relevant procedures or rules set by the institution. It assumes that the beliefs, actions and intentions of those who fall under the institutions will resemble the way the founders structured and constructed the rules and procedures of the institutions. In this case, the World Bank, as the founders of the institution, thought that the actions of the people, in this case Africans, would be steered by the institutional values they had set. This paradigm reflects a positivist approach that asserts that behaviour can be explained by a central framework: in this case, the institutionalism framework. (Bevir 2001: 18).

Both the rational choice theory and institutionalism theory posit a centralised analysis of governance, alleging that the world could be understood from observing objective social facts. However, in contrast to this positivist approach, the decentralised approach encourages an examination of "social institutions, life, actions, values from a process within which they are created, sustained and modified from the different interpretation of actors within those contexts (Bevir, 2001:18)". This approach is recognised as interpretive theory. Interpretive theory suggests that there are no fixed meanings nor are there actions or behaviours that can be explained by them (Bevir 2001: 18).

Interpretivism asks that we open up institutions in the way that we consider them as a product of diverse cultural factors and meaning. Therefore, interpretivism asks that recognition be given to differences in meaning; and, with regards to institutions and self-interest theories; that governance move towards a de-centered analysis. This idea mirrors that of the African scholars who demand that normative character of governance should validate different beliefs and values as necessary constructs of their ontological contexts (Mkandawire, 2007:3).

There is an important requirement that this paper has propounded about constructing frameworks that are created to direct and steer people's actions and behaviour. This requirement asks that governance framework inherit a heuristic character. This view is encapsulated by Maserumula (2014) who challenges the notion that good governance *is* a fact and rather postulates that it is a "trans-contextual, value-laden and multidimensional concept with multi-vocal meanings". Governance is not one thing: it is different things to different people and these theories have supported the argument to disentangle narratives from a positivist paradigm to opening the interpretation of governance to the varied traditions of those who are affected by it.

This value-laden conceptualisation of governance is an important argument to put forward. As asserted by various authors, when governance conceptualisation is a top-down approach that does not take into account the complexity of context in which it finds itself; it fails. This has been seen with SAPs and various other situations (Maserumule, 2014: 994). Governance frameworks that aim to achieve common good, as asserted earlier by Plato and Aristotle, have to take into account the unique interpretations and values of the people who will be affected by them. The submission made by this paper is that governance is an imperative model to solving problems and an effective vehicle for achieving common good. However, for it to work, it has to be framed appropriately by its context.

2.6 How to Determine the Value of Governance

As indicated above, the preoccupation with governance dates back to early philosophers, such as Plato and Aristotle. This preoccupation is still evident within the modern context: where, for instance, both the World Bank and African scholars concerned themselves with creating a just and good society where the welfare of the citizens is upheld.

The contention that arose between various scholars and authors was on the normative character of what 'good governance' is. What was revealed was that the cause of these differences was as a result of the differences in narratives. Different narratives create different ways in which people make sense of their reality. Despite the contradictions in definitions, this paper established that there is consensus on governance as an effective vehicle for achieving common good.

The question therefore is how to determine public value and how to measure it when there are so many different perceptions and contexts that conceptualise it so differently.

As already indicated above, there is no one way of interpreting anything, but, as illustrated above, we can determine a common pattern that runs through different definitions that can help us figure out why governance is important and how to measure the value it accrues. This paper will reference two different scenarios that will help us find an answer to this question.

The first scenario is one delineated by Mafunisa & Khalo (2014) in their article on “Good governance-An Elusive Ideal?” In their article, they delineate the Limpopo provincial government administrative collapse that resulted in the province losing money and enduring service delivery protests; having to then have the national government intervene to remedy this problem. Khalo and Mafunisa attributed this crisis to a lapse in the politics and administration of the state. It must be submitted that Mafunisa and Khalo assert that this crisis was a result of a lapse in good governance. The articles go on to explain the lapse of governance as being caused by negligence to include and incorporate those who were affected by it.

The question is why do Mafunusa and Khalo attribute this crisis to a problem with governance? Fukuyama (2013) sheds some light on this question when he states that the focus of governance is concerned with the ends or outcome it achieves or meant to fulfill. He continues and explains that governance, as an institutional apparatus or organ, focuses on of performance: the performance of agents in carrying out the wishes of their principals, and not about the goals that their principals set out (Fukuyama 2013: 350). This means that the value of the governance framework is determined and measured by the objectives and goals it is created to achieve. In this case, Mafunisi and Khalo explain that the role and objectives of provincial governance is to deliver essential services such as water, sanitation and housing to the citizens. This then means using Fukuyama’s rationale that when institutions fail to achieve their goals, this failure can be attributed to a problem with their governance framework. Governance therefore provides a framework under which people use state apparatus to achieve the goals that will establish common good or public value. As mentioned already, governance is not just the sole preoccupation of the state, but an area of concern across different areas.

Another case worth noting is that one articulated in the article '"Finding our way": The need for accountable leadership and good governance' by Matshabapala (2014, 1010). He explains that good governance is a function of transformational leadership. This kind of leadership, he asserts, is key in the kind of decision-making that can move and shift a society. An example of this is South Africa, which was characterised by dehumanising attributes of the closed apartheid system, and then shifted to an open system where people's dignity is now largely upheld. In this article, he explains that public servants who are charged with important role of delivering public good to the citizen can achieve these goals under the right kind of leadership (Matshabaphala, 2014:1010).

Transformational leadership, Matshabaphala (2014:1011) explains is, "a leadership style where the leader is charged with identifying the needed change, creating a vision to guide the change through inspiration, and executing the change in tandem with committed members of the group". The definition of this type of leadership, with regard to governance, hinges on the ability to read the context and working with other people to come up with the change that is required (Matshabaphala, 2014:1010). This assertion supports the point highlighted, even with the previous case of the need to make the conceptualisation of governance an inclusive process.

In answering the question that was posed in the beginning of this section and using the two scenarios provided by Mafunisam Khalo and Matshabaphala; the following can be concluded: firstly, as argued throughout this paper and also revealed in the scenarios, there is need for governance frameworks within every context to be a participatory process and to involve all the people who are affected; and, lastly, as posited by Fukuyama, the value of governance is hinged on the ability of the people and institutors in which they work to achieve the set goals and objectives set within their particular context. This means that common good or public value is specific to the manner in which governance objectives and goals are achieved and set within each context.

2.7 The Theoretical and Conceptual Framework of the Study

Literature makes a distinction between civil society and non-profit organisations. Civil society is social sphere within which you find non-profit organisations. Non-profit organisations (NPOs) are identified through their ability to represent the needs and interests that government and/or markets fail to meet. NPOs function for the benefit of the under-represented or overlooked sections of society (O'Toole & Meir: 2010:25). They empower the public to assert their right to receive services from government and promote community cohesion to enhance the capacity of the public to play a part in decision-making. In terms of their value, non-profit organisations worldwide contribute a huge part of the gross national product by creating more jobs than many other economic sectors (O'Toole & Meir, 2010:25). Non-profit organisations tend to focus on education, social services and health.

NPOs have long been regarded as the 'neglected stepchildren' in the shadow of their profit-making counterparts, especially with regard to good governance (O'Toole & Meir: 2010:25). The current literature indicates that very little research exists on the governance of non-profit organisations as well as on foundations all over the world. The governance discussion so far is limited to non-profit organisations in Germany and a number of European member states as well in the US, with very little on South Africa (O'Toole & Meir: 2010:25).

The interest in the governance of NPOs recently stems from the problems of distrust that have emerged within these organisations, both nationally and internationally. It is again the murky waters of bad governance that bring the issue of governance to the fore. Considering that there is very little literature on the governance of NPOs, the question might be how a thorough inquiry can be made on this subject.

This paper has shown and argued that, within every context, there is a preoccupation with pursuing a common good and governance. As indicated above with the examples of Aristotle, Plato and African scholars, and similarly with NPOs there is an intention to create common good in society. This therefore tells us that there is some insight that the literature dealing with governance of state institutions can provide when assessing governance of NPOs.

We have shown that the framework of good governance cannot be a copy-and-paste approach, but, as the interpretative theory asserts, should rather be a framework that thoroughly examines the social institutions, life, actions, values of people and their narratives. Maserumula (2014:983) propounded that good governance is not an objective reality but rather a "trans-contextual, value-laden and multidimensional concept with multi-vocal meanings". It's within the key learning offered through our inquiry of the good governance within the context of the state and using the theoretical framework offered by the anti-positivism paradigm and interpretivism theory - that we will conduct our research on NPOs, specifically focusing on Soweto TV.

The importance and role that NPOs play, as Osborne (2010) posits, underscores the importance of the trust we place in them: the trust to carry out the delivery of services while being mindful of those for whom they are in essence working, namely, citizens. Governance, in the NPO sector, as stated by Osborne (2010), is subsequently an issue that deals with how NPOs manage public resources and how they effectively provide essential services in today's complex societies while using these resources.

Trust, in this context, therefore speaks about providing quality services, securing honest and prudent administration of financial resources and assets, as well as providing these services in a safe manner, and in a fair, honest and professional way (Cornforth: 2003:87). Trust, ultimately, means demonstrating full accountability to one's stakeholders. Therefore, effective governance becomes essential to achieving trust and ensuring that NPOs are successful organisations (Osborne, 2010:34).

As a result, governance, as Laegreid and Verhoest (2010) postulate, has to be a deliberate mechanism and purposed intervention that will ensure that NPOs are, firstly, accountable; and, secondly, effective. This means that governance works when it has set in place internal controls that will protect the organisation. Hopt and Hippel (2010) further add that governance has to be a process whereby persons entrusted with the future of an organisation exercise overseeing, where they comply or adhere to policies, rules, and regulations. They continue to explain that when organisations stray into trouble (legal or otherwise), it is usually when they fail to execute these duties properly (Hopt and Hippel: 2010).

Cornforth (2003) highlights that the boards or boards of directors therefore play a critical role in ensuring that non-profit organisations are publically accountable and perform well. Hopt and Hippel (2009:12) corroborate this statement further by stating that the boards of NPOs are key figures in good or not-so-good governance. Following the many scandals and failures NPOs have faced, growing scrutiny and many concerns have been raised about their ability to govern effectively. The reason for this scrutiny is because of the important role proper internal controls play, in that: for one, they significantly reduce the chance of any type of fraud or embezzlement from taking place within the organisation; and for another for non-profit organisations, who depend on funding for their survival it is imperative that they ensure that NPOs are beyond reproach in the eyes of the public and these controls ensure this (Hopt and Hipped, 2009:12).

Cornforth (2003), in response to these demands and expectations on NPOs, proposes the following actions or interventions, which he terms 'best practices' as the internal controls that should be set within NPOs to ensure that they achieve good governance. They include: (1) monitoring issues such as budgeting; (2) public expenditure tracking; (3) monitoring of public services delivery; (4) public commissions; and (5) citizen advisory boards. Monitoring issues such as budgeting looks at scrutinising on how money is spent, ensuring that it spent on the right things and ensuring accountability (Cornforth 2003:36).

Hopt and Hippel (2009:12) further add the following to Cornforth's best practices' framework and they include: (1) independent audit; (2) independent audit committee; (3) public access to audited financial statements; (4) compensation of the CEO approved by the full board of directors; (5) conflict interest policy; (6) whistle-blowing policy; and (7) travel policy. There is no mandatory requirement for an NPO to have an independent audit that will provide an annual audit of the NPO's financial statement. However, the recommendation is that non-profit organisation with annual revenue of $250,000 (around R3 million at the current exchange rate) undergoes an audit of their financial statements. An independent audit committee is recommended in situation where the CFO and CEO are members of the audit committee (Hopt and Hippel, 2009:12).

To ensure that tough questions are raised and important criticism is given, the recommendation is for the board to appoint a separate committee that will provide the necessary financial scrutiny required (Hopt and Hippel, 2009:13). Public access to audited financial statements speaks about making the financial statements available to the general public either on their websites or sending them out in response to request (Hopt and Hippel, 2009:13). With regards to the compensation of the CEO, Cornforth adds to Hopt and Hippel's contribution by stating that it speaks about setting a reasonable bar on the CEO's compensation and ensuring that all the board of directors are present, aware of and approve the compensation. Cornforth (2003) notes that major problems that have resulted in CEOs of NPOs being paid exorbitant amounts resulted from board members either being unaware of the CEO's salary or not being present when the amount was set. The conflict of interest policy speaks to policies that will address procedures that need to be followed in managing conflicts of interests (Cornforth, 2003).

Whistle-blowing refers to providing protection for employees who report misconduct: it is recommended that NPOs create whistle-blowing policies that give employees the anonymity and the confidence to report such cases (Hopt and Hippel, 2009:24). The recommendation made on travel policies is to require the organisation to clarify specific instructions regarding travelling; such as, limiting the size of people that can travel and adopting a code of conduct (Hopt and Hippel, 2009:12).

It is important to note again that these above-mentioned interventions or actions were proposed as a result of a specific situation that had taken place. Unlike their profit-making counterparts, where corporate law can explain and regulate different organisations even from different countries, non-profits are so much more complicated in that no single governance framework can explain or regulate them all. Hopt and Hippel (2003:12) explain this by stating that the state of governance frameworks of NPOs is very path-dependent.

The governance actions that are provided by Hopt & Hippel (2003), as well as Cornforth, provide important guiding interventions for the conceptual framework that could be used within the research of NPOs in South Africa, specifically community television (which is what this study will focus on). Indeed, the context and environment under which Hopt and Hippel, as well as Cornforth, conceptualised their interventions are different from those that exist in South Africa, especially so for the community television sector. Even so, we can borrow from Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth's best practices' framework as a conceptual framework for the study of the role of governance in the effectiveness of community TV.

The current literature reviewed in this paper supports this position because we have argued that the fundamental flaw within the governance discourse is not the governance framework proposed, but rather the idea of imposing proposed frameworks without considering the contribution of the people who would be a part of, or affected by, the process governance. Therefore the conceptual framework that Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth developed, even though it was developed within their unique context, could find applicability within a South Africa context.

This type of approach of borrowing Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth's governance framework to addressing the question of governance within South African context is supported by the interpretative theoretical framework, which allows for the external and internal ideas to merge and integrate with each other on mutual standing. In this case, it would be Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth's governance framework synthesised with ideas that arise in the South African context. Therefore, we would ask how issues such as budgeting, public expenditure tracking, monitoring of public services' delivery, public commissions and citizen advisory boards, independent auditing, public access to audited financial statements, and compensation of the CEO approved by full board of directors could be addressed in South Africa. It for this reason that we choose the combination of Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth's governance framework to NPOs as our conceptual framework for this study.

In conclusion, the interpretative theoretical framework has provided the right lenses through which to view the conceptual framework chosen for this paper. Even though South African NPOs have not birthed or conceived their own governance framework, Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth's governance framework can adapted to this context.

This paper has argued for the importance of inclusivity and participation in constructing frameworks. Maserumule, who is an important voice in this regard, propounds that we treat governance as a value-laden and context-driven term. He doesn't call for a complete overhaul of the Western governance framework, but rather seeks to find meaning in the unique narrative of one's context.

In closing, the interpretative theoretical and anti-positivist theoretical framework approach allows us to do an authentic inquiry into such issues, of participation and inclusion; and, unlike the rational choice and institutionalist theories that bind and lock meaning within a very centralised and singular framework; interpretative theory places importance on people's interpretive systems and abilities. It is for this reason that we chose this theory as a supporting theory to justify our conceptual framework.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Methodology

The literature on research methodology makes a distinction between qualitative and quantitative research methods. Quantitative research pertains to research design that utilises data in a form of numbers and is used to elucidate social phenomena by determining a cause and effect relationship between variables (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). Quantitative research aligns itself with a positivist approach, which simply assumes an objective reality where empirical evidence is formulated through findings that can be replicated (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). Qualitative research, on the other hand, is organised around the different strategies for undertaking research and these strategies simply speak about the blueprint that will guide the process of inquiry (Guba, 1981). Qualitative research concerns itself with understanding the meanings people hold and construct while engaging with their world (Merriam 2012). Unlike the positivist paradigm which understands reality as a fixed measureable, one-dimensional construct qualitative research recognises reality as constructed from ever-changing ideas and interpretations (Merriam, 2012). The underlying character of qualitative research is that it concerns itself with learning about how people make sense of their experience and how they understand their world (Denzin, 1994).

The role of the researcher is to therefore to give a voice to the interpretations and experiences of participants. This means the researcher, in qualitative research, is a critical instrument of the data collection and data analysis and their job is to ensure that they accurately reflect the experiences of the participant (Merriam, 2012).

The role the researcher plays has received a lot of criticism mainly on issues pertaining to bias and how that distorts research findings and outcomes (Denscombe, 1998). Denzin (1994) addresses this criticism by stating that it is this very subjectivity of the researcher that is the basis of his/her ability to make a meaningful contribution to the field of social science: the researcher and the data being so tightly knit together is what, according to him, has created such ground-breaking work. However, Merriam (2012) soberly responds to this concern about the researcher's bias contaminating the outcomes by suggesting reflexivity, which requires researchers to be introspective and to undertake personal vetting of themselves and the entire research design, is problematic.

We therefore will use 'bias journals', as suggested by Bricki and Green (2007), for all our researchers in this study where our researchers will documents the details of how they have influenced the results in the data collection process. The purpose of logging these details is, according to Bricki and Green (2007), to constantly sensitise the researchers, making them aware of their prejudices and preconceptions and give them a firsthand account of how they could impact the outcome of the findings. For the reader of the final report, the existence of a bias journal creates transparency within the research, which allows them to examine any concern they might have about the objectivity and interpretation of the research outcomes (Bricki and Green, 2007).

Another way to achieve reflexivity in qualitative research design in order to mitigate the problems of bias is to create 'triangulation'. Triangulation is about observing a phenomenon from different perspectives (Merriam, 2012) .In this research; we are going to use triangulation methodology, which is the process of utilising numerous methods to investigate one's problem. We will use interviews together with observations. Qualitative research is not without its challenges and shortcomings, but within it strengths is the ability to generate richly detailed and descriptive information about phenomena about which little is known (Wagner, Kawulich and Garner, 2012). In this sense, qualitative research is a significantly inductive process in that it pertains to gathering data to build theory rather than a deductive process that tests hypothesis (Wagner, Kawulich and Garner, 2012).

The researcher can approach qualitative research from different philosophical approaches (Wagner, Kawulich and Garner, 2012). The first is the interpretative approach; which, as the name suggests, focuses on understanding the experience from the point of view of the subject (Wagner, Kawulich and Garner, 2012). Then there is critical social theory, which is an approach that examines how the political and social variables within a different context influence perception about reality (Wagner, Kawulich and Garner, 2012) Lastly, the post-modernist philosophical stance proposes dismantling our views about reality and questioning all aspects of how it is created (Wagner, Kawulich and Garner, 2012).

In the search for meaning and understanding about how subjects make sense of their world; the researcher, as the human instrument, must also be clear about the lenses through which they are going to view the research. Merriam (2013) posits that understanding your own stance as a researcher is important in deciding on your research strategy. This research aligns itself with the interpretive approach because we will be examining the role of governance in effectiveness of community TV.

To answer the research question of what the role of governance is in the effectiveness of community TV, a qualitative research approach will be employed. Qualitative research, as indicated, concerns itself with understanding the meaning people hold and construct while engaging with their world (Merriam, 2002). Governance which, in all sectors, is centered on what Cornforth stamps as the stewardship role of boards - focuses on the organisational structures that have been set up to ensure that the resources disposed to the organisation are being used effectively to achieve goals. Therefore, the underlying motivation of using qualitative research as an appropriate approach for this study is that it allows learning to take place about how people make sense of their experience and how they understand their world (Denzin, 1994). In this case, this is applied to how the board of Soweto TV makes sense of governance.

In the search for meaning and understanding about how subjects make sense of their world, Merriam (2002) highlights the importance of the researcher as the human instrument. Merriam (2002) further explains the importance of the researcher being clear about the lens through which he/she is going to view the research. The lens through which this study will be viewed is through an interpretivist lens, which, as the name suggests; offers a focus that allows this qualitative study to understand experience from the point of view of the subject.

3.2 Research Design

Qualitative research is organised around the different strategies for undertaking research and these strategies simply speak of the blueprint that will guide the process of inquiry (Eisenhardt, 1989). The qualitative research design that will be followed in this research is a case study method. Case study is a method that allows a certain phenomena within a particular context to be explored using different kind of data sources (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Motivating the appropriateness of this method for this study, was the importance of unique conditions, as cited by Yin (1984), being ideal in choosing to use a case study strategy. These conditions are: a clear research question posed; certainty about control over events; and a focus on current, as opposed to past, events.

Case studies can be categorised according to whether they are exploratory in that they answer questions and can be explanatory in that they answer 'how' and 'why' to these questions (Eisenhardt, 1989). For the purpose of this inquiry, we will be pursuing an exploratory case study approach because we are asking the question: "What is the role of governance in the effectiveness of community TV with a special focus on Soweto TV?" (Rose, Spinks, & Canhoto, 2015) An important feature of case studies is determining the unit of analysis (Yin, 2009). In this inquiry, the unit of analysis is the organisation, Soweto TV (Eisenhardt, 1989). There are two types of cases that researchers can select in case study research: one is a single case study; and the other a multi-case study. Each type of case has both strengths and weakness. The choice to choose one over the other is underpinned by the purpose of a researcher's study, which, in this case, is to determine the role that governance places in the effectiveness of community TV (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

Case studies employ various data collection methods - such as archives, interviews, questioners, document research and observations (Yin, 2009). For this study, semi-structured interviews and document research will be undertaken.

The choice of Soweto TV as a sample for this study was motivated by rationale provided by a non-probability sampling technique that advocates choosing participants based on their ability to provide rich information and the fact that much can be learned from about the topic (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012).

Soweto TV, as one of the biggest communities TV stations in South Africa, followed only by Cape Town TV; will provide the richest knowledge and information on the subject of study. The strength of this type of sampling technique is that the findings of the research can be applied to a context that is similar (Merriam, 2002). However, its weaknesses include bias of the researcher and a lack of objectivity in selecting their sample, as well as the inability to make inferences from the sample to the population (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012).

According to Wagner, Kawulich & Garner (2012), there is no rule of thumb concerning the size of such a sample as it is based on the subjective decision of the researcher. However, researchers are advised to consider issues such as research purpose and type of study, time limitations and availability of resources (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012). All the board members will be interviewed in this study and no sample size based on these considerations need be applied

3.3. Data Collection

3.3.1 Documentary Research

Governance, as mentioned above, focuses on the structures that have been put in place to ensure that the decisions made about resources are effective in achieving set goals and objectives (Yin, 1998). To study governance, the researcher will look at formal policy documents that the hybrid framework (sourced from Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth's best practices) provides clarification on. According to these authors, for effective governance to take place, NPOs need to be informed by formal policies that speak to how the following listed issues are managed:

1. Public expenditure tracking;
2. Monitoring of public services' delivery;
3. Public commissions;
4. Citizen advisory boards,
5. Independent audit process;
6. Independent audit committee;
7. Public access to audited financial statements;
8. Compensation of the CEO and its approval by a full board of directors;
9. Conflict of interest;
10. Whistle-blowing
11. Travel policy.

The researcher in the document analysis process will be looking for the following:

1. Firstly, establishing whether there are documents that are currently in place that speak to how Soweto TV is governed;
2. Establishing whether the available documents highlight the above listed 11 issues/items;
1. Determining the level of detail to which polices speak to 11 issues or any other governance issues outlined;

2. Looking at the issues of specificity or ambiguity to establish the degree that it provides guidance so that polices can be implementable;
3. Determining how regularly polices are adjusted by whom on what basis;
4. Exploring the alternatives in place and why these are not in place in the interviews.

There are some cited challenges about using document research as method of inquiry that highlights issues. Two of these are the biases in selecting the documents that will be used and the availability and access of the documents. The way that the researcher will mitigate these highlighted challenges in addressing bias is to use Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth's conceptual framework to inform the choice of which document to use and to address the issue of availability of documents. The researcher is confident that she has received buy-in from the chairperson of Soweto TV who has, on occasion, expressed the need of such studies. Moreover, the researcher will provide written confidentiality documents clarifying the issue of confidentiality when documents are analysed. Names will be omitted to ensure anonymity.

The documents will be accessed through written request that will be submitted to the chairperson of Soweto TV.

3.3.2 Interview Process

The lead researcher is an employee at Soweto TV and therefore has access to the board of Soweto TV. The process of first contact with board members of Soweto TV will entail first speaking to and then emailing the chairperson of the board to notify him of the study and its purpose. After his having agreed to conduct this study, the researcher then has the permission to set up interviews with the rest of the board members. The chairperson of the board is the gatekeeper, and permission from him makes access to the rest of the board easier. With regards to the concerns about the power that gatekeepers yield, literature speaks at length about protecting participants from being coerced into participation (Baxter & Jack, 2008). However, in the case of this particular inquiry, the board expressed the need to invest in studies that strengthen the effectiveness of the organisation. This study is therefore in line with the mandate of the station, so concern about coercion was not an issue.

3.4 The Participants

The people on the board of Soweto TV are therefore the participants in this study. The language that the interviews will be conducted in is English. The researcher conducted an inquiry of the language preference of each board member and she was informed that English was the preferred language.

The lead researcher will conduct the interviews. The interviews will be tape-recorded and researchers will use cell phones as back-up recording devices. The researcher will also take notes. The interviews will provide rich and detailed data about the attitudes and views of participants towards the issues that will be examined (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). Please refer to an appendix for the example of interview schedule.

The names of participants in this study are the following:

1. Meshack Mosiya (chairperson);
2. Tshepo Thafeng (founder and board member);
3. Tius Nkutha (board member);
4. Tilly Tau (Chief executive officer);
5. Keabotse Onuoka (governance specialist);
6. Wandi Nzimanda (station manager).

The chairperson has provided approval and permission for the involvement and participation of the Soweto TV board in this study. Participants will be accessed at their selected place of convenience with the assistance of the chairperson. Since willingness has already been expressed from the board members, access and availability will only be issue of coordinating time and location with participants.

The interview guide will therefore will be aligned according to the highlighted and above listed issues as study assesses the role the governance plays in community TV. The themes that will be explored above in the interviews will be based on 11 listed issues/items as provided by the framework chosen for this study. At this stage of the research process, the researcher is not aware of what formal documents exist in accordance to the 11 items contained in Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth's conceptual framework at Soweto TV. However, the strategy planned for the execution interview guide is to do the document analysis first and use that as a basis for inquiry. The questions will be based on the exploring of what is in place out of the 11 items in Soweto TV's formal policies, and, if not in place, why particular items are not addressed in existing policy. They will then explore what alternatives are put in place to mitigate what the 11 issues are addressing.

3.5 The Discourse on Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research

In an effort to find answers to some of the questions that social research attempts to answer; a big debate ensued on how the research of such questions should be conducted (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). This debate, according to Shenton (2004), makes references to the problem of how we can deduce whether the answers we find are reliable and whether the conclusions we draw about the social world are valid. Denscombe (1998) explains this debate in simpler terms by stating that, at the heart of this debate, is the question of what constitutes acceptable social research. Answering this question brings to the forefront the contesting ontological and epistemological traditions in social research, namely qualitative and quantitative research methods (Shenton, 2004). These two traditions represent the discourse between which one of the two research traditions can be regarded as trustworthy in social research. What is interesting, as cited by Guba (1981), in this tug of war is that fundamentally these two traditions represent very different ways of viewing reality, and posit different ways in which social research should be conducted, and, by all accounts, should not be compared to each other.

Quantitative research is rooted in positivism, which stems an ontological objectivism that considers the social world to be divorced from the researcher (Guba, 1981). The social world is considered to be measurable (Guba, 1981). On the other hand, qualitative research regards the researcher as the architect of the social world, and subsequently aligns itself with interpretevism (Morseetal, Barret, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002). Proponents of quantitative research consider quantitative research frameworks to be more acceptable because they are considered to be more objective, accurate, rigorous, systematic, and the findings can be generalisable (Morseetal, Barret, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002).

Lincoln (1995) responds directly to the issues of validity and reliability by questioning the logic highlighted by Guba (1981) of comparing qualitative and quantitative research. He explains that quantitative research utilises experiments and surveys, whilst quantitative research utilises interviews, focus groups and observations. Shenton (2004) supports Lincoln's (1995) response to criticism on qualitative research that it is unreasonable to reduce this debate of what constitutes acceptable social research simply by comparing research methods that are so completely different. He further asserts that they use different designs and methods (Shenton, 2004). However, despite the valid arguments made by qualitative writers; the question that still remains to be answered is how rigour in qualitative research work can be maintained and achieved in order to produce findings that can be trusted and deemed acceptable research. An important place of departure is leveling this argument by defining what valid and reliable research means and then addressing how qualitative research enhances both in research.

The validity of research refers to the degree to which the data that has been collected matches conclusions that have been made (Guba, 1981). Literature makes a distinction between internal and external validity. Many scholars who prefer to use more qualitative friendly terminology to distance themselves from the positivist paradigm prefer to use credibility when speaking about internal validity and transferability when referring to external validity (Denscombe, 1998). Internal validity (credibility) refers to the question of whether the research strategies that are being employed are appropriate to what is being researched (Shenton, 2004). Shenton (2004) asks this question differently by focusing on whether congruency between the findings and reality observed exist. Guba (1989:81) boils credibility down to being about ensuring that "the study conducted in actual fact test what it is intended".

This then means that, for the credibility criteria in qualitative research to be fulfilled; the analysis must match the ideas derived from the data collected (Shenton, 2004). Guba & Lincoln (1989) submit different techniques to ensure there is confidence in the credibility of the research. Triangulation is one such submission and it refers to the use of various methods, such as: the use of various investigators; various sources of data (i.e. participants); utilising others' methods (such as interviews, documents, observations); utilising theories to verify findings; and to provide a holistic representation of the findings of the research conducted (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Conducting member checks is also another submission by Guba & Lincoln (1989), which entails going back to the participants and checking who said what

This process can be followed, for instance, when conducting a focus group and the researcher ploughs through and analyses the raw data that was collected, checks the comments that were made, and clarifies the question that surfaced when conducting the analysis (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Another technique is undertaking long-term observation whereby the researcher will for spend long periods of time in the environment in which he/she is conducting research (Shenton, 2004). Since the researcher is central to the research process Shenton (2004) posits that reflexivity takes place. Reflexivity refers to the researcher admitting to their own bias as well recording his/her experiences (Shenton, 2004). In cases where the researcher is going to spend a great deal of time on the field, reflexivity provides a buffer to the influence of the researcher's bias and prejudice to the findings (Shenton, 2004).

External validity (transferability), on the other hand, refers to whether generalisability in the findings can be achieved and asks the extent to which the findings of one study can pertain to different situations (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). However, as Merriam (2002) admits; the issue of transferability poses a challenge for qualitative researchers because their studies cannot be generalised in a statistical sense for the replication of conclusion to take place. The findings and conclusions in qualitative projects are unique to the context in which they are found and the numbers of participants in that particular environment to ever make conclusions about other situations and populations (Merriam, 2002).

However, Howe & Eisenhardt (1990) disagree with being completely dismissive of the prospect of transferability, explaining that, even though findings made in a case are unique; that case can, however, be an example within a broader context. Merriam (2002), however, asks for caution to be exercised when treading down that route; especially since authors such as Morseetal, Barret, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers (2002) place very little significance on the ability of contextual cases to make a conclusion about broader cases. Sandelowski (2002) offers relief to this debate by suggesting that we reframe the approach of generalisability and focus rather on findings in qualitative research that seek only to make inference in studies rather than generalisations.

To enhance transferability, Guba (1981) suggests the researcher take detailed and thoroughly descriptive notes. Guba (1981) further adds that, in the description; the researcher should add a full account of the factors in the studies' context that could encroach on the research. Merriam (2002) disagrees with Guba's (2002) needs for such detailed description, highlighting that it is impossible for the researcher to know what factors will be deemed important by the reader and which ones will not, so she suggest to rather leave this step out.

Guba (1989) continues and explains that, to enhance transferability, the researcher must state how their particular case within the context of study compares to other cases within different contexts. However, Guba (1989) is contradicted by both Merriam 2002 and Sandelowski (2002) who state that it's difficult for the researcher to amass the kind of knowledge that Guba is suggesting in a small research project. As an alternative to try and meet Guba's (1989) criteria, Sandelowski (2002) suggests sampling within the study that is conducted by randomly choosing other sub-groups within the broader group. This addresses Guba's argument of enhancing transferability by using sub-groups that exist within a group to give a different contextual perspective to a case.

Furthermore, Guba (1981) cites the importance of the researcher providing a clear demarcation of what the study is going to entail. This will therefore require the researcher to explain what the study is going to include or exclude. Guba (1981) further explain the researcher's role and states that : the researcher speaks to issues, such as the number of organisations; must cite any restrictions in terms of individuals that will be participating in the study, as well as the number; and, must make reference to data collection methods and data collection sessions that will be taking place.

Reliability, which is both a concern for qualitative research and quantitative research, concerns itself with the issues of consistency in the research: it goes to the heart of what speaks to trustworthiness of research (Howe & Eisenhardt, 1990). As with validity, it there is a distinction made between the external and internal reality as well as distinction in terms of terminology. The internal reliability, which also is regarded as dependability, refers to when more than one researcher concurs with another on what is being observed and what is being heard (Howe & Eisenhardt, 1990). The ability to meet the standards set by dependability in qualitative research is a great challenge, because it aims for one researcher to repeat the study of another researcher and come up with the same findings (Howe & Eisenhardt, 1990). This was deemed difficult by Howe & Eisenhardt (1990) because a social setting cannot be frozen. Qualitative research operates in a forever changing and evolving context. Denscombe (1998) supports this assertion, but states that, even though it is difficult; the researcher is still expected to strive for a repetition of the study by another researcher.

To enhance the dependability methods within the study, Guba (1981) offers that researchers must make rich and detailed notes that will allow another researcher to repeat the process. Moreover, an audit trail must be provided that speaks to how the date was collected and analysed as well as the methods utilised. The purpose of providing an audit trail speaks less about replicating the result of the research and more about creating an opportunity for the reader to access how the research was undertaken so that they determine whether it was effective or not (Denscombe, 1998). The researcher also has to be reflexive by stating their bias and personally vetting themselves so that the fact that these could possibly encroach on the study can be made known (Denscombe, 1998). Triangulation, which entails the use of multiple methods of data collection and analysis to verify research findings, is another way in which dependability can be enhanced (Denscombe, 1998).

Then external reliability, which is synonymous with conformability, refers to the extent to which the study that was conducted can be replicated (Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012) .The big issue with conformability is the challenge of achieving objectivity, which, according to Sandelowski (2002), can be achieved only when individuals are divorced from the process of inquiry. Sandelowski (2002) states that this is an impossible criterion even for quantitative researchers to achieve, because even the test and experiments are designed and conducted by individuals. The question of achieving objectivity in qualitative research is therefore about ensuring that the findings made are as a consequence of the rigorous and accurate steps that were taken by the researcher rather than a reflection of their bias and preference. (Sandelowski, 2002)

The role of triangulation in this regard is again emphasised as an important instrument in reducing the researcher’s bias. The researcher, as postulated by Shenton (2004) has to be reflexive: they must explain the beliefs that informed the decisions to favour a specific method over another; and explain the weakness in the method that will be employed. Finally, to achieve conformability, researchers must take steps to demonstrate that findings emerge from the data and not their own predispositions (Shenton, 2004; Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012).

Moreover, detailed and descriptive notes enable the reader to scrutinise the data and methods utilised to reach conclusions made (Lincoln, 1995). The audit trail therefore plays an important role in helping to trace the steps that were followed.

3.6 Achieving Validity and Reliability in the Study

The discussion on validity and reliability highlighted the disagreement between qualitative and quantitative research in terms of what constitutes trustworthy research. This debate bears an important implication for the qualitative study that will be undertaken. It was important to highlight some of the key criticisms and concerns that are associated with this type of study. But, most importantly, it is crucial that one critically discuss how qualitative research addresses and provides recourse to the criticism directed towards it. The arguments that have been leveled that qualitative research can be considered and addressed in a rigorous manner, and its techniques can enhanced to meet the criteria of trustworthiness. The purpose of this section on achieving validity and reliability in the study is to specify the different techniques that will be employed in the study of the role of governance in achieving effectiveness in community TV.

Internal and external validity and reliability in terms of the study on governance of community TV will be achieved through the use of triangulation and employing different research methods. The research methods used to achieve triangulation will be documentary analysis as well as interviews. The researcher will be providing reflexive comments during the study. The researcher will ensure that she takes detailed and thoroughly descriptive notes. The study will be based on purposive sampling; however, no other sub groups within the broader group will be selected. This is because the nature of study itself is specific to the kind of participants who are involved. Governance is rooted in decision–makers: in the case of many other organisations (and this one), this involves the highest decision-making bodies within those organisations, namely, the board of directors (Ousbourne, 2010). Therefore, the board of Soweto TV will be the only participants. The boundary of the study is limited to one community TV, Soweto TV, and research conducted only on five board members participating in the study. Documents and interviews, as indicated, will be the research methods used to conduct this study. Greater detail on the methods has already been provided in the above sections of the proposal.

3.7 Limitations

The Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth best practices' hybrid framework that was used to guide this study was based on studies that were developed for American NGOs, and, thus, not specifically suited to cater for a South African situation. The literature underpinning conceptual frameworks for community TV in South Africa is underdeveloped and this is reason why Hopt and Hippel and Cornforth's conceptual framework was chosen. However, since this study is exploratory in nature; this is not a major problem, as this study will be used to inform and spearhead future research on this topic.

This means that the findings and outcome of this study will only make inferences to the role that governance plays in the effectiveness of community TV. Another one of the weaknesses in this study is the face-to-face interview. Participants have a tendency of saying what they think the researcher wants to hear. The board of Soweto TV will likely want to make the station look good and give answers that will do that. To mitigate this problem researcher will be conducting document analysis to help provide triangulation.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations require that the researcher is honest and trustworthy at all times (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012). Participants will be given a full explanation and full disclosure about the purpose of our study. Requesting permission from participants will precede all interviews. Researchers will produce a consent form at the interview; and, together with the participant, the researcher will review the consent form and ensure that the participant understands the implications of his/her participation. Participants will sign the consent form as proof of their informed consent and voluntary participation. Participants will be informed about their right to withdraw from the study at any point. Anonymity and confidentiality will be ensured by omitting the identity of the participants in the presentation of the findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION

4.1. Introduction

The main question of the project is: What is the role of governance in the effectiveness of community TV? This research project is a study relating to the role of governance in the effectiveness of Soweto TV.

To answer this question the study focuses on the most successful community TV station in South Africa, Soweto TV, which prides itself on a 3.1 million strong viewership. In the television environment, regardless of whether it's commercial or community, audience numbers is an important indicator of organisational effectiveness (Zhaouxu & Napoli, 2006).

By governance, this study speaks to Cornforth's (2003) definition that focuses on the concise principles and methods employed to inform the decisions made by the board in the achievement of goals. Effectiveness will be measured by the degree to which the internal controls, as informed and underpinned by these principles and methods, help the community TV station achieve its stated goals and objectives.

4.2. The Situation

To reiterate, Soweto TV is South Africa largest TV station and prides itself on a viewership of 3.1 million viewers. Soweto TV was the first community TV station to be awarded a year's license in 2007 and has had nine years of uninterrupted broadcasting. It showcases a wide array of television content ranging from religious programmes to entertainment to youth and women focused programmes. Soweto TV broadcasts in the greater Johannesburg area and it is also accessible on one of DSTV's paid channels. The organisational structure of the Soweto TV station is composed of a board of directors, station manager, management staff as well as the production staff. The station currently employees over 100 individuals.

Soweto TV was the brainchild of Tshepo Thafeng, a resident of Soweto TV with experience in radio broadcasting. The ICASA model for community TV stations is based on hiring members of the community to participate in the content production and development processes of the station. The basic idea behind community TV is to give a voice to the voiceless by giving them access to content development material so that they can tell their own stories. This meant that when Soweto TV started, most of the individuals it recruited to develop content had little or no training or skills in television broadcasting. Therefore all of the individuals who were recruited needed to be trained in every area of content development, namely in how to use cameras, produce content, write scripts, as well as edit.

Community TV stations are charged with the responsibility of content development in that they are expected to provide training and development for the community, and are also expected to self-fund the business of content development and broadcasting, which entails the purchasing of equipment and facilities as well as the paying broadcasting fees. It is important, when giving the background on Soweto TV, to note the interesting dilemma that all community television stations have to grapple with when starting out. For instance, they face the challenge of finding start-up investment to purchase all the equipment they need to develop content and the skills and have the expertise to train the community to develop content. In addition, they face the challenge of accumulating the necessary revenue to run the station. Without investments to start the process of content development; and, most importantly, without the skills and competence to run the business of television broadcasting, it is impossible to survive.

So, understanding the reality that it was faced with when Soweto TV started, Tshepo Thafeng, together with the other founders, felt that the future of Soweto TV would be better served by partnering with Urban Brew. Urban Brew is South Africa's most powerful and successful production company. Therefore, Urban Brew invested and made gave the station a cash injection of R 7 million, which was what Soweto TV needed in order to start operating. Urban Brew, being in the business of television for many years, provided training for all the recruits, and the business and financial management skills Soweto TV lacked. Urban Brew took responsibility for all sales, marketing, finance, Human Resources and operation functions at Soweto TV and these functions were grouped under management services. Soweto TV and Urban Brew therefore forged a relationship that lasted nine years under these conditions. It was only in January 2016 that this relationship came to an end. Community television stations, by nature, are meant to be the alternative to profit-making commercial television stations, such as ETV and DSTV and public broadcaster SABC, in that they are meant to be exempt from the advertising and profit-making interests and influence.

This relationship between Soweto TV and Urban Brew was therefore a contravention of this rule, and, in 2013, this relationship came under fire from the Deputy Minister of Communications. This relationship was publically criticised by the Deputy Minister of Communications who expressed her concern about how the interests and the influence of a profit-making company, such as Urban Brew, could be negatively affecting the objectives of serving the community (Mungadze, 2013). In 2016, ICASA released a clause that distinctly stipulated that profit-making companies were legally prohibited from participating in the running of community TV stations ((ICASA), 2016). This meant that Soweto TV, which had relied so heavily on the expertise and competence of Urban Brew, had to sever its ties with them.

Considering the role that Urban Brew played in terms of the business, administrative and financial expertise, this separation spelt troublesome times ahead for a Soweto TV, which had not improved the skills and expertise levels of its staff members beyond content development since it started in 2007. For Soweto TV, with its 3.1 million viewers, the dissolution of this relationship meant having to build the administrative, business and financial pillars that held the station up from scratch. Urban Brew made an initial investment of R7 million into Soweto TV, and, over nine years, this investment allowed Soweto TV to exist and contributed to Soweto TV being South Africa's community TV juggernaut. There were huge implications for both parties regarding how they were going to deal with quantifying the value on the return on investment that Urban Brew made since this relationship had come to an end.

Prior to these developments, the researcher had been communicating extensively with the chairperson of the board members, who, at the time, expressed an interest in Soweto TV board members to participate in and support the study. However, considering the recent developments in policy, the pressure to restructure an independent Soweto TV, as well as deal with how to manage this separation, the board of Soweto TV became reluctant to participate in the study. After numerous attempts to secure interviews with the board members, and the lack of success thereof, the supervisor advised the researcher to shift the focus of the study to the management and staff members of Soweto TV.

Since governance is an arrangement that is not purely shaped and moulded by board members; this gave the researcher an alternative process that was equally valid. Governance is an arrangement that is conceptualised by board members, but is experienced and implemented by those at strategic and operational levels. Without access to board members and the appropriate documentation, the required evidence can also be found in the actual experience of the processes and procedures that are implemented. Speaking to those who actually implement policies and directly influence the actual effectiveness can also reveal how governance affects effectiveness.

Therefore, the researcher selected the unit of analysis as individuals who were part of the strategic and operational functions of the Soweto TV, specifically members of management and production staff. Maserumule (2014) supports this alternative of interviewing management and production staff by stating that governance is a process that is trans-contextual and must be defined by these who are affected by it. The production staff and management of Soweto TV, as implied by Maserumule (2014), can define and interpret governance from how they have experienced the processes and procedures that have been put in place. So, even though the board can explain what they want to do and what they do, but they can't explain what is actually happening. With this alternative approach, this study will therefore be able to determine how governance affects effectiveness in practice.

Purposive sampling was used in the selection of that the participants in that those who were chosen were chosen based on their roles in terms of governance at Soweto TV. The participants were chosen from two structures within the station: management and the production staff. The participants within management, as the individuals charged with responsibility of ensuring compliance and adherence to governance policies, were chosen on the basis that they would therefore have seen, known or handled governance policies and documents within Soweto TV. Their value to the study would be to give evidence of the existence of documents or policies that address the 11 governance issues outlined in the conceptual framework or any additional or alternative governance issues that Soweto TV deals with. Another important note to make on the management of Soweto TV is that, over and above their managerial roles, they also are part of the production staff and are also producers. So, on one level, they are responsible for ensuring that there is compliance and adherence to governance policies, and, on another level, as part of the production staff, they can also provide the unique perspective of how effective these policies are when they are implemented.

The criteria for selecting production staff was based on choosing individuals who had the longest experience of working at Soweto TV. The value of these participants to the study is that they can give an account of how they have witnessed the station grow and change over its nine years of broadcasting and how the degree of effectiveness in implementation varies over the years. The first group in management comprised three individuals who have and are serving in the management team (Participant A, Participant B and Participant D) and the second group was composed of three production staff members, two of whom are producers (Participant C, Participant F and Participant E, who is an editor).

4.3. Profile of the Participants

Participant A plays an operational and strategic role: he is the executive producer of sports and he is the station manager's 'right-hand man' and trusted advisor. Participant A and the incumbent station manager share a long and professional history, and he was specifically recruited by the station manager to take up the role of operations' manager within the management team. Participant A also has extensive experience working at the production giant, Urban Brew, as a producer; working closely with the station manager and being his second-in-command. He is privy to greater detail of information regarding the operations of the station. Participant A has been with working at Soweto TV since 2014. Participant A, as second-in-command and trusted advisor to station manager, will provide rich and detailed information regarding the existence of policies and procedures as well as their effectiveness in terms of operations. Moreover, he will provide important details about the future plans and direction of the station.

Participant B has been with Soweto TV since it started its first broadcast nine years ago. He was hired initially as a producer and presenter; and, with no formal training, he has risen within the ranks and served in all the management teams under all four station managers that led Soweto TV. Participant B served as content and programming manager. As one point, while the board was searching for the incumbent station manager, Participant B was part of the team that managed the entire station while this position was waiting to be filled. Participant B (17 May 2016) will add value in terms of speaking about the operational effectiveness of the station. Having been with the station from the onset and occupying key leadership roles, he will give this study the needed input in terms of how the policies informed his role while assisting to run the station.

Participant C plays the role of producer and presenter. She, like Participant B, started with the station right at the beginning nine years ago. She produced and presented a women's talk show before producing and presenting the only sponsored show at Soweto TV: a cooking show called 'Kasi Kitchen'.

Participant D is an editor and the producer of three shows. He started serving as part of the management team as the executive producer of music since 2014 with Participant D and Participant B. Participant D has been with the station since it started nine years ago, and is the producer of the highest audience rated show, 'Kasi Vibes'.

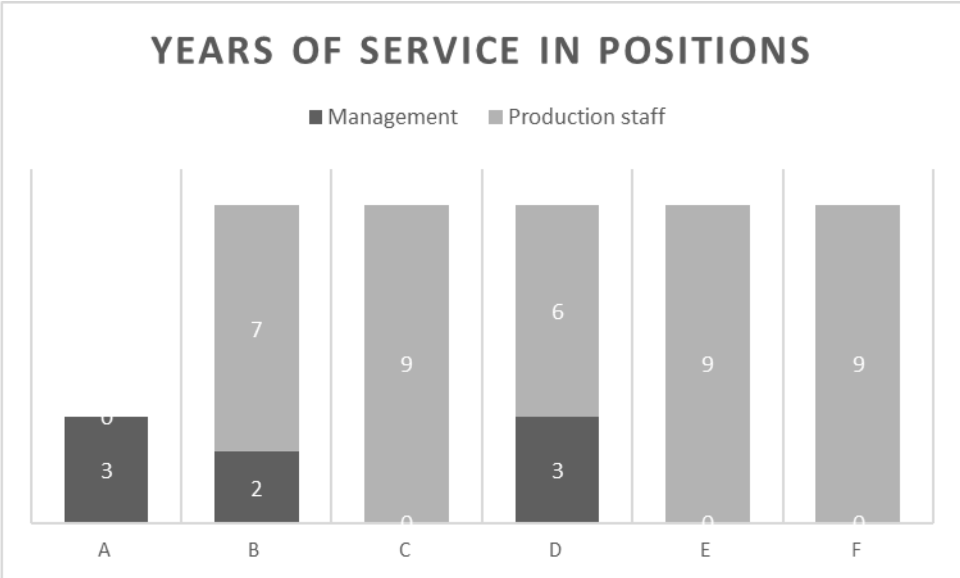
Participant E is an editor and he has been with the station since its beginning. He has led the post-production team for five years, leading a team of over 10 post-productions' production staff.

Participant F has been working for Soweto TV for nine years. She is a producer and presenter of a health shows called 'Phapama'.

The production staff will give this study an indication of what is actually happening at the station in terms of processes and procedures. Even though Participant A, Participant B and Participant D held management roles and were part of the management team; the fact that they also hold a production role helps in assessing and scrutinising the effectiveness of policies.

The conceptual framework was not changed. However, the questions were adapted to suit the revised participants and shaped in such a way as to reveal what governance process are in place and their nature and effectiveness through the experience of the participants.

Figure 1: Number of years in a position for each participant



The graph above represents the number of years each participant has been working at Soweto TV for as well the positions participants hold at the station.

4.4. Interviews with the Management

4.4.1 Monitoring Budgets

The process of monitoring budgets is an important governance function because it assesses and provides guidance for the financial management practices of the organisation. The policies or documentation that deals with how budgets must be managed and monitored ensures that the organisation is effective in achieving its objectives and goals. Therefore, the researcher, in assessing this governance mechanism, will be looking for evidence of documents, policies or processes that participants implement in this regard. This element of governance looks at how financial management processes can be run in a more accountable and transparent manner.

4.4.2 Monitoring Budgets

All the participants in the management team explained that Urban Brew controlled all the monitoring of budgets and further explained that they have never taken part in any processes or procedures relating to compiling or monitoring budgets. Furthermore, none of members in management reported to havinge ever seen documents that speak to any policies guiding the processes of monitoring budgets.

Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016) further explained that Soweto TV's autonomy was limited to content production and development, "I felt that the board only had a say only on what went on air and everything else pertaining to budgets and even financials was controlled by Urban Brew". Participant B (interview, 19 May 2016), who has been working for Soweto TV since it started, explained the role of Urban Brew in Soweto TV by stating that, from when he started working; the equipment, production facilities, salaries, production, cars, training of staff, and even appointments of station managers were controlled. Participant B added that the role of the board seemed very limited and restricted. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2018) provided clarity on this role and stipulated that Urban Brew had signed a management contract with Soweto TV, which meant that, over and above being a partner of Soweto TV, they also provided business and financial services. This meant that Urban Brew was outsourced by Soweto TV to provide these services as well as being its sole investor.

Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016), who has been with the station since its emergence and was also part of the management team in 2014, recalls being told by board members to regard the nature of this relationship as being one where Urban Brew acts as the older brother to Soweto TV. Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016) further adds that the role and influence of Urban Brew in Soweto TV affairs became the subject of controversy in the industry, and, at some point, he explained that the Department of Communication was threatening to dissolve this relationship. The shift in this relationship seems to have taken place in the last two years, when the incumbent station manager was hired in 2014.

Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) explains that when the incumbent station manager took on his role in 2014, as the fifth station manager to assume the role; he became the first of all the station managers to ever compile a business plan for the station as well as a budget. The incumbent station manager, according to the participants, was an executive producer and employee of Urban Brew and was appointed by Urban Brew. According to Participant A (interview, 18 May, 2016), this bold initiative of the incumbent station manager led to the appointment of a financial manager in June 2015. He added that, according to his knowledge, the limited control over the monitoring of budgets by the board started to change, and he even recalls management being asked to compile budgets. However as Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) explains, no one within management knew how to compile and put together a basic budget. Participant D (interview 19 May 2016) explained that it was these small steps and the bold initiative of the incumbent station manager that the Soweto TV board started to believe that it was possible for the station to operate autonomously and independently of Urban Brew. Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) did admit that the budgets were never compiled by management; however, he stressed that it was a step in the right direction.

It was interesting that, despite limited knowledge and involvement in the monitoring of budgets; there was evidence of a process that is followed in how resources are used. The monitoring of the use of resources is a function of the budget monitoring process; and, even though none of the three participants had ever witnessed any document pertaining to the monitoring of budgets, nor did they mention having any role in the process; the existence of the resources monitoring process gives evidence of an indirect governance of budgets.

All three of the participants agreed that there were processes and procedures that all production staff are expected to follow when resources are used. All the participants stated that this process is not stipulated in any document they had seen or even heard of since they had been with Soweto TV; and that it was a process that was verbally communicated when production staff wanted to utilise resources. Participant B (interview, 17 May, 2016) provided clarity on what is regarded and defined as a resource. In this regard, Soweto TV and all the participants agreed that cars, camera equipment and occasionally airtime were identified as resources. As management, the participants stated that they were charged with the responsibility of giving authorisation on the use of resources. However, Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) stated that there were no clear regulations that guided the conditions under which authorisation could be given to remedy this. However, management attempted to put together guiding principles on how these resources could be utilised and created booking forms for staff members.

Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016) added that it was difficult to enforce the use of booking forms as there were instances where the paper work went missing, causing many disputes and fights between staff members. Sometimes authorisation was also given without booking forms, which devalued the use and need for booking forms. According o all the participants, the lack of clear and documented rules on how to enforce and build compliance made this process of booking resources ineffective.

Based on the responses of the participants, it seemed that while there is no official process of budget monitoring; there seems to be a system in place to keep track of how resources are utilised within the production of content. The supervision of the system seemed to be controlled indirectly by the entity controlling the administrative process, i.e. Urban Brew.

4.4.3. Public Expenditure Tracking/Public Access to Audited Financial Statements

This governance mechanism is put in place as an effort to ensure that the organisation is accountable and transparent in its financial management and use of its resources. Therefore, providing high quality information about all aspects of their performances, in terms of financial statements, is a very important function of effective governance. It allows the community to play an overseeing role and to scrutinise the financial management and allocation of the organisation‘s resources in serving the community. The researcher therefore looked for documents, policies or channels that the station had created to ensure that the financial statements were made available.

It was interesting to note that two of participants knew nothing about any documents or channels that had been made to ensure that the stations financial statements were publically accessible. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) was the only participant, however, who explained that Annual General Meetings functioned as a channel through which the board of Soweto TV gave an account of their financial expenditure. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) goes on to explain that the financial statements were handed out to stakeholders at this meeting. Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) and Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016), who are part of the same management team as Participant A (interview, 18 ay 2016), explained that they did not know of any channels Soweto TV created for the community in order for them to view their audited financial statements. In addition, they did not recall any time since being with Soweto TV where an annual general meeting was held by the station.

Furthermore, Participant B and Participant D stated that none of them has ever seen any financial statement since working for Soweto TV, which, according to them, raises many questions about how money is spent. This lack of transparency and the suspicion that results in how money is spent is further highlighted by responses given by Participant D and Participant B, when they relayed how Soweto TV awarded R 200 000 to beneficiaries. The lack of high quality information on the financial management of the station led to Participant D mentioning how, as an employee of Soweto TV, he gets asked about what the station is doing with its money and how it decided how much to give away to beneficiaries.

4.4.4 Monitoring of Public Services' Delivery

Service recipients are interested in issues such as whether the organisation is delivering the planned outputs and whether it was done effectively and efficiently. The monitoring of public services is an important mechanism that is put in place to ensure that there is a way in which an organisation can measure how well the community is receiving the services they provide. In the case of Soweto TV, the audience numbers is a key indicator of how many people are receiving their services. Therefore, the researcher will be looking at what channels the station is using to receive feedback from the community on the programmes that they provide. Moreover, the researcher will consider how this feedback is translated into the improvement of future service delivery.

Social media in terms of Facebook, Twitter and Instagram - are channels that all the participants felt were a great way that the station received some kind of feedback from their viewers about the service they provided. Participant B (interview, 18 May 2016) mentioned that Soweto TV has a social media manager who constantly shares feedback on social media with producers and does a great job at engaging with viewers and answering questions on these platforms. Participant B does, however, feel that the one social media manager is far too stretched and cannot cover everything on all three media platforms, especially considering the number of programmes at the station. All the participants agreed that the role of the social media manager is effective in terms of giving instant and interactive feedback from the viewers.

All the participants mentioned that stations annually conduct a bus tour and stakeholder meeting and it's purposed as a way in which the stations can engage and connect with the community. During the bus tours, Soweto TV staff members travel in a Soweto TV branded bus and drive around the township carrying questionnaires that ask what community members what they consider to be their favourite TV shows and what type of content they want to see on Soweto TV. This, according to all the participants, is a way in they can see assess how Soweto TV interfaces with the community, and how they get feedback about services they provide. Participant B stated that they would engage, on average, with approximately a hundred community members, and, since it is a one-day event and based on the staff members that are at hand, only a few questionnaires are distributed and filled. Participant D (interview, 20 May 2016), however, alluded to another function and that is of creating awareness and giving the Soweto TV exposure in the community. Even though Soweto TV is one of the biggest community TV stations in South Africa, the community of Soweto at large does not know about the station and therefore this bus tour acts a way for the Soweto TV to get itself known.

All the participants shared their criticism of the organisation of these bus tours, complaining that they were not happening regularly enough. Considering that these bus tours are the only way in which producers directly interface with the community, the general sentiments from all the participants was that it was disappointing that there were so few. Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016) further expressed his criticism by highlighting the lack of follow-up that takes place after the surveys have been conducted, saying, " We get no feedback as the staff of Soweto TV on the findings of these surveys". This makes the bus tours less effective as a public service monitoring channel.

Stakeholder meetings are another engagement mechanism that was identified by all the participants. Stakeholder meetings are held, as indicated by all the participants, annually, and members of the public are invited by the stakeholder manager; and, at this meeting, the needs of the community are discussed. All the participants reported that they have attended stakeholder meeting, but noted that stakeholder meetings are attended mainly by management staff and board members. Participant D (interview, May 2016) noted that the stakeholders are not very engaging, stating that there are hardly any questions asked. Participant B (interview, May 2016) explains this lack of participation as being a result of a lack of civic competence, stating that he feels that the community members do not really understand the role they play at these meetings.

All the participants noted that the audience rating is another way to receive feedback on services they provide. However, participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) felt that access to audience ratings for individual shows was a challenge. Participant D added that audience ratings are one dimensional in that they just tell you how many people watch your show, but there is no way of knowing anything else. Therefore, audience ratings do not seem to give the producers any information about what they could do to improve their programmes so that they can better serve the community.

4.4.4. Public Commissions and the Citizen Advisory Boards

Public commissions and Citizen Advisory Boards are channels that are created to ensure that the recipients of service delivery have a way in which they can actively engage and participate in the processes of the station. The contribution of the engagement and participatory bodies is important in the development and improvement in all of the defined outcomes of the station. The researcher will therefore be looking for documents, policies, processes or procedures that are in place dealing with the governance mechanism.

All the participants agreed that Soweto TV has never called for a public commission. Instead, according to Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016), the station hosts stakeholder meetings annually, which function as a means to directly engage with interest groups within the community. According to Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016), the station hosts stakeholder meetings as way for the station to get input from the interested parties regarding the operations of the station. Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016) adds that the role of the appointed stakeholder manager is important in these meetings in that he/she becomes the point of connection between the station and the community. The scope of the stakeholder manager's role, according to all the participants, besides organising these meetings, is not clearly understood.

Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) mentioned that, since 2014, when he started to attend these stakeholder meetings, he does not recall any instances where the meeting's input was shared with the staff or where a way forward was discussed by management. The inputs and contributions are shared with ICASA as way to account to them but nothing is ever done with them. Participant B (interview, 18 May, 2016) explains, although these meetings seem to be a 'nice to have', they have no real value for stakeholders in that there is no way in which, after these meetings, stakeholders are given feedback on what has been done with contributions that they made.

The frequency of the meetings was cited as a problem as well. Participant D (interview, 20 May 2016) stated that the stakeholders' meeting is held once a year, and, considering the number of interest groups within Soweto; he felt that they were underrepresented at these meetings. All the participants stated that they felt that these stakeholders' meetings were highly ineffective in translating the voices and needs of the stakeholders of Soweto into improvements that could be made on content.

4.4.5 Independent Audit Processes/Independent Audit Committees

Independent audit processes and committees form another layer supporting the mechanism that is intended to ensure that organisation complies to sound financial management practices. They ensure that the organisation remains above board. The researcher therefore looked for evidence of independent auditing processes taking place and the existence of audit committees: whether in terms of documents participants had seen, heard about, or an auditing process they have participated in.

Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) recalls being part of an audit interview that was conducted in the beginning of 2016 by an individual who introduced himself as an auditor; and he explains that the only reason he was being interviewed was to ascertain whether he was indeed an employee working at the station instead of a ghost employee. Of the other participants who knew of audit processes, was participant A. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) added that he was aware of audit processes taking place and that he participated in the interview. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) was the only participant that knew the name of the company that was undertaking this audit process. He further mentioned that the auditing process was a new feature in Soweto TV and that, according to his knowledge, they only had their first audit in 2015.

4.4. 6 Compensation of the CEO and his/her Approval by the Full Board of Directors

The compensation of the CEO and the approval thereof by the full board of directors is a governance mechanism that should be in place to ensure that there is integrity in the process of how the CEO is compensated. The researcher will be looking to find evidence of documents, policies, processes and procedures that deal with compensation of the CEO and how approval from board members is handled. The approval of the board is an important criterion in that it shows that there is clear oversight and a way of ensuring accountability in this process. All the management was of the opinion that the compensation of the CEO was an issue that they felt received full board approval. Even though the appointment of CEOs and, in terms of Soweto TV, the equivalent station manager was an Urban Brew appointment; there seemed to be consensus that his compensation was known by the board. None of the participants knew of any documents that pertained to this issue.

4.4.7 Conflict of Interest

It is important to ensure that the organisation's resources are protected from abuse of its members. Therefore, the role of the conflict of interests' policy is to ensure that rules and regulations exist to prevent such abuse from taking place. Therefore, the conflict of interest policy will detail the type of situation that could entail a conflict of interest and give direction on how to manage these. The researcher will be looking for evidence of policies or documents that deal with specific conditions that prevent those in power from enriching themselves. For example, the researcher will look at how issues such nepotism, patronage, cronyism, favouritism, power of appointment and preferential treatment are handled.

All the participants expressed that there are no documents that they know or have seen speaking to the issue of conflict of interest. According to Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016), there is no real definition as to what conflict of interest entails. Participant B (interview, 19 May 2016) further agrees with this assertion by participant A that there are no agreed rules, or even agreement on, what conflict of interest entails. Participant D (interview, 18 May 2016) explained that there is nothing in black and white that guides issues such as appointment and most decision are made through discretion. Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016) explains that it is very difficult when they are operating in an environment that does not have any rules or regulations on conduct to know how to decide on issues such as conflict of interest. Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016) explains there are many instances where there have been questionable decisions that have been made on issues and the participants all agreed that they felt a sense of powerless, even as management, to do anything about it. Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) stated the sense of powerless is also attributed to the fact that many people who have been appointed at the station benefitted from a lack of rules and regulations, especially in the area of appointment. Participant B added that most people cannot question too much of what happens and this is because they have benefitted from how things are.

4.4.8 Whistle-blowing

Organisations, such as Soweto TV, are mandated to promote a public interest in terms of achieving their objectives. Therefore, there is an expectation that the leaders and members within the organisation will behave with integrity.

Therefore, the researcher, in assessing this governance mechanism, will look at evidence of documents and policies as well as how processes in the entity encapsulate values and a culture that prioritises behaviour and actions where leaders are leading by example and promoting an ethical culture. Therefore, the researcher will look for a code of conduct mechanism set up in order to assist employees in reporting unethical behaviour and that processes are put in place that will be useful in achieving the goals of promoting public interests.

According to the participants, there are no whistle-blowing policies or documents that exist in the station. However, whistle-blowing is very a sensitive issue that one participant labeled as 'snitching'. All the participants agreed that 'telling on' or 'snitching' is not recommended practice at the station. One participant cited a few examples where they had witnessed or heard of instances of unethical conduct by senior personnel, but asked the researcher not to disclose this. All the participants felt that reporting anyone in management or on the board was 'career suicide' and that would result in termination of employment. All of the production staff stated that there was no one that felt they could speak freely or share information with about any unethical behaviour.

It is interesting that Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) and Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016) mentioned that there is a Human Resources' employee at the station who is meant to be the point of contact for employees who want to report anything. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016), however, clarified that there is no specific directive saying that employees can report unethical behaviour to her. Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) explains that most employees do not see credibility in the role and authority of the HR employee and this is because it is common knowledge that she does not have the skills or capacity to do her job. Like many of the employees at Soweto TV, she received her position and was given her title because of who she knows. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) stated that she does not even understand her role and explains that, on occasion, she would disclose some of issues that came up with her friends.

There is no clarity according to participants on what Soweto TV defines as unethical behaviour, especially if some of the unethical behaviour resulted in some kind of benefit for them. All the employees mentioned that there is no code of conduct, and people behave as they see fit. There are so many issues raised by all participants on how employees got appointed; however, when questioned about their own appointments, no clear or due process seems to have been followed either .Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) is of the opinion that there is no reward for reporting misconduct. Participant B further cited instances where production equipment got stolen under dubious circumstances. Participant D (interview, 20 May 2016) states that there are no punitive measures and when anything is reported, it cannot be really be addressed.

Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) added that management had no authority to implement any punitive measures on any case or issue that came up.

4.4. 9 Travel Policy.

The travel policy is a governance mechanism that regulates how resources associated to transportation are used. Whether transport refers to cars, petrol or travelling allowances; this mechanism creates clarity on the condition under which travelling resources are authorised for use. The researcher, therefore, will be looking to see whether there are documents and policies that speak about such conditions, as well as looking at what processes are followed in utilisation of travelling resources.

It was interesting to note that no travelling policy or documents exist within the station regulating travelling. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) stated that different productions require staff members to travel within and outside the province. All the participants agreed that when a production travelled within the province of Gauteng, there was no need for special permission or authorisation to be given by management. However, for the productions that traveled outside the province, the management team needed to give authorisation for the trip; and bookings for cars had to be made three weeks before the trip before requests could be considered. However, compliance to this rule was also problematic in that, according to Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016), there were certain occasions where authorisation was given to productions that did not follow the due process that was set up for production staff. According to Participant A (interview, 16 May 2016), the rules for travelling were not documented anywhere and this made compliance and adherence challenging.

Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) states that with no rules that even guided how management gave authorisation, decisions on which staff members received permission to travel was based on voting and majority wins' principles. Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016) notes many instances where staff members expressed feeling underserved by the way management made its decisions.

4.5 Interviews with the Production Staff

4.5.1 Introduction

In terms of the production staff, the researcher assessed the 11 governance issues as provided by the study's conceptual framework by looking at what production staff members were actually doing or implementing with regards to governance. The researcher explored the 'on the ground' experience of the effectiveness of governance from the perspective of production staff who have to put what is stated in policy, document or in informal practices into practice.

4.5.2 Monitoring Budgets and Travel Policy

Production staff who are on an operational and implementation level often have no access to governance policies and documents; however, they have to put what is stated in policy into practice. The researcher, however, was open to the possibility that some of the participants would have some knowledge of such documents, as the structures within Soweto TV are not rigid. Considering as well that all the production staff has been working at the station for nine years, there is the possibility that some of them, at some stage or another, held management positions or were entrusted with strategic information. However, the main focus for the researcher was to look for the production staff's account and experience of the processes that were put in place in terms of the use of resources at the station and to ascertain from them whether they were effective in achieving their intended objectives.

In agreement with management's responses, all of the production staff participants agreed that there were processes and procedures in place that they had to follow when utilising resources. All the production staff participants stated that training on the use of resources was verbally communicated when staff members begin their tenure, and they were informed and shown how to use booking forms. According to all the participants, not all staff members were permitted to book resources. Only producers who oversee the productions are authorised to book cars, studio and camera equipment. However, all the participants stated that this was a rule that no one adhered to and unauthorised employees, such as presenters and camera personnel, often used cameras, equipment and cars.

All the participants explained that management, together with the station manager, had the authority to give authorisation and permission to use resources when productions wanted to travel outside of the province. However, according to Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016), when production staff, who also serve in management, utilised these resources; they did not adhere to or comply with the same rules that they expected the rest of the staff to follow. Moreover, Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) added that there were instances where the station manager unilaterally granted permission to use resources without management's approval. Participant F (interview, 23 May 2015) stated that receiving permission to use resources, such as cars and equipment, is very much related to relationships that staff members forge with management, asserting that: "It is easier if you are friends with people in management to get authorisation quickly without following any of the rules that are set up". This process of booking resources is regarded by all the participants as lacking any real value, because, as Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016) stated, " When you follow the rules, you don't get what you need". Moreover, according to Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016), the paperwork often went missing, and, in most cases, bookings were based on hearsay and giving favours.

All participants mentioned that these resources are limited at the station and cited instances where conflict took place between producers for their use. The limitation in the number of resources is a problem that affects all productions, even those that work within Gauteng province. Participant C (interview, 16 May, 2016) stated that the fact that there is no uniformity on how authorisation is given for travelling outside the province, there are instances where home-based productions get disadvantaged by decisions made in favour of last minute booking of productions shooting outside of the province. This, as Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) further explained, resulted in much tension between staff members about cars, studio time, airtime and cameras. Participant E (interview, 21 May 2016) expressed that this problem was further exacerbated by the limited number of resources. The combination of the challenges that arises are as a result of irregularities in the authorisation of resources, as well as challenges of limited number of resources, together negatively affects the ability of production staff to produce content and creates tension among staff members.

4.5.3 Public Expenditure Tracking/ Public Access to Audited Financial Statements

The production staff participants are employees of Soweto TV as well being members of the community. Being part of the station gives each of them an insight and an informed perspective into the agenda of Soweto TV in terms of serving the community. The mechanism of ensuring that the public can access financial statements is important in that it allows the community to know how the station spends money to serve their needs.

The researcher, therefore, in assessing this governance mechanism with the production staff, will be looking at whether the production staff participants have seen any audited financial statements of Soweto TV, or heard from staff meetings of any information being given about where members of the community can access this information. Moreover, the researcher will look for what channels participants can account for that the station has put in place to allow the community to engage and give their feedback to the station on what they see in these financial statements. The researcher will look for whether production staff, as members of the community, consider this mechanism effective.

Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016), who is also a member of the community of Soweto and has been with Soweto TV since it began, mentioned that he did not know of any channels or avenues that Soweto TV had created to ensure that the community knows what it is doing with its money. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) indicated that publically accessible financial statements were the last thing she expected Soweto TV to make known, explaining that there was so much as producers they knew about how things worked, "What Soweto TV does with its money is the last thing I would expect they would expose and share with the public".

Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016) stated the community members that he, on occasion, speaks to often express come curiosity about what the station spends its money on. These questions, according to Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016), came up a great deal after the station gave away R200 000 to beneficiaries. All three production staff members explained they also did not know the criteria that the board used to decide which beneficiaries to award the money to. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) explains that when the money was given to beneficiaries, it caught many staff members by surprise, because, unlike most events that the station held, this event was not announced at any staff meeting. Participant C stated, "I knew about this because of all the talk at the station."

4.5.4 Monitoring of Public Services' Delivery

The researcher will be investigating the following governance mechanisms: monitoring of public service delivery, public commissions; citizen advisory boards; independent audit processes; and travel and whistle-blowing policies. The researcher will be looking to see whether participants can account for participating in any of the above-listed governance channels or mechanisms.

Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) indicated that she used social media - especially Facebook, Twitter and Instagram - as important channels to get feedback from her viewers about the service she provides and stated her intensive interaction with the social media manager on viewer comments. Participant F (interview, 23 May 2016) mentioned that some producers preferred to run and manage their own social media accounts. Participant F (interview, 23 May 2016) indicated that when the station manager suggested collapsing all individual social media platforms into one centralised Soweto TV social media platforms; many producers were unhappy. Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016) stated the she felt that having one social media platform that was managed by one person made more sense as it meant that viewers received uniform feedback from the station.

Social media platforms, according to all participants, give producers and their teams an indication of how well their shows are doing and they are also able to receive instance feedback. Even though receiving audience ratings was another channel of receiving information regarding service delivery, according to Participant E (interview, 20 May 2017), receiving individual numbers for each production was, however, a challenge, "When staff members request audience numbers, they are often told that they only came out every four months, meaning producers had to wait for four months before they knew whether they doing well or not".

Participant C (interview 16 May 2016), however, stated that she does, on occasion, receive audience ratings, but she expressed that this might not be the case with other producers. Participant F (interview, 23 May 2016) stated that she knows the viewership of her show, although she stated that it is something that is not readily given to producers. Participant E (interview, 21 May 2016) mentioned that it is a struggle to get access to audience ratings (ARs): he stated that producers complain about being given the run-around. All the production staff participants explained and expressed that ARs are also an important channel for knowing the quality of the services that they are providing, and that the challenge of access makes the monitoring of their services impossible.

All the participants also addressed the effectiveness of taking part in the bus tour, which took place once a year. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) stated that bus tours were well attended by staff members in the early years of the station, and indicated that, in the later years, fewer staff members attended. According to Participant F (interview, 23 May 2016), the general sentiment of staff members at the station is that the bus tour has no real value since nothing is done about the feedback that is received from the community. Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016), however, attributes the reason for the low attendance as a result of the poor organisation of these. She commented, “We are never told about when exactly we are going to have the bus tour.”

All the participants shared their criticism of the organisation of these bus tours over the years and also complained that they were not happening regularly enough. According to Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016), the frequency of these bus tours was disappointing, considering that they were the way in which producers directly engaged with the community. Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016) further expressed his criticism by stating the fact that there is a lack of follow-up that takes place after the surveys have been conducted. This participant said, “We get no feedback, as the staff of Soweto TV, on the findings of these surveys, on the responses that are received in the surveys that are done.”

4.5.5 Public Commissions and the Citizen Advisory Board

Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) and Participant F (interview, 23 May 2016) said that they were aware of stakeholder meetings. Participant C (interview 16 May 2016) stated that she only attended one stakeholder meeting. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) had seen none of the stakeholders that were there asking any questions or even engaging with the management team and board members.

Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016) stated that stakeholders' meetings were attended mainly by board members and management; and when staff members were invited, it was only to help with catering or setting up.

Participant F (interview, 23 May 2016) states that she when she was invited to help, she felt that she was not convinced that the stakeholders who were comprised of older community members understood little of what was taking place. There is neither real accountability nor transparency in these processes. There is no follow-up on what is going to be done about the findings of these meetings. The frequency of the meetings were cited as a problem as well.

4.5.6 Independent Audit Process/Independent Audit Committee

None of the participants reported that they took part in an audit process.

4.5.7 Compensation of the CEO and its Approval by the Full Board of Directors

The researcher made room for participants to comment on their thoughts on this matter. As indicated already, the participants have been a part of the station since it started and there is the possibility that production staff could know about this mechanism, considering the flexibility of structures. Therefore the researcher looked to see if any of the participants knew about the compensation of the CEO and its approval by the full board of directors. This knowledge would corroborate what the management stated but should not be regarded as conclusive.

All the production staff participants were of the opinion that the compensation of the CEO was an issue that that the board was involved in. Participant C (interview 16 May 2016) did, however, indicate her doubts about the board providing the final approval of the station manager's compensation, explaining that Urban Brew was the one they knew appointed station managers; and therefore was of the belief that they would be the ones to approve of the CEO's compensation.

4.5.8 Conflict of Interest

According to Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016), there was no real understanding of what conflict of interest meant or entailed. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) further explains that the reason for this lack of understanding is because many staff members benefitted from what would be regarded as conflict of interest. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) further explained that most of the employees hired at Soweto TV were hired by relatives or people they knew.

Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016) adds that the since nothing is in black and white, when conflict of interest does take place, there is not much that can done about it. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) explains there are many instances where there have been questionable decisions that were made on issues such as appointments of services providers, especially in instances where the family member of a senior staff member, or even board member, was appointed as a service provider. Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016) cited an example where a relative was employed and given a key position. It is interesting to note that all the participants explained that the positions at Soweto TV were not given based on merit, skills or qualifications. It is only the station manager according to the participants who was appointed as a result of their industry experience and/or qualifications. Participant F (interview, 23 May 2016) states that, “You are appointed into a key position at Soweto TV only because of who you know.” According to Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016), the management team was appointed under the sole discretion of the incumbent station manager. Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016) further explains that there was nothing fair about this appointment process and that it was based on who the station manager liked.

4.5.9 Whistle-blowing Policy

With regard to this governance mechanism, the researcher looked for evidence of processes that staff members could account for or know that assisted them to report unethical behaviour or conduct.

According to the all the participants, whistle-blowing was regarded as snitching. It was interesting to note that the participants used the same term as management to refer to the act of whistle-blowing. Whistle-blowing is very a sensitive issue considering the fact that all the participants cited at least one example where they had witnessed or heard of the unethical conduct of a senior member of staff and felt fearful to report it. All the participants felt that reporting anyone in management or o the board was career suicide and that it would result in termination of employment. All of the production staff stated that there is no one that felt they could speak to freely or share information with about of any unethical behaviour.

It is interesting that none of the participants mentioned or noted the role of the Human Resources’ staff member, who, by all accounts, was meant to be their point of contact for reporting such issues. Participant C (interview, 16May 2016); however, explained this disconnect by stating that when the Human Resources’ employee was appointed, no one was educated on the specificity of her role or function, commenting, “Everyone knew she was an HR, but no one really knew what she did”. Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016) explains that most employees did not see credibility in the role and authority of the Human Resources’ candidate, and this was because it is common knowledge that she did not have the skill or capacity to do her job. As with many of the employees at Soweto TV, all the participants stated that she received her position and was given her title because of who she knew.

All the production staff reported that there was an attempt by management to create a suggestion and complaint box for employees as a way to make them feel freer to inform management about any unethical issues they observed. However, two of three of the participants stated that this idea failed to work. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) explained that the reason why the suggestion box did not work was because it was placed in plain sight for everyone to see, so this did not make anyone feel comfortable to use it. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2916), however, stated if the employees believed their anonymity would be protected, they would have used this suggestion box and generally felt that it was a good idea. Participant F (interview, 23 May 2016) was adamant that speaking out was not a good idea and cited a few instances when an employee reported unethical behaviour to management, that person ended up being ostracised. Participant F adds that, "We know there is a lot happening at the station, but you need keep your head down and mind your own business to survive." Participant E (interview, 23 May 2016) concludes by adding that no one wants to be known as a 'snitch'.

4.6. Conclusion

The researcher's unit of analysis for this study was the management and production staff of Soweto TV after the board of directors showed reluctance to participate in the study due to recent policy developments. The participants were chosen based on the rich information that they would provide in terms of their experience of what was actually taking place in terms of governance at Soweto TV.

The eleven governance mechanisms, as outlined by the conceptual frame, were strongly interconnected. Six of the eleven governance mechanisms - namely: the monitoring of budgets, public expenditure tracking, public auditing, compensation of the CEO, independent audit processes, an independent audit committee; and the travel policies - showed strong connections to each other. All these governance mechanisms had the similar objective of building sound, accountable and transparent financial management practices within the organisation. Viewed together, these governance mechanisms functioned as internal control and provided support to the financial management practices of the organisation. Three of the eleven governance issues namely, the monitoring of public services' delivery, public commissions and citizen advisory boards showed a similar focus or objective towards creating an environment or channels of engagement, participation and consultation for the service provider.

The insights that the management staff participants were able to give helped to shed light on what was happening in practice. Therefore, the responses of management to the 11 issues gave great insight into what is happening in practice, especially in terms of how the community TV station operated and the key role that Urban Brew played in the structure of Soweto TV. The responses of the production staff provided this study with rich information on what actually happens in practice; and the researcher was able to ascertain whether the governance mechanisms that were in place were effective.

Moreover, the responses seemed to reveal that the 11 governance mechanisms, as outlined by the conceptual framework, do not exist formally at Soweto TV. In fact, of the 11 mechanisms that the conceptual framework assessed at Soweto TV, only one namely, the monitoring of budgets existed as a formal process. However, it was indirectly provided as a service that was outsourced through Urban Brew. The rest of the 10 governance mechanisms, as outlined in the conceptual framework, seemed to exist informally based on the account of all the participants.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The discussion of the research findings is organised using the conceptual framework that Cornforth and Hopt and Hippel (2003) provided to assess the role that these issues played in the effectiveness of Soweto TV. We viewed effectiveness in the case of community TV in terms of community audience numbers. We therefore tried to establish if good governance could be connected to effectiveness.

5.2 Conceptual Frameworks

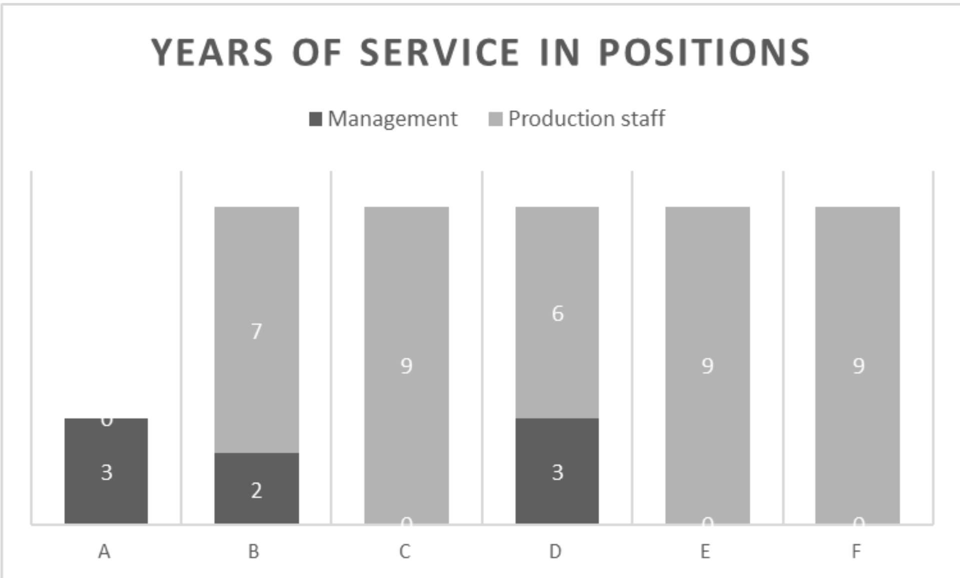
This study was undertaken using 11 governance issues that were outlined by governance conceptual frameworks that were adapted from Cornforth and Hopt and Hippel. These 11 issues looked at the mechanism that, when put in place, created good governance, and, in essence, created effectiveness for the organisation. This conceptual framework was developed based on the experiences of NPOs in the USA and Europe. The researcher made the concession that in the assessment of this study, these 11 issues might not all be relevant to the Soweto TV governance experience. This is because governance is an under-researched field in the community TV industry. However, the assertion of Maserumule (2014) made it possible for that governance to be subject to the interpretation of its users, and the researcher therefore made room to explore and consider alternatives of an informal framework in Soweto TV in the assessment.

5.3 Problem

Literature found on community TV globally focuses on the key role of community TV being an important engine for creating a media environment that opens itself up to ordinary people (Nossek, 2003; Milan, 2009). However, there is very little literature that speaks on the governance of community TV and how governance plays a role in helping community TV create effectiveness (Cornforth, 2003).

5.4 Interpretation and Analysis of Interviews with Management Staff

Figure 1: Number of years in a position for each participant



The graph above represents the number of years each participant has been working at Soweto TV for as well the positions participants hold at the station.

5.4.1 Governance is Informal

The governance issues that the researcher felt addressed the similar theme of building sound, transparent and accountable financial management practices of the organisation were: monitoring budgets; public expenditure tracking; there being public access to the audited financial system; having an independent auditing process; having an independent audit committee in place, and there being compensation for the CEO; and having a travel policy. All these listed issues and functions ensure that there is an efficient use of resources in achieving the organisation's objectives. Moreover, they encourage accountability, transparency and integrity in due process and are critical and central to organisational ability to achieve effectiveness. Formally, these governance processes, as outlined in the conceptual framework, did not exist as a direct function of Soweto TV nor was there evidence that Soweto TV had these governance mechanisms in place in the strictest sense, as described by the conceptual framework. The researcher, therefore, did not find evidence of any documents pertaining to: monitoring budgets; public expenditure tracking; public access to the audited financial system; an independent auditing process; an independent audit committee being in place; and compensation of the CEO and a clear outline of the travel policy. None of the participants in management gave any account of seeing documents pertaining to these financial management practices nor did they, as management, indicate any involvement in the financial management practices of the organisation.

Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) provided clarity as to why this was the case and explained that the financial and business management of Soweto TV was a function that was managed and controlled by Urban Brew. All the participants corroborated this statement and this was evidenced by the very little involvement and participation of the management staff in the formal process of financial management at the station. Considering the important role that community TV stations such Soweto TV play in creating public good, being able to build formal mechanisms that encourage principles of accountability, transparency and integrity in due process, is a critical and central function of achieving effectiveness. However, in the case of Soweto TV, it appeared there were no formal mechanisms internally that were built to ensure that the station was upholding these principles and there was limited e

What the responses of the participants did reveal, however, was the indirect involvement of the management staff in the financial management of the station, which came in the form of managing its resources. However, this area of management of resources showed evidence of informality in its process. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) stated that the station attempted to manage the use of resources such as cars, equipment and production facilities by creating booking forms. However, participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) admitted that no attempts were made to formalise this booking process by putting it in writing. Instead, training was verbally communicated, which eventually subjected it all sorts of inconsistencies, such as a lack of compliance and adherence.

Participant D (interview, 17 May 2016) also indicated that booking forms often went missing, which showed the poor management of this process. This eventually nullified the value and its effectiveness in helping the organisation achieve its objectives. The management of resources, although an indirect financial management function, is still a governance mechanism; however, at Soweto TV, this governance mechanism was informal, which led to inconsistencies that made the informal process less effective in helping Soweto TV achieve its objectives.

Informality is evidenced in many other governance processes at Soweto TV. Two of the three participants noted there being very little knowledge about the auditing process there or the existence of auditing committees. Participant A (interview, 17 May 2016) and Participant B (interview, 18 May 2016) were the only participants that recalled and noted participating in an audit interview that enquired about their staff enrolment at the station. Participant D (interview, 19 May 2016) reported to know very little about this audit process. Participant A, who knew the finer details of the auditing company that was invited to conduct the auditing interviews, had no knowledge, however, about the existence of an auditing committee. The account of an audit interview is an indication of the existence of auditing process being undertaken. However, the fact that only two out of all the six participants (management plus production staff) accounted for taking part in such an interview speaks of the inconsistencies in this process. The researcher's finding on this issue was that out of all six of the interviews participants, Participant A and Participant B were the only ones who accounted for participating in an audit process. Although the audit interview might provide evidence that an auditing process was undertaken; it does not; however, convincingly show that it is highly ineffective. This then creates questions about the credibility of its findings and the lack of formality.

Questions of credibility seemed to also be an underlying, lingering issue in the financial management practices of Soweto TV in that the researcher found more inconsistencies in the responses of the participants in this area. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) was the only one who could account for there being audited financial statements that were made publically available, stating that they were distributed at Annual General Meetings. Neither of the other two participants in management could account for financial statements being distributed at these meetings nor for there being Annual General Meetings where stakeholders are invited.

The researcher is of the opinion, however, that the unique relationship that Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) has with the station manager could have made him privy to information and access to this that might have not been available to other management staff members. However, this type of exclusivity, which allows some members of the staff to be privy to certain information and events and others not, greatly undermines the transparency and accountability mandate of the governance processes of ensuring public access to audited financial statements and public expenditure tracking. In a space such as Soweto TV, where already so many of the governance processes are informal, creating many inefficiencies, given that a lack of transparency; governance is significantly weakened. With Participant A being the only one among the management team to know about an Annual General Meeting, this firstly implies that these meetings are less transparent and accountable. Secondly, it casts a serious question on the credibility of these meetings as mechanisms for ensuring that the station is accountable to the community for its financial management; and, therefore, effective in achieving its objectives to serve the community.

Other informal processes that were also observed, were in two areas, namely in the hiring or recruitment processes of staff members at the station as well as the community engagement initiatives undertaken by Soweto TV. The researcher will discuss the findings of the recruitment of staff members.

Participant A (interview, 18 March 2016) explained that when staff members were appointed to their positions, no experience or skills assessment process was followed. Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) explains that his position as content head was a position that was given to him by his previous station manager without the prior experience or skills to fulfill such a responsibility. For governance to be effective, it needs to function within structures. The board, for instances, will formulate policies; management will enforce compliance and adherence to policies; and staff members will implement them. Therefore, building structures within the station, whether it is Human Resources or finance, or even the board, it is important that individuals that are hired and recruited to fill these roles are skilled and competent in order for the organisation to achieve effectiveness.

However, when the appointment of staff members is not informed by a formal process, as indicated in the Soweto TV experience, the effectiveness of governance becomes greatly undermined. Appointing individuals without the right skills to fulfill their roles, weakens the ability of structures to fulfill and serve the needs of the organisation and to effectively achieve its objectives. This explains why the management team was not involved in the budgeting process of the station. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) stated that when management was asked by the incumbent station manager to compile budgets for their production portfolios, they were unable to fulfill this task because of their lack of skills. The HR manager, for instance, was not able to address issues relating to whistle–blowing, because she lacked training or the skills to perform this function. This reveals the weakness that informal processes created within Soweto TV's efforts to be effective.

The second issue that the researcher would like to address is that of engagement and participation and how a lack of formality undermines the outcomes of these processes. According to Participant A (interview 18 May 2016), it is the licence agreement with ICASA that stipulates that Soweto TV needs to engage with the community to provide information and access to and about the operations of the station, and that this is an important part of the station's effectiveness. The findings of the study, in terms of engagement and participation in governance processes, is that they do not exist in the same format as proposed in the conceptual framework; in that the researcher was not able to find evidence of the strictest forms of public commissions or the existence of citizen advisory boards as well as the monitoring of public services .However, the equivalent of these governance processes was observed in the Annual General Meetings that Participant C (interview,18 May 2016) mentioned, in addition to stakeholder meetings, bus tours and social media initiatives by the staff. The participants gave no evidence that these processes had any formality attached them in terms of being documented in policies.

The evidence of informality showed more evidence of inconsistencies in the outcomes of these processes. With no agreed due process and a lack of agreement in rules and regulations that guide and steer the actions and decisions; the informality of the engagement and participation processes proved to be ineffective in terms of accountability. Participants noted that the when the community was engaged by Soweto TV through the aforementioned channels namely, annual bus tours, social media and stakeholder meetings very little of the community's feedback was used to improve service delivery. Moreover, participants indicated that the AR, which gave an indication of how the public was receiving their services, also underserved this purpose of improving service delivery. However, there was agreement from all participants that the engagement and participation channels were useful if they had better feedback mechanisms. This shows how, when the mechanisms of governance are informal, they undermine effectiveness of the organisation; however, if they are formalised, it seems that they could be far more effective.

The researcher would like to argue, however, that informal governance frameworks do not necessarily or automatically translate into ineffectiveness. For a community TV station, such as Soweto TV, having informal governance processes when it started out especially in a space that was so new and where there was no knowledge about how to govern community TV stations informality gave it the flexibility to learn and adapt to the needs of its audience members while figuring out what processes they needed to undertake to ensure effectiveness. In the early years, when Soweto TV was starting and where learning was key to survival; having informal processes was a necessary technique of ensuring that it could adapt, and so become effective in reaching their community audience.

However, in the later years, as its viewership grew and it became established, so should the formal processes have grown as well. Unfortunately this did not seem to be case, and it appears that Soweto TV continued to operate with informal governance, which, in turn, created inconsistencies that now weaken the ability of the station to achieve effectiveness.

5. 4.2. Interpretation and Analysis of Interviews with Production Staff

It was interesting to note that even though there was little evidence of having any direct control or involvement in the formal financial governance processes of Soweto; there was, however, evidence by management to create some consistency indirectly in the management of the station's resources. We see this evidence in the acknowledgments made by all production staff of an existence of a resource management process. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) noted that as staff members followed processes and procedures when using resources such as cars, equipment and studio facilities - they were required to fill in booking forms. However, the problems that arose with informal processes is their lack of consistency and the weakness to governance that results. Staff participants noted that the resources' management process was verbally communicated.

The problem, however, with verbally communicated processes, as opposed to formally documented policies that direct actions, is that they become inconsistent. Inconsistencies and irregularities in informal processes result in a lack of adherence and compliance, which undermines effectiveness. It becomes difficult to enforce accountability and integrity in these processes when they are not followed by all staff members. Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) shows evidence of this argument by explaining that there are some instances where staff members were permitted by the station manager to use resources without following all the processes of using the booking forms. This shows the little compliance that is given to a process when governance is informal, but it also shows how informality gives way to discretion, which, in turn, further erodes confidence and trust in these informal processes. Other inefficiencies that were noted with this booking process by all the participants were the loss of booking forms that took place. This assertion corroborates management's responses to the same issue. Losing booking forms showed the poor accountability of this process and the lack of credibility associated with its outcomes. The management staff participants concluded in their responses that, even though they had created a good mechanism for accounting for resources; because of its informality and poor management, they admitted that it was ineffective and this assertion was proved to be true by the production staff.

The assertions of the participants revealed the argument made in this study of the weakness of informal governance processes. The inability to monitor bookings therefore greatly weakened the ability of Soweto TV to use its resources and therefore, in turn, negatively affected the effective achievement of its objectives.

All the participants stated that they were not aware of an independent commission that was created to deliberate over the major challenges or issues facing Soweto TV. Participants also noted that they had no access to financial statements, even though, as indicated above, Participants A and B account for them. This reveals again what this study is asserting to be the problem with informal governance process, and that is the fact that they lack transparency, and therefore cannot be regarded as having accountable and credible outcomes. This, in the long- run, negatively impacts the effectiveness of governance to help the organisation achieve its objectives.

The limited information about annual meetings, audited financial records and statements revealed further weaknesses in these informal processes. As mentioned above, community engagement and participation platforms that Soweto TV had in place were informal, even though this governance process was key to the station's effectiveness. As a result, it was not surprising, considering the responses of the management staff, when all of the participants mentioned that the poor follow up and feedback received from these community engagement channels made them ineffective. All the participants criticised this informality as hampering real change in how things are done in reaching the station's audience. The purpose for creating community engagement channels is to ensure that community TV stations, are, in fact, meeting their most important and primary objective of including the needs and voices of the community in their operation.

Soweto TV, as a station, did show evidence of creating mechanisms to ensure that the contributions that they collected in bus tours are used to empower the processes within the station. Soweto TV, as a broadcaster of community content, needs to hear from the community what they want and there is neither real accountability nor transparency in these processes to ensure follow-up and feedback.This means that the community engagements and participation exercises that are in place are there simply as a 'ticking of the box' exercise as opposed to being a mechanism that is used to enhance the ability of Soweto TV to effectively meet its objectives. This again shows how informal governance weakens the station's ability to achieve effectiveness.

The consequence of a lack of formality on the organisational culture are feelings of uncertainty and a lack of trust. Participant C (interview, 16 May 2016) corroborated this point by stating that very few people knew how decisions were made at the station. Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016), in management, supported this by stating that there are instances where decisions were regarded as being unfair, where decisions followed no due processes and were simply subject to voting and the majority rule principle. This could also explain the reason why production staff did not feel comfortable to report unethical behaviour and conduct. There is very little integrity and trust associated with informal processes.

The lack of policies at Soweto TV, and therefore informality, creates an organisation culture that is informed by instability, inconsistency and lack of trust in integrity of any processes undertaken at the station. This explains the lack of adherence and compliance of staff members to these informal processes. Moreover, the lack of checks and balances on decisions, as a result of lack of policies, leaves the station vulnerable to abuse and misuse resources. All of the production staff participants stated that they did not feel comfortable with disclosing and reporting unethical behaviour as noted already. Participant E (interview, 20 May 2016) stated that reporting unethical behaviour was 'career suicide' and it was interesting to note that speaking out was tantamount to what participants called 'snitching', which shows a negative association to reporting misconduct and unethical behaviour. Staff members feel that they would compromise their jobs if they spoke out.

In a community such as Soweto, where unemployment rates are so high, it is not surprising that staff members feel this way. However, the problem with silencing staff members is that it starts to erode at internal controls that are purposed to create accountability and to protect the organisation's resources from abuse. In the long–run, muzzling staff members results in the lack of checks and balances that ensure the effectiveness of the organisation.

The researcher argued earlier that the informality of processes could have been part of helping the station adapt while learning about environment and industry in those early years. However, the researcher argued that as the station started to grow, so too should the creation of structures and due processes taken flight. The responses of the participants show that changes seem to have to brewed in the last two years with the appointment of the station manager who seemed to be the catalyst to many others being hired, such as, for instance, a financial manager. These developments, however, reaped little reward and the station showed evidence of continued informality and weakness in its internal governance structures. If this is the case, by all accounts, after nine years of operating in this fashion, the station should have met its demise.

This, however, did not happen. Somehow, in the midst of such inconsistencies and informality, Soweto TV has managed to remain effective, in that, over nine years, the station has managed to amass 3.1 million viewers. The answer to this lies in its relationship with Urban Brew and in the indirect governance it has managed to achieve through the management services it received from them.

5. 4.3 The Role of Urban Brew

The role of Urban Brew is an important relationship to note in this study. As a privately owned profit-making company, it played an important and dominant role in explaining how Soweto TV achieved effectiveness in its later years. This role, and the high level and extent of involvement of Urban Brew in Soweto TV affairs, was corroborated by all the participants.

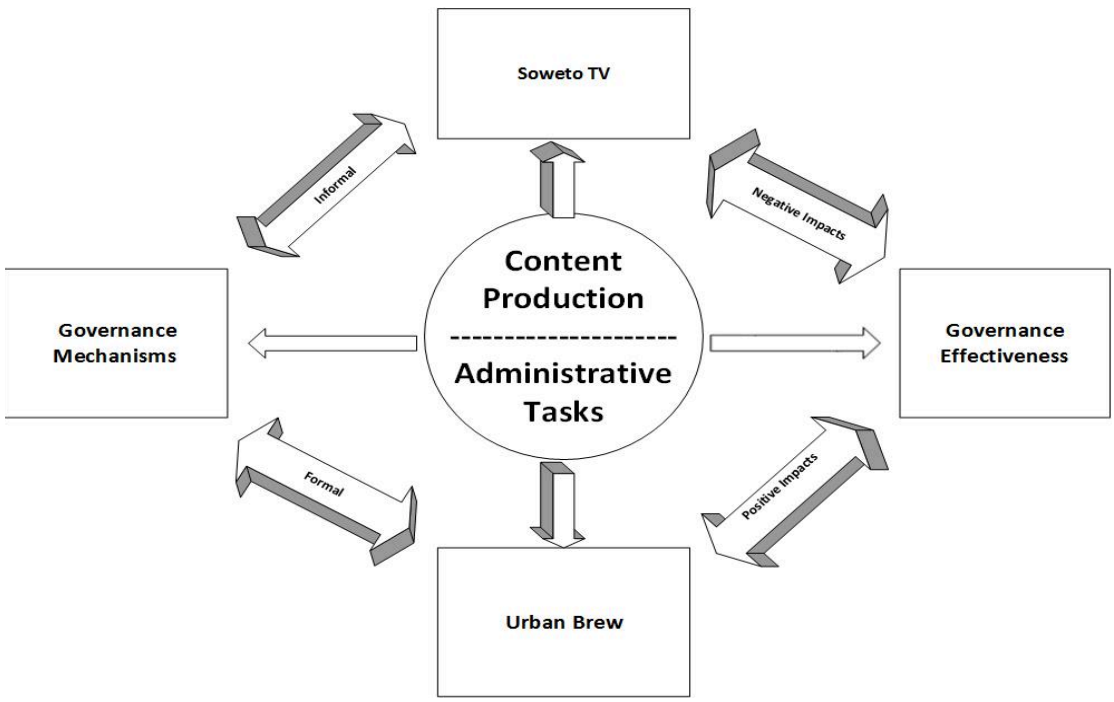
The major role that Urban Brew as the 'big brother' played at Soweto TV was in terms of the managerial services it provided in the operation and steering of the station. Soweto TV, with its informal processes, outsourced several governance processes to Urban Brew in order to benefit from their experience, competence and institutional arrangements. According to Participant A (interview, 19 May 2016), as a result, Urban Brew now ran everything at the station.

Urban Brew is one of South Africa's most successful production companies. It is a giant in terms of production and business management; and, according to Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016); they signed a contract with Soweto TV to provide management services. As argued above, the processes at Soweto TV were informal, and, as a result, evidenced some weakness in helping the station to effectively achieve its objectives. The role of Urban Brew was therefore to indirectly strengthen these internal weaknesses of the station and help it achieve effectiveness by leveraging the formality, developed structures and governance of this private and profit-making organisation. Urban Brew took over the operation and running of the station and helped it become more effective. This partnership over the years resulted in the 3.1 million-strong viewership. The role of Urban Brew in Soweto TV shows the important role of, and need for, governance in helping community stations such as Soweto TV in effectively achieving their objectives.

However, it is important to note in this consideration that Urban Brew, although its role was beneficial in helping Soweto TV achieve its objectives; was a profit-making company and therefore harboured profit-making motives. Soweto TV relied and depended heavily on Urban Brew: so much so that all the participants mentioned that everything was handled by them. Participant B (interview, 17 May 2016) added that, as the management team, they knew that Urban Brew would have the final say on important issues. Participant A (interview, 18 May 2016) added that given the lack of formality in financial management, recruitment and lack of skills, the station had no choice but to rely on Urban Brew.

This heavy and continued reliance and the little evidence available or any commitment shown from Soweto TV to strengthen their own formal internal structures and processes so that they could run independently; shows why the level of control of Urban Brew's managerial services extended to the management of Soweto TV's key activities. From the responses of the participants, it appears that Soweto TV had ceded the autonomy of the station to Urban Brew, thereby compromising its ability to fulfill its objectives entirely. Without developed and formally governed frameworks and processes, considering the heavy reliance on Urban Brew and considering that Urban Brew is profit-driven, there seems to be a real danger of Urban Brew, with its well developed governance structures, dominating and directing Soweto TV for their private gain rather than serving the goal of reaching the community audience.

Figure 2: The governance relationship between Soweto TV and Urban Brew



The diagram above shows the governance relationship of Soweto TV and Urban Brew as argued in the study. The governance mechanism internally of Soweto TV is informal which leads to a negative impact on the effectiveness of governance in Soweto TV. However the governance mechanism of Urban Brew although indirectly achieved is formal and it has a positive impact on the effectiveness of governance in Soweto TV. Together the internal informal governance of Soweto TV and indirect formal governance achieved through Urban Brew results in effectiveness.

5.5. Conclusion

The findings that can be drawn from this study of the 11 issues as outlined in the conceptual framework were that there was very limited evidence of their existence formally. However, there was evidence of informal governance processes. It was argued that this informal governance did not necessarily translate into ineffective achievements of objectives. However, it was argued that Soweto TV's informal processes resulted in a great deal of weakness in the ability of the station to effectively achieve its objectives. This is because there was a lack of due process, rules and regulations regarding how action should be undertaken that allowed discretion to steer decisions, creating inconsistencies. The lack of accountability and transparency, as result of the lack of informality, to these processes shows the dominance of the use of discretion in decision making. The researcher argued that what resulted was the weakness of the station's informal processes to achieve its objectives.

With the 3.1 million viewership, Soweto TV managed to achieve success. However, evidence of underdeveloped and weak governance processes, and the role of Urban Brew here, proved the case for the important role and need for formal governance in helping community TV achieve effectiveness. Urban Brew's private and corporate governance structures and framework was used to mitigate the weaknesses of Soweto TV's informal governance processes, but at a cost. In a space where a community TV station, such as Soweto TV, has a weak informal governance process, yet is working in partnership with a profit-making company that has more sophisticated governance frameworks and processes, it is possible for the agenda of the developed and formal processes to smother and dominate the agenda of the weaker and informal processes. Moreover, considering the little commitment to formalise their internal processes and structures, the formal processes of Urban Brew appeared to take over and dominate the informal processes of Soweto TV, and this created the potential to direct the station towards goals of private gain rather than serving the goal of reaching the community audience

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6. 1. Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the study, and outlines the main conclusions drawn from the interpretation of the data, as well as providing recommendations that will shed light on areas where future research can be extended.

Community TV around the world and in Africa emerged much earlier than it did in South Africa. Starting in the 1960s in the USA and 1980 in Nigeria, the genesis of community TV in South Africa in the 1990s spelled the beginnings of one of the most important broadcasting channels for creating public good in society. There are five community TV stations in South Africa, and Soweto TV is the community TV juggernaut of these with 3.1 million viewers within this space. This study indicated that the policy, as set out by ICASA, provided provisions on the services that community TV must provide, but sheds very little light on how they should be governed.

As an NPO, and with the limited development in literature that exists in the governance of NPOs, a knowledge gap was recognised, in terms of the lack of understanding that exists about the governance of community TV stations such as Soweto TV. The lack of research in this area gave grounds for undertaking this study of examining what the role of governance is in helping the community stations, in particular Soweto TV, to achieve their objectives.

6. 2 The Literature Review

The literature stated that governance was a concept that meant different things to different people and admitted to the lack of agreement in a single definition to governance. The idea of good governance as well was highly contested and authors such as Maserumule (2014) stated that the term 'good' was subject to the interpretation of different groups. Maserumule (2014) went as far as to state that governance is trans-contextual, value-laden and multidimensional. For community TV, which has been occupying this space for the last nine years; these assertions, including and considering the interpretation of employees at Soweto TV in this study, made sense. The theoretical framework that was in appropriate for such considerations and chosen for this study was the interpretivism governance theory

The conceptual framework that was chosen in the assessment of governance at Soweto TV was based on looking at 11 areas of focus as identified by Cornforth, Hopt and Hippel's conceptual framework. This framework provided an important instrument of measurement for the assessment of the role that governance played in the effectiveness of community TV stations, more specifically, Soweto TV. These 11 areas of focus were derived from internationally based NPOs' experiences and key learning and used to coordinate a South African NPO's experience in the case of Soweto TV. However, the theoretical framework of the study gave room for interpretation outside of these highlighted in the 11 governance issues.

6.3 The Purpose Statement

The purpose of the research is to examine the role that governance plays in helping community TV achieve their set objectives, with a specific focus on Soweto TV.

6. 4 The Research Methodology

This study followed a qualitative research design and used a single case study to conduct the study. The study was exploratory in nature and used a purposive sampling technique. Members of the board of Soweto TV were originally selected as the sample group (participants) of this study, but, due to their reluctance to participate; the researcher ended up selecting the management and production staff members as participants.

The data collection process originally entailed the use of data collection and semi-structured interviews. However, the researcher used semi-structured interviews as the main data collection technique; and, to achieve triangulation, she targeted the interviews at both management and staff members. Therefore, interviewing management and production staff of Soweto TV who implement, rather than the board, gave this study far more valid findings of how governance actually worked rather than the theory of how it is intended to work.

6. 5 Presentation of Findings

To reinforce, the study unit of analysis comprised the management staff and production staff members of Soweto TV after the board of Soweto TV were reluctant to participate in the study. The main finding that can be drawn from this study is that none of the 11 issues, outlined in the conceptual framework, existed in their strictest form at Soweto TV. However, Soweto TV did have and implement their own unique and alternative governance mechanism.

6. 6 Interpretation and Analysis of the Findings

However, there were indications of informal processes that were argued to have created weakness in the ability of Soweto TV to effectively achieve its objectives. The role that governance played was evidenced through the partnership that Soweto TV had with Urban Brew. Even though this partnership allowed the station to have leverage, with regard to the formal structures therein, and thereby achieve effectiveness, without its own internal formal governance processes; it exposes the station to the danger of having its community service agenda dominated by a company's profit-making agenda.

In conclusion, when considering the role that governance plays in helping Soweto TV achieve effective governance, we can conclude that governance did play a role in helping Soweto TV achieve effectiveness in its indirect governance via Unban Brew.

6. 7 Problem Statement

Literature found on community TV focuses on the role of community TV being an important engine for creating a media environment that opens itself up to ordinary people (Nossek, 2003; Milan, 2009). However, there is very little literature that speaks to how community TV can effectively play this role, and, in essence, how they should be effectively governed (Cornforth, 2003).

6.8 Recommendations

The researcher is of the opinion that the relationship between Urban Brew and Soweto TV provided knowledge on how to ensure that community TV stations can be effective, yet have strong governance frameworks that ensure that they are achieving their objectives.

The strength of community TV lies in its ability to focus on and prioritise the community; however, its greatest weakness lies in the weakness and underdevelopment of its governance frameworks. Soweto TV relied heavily on the expertise, experience, and competence of Urban Brew to run their station, so much so that Urban Brew's governance started to dominate. However, it must be stated that, to a great deal, it was this partnership that can be credited in helping the community TV station to achieve effectiveness.

However, upon closer inspection of this relationship between Soweto TV and Urban Brew, it revealed an important key to how community TV stations can achieve effectiveness. Instead of outsourcing the expertise and experience, the researcher would like to put forward that, if community TV stations, such as Soweto TV, internally build and strengthen their own managerial services and governance frameworks, there are likely to achieve effectiveness without ever losing the autonomy required to serve their communities.

The board of Soweto TV needs to make a commitment to utilise its resources to hire or recruit competent personnel who will help them take back control of the station and to internally and independently provide the managerial services that Urban Brew provided. Based on the understanding of their purpose and objectives, the researcher recommends that the board appoint a strategic team that should be comprised of knowledgeable and highly experienced staff and management members to work in collaboration with these skilled professionals to construct and strengthen policies and documents that will guide and steer all actions and decisions made at the station towards effectiveness. Soweto TV employees who have been with the station from the beginning and have experience with the implementation and understand the weakness of the informal process will add value to this collaboration by bringing unique input and insights of their experience to this process of policies' formulation. Their participation will help ensure that policies take into consideration the uniqueness and complexities of the environment and the staff that skilled professionals might not have an appreciation for.

Policies that are formulated by the strategic team should speak to the financial, business and content managemet of the station. This means these policies should speak to how budgets are monitored, including the role and contribution of staff members in their formulation. The policies must also deal with and speak precisely to how resources (such as cars, equipment, airtime and studio facilities) at the station should be utilised. Policies must speak to how financial, business and content management can be made accountable and transparent for the community. The researcher would like to recommend availing the audited annual financial statements for the public to access on their website.

Formulated policies must speak clearly about the purpose of the community engagements channels and how they should be undertaken to ensure real participation and engagements of the community. The researcher would like to posit building civic competence within the community. As a community TV station, the medium of television broadcasting provides a powerful communication tool for community TV viewers to be educated through programming. The researcher therefore recommends that content through programmes be created that will explain and educate the community members about the real value of their involvement, the extent of their influence and the value of voicing their needs through such channels and its benefits for the station.

Moreover, formulated policies need to improve feedback mechanisms. Mechanisms must be established for the community to receive feedback from the station on how the station is going translate their contributions into real improvement in the processes of the stations. Mechanisms must be also set up on how these improvements are going to be undertaken so that the contribution of community translates into real meaning for the station.

The researcher recommends that Soweto TV formulated policies should specify which of the community engagements and participation channels is intended for monitoring the services they provide, and which should be used for citizen advisory boards. The bus tours, which allow for a greater interface with the community in large numbers, are recommended as the initiative that should be used to monitor service delivery. The stakeholder meetings and Annual General Meetings are to be used for determining the needs of the community. The researcher further recommends that the policies that are formulated speak specifically to issues of conflict of interest, whistle-blowing and travel policy. As the station is growing, such policies will function to ensure that resources are utilised for intended purposes.

The researcher recommends that the board of Soweto TV provide training on the use and purpose of formulated policies. Moreover, it the recommendation of the study that structures such as HR, finance and operations also be set up to ensure that policies are implemented, adhered to and complied with.

These recommendations will help Soweto TV to strengthen its internal governance processes by formalising and documenting all the activities that are implemented in the station and will ensure that these governance processes and structures help all staff members to achieve effectiveness.

6.9 Areas for Future Research

Areas for future research could be aimed at extending the study with more participants such as the board members, stakeholders, and more of the management and production staff. Another similar study can be conducted on more community TV stations and comparing the role of governance in different community TV stations.

This study can be extended by looking at appropriate business models that community TV stations could adopt in harnessing the strength of experienced and skilled individuals within their structures of the stations instead of outsourcing them. Further areas for future research could be how research can empower the process of collaboration, the soft informal skills and extensive experience of staff members of Soweto TV. This can be achieved with the hard policy formulation skills and experience of professionals who will help in building formal governance processes that are unique to the station.

Another area of study is how the community TV stations can train their unskilled, but highly industry experienced staff members, to take on management roles in legality, sales, marketing and finance. This will reduce the salary burden that comes with relying on professionals who will demand exorbitant salaries.

6.10 Overall Conclusions for the CTV Industry

The community TV space is still an under-researched area and the knowledge is still very limited. Many community TV stations, like Soweto TV, have to navigate this space without the support and benefit of knowledge or research, and, by all accounts, they have to make sense of this space on their own. No one community can be said to be the same; so this means that, like Soweto TV, most community TV stations have to be flexible enough to learn, and, if need be, adapt to audience needs. However, the Soweto TV experience showed that when a community TV station starts to grow, it should complement its growth in audience numbers, and the development of structures and formal processes that provide guidance for achieving effectiveness.

The role of Urban Brew and the kind of expertise and formal structures they brought into Soweto TV show two key points for other community TV stations. Firstly, the value of this partnership shows the important role and need for formal governance in helping community TV stations to achieve effectiveness. This means that community TV stations must ensure that there are governance frameworks, structures and processes within their organisations if they hope to be effective. Secondly, it is vitally important that they develop their own documentation or policies that will regulate the procurement of the skills to help them build these governance framework and processes, so that they are protected from being dominated by interests other than the ones to serve the community.

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APPENDIX 1 INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview planning for people involved in governance at management level.

Governance issues	Existence	Alternatives	Nature	Explore how
Issue 1 Monitoring Budgets	Is there a some formal document that prescribes how budgets or resources are monitored? Which one?	If there is no formal process, how does governance of this issue take place?	Explain how the formal/alternative or combination process of monitoring the stations resources works	Does this formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why
Issue 2 **Public Expenditure Tracking /public access to audited financial statements**	What channel has been created to ensure that the public can view the financial statements of the stations? Does it exist in some formal document? Which one?	If no formal process, how do does the station ensure that the public can track and view its financials?	Explain how the formal/alternative or combination process works	Does this formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why
Issue 3 **Monitoring Public Services Delivery**	Is there a formal document that speaks to how you monitor the services that you provide to the community? Which one?	If no formal process, how do you monitor the services that you are providing currently?	Explain how the formal/alternative or combination process works	Does this formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why
Issue 4 Public commissions	Is there a document that addresses the issues of public commissions? Which one?	If no formal process exists, how does the station address public commissions, How does the community	Explain how the formal/alternative or combination process works	Does this formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why

		engage or communicate with the station? What process do you follow to supplement the formal process of public commissions?		
Issue 5 **Citizen Advisory boards**	Do you have a formal document that addresses the issues of Citizen advisory boards? Which one?	If no formal process, exists how does the community advise or participate in the operations of the station? Or what informal processes do you follow to ensure that citizen can have a say in the operation of the station	Explain how the formal/alternative or combination process works	Does this formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why
Issue 6 Independent Audit process	Does it exist in some formal document? Which one?	If there are no formal processes what informal processes supplement the formal process?	Explain how the formal/alternative or combination process works	Does this formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why
Issue 7 **Independent Audit Committee**	Does the issues of an independent audit committee exist in some formal document? Which one?	If no formal process, how does governance of auditing financial statements take place?	Explain how the formal/alternative or combination process works	Does this formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why
Issue 8	Are you aware	If no formal	Explain how	Does this

Compensation of the CEO	of any documents that exist that speak to the process that is followed when dealing with the CEO's compensated? Which one?	process, how does governance of compensating the CEO take place? Or what informal processes supplement the formal process?	the formal/alternative or combination process works	formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why
Issue 9 Conflict of interests	Is there a formal document that addresses the issues of conflict of interest? Which one?	If no formal process, how does the station identity and address conflict of interest?	Explain how the formal/alternative or combination process works	Does this formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why
Issue 10 **Whistle blowing**	Are you aware of some formal document that addresses the issue of whistle blowing? Which one?	If no formal process exist, on how to manage and address this issue of whistle blowing how does the informal processes supplement the formal process	Explain how the formal/alternative or combination process works	Does this formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why
Issue 11 **Travel Policy**	Is there a formal document to address how the issues of travelling must be handled? Which one?	If no formal process, how does governance of this issue take place?	Explain how the formal/alternative or combination process works	Does this formal/alternative/combination process make the station more effective, less effective or no effect? How? Why

<u>Interview planning for production staff.</u>

The questions directed at the employees will be based on their experience with governance and I will direct follow up questions based on the responses from members of management e.g. if management states that there is a whistle blowing policy I ask the employees' experience with the policy, whether they have seen it. I will then triangulate their responses to management responses when I discuss the results in your thesis.

A. Monitoring budgets

1. What is the process that you follow when you want to use the station's resources?
2. Do you think this process works to achieve its intended goals if yes/no please explain your reasons?

B. Public expenditure tracking/ Public access to audited financial statements;

1. Are you aware of any means in which the station has created for the community to view the financial statements of the organization?
2. Are you aware of any means/ channels that the station has created for the public to comment and review the financial statements of the organization
3. Do you think this process works to achieve its intended goals if yes/no please explain your reasons?

B. Monitoring of public services delivery

1. Has the station ever given or shared feedback of public reviews whether from surveys or research on how the community is receiving your services? Please explain how?
2. If not/ please explain how you receive feedback from the public that they are receiving your services /watching shows?
3. Do you think this process works to achieve its intended goals if yes/no please explain your reasons?

C. Public commissions

1. Do you know of the ways in which the station works with the community to include their contributions in its operation?
2. How does the community engage or communicate with the station?
3. Do you think this process works to achieve its intended goals if yes/no please explain your reasons?

D. Citizen advisory boards

1. How does the station know what the community needs?
2. Do you think this process work to achieve its intended goals if yes/no please explain your reasons?

E. Independent audit process/Independent audit committee

1. Are you aware of any auditing processes that the station has undergone?
2. Do you think this process work to achieve its intended goals if yes/no please explain your reasons?

F. Compensation of the CEO and its approval by full board of directors

1. Is there a sense that the process of compensation and remuneration within the organization is known and approved by the board?. What makes you say that?
2. Do you think this process work to achieve its intended goals if yes/no please explain your reasons?

H. Conflict of interest

1. Have you ever signed a code of conduct in the station?
2. Have you ever been asked disclosed what other interest you have outside of working at Soweto TV, in terns of where else you might work, or what type of business you own?
3. Do you think this process work to achieve its intended goals if yes/no please explain your reasons?

I. Whistle blowing

1. When employees want to report unethical behavior, what is the process that they follow?
2. `Is this process of disclosure of information handled in an anonymous and confidential way for staff members?
3. Do you think this process work to achieve its intended goals if yes/no please explain your reasons?

J. Travel policy.

1. When you want to travel for work purposes what is the process you follow, do you have fill in form when you want to travel?
2. Do you think this process work to achieve its intended goals if yes/no please explain your reasons?

LIST OF FIGURES