

Exploring aspects of participation at South African community radio stations.

By Lionel Je'an Miche'l

**A research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of the University of Witwatersrand's Masters by Coursework and
Research Report in Journalism studies.**

Johannesburg, 05 August 2015

CONTENTS PAGE

ABSTRACT.....	3
INTRODUCTION.....	5
CONTEXT.....	7
AIM & RATIONALE	13
THEORY & LITERATURE REVIEW.....	16
METHODOLOGY	28
DATA FINDINGS	34
ANALYSIS.....	56
CONCLUSION.....	63
REFERENCES.....	65
APPENDIX.....	77

Abstract

Community radio is radio that has been established to serve a particular community. Girard (1992) maintains that community radio must fulfil the expectations of the sector as a participatory medium. This research paper explores aspects of participation within community radio, specifically how it plays out through radio programming, new media, volunteerism and community outreach projects. New media technologies have revolutionised participation by giving rise to platforms that have empowered and transformed what were once passive content consumers into audiences who have become significant role players. These audiences have become key role players in deciding what needs to be transmitted to the community via their local community radio, setting the tone for discussions, information dissemination and conversations that affect the local community.

This project's theoretical grounding is in the theory of the public sphere, citizen participatory theory, and convergence media theory. These theories help us understand that community radio as a phenomenon has its own space within a broader public space. These theories also help substantiate and make sense of community radio's potential as an effective forum for public interaction. Citizen participation theory sees participation as a platform that gives citizens a voice to influence public decisions, whilst convergence media theory helps us understand the relevance of new media platforms to community radio audience participation, all within their own unique counter public.

A qualitative research approach was used to investigate and explore aspects of participation within the community radio sector. Three Gauteng geographical radio stations were chosen as samples (two urban and one peri urban). Interviews with significant role players (within and outside the stations) were conducted. This together with live observations, a listening diary and some document analyses were used to collect data.

Some key findings of this research see a notable difference between sampled radio stations views and perceptions of participation on one hand, and the reality of listeners' views and perceptions of them on the other. Stations seem to have a more idealistic view. In fact, programming is often superficial and volunteer-driven with little or no community engagement and interaction. Listeners interviewed on the streets of sampled stations only connected with their station on a social level of greetings and "shout outs". New media

platforms have presented great participation opportunities, however these platforms need to be exploited and maximised by the community radio sector.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts by Coursework and Research Report in the Department of Journalism, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

_____ of _____

Student Number: 515899

Physical Address: 11 Diana Crescent, Florida Park, JHB.1709

Email: ljeanmichel@csir.co.za

Acknowledgement

I would like to express sincere gratitude to my supervisor Professor **Franz Kruger**, for his guidance, remarks and positive engagement through this master's research. To my loving wife **Beverly Jean-Michel**, thank you for your unwavering support and encouragement throughout this process.

Introduction

Community broadcasting is often referred to as the “third tier of broadcasting” and is distinct from commercial and state-funded services. It has, and still faces, similar dilemmas to commercial and public service entities but is distinguished by its call to devotion and commitment to its broadcast community (Barlow, 1997). This devotion, however, is not evident in all cases but varies from station to station.

This research paper sets out to explore participation in three Gauteng-based geographical community radio stations: Alex FM, Soshanguve FM and Eldos FM. Participation is seen as a platform that allows and facilitates the convergence of producer and consumer interaction, impacting a unique subaltern public sphere that should have narratives of its own, independent of any influence from the broader public sphere.

Henry Jenkins cited on the ‘mit webpage’ calls this participatory interaction collective intelligence and maintains that it took off with the creation of the global village (the internet) allowing people from all over the world to talk to each other and share information and build their own intelligence groups and networks (web.mit.edu). Levy (1997) speaks of cosmopedia. It is cyberspace that creates a platform for information resources to be available to all. In this space information is readily available to anyone with an interest. He argues that “the members of a thinking community search, inscribe, connect, consult, explore - Not only does the cosmopedia make available to the collective intellect all of the pertinent knowledge available to it at a given moment, but it also serves as a site of collective discussion, negotiation, and development. Unanswered questions will create tension within cosmopedic space, indicating regions where invention and innovation are required.” (Levy, 1997).

This paper proves that public participation does occur within the community radio sphere and this research sets out to discover what exactly are the drivers that constantly revitalise this participation , how it is perceived and what exactly is the glue that keeps it together.

The research methodology of this paper included interviews with both the radio station staff and volunteers. Random interviews with “audiences” residing within these stations’ broadcast footprints were also done, including live observations at the three radio stations and a listening diary. Extraction of

information using this methodology centred on just four key identified areas of participation, namely: volunteerism, programming, community outreach activities and new media. Information extracted reveals a distinct difference between those working at the station and the stations audience in regard to perception and understanding of participation at community radio level.

The theories used in this research to give meaning to the findings and explain the notion of participation are the normative media theory, public sphere theory, a discussion of citizen participation theory and a look at new media and its impact and opportunities.

Alumuku and White (2004), in their Survey on African Community Radio, maintain that “the single most important factor is the fact that community radio ‘taps into’ and revitalises community communication, the strongest and most vital form of communication in Africa. Sharing of joys, sorrows and resources is a way of life in African communities where [there is] interdependence and reciprocity. People are ‘hungry’ for community communication. The ongoing feuds and tensions remain, but community radio is a defence against the politicians and religious fanatics who enter to stir up the flames of conflict,” (p.7). This research goes on to show that their findings do blend into reality within the South African community radio arena.

Context

This section looks at defining what actually constitutes community radio. It gives us insight into the dynamics of the South African community radio landscape and mechanics of public participation in this sector. Community radio broadcasting is often referred to as radio broadcasting directed at a localised community of people. Powell (1965) was one of the first scholars to mention the term community radio in a publication entitled “Possibilities for Local Radio”. Howley (2005) asserts that “community media is grassroots media or locally oriented media access initiatives predicated on a profound sense of dissatisfaction with mainstream media form and content, dedicated to the principles of free expression and participatory democracy, and committed to enhancing community relations and promoting community solidarity,” (p.2). My research concurs with Kidd (1999) in asserting that important ingredients of community radio include localism, participation by local communities (group of people living in the same geographical area) in their own media and the production of content for the communities they serve.

Having said that and taking into consideration new media technologies, especially smart phones, my research shows that community radio has many advantages over other media platforms, especially when it comes to social change. Dragon (2001) sums it up quite well by asserting that:

“Firstly, it is cost-efficient in terms of investment for both those that run the station and for the audience. Secondly, it is pertinent in terms of language and content and ideal for the huge illiterate population that remain marginalised, especially in rural areas of the Third World. Thirdly, it is relevant to local practices, traditions and culture. Fourthly, once the initial investment in equipment is made, sustainability is feasible, though dependent on the level of community participation. Finally, in terms of outreach and geographic coverage, radio has a strong advantage over other media,” (p.15-16).

Understanding South African Community Radio

In South Africa, the community radio sector is regulated by legislation. The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA), a body that replaced the former Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), is the South

African broadcasting sector's watchdog. ICASA's community radio licensing conditions define parameters that are in the best interest of listeners residing within a community station's broadcast footprint. The Broadcasting Act of 1999 defines a community broadcasting service as a service which:

- Is fully controlled by a non-profit entity and carried on for non-profitable purposes;
- Serves a particular community;
- Encourages members of the community served by it, or persons associated with or promoting the interests of such community, to participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast in the course of such broadcasting service; and
- May be funded by donations, grants, sponsorships or advertising or membership fees, or by any combination of the aforementioned. (IBA Act 153 of 1993)

In South Africa, the airwaves were opened for the first time in history when the IBA was created on 30 March 1994 by an Act of Parliament – the IBA Act freed up the airwaves from state monopoly. It played a key role in restructuring the broadcasting sector in the country and this included the introduction of the community radio sector.

Since South Africa's dawn of democracy in 1994, the state has not only taken various legislative steps but has also executed a strategy to ensure community radio has financial sustenance and good governance with relevant content whilst ensuring compliance. The sector has been assisted with finances and training by the Media Development and Diversity Agency ([MDDA], under the auspices of the Department of Communications [Doc]), in addition to advertising revenue generated from businesses and all tiers of government.

The Right2know campaign in its publication, *The State and Fate of Community Media in South Africa* (2011), provides insight into the current state of South Africa's community radio landscape. The publication asserts that radio stations have assembled functioning studios and remained on the air, many of them in remote locations and with limited technical skills. Radio news departments produce numerous daily bulletins reporting local, national and international events for their audiences. However, factors such as sustainability and lack of corporate governance (the system of rules, practices and processes by which the radio station directed and controlled) result in weak programming and editorial

content. There is also great dependence on the Government Information and Communication Service (GCIS), which provides packaged news and other content (p.7).

The National Community Radio Forum (NCRF) estimates that less than 50% of community radio stations in South Africa have internet access. The rapid migration from analogue to digital broadcast technologies is also a challenge for many stations (www.r2k.org.za).

Community radio in South Africa functions in an extremely challenging environment in respect of its financial sustainability, governance, strategic orientation and relevant high-quality content dissemination. Despite all these challenges many community radio stations have established themselves as unique voices within the South African media landscape.

Participation

Central to the notion of community radio, participation is the engagement and interaction of community radio listeners in their local community station. Ingredients of community radio participation are varied and may include corporate governance, volunteering, programming and sometimes financial contributions. The United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) argues that “rural community radio programmes are most effective when it embraces audience participation, especially in the vernacular. Community participation is an integral characteristic of rural radio. Participation is inclusive of live public shows, village debates and involvement in the actual management of the radio station. This approach empowers rural people to participate in the dialogue and decision-making processes essential for them to control their own economic, social and cultural environment and play an active part in development activities,” (www.fao.org).

In the South African context, community stations are mandated by ICASA to provide members of the community access to the airwaves and to offer them diversified programming that reflects their interests and needs. According to ICASA regulations, members of the community have to participate at all levels of the community broadcast entity (Mgibisa 2005, p.47). Although this is the case, the broadcasting watchdog, ICASA has no clear definition of what participation is, nor does it have any mechanism or yardstick that can measure the extent and impact of participation within community radio stations. The ICASA Act 1999 is broad and this poses a problem in that participation and

what it actually entails may not necessarily be the same for all radio stations. Therefore what the audience and radio stations understand by the term participation, the different ideas of participation and ways to measure this participation are important points of departure for this paper.

McKee (1996) argues that community participation is a vague and open concept and is used to mean different things. It often subsumes other concepts and approaches (such as “self-help”, “self-reliance”, “user-choice”, “community involvement” and “participatory planning and development”), which are themselves ill-defined. In community participation, people often talk of “felt needs”, “local perceptions”, “bottom-up planning”, “motivation”, “latent development potential”, “catalytic development inputs”, “integrated development at the village level”, etc. Yet all these concepts are highly complex and diffuse and their meaning in any particular context is often obscure (McKee 1996, p.218).

This research paper concurs with Rahim (1996), when he maintains that community audience participation can be viewed as “dialogic”. This principle envisages dialogue that extends beyond simple conversation. Participation is more relationship-based and occurs on three planes. These are “informational (i.e. flow of needed development information); ideological (i.e. shared ideas, concepts, categories, and images of thought and systems of representation for making sense of development); and entertainment (i.e. serious-comical ways of diminishing the official rigidities, ideological dogmatism, and informational fetishism),” (p.127-133).

Public participation within the community radio sector entails the participation of volunteers or community members in their local community radio station. Members of the community who reside within community stations’ broadcast footprint are involved in the running of the station in the following ways:

- Election of leadership (board members or trustees);
- Meeting and brainstorming policy-formulation for the station;
- Management of the station;
- Shaping, selecting and providing on-air content for the station; and
- Producing, editing and packaging of programmes that reflects the interest of the community. New media plays an active and significant role in content contribution and shaping (www.journalism.co.za)

In many community stations audience participation and interaction extends beyond programming and convergence with new media content. It is inclusive of volunteerism. Community radio relies heavily on volunteers. Volunteers fill in the human resource vacuums. Their contribution ranges from answering telephones to music selection, production research and being presenters live on air. Volunteer contribution is not confined to one specific function, but may be multiple depending on the needs and skills offered. Volunteers normally reside within the stations' broadcast footprint and work for no pay. Some receive a travel stipend. These volunteers provide content for programming and compilation of news by being the link between news sources and the station. Volunteers also play a role in community outreach programmes. Stations often set up mobile studios and broadcast live from various key points within their broadcast footprint. Outreach also includes sporting events, community building projects and collaborations with local non-governmental organisations. These outreach events result in the learning of new skills and provide training opportunities to volunteers who assist on various projects.

Some community radio stations in South Africa have "open forums" that take place on a monthly or bimonthly basis, which provide platforms in which the stations' management teams report on activities. These are joint meetings between community members and a station's management. Attendees share ideas, make suggestions and recommendations that can be implemented effectively at the station. A few community radio stations, such as the community of interest stations (stations broadcasting to a particular community ie Christians, Greeks etc.), have a "Listeners Club". Listeners are invited to meetings and are given opportunities to critique on-air content whilst providing ideas and recommendations (Henning and Louw, 1996).

In this research paper, I intend to focus on two participatory areas within three geographical broadcasters in Gauteng. While investigating the role of audiences in programming and volunteering, in-depth insight will be sought into the nature of participation within these areas, particularly the impact of volunteerism and new media technology on on-air programming as well as the stations' community-outreach programmes. This will be covered in greater detail later in this paper.

New media makes a significant contribution to current affairs, news, social media, live blogs, playlist selection and magazine programmes/talk shows. This research sets out to establish whether audience participation is made simpler by new media and, if so, how is it manifested. How is input provided? Is input predominantly provided through live telephonic conversations, pre-recorded comments, or sms text, email or blogging via social networks (Facebook and Twitter). The ability to participate via internet and smartphone technology has empowered the once-passive audience to have a significant say in what they want to hear or share with others on their local community radio. New media and its technologies have empowered audiences to such an extent that it has redefined the audiences' role and identity – audiences are not just consumers but listeners who shape what their communities think and worry about (agenda setters), who use new media tools to actively participate in their community radio stations freely. Social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter seem to be the most popular social media platforms.

Aim and Rationale

The importance and nature of participation has been established earlier in this research, however the reality of community participation within the South African community radio sector has hardly been explored. Much of what has been said about community radio participation boils down to rhetoric. This paper aims to explore the real day-to-day aspects of participation of community radio audiences that reside within the research sample's (community radio stations in Gauteng) broadcast footprint.

The main aim of this research is not only to yield in-depth responses about the magnitude, nature and reasons surrounding community radio participation in the areas of volunteering and programming, new media and outreach programmes, but also to understand the type and reality of participation from both radio stations and participators, especially in response to these areas.

Community radio in South Africa is a sector created to fill the gap that exists between mainstream commercial and public broadcasters. That gap, or divide, that exists between the station and audience is bridged in the community radio sector by participation. Corporate governance, monthly membership contributions, volunteerism, new media, programming and community outreaches are the major areas of participation in the community radio sector. However, for the purpose of this research, programming and volunteerism are laid down as key primary participatory input areas of community radio. Primary because unpaid volunteers are from within the broadcast footprint of stations and these volunteers are presenters, producers and compilers, ingredients that dominate programming. New media and outreaches are secondary areas that require and depend on these primary pillars to function properly and remain relevant whilst being effective radio stations with significant impact.

Apart from the impracticality of measuring participation in the areas of corporate governance and financial contributions, and the fact that many radio stations are extremely reluctant to provide information on these areas (reasons unknown), it must be noted that participation in these two omitted areas do not occur every day. Therefore, as mentioned, this research concentrates on programming and volunteers by embracing new media and outreaches as added contributors to participation.

As a whole, community radio is mandated to serve as a broadcast platform that informs, educates and entertains whilst providing broadcast space for synergised discussions on issues, problems and concerns of the people living within the stations' broadcast footprint. Therefore programming as an integral participatory platform is explored. Of importance are the mechanisms and ways these community stations encourage community input and how this input is tailored and utilised in the stations' on-air content, especially for community development (a process where local community members come together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems). The role and impact of community input on the programme line up, production of content, jingles, local music and eye-witness news will also be investigated.

Volunteers consist of citizens from all walks of life residing within the radio stations' broadcast footprint. This research explores reasons why volunteers serve at a community radio, firstly as presenters and contributors of on-air content and secondly as the radio station ambassadors of their vision, mission and brand. Soshanguve FM station manager Nolulamo Sithole asserts that volunteers are the backbone of community radio. She sees volunteers as a group of dedicated individuals who fill a human-resource gap by rendering their time and service. Validation of this statement and reasons for volunteers' devotion of time and effort, coupled with perceptions from volunteers of their contribution, are important to this research. Are stations committed to volunteers and their development? If so, what is done to ensure skills development, the provision of the proper work tools and volunteer job satisfaction are relevant to the findings of this paper.

New media technologies form an integral part of programming, hence participation. They have opened up whole new portals of valuable information to anyone who has access to these platforms. This research aims to discover if community radio audiences use new media platforms and, if so, how and when? What is the communities' contribution to programmes via new media and how do stations use this input in the best interests of the audiences are of importance to this research. How do stations react to the speed, effectiveness and value of community input and what mechanisms are utilised to keep listeners engaged on new media platforms whilst maximising new media's potential will also be investigated.

Community radio outreach is an area of participation that physically takes the radio station into the community. The station usually sets up its outside

broadcast unit at a key point within the station's broadcast footprint. Of importance to this research are the identification of the key drivers to community outreach programmes and the level of engagement with listenership at these events. Also of interest is discovering exactly how these outreaches translate into participation in terms of programming and volunteerism.

Apart from in-depth understanding and adding texture to research on the reality of community radio participation in South Africa, the rationale of this research is to discover and gauge how community radio fulfils its community mandate. This includes the dismissing or ratifying of the sector's claim that community radio is a participatory platform that listeners can use to effectively communicate with government, especially local government on service delivery issues, by debating and discussing relevant issues that foster community development. The role of the listenership in the operations and programming of the station in order to impact developmental change is also key in presenting the reality of community radio participation in South Africa.

Theory and Literature Review

The focus of this research is on South African community radio and audience participation. This section illustrates the need for theoretical background in order to fully understand community radio stations' interaction with its audiences. In order to give us an idea as to how listeners and radio stations interact and the perception created from this interaction as well as the response generated and perceived, a thorough understanding and linking of the theory of the public sphere, citizen participatory theory, social responsibility theory and convergence media theory are essential.

What Is Theory?

Media theories promote understanding of the manner in which people perceive, ingest and appropriate the huge influx of media messages that bombard their daily lives. It explores how these messages are filtered together with the perception of meanings and symbols attached to these messages, whilst it is being decoded (Potter JW, 2004). Media theory is often referred to as a matrix of social, political and philosophical principles that explain the relationship between media and society. Within this matrix exists normative theories of the media. "Media theory refers to the complex of social-political-philosophical principles which organise ideas about the relationship between media and society. Within this is a type of theory called 'normative theory', which is concerned with what the media ought to be doing in society rather than what they actually do." (www.le.ac.uk).

Normative Theory And Its Relevance To Community Radio

In trying to understand the relevance of normative media theory within community radio, there are only certain strains of a collection of different theories that apply. To ratify this, Nerone (1995) and other scholars in "Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press", maintained that the theories "were not value-free despite their value-free appearances". They argue that normative theory of the press is considered to be inapplicable to 21st century media trends, but researchers may still be able to identify certain broad traditions from it. This includes thoughts about the rights and responsibilities of

media and society and how society can intervene to protect citizens' interest (p7).

Poalo Mancini (2008) elaborates further and uses the term "stupid normativity" to describe the application of normative media theories and other social and media systems. To Mancini, the authoritarian theory, free press theory, social responsibility theory, the development media theory and the alternative media theory made sense only when industrialised news media content producers sold their news to middle-class audiences in political systems, in which parties that were neither left nor right but more middle competed for voter support. Mancini criticises these norms for being ideals that do not describe what journalists do but what a perfect news provider does in perfect situations.

Libertarian theory, on the other hand, gives citizens free will to judge between good and bad. This type of media freedom gives freedom to the community radio sector to report on issues that affect their audiences' citizenship. Therefore community radio has total freedom to explore issues of social delivery, police brutality, abuse of political power etc, contrasting it with authoritarian theory.

Libertarian theory places more value on citizens' rights to express their viewpoints, especially on community radio. It is live and response generative, leading to synergised uncensored dialogue. Nabembezi, (2014) amongst other scholars, argues that community radio is increasingly being used as a dynamic tool in providing a unique opportunity for audiences to complain, demand and discuss their rights - which are opportunities that do not occur in mainstream commercialised media.

According to Section 32 of the South African Constitution, citizens of the country have the right to access any information held by the state, as well as any information held by another person that is necessary for exercising and/or protecting his rights. This is positive in the South African context, since the libertarian theory embraces The Promotion of Access to Information Act. This theory sees government as the primary and, in most cases, the only threat to media freedom. The press, if uncensored, is instrumental in ensuring that the diverse voices of the day are given an audible platform within which government can be held accountable (Benson, 2000).

The PAIA (Promotion of Access to Information Act 2000) was established to address the culture of secrecy surrounding information held by state and private

institutions in South Africa. The Act proposed the establishment of voluntary and mandatory mechanisms to enable the public to gain access to records of public and private bodies as quickly, inexpensively and effortlessly as reasonably possible. In addition, the Act acknowledged the need to educate all South Africans on their rights in order to enable them to participate in decision-making that affects their lives (www.Southafrica.info).

Furthermore the PAIA guarantees the fundamental right of all persons to access information held by public and private bodies. This effectively denotes that the public has a constitutional right to be informed. This right to information enables citizens, especially the poor and most vulnerable members of society, to realise other socio-economic rights enabling them to participate meaningfully in the democratic process (Nyalunga, 2010). Journalists (myself included) from the community sector have made use of this Act in the past.

However a deterrent to the libertarian approach in community radio would be if the radio station chooses to be housed in a rent free municipal building or is funded by local or provincial government. Censorship of the radio stations content can easily be driven by manipulation of the landlords.

Within community radio audiences, there exists a space that necessitates social responsibility. Individuals have an obligation to act for the benefit of society. Communities have developed expectations of various services and offerings from stations especially within a participatory platform. Noma Owens-Ibie (1994) formulated a few important indexes that explain social responsibility in the media. In her publication “Press Responsibility and Public Opinion in Political Transition”, Owens-Ibie explains that the media is accountable to four important sectors of society. Firstly it owes to its audience the provision of thoroughly verified and properly edited reporting. Secondly media is accountable to government that it owes constructive criticism and adequate feedback from citizens. Thirdly it owes the survival of the media organization not only as a business venture, but also as a rich source of edutainment. Finally media owe it to themselves to fulfil their true journalistic role. Owens-Ibie argues that if any of these judges are ignored in any of these sectors, there will be a mark on accountability and social responsibility will be affected (p.69-80).

Social responsibility theory helps in enhancing media professionalism and accountability by demanding a high level of accuracy, truth, and information while allowing the audiences within the stations’ broadcast footprint to express

their opinions as freely as possible. Citizens' private rights can be invaded if it's vital to the public interest. This theory also allows for government to ensure, via a watchdog system, that this sector provides a responsibly good media service by ensuring its accountability to the audience. Penalties are issued by the watchdog to stations violating their (the radio stations) mandate or code of conduct (www.communicationtheory.org).

Therefore, within this tradition, community radio makes a remarked contribution both to external pluralism – by being an alternate voice of the people in the midst of public and commercial broadcasting entities – and to internal pluralism – by capacitating, empowering and being democratic, whilst playing host to a bouquet of voices and style lacking in all other media (Prehn, 1991). According to Schriver (2001), a community with a drive to make a positive difference is glued together by ingredients such as social control, social participation and mutual assistance.

The normative democratic participant theory or public journalism theory has as its main premise that the media belongs to the community. The media has emancipative and expressive roles for a critical purpose. Democratic participant theory was birthed by those frustrated with the dominant media service and who wanted a more accessible medium that embraced participation and self-management not exclusive of its audience. Community media favours a localised citizen-driven platform that is often committed to a common progressive cause. This sector does not have a hierarchical structure - individuals have input opportunities over content dissemination. All decisions, including editorials, are made within an encouraged participatory framework (Howley, 2002).

These value-added participatory engagements include governance, content input, financial input or volunteerism and skills usage. Communities are encouraged to participate and feature in community radio stations' daily mix. Lewis and Booth (1989) state that community radio's main drive is to treat audiences as participants, not subjects. The public journalism model is basically a public discussion and involvement model that allows individuals in the community to directly influence, causing transformation and at the same time being beneficiaries of, news coverage (Witt, 2004).

South African community radio's model and participatory approach does also embrace principles within the public journalism model. Jay Rosen, a leading

theorist, defines public journalism as: “Public journalism is not a settled doctrine or a strict code of conduct but an unfolding philosophy about the place of the journalist in public life. This philosophy has emerged most clearly in recent journalistic initiatives that show journalists trying to connect with their communities in a different way, often by encouraging civic participation or re-grounding the coverage of politics in the imperatives of public discussion and debate,” (Rosen, 1994, p.6).

Local community radio stations find themselves in their own sphere of social responsibility accepting and listening to content inputs. Lambeth et al argue that

“public journalism can be viewed as a form of journalism that seeks to: 1) listen systematically to the stories and ideas of citizens even while protecting the journalists freedom to choose what to cover; 2) examine alternative ways to frame stories on important community issues; 3) choose frames that stand the best chance to stimulate citizen deliberation and build public understanding of issues; 4) take the initiative to report on major public problems in a way that advances public knowledge of possible solutions and the values served by alternative courses of action; 5) pay continuing and systematic attention to how well and how credibly it is communicating with the public,” (Lambeth, 1998, p.17).

Lambeth’s argument is an accurate reflection of the South African community radio context. Most community radio stations are trying to protect their freedom and credibility as a media platform and therefore sift and reframe all content prior to dissemination. Audience participation should be given careful consideration when repackaging is done so as to stimulate robust discussions and debates.

The community radio sector is always seeking to encourage citizens to connect with it. This is ratified in public journalism as Fouhy argues that the purpose of public journalism is to help news and content providers to “reconnect to their communities so they can engage their citizens in dialogues that lead to problem solving,” (Fouhy, 1996, p.11). This reconnection is witnessed daily in community radio road shows and outdoor broadcasts. Jinbong Choi maintains that public journalism can provide a function for the public sphere that tries to find solutions to various problems that appear in society, such as in education, the environment and crime, through deliberation of members formed by various social classes. Public journalism’s main goals are a healthy democracy with

network of local communities as well as participation of the public in public life (Choi, J. 2003, p.16).

Public journalism theory ratifies the point that participatory mediums are of great use in making community radio more valuable by encouraging and enriching community participation and interaction in not only community radio newsrooms and talk shows, but also via roadshows and community development projects.

The Public Sphere And Community Radio

Jürgen Habermas's concept of the public sphere is a realm within social life in which public opinion can be formed and which is accessible to all.

“By ‘the public sphere’ we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body. They then behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureaucracy. Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in a restricted fashion – that is, with the guarantee of the freedom of assembly and association and freedom to access and publish their opinions – about matters of general interest. In a large public body this kind of communication requires specific means of transmitting information and influencing those who receive it. Today newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere,” (Habermas J, 1964, p.198-200).

The engagement within the public sphere, according to Habermas, is blind to class positions and the connections between activists in the public sphere are formed through a mutual will to take part in matters that have a general interest. Habermas argued that the principles of the public sphere were beginning to weaken in the 20th century. According to him, the public is no longer made up of masses of individuals but of organised people who institutionally exerted their influence on the public sphere and debate (Habermas, 1989). However, Cubitt (2005) argues that Habermas's work lacks validity in that his public sphere is only limited to the upper echelons of society and does not represent the citizens of nations that are beginning to emerge. He asserts that the existence

of the public sphere is merely an idealised concept only made possible by the exclusion of society's important groups that include the poor, women, slaves, migrants, and criminals (p.53). Warner maintains that: "The public is a space of discourse organised by nothing other than discourse itself. It is autotelic; it exists only as the end for which books are published, shows broadcast, websites posted, speeches delivered, opinions produced. It exists by virtue of being addressed." Warner asserts that the public does not just consume elements of the media, but also produces its own, expresses opinion, gives remarks and participates in the public space of discourse (Warner M. 2002, p.50).

Community radio finds itself in a sphere dominated by mainstream broadcasters competing for listenership among an audience that is used to high standards. The focus of commercial radio is on attracting the middle-class listenership from high income groups. This target audience allows commercial radio stations to dictate advertising rates and shapes stations' income. Community radio is a voice of its community and is not a commercially driven entity. Although community radio may not have the clout to be effective in the broader Habermasian public sphere, community stations are successful in bringing issues of interest to their local communities, in the process breaking down their isolation and bringing them into their own local community sphere that has norms, values and agendas that are relevant to their lives (Gaynor and O'Brien, 2011).

Forde argues that: "The community public sphere is the product of contestation with the mainstream public sphere, and community broadcasting contributes towards cultural empowerment or cultural citizenship," (Forde et al, 2002, p.56–7). This leads to Nancy Fraser's (1990) argument for reconstruction of the Habermasian concept of the public sphere. She expresses some dissatisfaction with the Harbermasian definition of public sphere and argues that Harbemas's ideas of what constitutes the public sphere needs "some critical interrogation and reconstruction if it is to yield a category capable of theorising the limits of actually existing democracy," (p.57-76). Fraser speaks of "intra public relations in reference to character and quality of discursive interactions within a given broader sphere". She argues that in a stratified society, entities like that of South African community radio arena, cater for voices that normally don't have a chance to feature in mainstream public debates. It is an ideal platform that allows competing counter publics to address the normal disparity in public participation.

Within Fraser's counter publics, we find that members of marginalised groupings have a platform to voice their needs, dissatisfaction, concerns etc. Therefore community radio is an alternative, accountable subaltern sphere whereby members of different marginalised groupings "formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs. These interactions within various counter publics are not in isolation but with responsible accountability especially to external public spheres. People in these external spheres may not directly participate but have a stake in its 'modus operandi'," (Fraser, 1990, p.57-76).

Although community radio's public space facilitates robust debates and discussions, it really has little or no influence in shaping agendas in the broader public sphere. Jones & Baumgartner maintain that mass media has very little influence on what Parliament, the president or what lawmakers think. People should not be naive to even think that the conversations of media really alter what the elites prefer, especially those in governing positions. However, they go on to point out that mass media has a major role in pointing policymakers to issues that they should be directing energy and attention to. Therefore mass media plays a role in keeping the relevant stakeholders focused on a problem or solution role rather than a mind changing one (Jones, 1994, Jones & Baumgartner, 2005).

Community radio is a conscious attempt at creating a platform to counter the dominance of mainstream media. Social media has really helped strengthen the space that community radio finds itself in. One can now simply enter into a station's broadcast domain by gaining access to the internet. When Habermas formulated his theory of the public sphere, he did not take into account the technological and social changes of society. The theory of the public sphere offers a platform that provides a theoretical framework that helps understand social media as an effective forum for public interaction. Habermas's concept of the public sphere is a realm within social life in which public opinion can be formed and which is accessible to all and, in the case of social media, to anyone with a smart phone, or access to the internet.

Dahlberg (2007) and Albrecht (2006) as cited in Reece (2008) maintain that the "internet is the perfect platform for an interactive, consultative and ultimately transformative public sphere, with its structure lending itself to the formation,

sustentation and ultimately augmentation of the more traditional Habermasian public spheres,” (p.48). Online communication occurs in almost real time and can be used effectively by those out of reach, frustrated or disillusioned with the public sphere. Social media thus replaces Habermasian coffee houses.

Citizen Participation Theory And Community Radio

Within the counter publics mentioned previously participation occurs giving the community a platform to air their voices. This notion is embraced by citizen participation theory that is designed to facilitate participation. Citizen participation theory provides “a platform that gives citizens a voice to influence public decisions”, (Cogan & Sharpe, 1986, p.283). In this context community radio is independent of any censorship intervention from the state and private sector but accountable to the very community audience it serves. These communities should and must play an integral part, from content contribution to financial and corporate governance.

Citizen participation theory allows democratic decision-making, and is based on the assumption that all citizens affected by any decision, be it directly or indirectly via representatives, have the right to participate in the making of that decision (Kweit and Kweit, 1981). South African community radio has fast become an effective platform for encouraging and advancing social change from grass roots level by linking the audience via the airwaves to key national and international stakeholders including civic leaders, union leaders and politicians. Audiences are given an opportunity to express and access information, whilst these stations serve as a conduit to hold elected officials/ public servants accountable. Kweit and Kweit maintain that accessibility is key to interaction. The process of decision making and, in turn, its response to those who are affected by it, must be fully accessible (Kweit and Kweit, 1986).

Within the citizen participatory framework, citizens can play various participatory roles in the decision making process. Firstly, they can identify problems within that community sphere, which could then be discussed and debated on the airways. Secondly, the community can also organise community meetings to identify objectives and develop alternate plans. At these meetings, it's essential for feedback, monitoring and evaluation structures to be put in place in order to ensure the process was solid. Issues discussed become the talking point of that community sphere and its progress can be monitored via the airwaves and new media (Patton and Sawicki, 1986).

Community audiences are not just recipients coerced by information disseminated by one side. These audiences are active contributors of content. It is vital for community stations to encourage, maintain and solidify the relationship with their audiences in order to impact the social life within the community public sphere. Cogan (1986) maintains that citizen interaction can be rewarding in two ways; firstly through the act of participation and secondly by enjoying the outcomes of the opportunity to participate. It concludes with an interactive process, a better end product and personal satisfaction.

Citizen participation theory sees public input, public interaction and public partnership as important ingredients of participation. Proper public input techniques could result in the extraction of ideas and opinions from citizens, especially when participants are aware of the manner and extent to which their contributions would influence the end results. “Public partnerships offer citizens a formalised role in shaping the ultimate decisions,” (Cogan, et al, 1986, p.292-294).

New Media: Impact And Opportunities

Brouwer and Asen (2010) argue that the “notion of a public sphere allows Habermas to locate the critical power of a public, which capitalises on its social location” and “enforced a clear boundary between public and private” (p.5). Goodnight GT (1982), goes on to speak of various spaces in the public domain and calls them “branches of activity — the grounds upon which arguments are built and the authorities to which arguers appeal,” (p.216). This is crucial in that scholars have argued that the internet has succeeded in interplaying private and public issues in new ways not only confined to Harbermas’s public sphere. Sheller and Urry (2003) go on to assert that the fact that smart phones are mobile, allows for a great impact on the traditional public sphere. They call it an individualistic private invasion of public space, allowing private individuals to share information, opinion and argue with one another in a shared private and public space simultaneously.

The internet and related technologies have created new communicative spaces that challenge the role of traditional media. Virtual communities, discussion groups, networking and blogging in social media have introduced new models of public participation and dissemination of information (Jenkins, 2006). This can be witnessed when community radio enhances itself by maximising new social technologies to discover new stories and uncover leads and sources from

its audiences. The station gets insight into exactly what interests its audience. Community newsrooms now play an augmented role by piggy-backing on social media stories. Pictures and videos from social media platforms are now used on community stations' websites. The concept of convergence in the media relates to communication where two or more media platforms are involved in an integrated way. Gordon (2003) provides a definition that is useful for analysing the variety of processes and products in contemporary news production. He describes five aspects of convergence. These include ownership, tactics (cross promotion and sharing content across platforms), structure (organisational and functional changes), information gathering (for several platforms) and presentation (p.61).

This form of media convergence provides a platform where mass mediums merge to become one medium owing to the advent of new communication technologies. New patterns and accelerated patterns of consumption instigate the need for media convergence. Convergence culture looks at both old and new media, using new media technology to enhance and transform old media traditions, thus changing how we view the world and how we approach and interact with each other (Chakaveh and Bogen, 2007). In a nutshell, social media is the online platforms and locations of a public domain that provide a way for people to participate in conversations. For individuals it is a way to connect and share information with friends and like-minded people. It's a way to tap into what people are saying about a brand, a product and/or service, participate in the conversations, share ideas or be privy to new ideas and then use these insights to make better business decisions. (Falkow, cited by Cohen, 2011). Popular social media tools and platforms include blogs, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Vimeo, Flickr, Instagram and LinkedIn groups.

Opubor (2001) asserts that "traditionally, media practice was the preserve of an exclusive group – journalists. With the communication revolution brought in by the information and information and communication technology industries (ICTs) in addition to media pluralism, media structures have changed from the predominantly centralised one-way information flow, to the more participatory media formats that allow for more audience participation," (p.28). The shift from media being a platform of one group of journalists who operate in exclusivity has been eroded and continues to be changed daily. The former consumers – the audience - are not just passive participators anymore. They make a significant impact on the public and Opubor argues that there now exists

a need to go beyond having ethical codes for journalists only. Individuals, lobbying groups and any interest groups, including religious groups, continue to use social media to advance their cause.

Community radio, owing to its participatory approach and nature, has an added advantage when compared to mainstream media. Xin (2013) maintains that participation from communities via social media platforms complement mainstream media by positioning itself as an alternative news source for time-sensitive news. These “watchdog” journalists often help in drawing public attention to social injustices. They are able to draw government and mainstream media attention by using social media. Therefore, social media plays an augmented role. However high data costs pose a restrict citizens use of social media.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter summarises the methodology used in this research paper. Data was collected using the qualitative research approach with face-to-face interviews, some document analyses, and direct observation while spending time at stations and documenting radio listening findings in a diary. Qualitative analysis techniques were used to analyse and interpret data. It concludes in a discussion that justifies this research paper's validity, reliability and limitations of the results.

Qualitative Research Approach

The qualitative research method was used. Qualitative research is a generic term for investigative methodologies of various field research approaches. It emphasises the importance of looking at variables and their interaction in the natural setting in which they are found (www.okstate.edu). Detailed data was gathered via open-ended interviews and observation that provide direct quotations. Actual live listening documented in a diary, observation and interviews encompass the methodology of this research paper. Qualitative research is characterised by its aims, which relate to the proper understanding of an aspect of social life, and its methods, which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis (Brikci and Green, 2007).

Triangulated Research Approach

Triangulation is methodology that is used to add weight and credibility to qualitative research findings (Arksey and Knight, 1999). Although Denzin (1970) mentions multiple triangulations that can be used in qualitative research, this paper will only use three:

- Methodological triangulation – the use of multiple methods to collect data.
- Data triangulation – the use of a variety of data sources in a study in terms of person, time and space.
- Theoretical triangulation – the approaching of the research with varied perspectives and hypotheses.

In this research paper, the collection of data and methodological triangulations were achieved by the systematic collection of data from different sources within and without the three radio stations sampled.

Research Sample

The sample is made up of geographic community radio stations in Gauteng.

Name of Station	RAMS (Oct 2014)	Province	Type
Alex FM	143 000	GP	Urban
Soshanguve Community Radio	122 000	GP	Peri Urban
Eldos FM	26 000	GP	Urban

Source: www.saarf.co.za

The stations in the sample were chosen based on their stability. They have internet, telephone lines and are easily accessible by their audiences. The three stations have been on air for more than four years and are visible in their communities. They were also easily accessible and within my reach.

These community stations are also based in three different far-end corners of Gauteng. Eldos FM is active in Eldorado Park, south of Gauteng. Soshanguve community radio is active in the north of Gauteng and Alex FM is active in the vicinity of Sandton. These stations' broadcast footprints do not overlap. Eldos FM and Alex FM are urban stations whilst Soshanguve FM is a peri urban station. These radio stations may have similarities, but are also sufficiently different to allow for some comparison.

Rationale For Research Design

This research is exploratory and descriptive. There has been similar research conducted on the subject of public participation within the community radio sector in South Africa. However, these research papers do not focus specifically on programming, outreaches, volunteerism and new media as key participation areas in community radio broadcasting. This includes Tanja Bosch's rhizomatic analyses of Bush Community Radio's relationship with communities on the

Cape Flats (Bosch T,2005). Brett Davidson also worked on deliberative talk radio as a strategy for community engagement and participation at Valley FM in the Western Cape (Davidson B, 2007). Therefore, this paper did not set out with a hypothesis that focused on the four areas listed above but has generated a hypothesis to include these areas during the course of the research conducted, through face-to-face interviews, some document analyses and direct observation while spending time at stations and documenting radio listening findings in diaries.

The qualitative research conducted focussed on:

A. Data Collection

1. Interviews

Data was collected via interviews with the three community stations' management, staff volunteers and listeners residing within the sampled stations' broadcast footprints. The station/programme manager, a drive-time presenter, news compiler/volunteer was interviewed from each station. An average of ten members of the listening public residing within the stations' broadcast footprints were interviewed over a one-day period.

According to Kvale (1996), interviews in qualitative research are a resource-intensive way to try and understand interviewees' responses while attaching meaning to it. (Interviews are a personal one-on-one method of extracting the story behind the interviewees' experiences and gather in-depth information by probing and following up with more interviews, if necessary, pertaining to the area being researched [McNamara,1999].)

There were two types of interview methods used for this project. When interviewing the sample stations' management and staff, the standardised, open-ended interview method was coupled with the general guide approach method. In the standardised, open-ended interview, a template of open-ended questions is posed to all interviewees. This facilitates faster interviews that are easy to analyse, compare and contrast.

In the general interview guide approach, similar common areas of information are extracted from interview respondents. It is a more focussed approach that allows for some freedom and adaptability when extracting information. Audiences that were interviewed at random on the streets within the sampled

stations' broadcast footprints were subjected to the informal, conversational interview method. Although the central focus was participation, no predetermined template of questions was posed. Interviews were open and adaptable to the respondents' nature and priorities. Probing questions were drawn from initial comments (McNamara, 1999).

B. Observation

Systematic and rigorous observation was of paramount importance for gaining full insight when exploring the aspects that govern community radio participation. Direct observation is a method of collecting evaluative information by watching and evaluating subjects in their environment or workspace without contributing or altering that environment. This method was used to add value to the interviews and listening diaries whilst evaluating behavioural traits, actions and responses in regard to participation (Holmes, 2013). Participants were observed at the actual sampled stations during working.

This method helped in gaining a better grasp and understanding through first-hand experience, truthful reporting and quotations of actual conversations about how participation occurs by observing how stations and participants derive meaning from their surroundings, and how this meaning influenced their behaviour. I contend that spending real time observing and recording the behaviour/body language of significant role players of community radio participation was extremely useful in obtaining information. This information could not be extracted by confining my research to interviews, listening diary and document analyses. This approach, therefore, added significant value to the research process in that I could witness first-hand the attitude of management towards volunteers and vice versa.

One entire day of silent, non-interactive observation of management and staff at sampled stations aimed to extract perceptions, opinions, feelings and hurdles to effective participation from both sides of the participatory framework.

C. Radio Listening Diary

All three radio stations' morning and afternoon drive shows were listened to in order to ascertain the extent of audience engagement. A total of six hours of listening per station was done. This enabled monitoring of important ingredients

of participation. Shows broadcasted on Soshonguve and Alex were in the Nguni language and had to be translated into English for my convenience. Eldos broadcasted in English (see Appendix).

Categories monitored included social media input, text messages (sms), phone-ins, community interviews, stings and jingles made by the community, local news and music content as well as live or recorded promos that promoted and enhanced participation from listenership. The main reason for the diary was to monitor on-air content and ascertain whether the stations broadcast content ratified findings of both internal and external interviews done at sampled stations.

D. Document Analysis

Document analysis is a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and add meaning to the topic being researched. The analyses of documents incorporate coding content into themes similar to the way in which focus group or interview transcripts are analysed. Documents can also be graded or scored (Admin Methods, 2010). The broadcast licence regulator, ICASA produces a compliance report on an annual basis. The non-compliance of any community radio station with regard to programmes and interactive content can be resolved if stations engage with listeners to fill in the gaps that make stations non compliant.

Alex FM's compliance report was analysed for this research project. The reason for analysing just one station's compliance report is that the other stations' reports were not yet released. Alex FM's compliance report will systematically show whether the station demonstrates compliance in respect of its licence obligations, but for the purpose of this research, the focus will be on audience participation and compliance only. Sampled stations' webpages and playlists (if available) were analysed.

Limitations Of Research

The limitation of this research is that out of approximately two hundred stations, only three are being investigated in the sample. This sample is not big enough to draw conclusions under the broad umbrella of South African community radio, however its size makes in-depth research and analyses possible. Due to time

constraints, documenting findings while listening to stations made having only three stations in the research sample achievable and practical. The listening diary also ratified comments made by listeners when interviewed on the streets.

Geographical radio stations span a large area and the radio stations are hard to access by foot. These are poor communities that cannot afford to engage with their station owing to financial constraints. Because of this constraint, not all the listeners of these radio stations have access to the internet or smartphones. Therefore, content interaction and station correspondence is limited.

Volunteers and members of the audience were only willing to grant interviews if they could remain anonymous. This makes it impossible to verify interview findings.

Although it could be argued that findings of the diary do not allow for any justifiable conclusion owing to the short time span of radio content monitoring, it does give significant insight into the participatory nature of community radio. However, the findings of the diary cannot be used to make a justifiable conclusion owing to the short time span of radio content monitoring. The diary does, however, ratify some the comments provided by audience interviews.

Research Findings

The findings of this research project are laid out below. They begin with a brief profile of sampled stations, followed by both station and listener perception on participation. The findings of the interviews, listening diary, live observations and document analyses have been broken down into four categories. These include volunteerism, programming, new media and community outreaches. This approach helps to clearly analyse the level of participation occurring at these community radio stations.

Profiles of sampled radio stations

Soshanguve FM

The name Soshanguve is made up of the words Sotho, Shangaan, Nguni and Venda, hence Soshanguve. Soshanguve is the home of Soshanguve Community Radio, a peri urban station situated at a local shopping centre. The station was started by a community organisation called Soshanguve Residents Association (SOREA) in 1993 and was granted a broadcast licence by ICASA in 1996.

Soshanguve Community Radio is a community station that broadcasts from the Soshanguve Township on 93 FM. The station targets African listeners aged 16 to 34. Programming is multicultural, half music and half talk. The station's broadcast footprint includes Soshanguve, Pretoria, Rosslyn, Mabopane, Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Hammanskraal and Ga-Rankuwa (www.soshafm.co.za).

Soshanguve FM's management confirmed that 27 people work at the station, nine of which are full-time paid staff and 18 are volunteers, who are given an average stipend of R2 000 per month.

Eldos FM

Eldos FM is an urban community radio station broadcasting in Eldorado Park, a township located 25km south-west of the Johannesburg central business district. Eldorado Park is surrounded by three informal settlements, namely Slovo Park, Freedom Park and Kliptown. The main languages spoken are Afrikaans and English with a mixture of Sotho.

Eldos FM started broadcasting on a permanent five-year licence from 4 December 2009. As an urban geographic community broadcaster, the station has a wide range of audiences with varying levels of market segmentation; however its main target audience is youth and young adults (www.Eldosfm.co.za).

The management of Eldos FM has confirmed that 35 people work at the station, three are full-time paid staff, 32 are volunteers, of which 15 are daily volunteers, who are given a stipend of R1 500 per month.

Alex FM

Alex FM is an urban community radio station that reaches listeners in Alexandra, eastern Johannesburg including Germiston, Edenvale and Kempton Park, Sandton, Marlboro and Randburg, since 1994.

Alex FM is one of the oldest community radio stations in Gauteng. It was established by The Alexandra Community Trust and first went on air on 1 September 1994 (www.alexfm.co.za).

Alex FM's management confirmed that the station broadcasts in all 11 languages with 66 people working at the station, seven are full-time paid staff, and 59 are volunteers who are paid a stipend. Stipends average at R1 500 per volunteer. Drive-time presenters receive a higher stipend.

Perceptions Of Participation

As part of the findings, it is interesting to note how community radio stations view and participate with their audience. Participation is regarded, understood and interpreted by sampled community stations' management as engagement with impact toward stations' listenership. Soshanguve FM station manager Nolulama Sithole views participation as a two-way process. She maintains that participation occurs when her community station seeks to encourage meaningful, significant interaction with its listeners. For Sithole: "How, when and in what ways the audience responds to the station is what gives meaning to participation."

Alex FM management sees participation as the community's involvement in achieving the station's vision. Segale Mogotsi was the newly appointed station manager of Alex FM when interviewed in September 2014. "I understand audience participation as the taking part or being visibly involved at grassroots level of the community," said Mogotsi. He maintained that effective participation is only possible by understanding his target audience and its needs. "The community is first. We encourage participation from our audience. We have put boxes at police stations, community centres and shopping malls. These boxes are emptied on weekly bases and all letters that warrant a response gets one, I make sure of that. This is our way of encouraging participation," said Mogotsi. Management of all stations agreed that participation is important to the local community and that stations are key in facilitating conversations within their community, especially conversations that focus on social and service delivery issues.

Siya Viti is the breakfast show presenter on Alex FM. He says: "I understand participation as a two-way interactive process between me and my listeners." Takalani Nemangowe, news editor at Alex FM, sees participation as active participation and engagement by the stations audience. "I get eye-witness news leads from listeners via Facebook, WhatsApp, sms and Twitter. However, telephone calls, Facebook and email are most popular. I make sure that all news bulletins are tagged with promotions that encourage participation," says Nemangowe. Eldos FM management views participation as the joining of hands by the station and community in order to facilitate positive engagement.

Radio stations views and perceptions of participation sees the communities' contribution and interaction to on-air programming as the main core of community participation. There is, however, a striking difference between the stations' and listeners' views of participation. Members of the community interviewed see participation as a means of engaging with their local radio station, not only to talk about and debate relevant issues affecting the community, but also as a means to get involved as volunteers, donors or board members who play a governance role. Interviewees cited access to the stations' management, programme engagement and readily available information on the stations' annual general meetings, financials, etcetera, are of importance to them. "This is our station and we need to be involved and assist our community station to be a success, therefore I walk to the station to find out how I can assist with community projects when I hear of one on air," said an Eldorado Park resident. Another resident, a retired teacher in Alex, said: "I make sure that I attend every AGM, I ask valuable questions and find ways in which I could help Alex FM, this is my valuable contribution to my station and community."

Four Areas Of Participation

The findings of interviews and observations within and outside sampled stations are set out under the areas of programming, volunteerism, new media and community outreach below.

i. Programming

As mentioned earlier, programming is an important ingredient of participation. Community radio programming is designed to play a significant development role especially at grass roots. Programming can be an effective tool in highlighting and exposing issues of poverty, gender education and social issues whilst looking at ways to address it. Therefore, programs need to be structured and well researched to effectively facilitate the promotion of awareness of community issues and conversations (Al-hassen et al, 2011). Station managers interviewed agree that programming is their stations' core activity.

As per sampled stations' management, the quality of programming content depends on training, finances, policies and volunteer turnover and participation. Programming on Eldos FM was informal, loose and unpredictable. The listening

diary found a great deal of waffling with stuttering “erhs”, indicating the presenter had no script. It was observed that breakfast show presenter Mark Vindvol walked in to present his show with just a laptop and headphones. His laptop contained information on his topic for that day - “How would you let somebody know that you had a crush on them”. His topic was selected by him and he indicated that he will be playing music that he thought rested well with his topic. He had no script for his three-hour show.

Observations indicated that programming content on Eldos FM was predominantly conceptualised and driven by volunteer presenters. On-air content was spontaneous. Participation was a matter of chance, depending on requests from the audience or a breaking news story trending on social media. Observations and the listening diary revealed that tweets or text messages (sms) that were of interest to the presenter often sparked an on-air conversation that was never pre-planned on Eldos FM. An example of this was when a lady called Eldos FM and requested that one of the listeners buy her a chocolate. This conversation engaged other listeners live on air for almost half an hour on the stations’ morning drive-time show. This listenership-sparked conversation seemed to be a common occurrence at the stations. Other presenters at the station did not have a show presentation script, but carried a few pages of interesting clips downloaded from the internet, an indication of little preplanning for show presentations at the station. Although programme managers are responsible for what goes out on air, presenters seem to be left to their own devices.

Beverly Snaaitje, Eldos FM programme manager, maintains that she encourages participation, in line with the station’s programme calendar, while trying to have as much input into shows as she possibly can. This includes outdoor events, such as Madiba Day, World Aids Day, etc. Snaaitje indicated that the station has various shows that encourage on-air participation, with relevant content. This includes a youth show and a show called “Maak ’n Plan” that deals with elderly issues, single parenting, etc. However, she did admit that that programming, structure, presentation and content could be improved greatly if the station received training and an in-depth understanding of what the purpose and role of community radio programmes are. Eldos FM noted the importance of regular meetings and feedback with presenters, however, this was not being done.

Findings of both the listening diary and observations show that scripting of shows were important to Alex FM. Presenters regularly discussed their show preparation with programme manager Chris Nahlaku. “It is compulsory for me and our drive-time presenters to discuss content line up prior to going on air. All our on-air guests being interviewed must be approved by me. I also have monthly snoop sessions with presenters so that they understand what I am looking for, and how they can satisfy my on-air delivery expectations .This includes content on relevant community issues, research, good ad-libbing and voice projection,” said Nahlaku.

The listening diary revealed a general knowledge Q&A with learners visiting the station. The station, on the day of listening, played host to Alex TV, a local community television station that was celebrating a year of partnership with open view HD, live on air. It was part of an awareness campaign. Listeners within Alex FM’s broadcast footprint were urged to visit the station or to log on to the station’s Facebook page in order to get a glimpse of what is transpiring on air. Listeners on air interaction showed a sense of excitement to visit the station and be on air.

Observation, the listening diary and interviews concluded that Soshanguve FM’s programming is better organised, structured and well-researched. At Soshanguve FM, the programme manager did a great deal of preplanning with presenters. The station has enough researched content to give listeners a choice when discussing content line up at their community meetings. Listener interviews revealed that Soshanguve FM is a well-respected station amongst its community. Interviewees said it is a station that they related to and connected with easily. Discussions and debates are well organised and promoted extensively.

Soshanguve FM programmes manager Wendy Dlamini engages in daily programming meetings with her presenters. She sifts through content that her team has gathered, moderates it and sometimes sends volunteers back into the community to gather more info on the subject. In order to encourage participation, Soshanguve FM airs constant jingles that encourage participation. “Responses are almost immediate. Greetings, social issues and community concerns dominate content contributed to our station. Social issues include the treatment of the elderly, manners at home, importance of culture, and development issues that include, health care, justice projects and education etc,” says Dlamini. As the station’s programme manager, Dlamini monitors the

station for the entire day and has regular one-on-one meetings with on-air presenters to ensure that programmes have relevant content input whilst being accountable to the programming needs of the community.

There is always scope for interaction on community radio and on-air presenters claim that their audiences seek every opportunity to interact with them. In an interview with Mark Windvol (breakfast show presenter on Eldos FM), he said that listeners flood his show with messages via phone-ins, social media, emails and sometimes listeners simply walking into the studio. Windvol claims that the volume of interactive messages increases only when there is an interesting discussion. Discussions include topics like electricity billing problems, police corruption or drug issues. These discussions are often initiated by the audience, who interact via Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. The station does not have an sms facility. Windvol said that he encouraged participation on the station's various social media platforms. "We play station jingles often calling for interaction. These are played at least three times per hour. People interact with messages on the weather, traffic, sport and other issues that affect their daily lives. Our listeners express discontent and praise for government, politicians, service-delivery issues and sometimes complain about us," said Windvol.

Alex FM's morning drive presenter Siya Viti claims that, "my audience interact with me on Facebook, Twitter, through phone calls and email. Phone calls and Facebook are most popular. My audience response is dependent on the topic that is being discussed," says Viti.

Mpho Paletse is the morning drive-time presenter at Soshanguve FM. He says: "I receive messages of appreciation on a daily basis, as well as content related to the subject being discussed. Listeners inbox or text content to me on local social and development issues that they would like to hear discussed on air, I bounce this off my programme manager and research it well prior to going on air." Soshanguve FM programme manager Wendy Dlamini is on a quest to grasp clear ideas about the type of content that people wish to hear via the various information platforms of the station because of the station's commitment to community development. She keeps a record of significant eye witness accounts, NGO concerns and other happenings in the community that are normally sent to the station via new media platforms. She sifts through input content and responds to the significant ones via the station's current affairs programmes and talk shows.

However the interview response of Edos FM's Mark Vindvol, were not ratified by the listening diary. Windvol called for audience interaction but responses were confined to birthday requests. On one occasion he called for responses to this question: "Call and confess your sins of the past weekend". The station's on-air telephone line was advertised and listeners were encouraged to inbox Windvol on his personal Facebook page or send him a tweet. He encouraged listeners who knew of anyone celebrating their birthday to inbox him the person's name and telephone number. The station was willing to call that person to celebrate their birthday and put them on air. No responses were forthcoming.

At Soshanguve FM the diary revealed very little audience participation on both drive-time shows. Both the station's drive shows, including the reading of news bulletins, were presented in three different vernacular languages of the community. Mpho Paletse, the morning drive-time presenter advertised the Amarewu competition (local brand of traditional porridge), and interviewed a guest from Amarewu to promote the competition for about 10 minutes. The station thereafter featured a crime report from the South African Police Service. Paletse urged listeners that interacted with their ancestors to call the station and speak of their experiences. There was no response from the audience. On-air presenters at Soshanguve FM encouraged and welcomed audience interaction with on-air studio the guests via calls; text messages, Twitter and Facebook. Very little listener response was forthcoming on both shows.

Alex FM had some interaction with audience visiting the station as revealed by the listening diary on the first day. Day two of the listening diary was a Thursday and Thursdays on Alex FM are promoted as a day the station features entrepreneurs. The guest featured in a 15-minute interview on that day was a local gentleman, Tiisetso Maloma, who authored the book "EBC model - forget the business plan". The interview looked at the six components that are essential for entrepreneurs. There was no call for interaction between the audience and the in-studio guest regarding this interview and no interaction was referenced on air, however, the station's Facebook page was promoted.

Listeners interviewed within all three stations' footprints agree that community stations need to close many gaps that prevent or hinder participation. These gaps include not keeping the community abreast of topics of discussion and news on soon-to-be featured talk show guests, on a regular basis. Residents

want debates and discussions that are relevant to the development issues in their communities and these listeners seek to play a role in what is being discussed. Listeners interviewed on streets ratified the findings of the listening diary.

Radio stations are urged by listeners to pre-advertise talk shows many days before the actual show. It is important to these communities that relevant guests are brought into the studio to discuss crucial topics. Random interviews with listeners on the streets of Eldorado Park concluded that Eldos FM did not open its lines for the discussion of current relevant issues facing the community on a daily basis. One listener said that “talk shows relevant to our community are rare. When it does happen, it happens suddenly without giving us any heads up.” The diary did not find any pre-show promotions. Eldos FM defended itself by stating that their daily “Maak ’n Plan” show’s main focus was on community issues and the listeners are encouraged to tell the station exactly what they wanted to hear. However, there is no on-air pre-recorded material or live reads that promote the “Maak ’n Plan” show.

The findings of the listening diary contradicted interview findings of all three radio stations’ management, but ratified findings of the street interviews. Presenters are often heard encouraging birthday greetings and dedications. Listeners claimed that “the station is filled with shout-outs, greetings and friends of presenters, who often call to chat to the presenter, live on air.” Eldos FM came across as a large family with the freedom to discuss personal matters live on air. The presenters seemed to have an excellent relationship with a small core group of listeners who call the station daily. The diary and observation revealed that on two days monitored, Windvol’s discussion topics had no impact on the community. Topics such as “How to let somebody know that you had a crush on them” and “Confessing your sins of the weekend” fell more into an entertainment category and were more in keeping in line with commercial “shock jock” radio filled with smut and innuendo. This observation corresponds with citizens’ comments that alluded to the fact that community radio tries to mimic mainstream commercial radio and, in the process, neglects its community responsibility. Windvol, however, did request breakfast from his listenership and a listener personally delivered it to him before the end of the show.

The listening diary also revealed that the afternoon drive-time show on Eldos FM adopted a more music, less talk format. The presenter did call for community events/notices to be emailed to the station. The show had just one drive-time traffic report. This was read just before a quarter to five and included

areas outside the station's broadcast footprint, such as Florida, Johannesburg, that are not able to receive Eldos FM on their radios because Florida is outside the station's broadcast footprint. This is a clear example of no supervision prior to airing and shows that presenters lacked training. However, Eldos management said that their listeners travelled to and from those areas outside its broadcast footprint and the traffic reports were in the best interest of listeners. Presenters often promoted their personal Facebook pages and Twitter accounts more than that of the station. Here, again, the show mimicked mainstream commercial radio.

According to Alex FM's licence conditions, in order to ensure participation with its audience Alex FM must hold at least two meetings per annum with its community on programming and programme-related matters for the selection and provision of programmes. In response to this, Alex FM's management confirmed that it had a vibrant functional listeners' forum called "Parliament". Within this forum is the station's programmes committee, whose sole responsibility is to ensure programme compliance. The station was adamant that this committee met once a month. However the ICASA compliance report claims that Alex FM is obliged to furnish ICASA with proof of such meetings as well as proof of attendance by community members. The authority did find that an announcement of a community programme meeting was made on the station's "Siyakana programme", however, the watchdog has not been furnished with the minutes and attendance register despite visiting the station twice and reminding the management of its obligations. The station's management claimed that its understanding of participation revolved around community outreaches of a social nature, instead of actual involvement in the formulation of programmes to be broadcast by the radio station. The licence notes that this form of participation has no bearing on programmes, as stipulated in the licensees' terms and conditions.

According to the ICASA monitoring report, 50% of Alex FM's talk content must be educational, environmental, tourism, children, youth and gender specific programmes. This must include informal education, such as skills development. Only one gender-related issue was aired during the period monitored, the others were ignored. According to clause 4.1.2.2 of the licensees broadcast schedule, the station must broadcast programmes related to youth, HIV, disabilities, women, health and education; however, ICASA's monitoring

exercise only identified HIV and education programmes being broadcast. Other required programmes were not broadcast during the period under review.

Many community respondents within the urban sampled radio footprints see their community radios as just a disseminator of information. This is because stations fail to research the audience in order to understand their profile, needs and expectations. These listeners often send dedications and shout-outs, however, they still see their community radio as not being an agent of effective change, therefore they do only relate and connect with the station on a social greeting level. One community member in Alex said that “unemployment, drug abuse and criminal activity are on the increase daily, these issues are just ignored. We need to get government, civil society and industry to a place where they listen to our voice and do something about our issues. We as a community radio station are certainly not initiating nor are we impacting policy process and change.” An Alex resident said that “Alex FM needs to be a firm, significant voice that serves as a medium for more robust debates and conversations. Discussions that translate into measurable impact especially on social and service delivery issues.”

Another Alex resident said that “Alex FM was created to be a unique broadcast medium, but unfortunately it neglects its role as an agent of visible change in our community. To me it is no different from big commercial radio stations.” This is significant in that it confirms what Wasserman and Garman discovered with regards to youth and media. They discovered that to the youth of South Africa, mainstream news is complex and significant people that should be paying attention to the youth often don’t. “While the media is trusted to provide information, respondents experience little connection between the news and conversations reported in the media and their everyday lives,” (Wasserman and Garman, 2014).

News is an important section that falls under programming. The listening diary and community interviews and observations in all three sampled stations, including the ICASA report on Alex FM, reveal that these communities’ stations fulfil an entertainment and informative function for the community and do this by a “cut and paste” reproduction of not only news, but also Hollywood-gossip, etcetera. Stations also used their local knock-and-drops and constantly surfed mainstream media sites for news content. Observation of redactive journalism was prevalent at all stations. Redactive journalism is characterized

by the editing of news information in order to make sense of information that is publicly available.

There was also a lack of local stories from within the stations' broadcast communities. The listening diary revealed that Eldos FM's four-minute news bulletins did not feature any local news stories. The afternoon bulletin covered a story about a man being killed by a train in Roodepoort and electricity protesters in Krugersdorp. These stories transpired in close proximity to the station; however, the areas mentioned were not within the broadcast footprint of Eldos FM. The news bulletin featured one vox pop on listeners' views of the Oscar trial; however, these were not from the local community but were sourced from TV stations. (These were national vox pops from across South Africa.) News presenters interviewed at various stations indicated that news compilation was left entirely up to them. News presenters, many of whom are volunteers, chose the headlines, stories, sound clips, etc., with no supervision from management or a trained news reporter. Eldos FM's news presenter was a volunteer who was new to the station and had no formal training or experience in news reporting. The station's management indicated at the time of being interviewed that losing its news team had a detrimental effect on the station and created a void that desperately needed to be filled. The station's main news anchor was dismissed via a disciplinary hearing and the remaining two reporters moved on to greener pastures. This was sudden and it happened simultaneously.

In Eldos FM defence, programme manager Snaaitje said: "We try our best to utilise the little resources we have to present a news bulletin on the hour from 6am to 7pm, we know it is not the best most professional news, but we want to be responsible to our community as well as compliant to ICASA." There were no trained journalists working at the station at the time of the interview.

The listening diary found that Alex FM's news covered a shooting in one of the township's taxi ranks and the presenter did urge the audience to call the station and report crime hotspots within Alex FM's broadcast footprint. The station claims to rely heavily on citizen participation. Prior to embracing a participatory approach, the station was copying news from daily newspapers and the internet. News editor Takalani Nemangowe is a professional journalist. "I engage with my community to provide fresh local news on a daily basis. Therefore, I am always looking for local stories because I need to have at least one community story for each news bulletin in order to be ICASA compliant. Our listeners engage with me on Facebook, Twitter and on my personal WhatsApp account.

They tweet or WhatsApp me about stolen cars, hijacking hot spots, muggings and bad customer service providers in our area,” says Nemangowe. Although Nemangowe expresses excitement about constant local eye witness news input from his community, the most recent ICASA compliance report on Alex FM revealed that the broadcast authority (ICASA) failed to identify local community news on the station during the period under review.

Music

Both Eldos and Alex FM mimicked mainstream commercial radio stations’ music play-listing and style. Stations played music from various genres. The only qualifier was language. Presenters did indicate that they selected and played music on their shows with no guidance from management or the community. Music was chosen based on whatever was being discussed on air.

These stations had no set playlist anywhere in the studio during observation. Popular commercial radio hits were played by all presenters and there was no way of any presenter knowing whether a song was played on a previous broadcast on that day in order to avoid a repeat play. A song by Usher was played six times in one day on Alex FM. ICASA’s monitoring report on Alex FM concluded that the station does not understand the split in its format between talk and music. The station’s licence conditions state that 70% percent of broadcast content must be talk and 30% must be music, however the station has been broadcasting 56 % talk and 44% music.

Soshanguve FM, however, had a controlled music outplay system called RCS. The station also had a music selection programming committee that meets regularly to discuss and decides on music formatting and content line up. Alex FM was aware of its play-listing challenges that “quick player” presented. The station was in the process of moving to new studios with an RCS playback system.

The listening diary found that Eldos FM did promote and play local home-brewed tracks made by musicians residing in Eldorado Park. The presenters praised local artists and promoted local music whilst pushing the station as a platform to showcase such talent. Soshanguve FM also interviewed and promoted two local musicians from their broadcast footprint. Soshanguve FM station manager Nolulamo Sithole says: “We support our local artists and we do

everything possible to promote artists from within Soshanguve, we always try to give them performance space at our outside broadcasts.” Although Alex FM is required to broadcast 70% local South African music, ICASA’s monitoring report found the station broadcast 75% local music. “This can be attributed to our passion and support for our local artists,” said Alex FM’s programme manager Chris Nahlaku.

ii. Volunteerism

Volunteerism is: “The principle of relying on voluntary action of individuals, organisations or social or community groups in the implementation of social intervention,” (Lobele Ratefane, T.A., 2005, p8). Volunteerism is basically a well-organised and planned form of participation. All community radio stations sampled have volunteers. Most people join community radio as volunteers with the sole intention of being on-air presenters. The station then sifts through the applications, auditioning appropriate candidates when necessary. However, not all candidates are suitable for on-air presentation, but the station may find their experience and knowledge in sales, marketing, production or any other area an asset to the station and utilize them accordingly. The station recruits them as volunteers in those areas, and pays a suitable stipend.

Interviews and observations at sampled stations revealed that there is huge interest from the listenership to get involved in the station’s activities. Stations are inundated with requests from listeners who wish to volunteer at the stations. Volunteers at these stations are initially put on a long waiting list. Volunteers at Alex and Eldos FM are not recruited in batches, but are filled into relevant positions when required. Availability and ability to speak well are key criteria used to select volunteers.

Volunteer recruitment is done differently at Soshanguve FM, when compared to the two sampled stations above. Soshanguve FM has one annual volunteer recruitment drive. A call is put out on radio and Facebook. Volunteer applications forms are then collected from the station, filled and returned. Auditions are held at a popular local shopping centre within the station’s broadcast footprint. The station’s November 2014 talent search attracted 120 applicants who auditioned for the first round. The second round was brought this number down to 35 and the station is still waiting for results from the judges. They intend to recruit just 10 volunteers. Judges are chosen from within

the community, they are made up of musicians and community leaders. These judges get to vote in the selection of volunteers.

The interviews with volunteers revealed that being in the spotlight and wanting to be famous in that community are drivers for community radio volunteerism. “I really see my involvement at my local community radio as temporary. It’s a stepping stone to a more lucrative radio career in the electronic commercial media arena. Apart from my passion for radio, the attention and enthusiasm of my listeners is what drives me to come to work every day. I know I will get that phone call that every community radio presenter waits for,” said one drive-time community radio volunteer. However, there are few volunteers, especially those retired from secular jobs, who are passionate about community development and making a significant difference within their broadcast footprint. These volunteers are not dependent on a monthly stipend and station managers attribute more responsibility and trust to this group.

Volunteer interviews and observations at Soshanguve and Alex FM show that volunteers are more stable and committed to the stations’ vision. Volunteer turnover at these two stations was low. This can be attributed to the high level of expectation and excellence demanded from leadership. These two stations have relevant policies in place, and according to station management, are paid an average stipend of R2 500. Compulsory volunteer meetings are held at least once a month. These stations also have a demarcated volunteer workspace to allow volunteers to prepare for their shows, meet members of their community and get involved in the stations’ off air activities.

However, volunteer turnover is reported to be extremely high at Eldos FM. Volunteer interviews and observation attributed this to a lack of policies, a decent stipend and the absence of good leadership. The station did not have a designated area for volunteers to do show prep, meet guests, etc. Eldos FM management did stress that their volunteers are an integral part of the station and that the station’s leadership was concerned about their working conditions. However, financial challenges prevented the station from addressing this issue. Volunteers interviewed at Eldos FM have a perception that the station’s leadership does not embrace nor view them as an important ingredient of the station and any mission to encourage a sense of belonging is absent. One Eldos FM volunteer said: “I have been at Eldos FM for three years, there have been no telephones since then, I have to use the reception phone to call my guests and

it's normally very busy - so I use my own handset. The only time I can access the internet is when I am in the on-air studio. I don't have my own computer to take advantage of the station's Wi-Fi. Management has been promising to resolve this for years. For me it is a struggle to present a show. That's why most of my colleagues have left the station." Volunteers indicated that a passion for broadcasting initially attracted them to the station. The station does not have regular meeting with volunteers. Meetings are held with volunteers whenever a need arises.

At Soshanguve FM, children from 10 years of age were being trained for a Saturday weekly programme called "Bokomoso Barana". The programme has been on air for many years and 26-year-old Kgomotso Maseta was 12 years old when she joined the station via this programme. Maseta is now 26 years old, and is still working at the station. She is popular and is often asked by listeners to be photographed with them. She attributes her passion for radio and the mentoring input from both the station's manager and programmes manager as a key driver to her involvement and commitment to Soshanguve FM.

Interviews with sampled stations' management reveal that many newly recruited volunteers lack broadcasting skills and stations cannot provide any formal training to volunteers owing to a lack of resources. Various skills are acquired through observation and mentoring. Volunteers with a passion and drive for radio are hungry for training opportunities and are often on the lookout for training that will help enhance their broadcasting skills. Unfortunately, relevant courses offered at tertiary institutions are beyond their affordability. Stations wait for training opportunities from the Media Diversity and Development Agency (MDDA) as well as from the Institute for Advancement of Journalism (IAJ). However this seldom occurs and when it does, only one or two people are selected per station.

Management at Alex and Eldos FM did express a concern that the stations' volunteers are seen as a high flight risk. Community radio has become a poaching zone for good on-air talent and when these presenters are suddenly removed, their departure creates a vacuum that is often difficult to fill. Stations report that even when they do find a good replacement, it takes months to rework and restore the sound of that slot to the listeners' satisfaction, especially

if it's during drive time. Volunteers are also reputed to be absent from meetings or on-air shows without notice.

Volunteers at all three stations are given a stipend, which is dependent on the amount of time spent at the station on a daily basis and the length of service at the station. Certain on-air presenters are given a bigger stipend than others especially if they are seen as a flight risk. Stations try their best to give all volunteers a good stipend but are restricted owing to financial constraints. Unlike salaries that have to be paid to workers, stipends are only paid to volunteers if money is available. This also means that in some months lower amounts than that originally agreed upon between stations and volunteers are paid. An average stipend for a Monday to Friday news anchor ranges from R2 500 to R4 000. Alex FM's marketing manager Umbrella Mashaba confirmed that a drive-time volunteer presenter at the station can earn a minimum of R10 000 as a stipend per month.

iii. New media

New media has redefined participation in the community radio sector. Ordinary members of the community are able to capture and disseminate news almost immediately after witnessing newsworthy events in their communities. Station managers of all three stations sampled have claimed that new media has strengthened interaction between stations and their audiences and in the process brought both communities and radio stations closer together. The South African Social Media Landscape 2014 research study reveals that Facebook has 9.4 million active users in South Africa, up from 6.8-million users a year ago. Mxit, the previous market leader, has more than six-million users. Twitter saw the highest percentage growth among the major social networks, from 2.4-million to 5.5-million – showing 129% growth in 12 months (cited in the South African Social media landscape, 2014 www.worldwideworx.com).

All stations in the research sample have indicated that the most popular participatory new media platforms are Facebook and Twitter, with the former being used much more. “Active constant listener Facebook responses coupled with presenters’ on-air references and response is what makes the medium popular. Our listeners love Facebook. Even when presenters are not talking

Facebook on air, listeners are in-boxing presenters to get their attention about something occurring in the community,” said the then Alex FM station manager Segale Mogotsi.

Audiences interviewed within Alex FM and Eldos FM’s footprints indicated that they do contribute to the stations’ Facebook pages; however, these stations are slow to respond via the same medium. Interviewees indicated that they are constantly requesting info on show line ups, information on load-shedding or notifications of events, but receive no response to their questions. Both Alex and Eldos FM have responded to this claim by stating that Facebook is an important contributor to their on-air programmes and all presenters are mandated to respond to all social media input that require a response. These stations did admit that they do not have the staff or resources to reply to all new media messages that demand a response. Soshanguve FM has a more interactive Facebook page with 6 227 members, whilst Alex FM has 3 816 members and Eldos 1 549. Soshanguve FM’s Facebook page features issues such as details of stolen cars that the community should look out for, soccer challenges from the community and competitions. In November 2014, Soshanguve FM used its Facebook page extensively to complement its on-air talent search.

Sampled stations claim that new media has certainly revolutionised how community station newsrooms source their leads. New media technologies present new, improved and efficient opportunities via media convergence. “Historically we relied greatly on traditional mainstream media for news input because little or no community news was forthcoming. Now we do get stories, but not constantly as we like, but we do get eyewitness accounts from various social media platforms,” said Nonhlanhla Nhlapo, news anchor at Eldos FM. The news anchor said that she verifies all inputs that are newsworthy prior to airing them and pointed to Twitter as an excellent verification tool. “As long as I am linked to the relevant law enforcement personal, government media and other mainstream journalists, all I do is send a tweet seeking verification of a story, and I receive almost instant feedback,” said Nhlapo.

Nhlapo also admitted that she and the station’s presenters loved using Facebook. She concludes her news bulletins by encouraging members of the community with eyewitness, newsworthy information to inbox her on

Facebook. The following Facebook insert shows how the station uses this social network medium.

“The tragic incident of young Nicole Williams, whose body was found in a dumpster in ext 8 on Monday morning, has become even more tragic. The family pleaded for donations to bury Nicole this Saturday 3 November, and they've only raised R1 000. This is an urgent plea to donate food for the funeral. Please help. Call Aunty Liezl on 083 558 4696 and Aunty Lola on 079 696 0061 for more info.”

The station's programme manager Beverly Snaaitjie said: “This Facebook post is proof that Eldos FM has an interest in what happens in the community and will use all possible means to assist our community.”

Soshanguve FM news editor Sipho Mhlangu claims that members of his audience often use new media to inform him of what is happening in the station's broadcast footprint. These include hijackings, criminal activity, protests, issues at local schools, etc. Facebook, email and the station's sms line are used. Mhlangu enjoys interacting and receiving content from his audience. He claims to encourage participation via phone-ins to his current affairs “expression” programme. His community guides him about the guest that he should select. He sources relevant people for all community queries, especially service delivery issues.

iv Outreach

Community radio outreaches are done in conjunction with outside broadcasts (broadcasting away from the studio). These outreaches are seen as a way for radio stations to develop a closer bond with their broadcast community, be visible to the community and at the same time carry out a community development programme. In many cases, outreaches are sponsored by commercial entities that team up with local community radio stations to sponsor wheelchairs or blankets in winter, etcetera. This partnership with these commercial entities is part of their social responsibility programmes.

Observation, interviews and analysis of Facebook revealed that Soshanguve FM and Alex FM are on a drive for greater visibility in their communities. Their

station managers claim that outreaches are expensive but are an important ingredient of community participation.

Soshanguve FM does one community outdoor broadcast per quarter and is renowned for visiting schools and getting learners to participate live on air during these visits. “Our positioning statement is ‘Soshanguve FM, your trusted voice’ and our listeners do trust the station,” says station manager Nolulamo Sithole.

Soshanguve FM works within its community to improve living conditions through social responsibility programmes. Some of these programmes include:

- 2012 - Built a family that had two mentally retarded sons a home.
- 2013 - Station turned 17 and bought 17 wheelchairs for its community.

Sohanguve FM indicated it had overwhelming community support whenever there was a call for volunteers to assist with the station’s outreach programmes. Morris Msiza, the station’s marketing manager, enjoys conceptualising competitions at outreaches that allow winners in the community to co-host a live show with one of the station’s presenters.

Competitions and surveys are common ingredients of Soshanguve FM’s roadshows. Listeners get a chance to volunteer and are showcased as part of the station at the outdoor events. Soshanguve station manager, Nolulamo Sithole says: “Our listenership surveys at outdoor events are an excellent way of understanding audience perceptions of our station as well as the expectations they have of us. We also get offers of skills and talents that can be used at the station.” Sithole claimed that the station was always on a drive to learn what issues interest their community and the guests the community would like interviewed by the station.

Eldos FM did an average of two community outdoor broadcasts in their community in the past year. This is due to lack of funding. It maintains that outdoor broadcasts work well when there is a good sponsor in the mix. Eldos FM did one broadcast from the Eldorado Park Marathon and the other from a cooking show at the Southgate shopping mall in 2014. Residents in Eldorado Park expressed a desire to see their community radio station at more events. Some have approached the station requesting outdoor broadcasts and the station

assured them that this could be done if local businesses supported their outdoor initiatives. Some residents felt that Eldos FM should approach big business within and outside of Eldorado Park for sponsorship. One resident said that the community supports companies like Checkers and Pick n Pay in the area, including the cellular phone giants. “It is only fair that these companies support Eldos FM, our community station, by advertising on the station or sponsoring the station’s events,” said Johannes Leeuschut, a retired postal worker. Eldos FM programme manager Beverly Snaaitjie said: “We look forward to outdoor broadcasts, and I know it takes us closer to our community, whilst giving us greater visibility; however the challenge is equipment and funding. We currently perform our outdoor broadcasts via a laptop and 3G device and these devices need to be replaced. Eldos FM also indicated that the station constantly sends volunteers to engage with communities within its broadcast footprint in order to extract information that will assist the station to air relevant on-air content.

Alex FM’s marketing manager Umbrella Mashaba confirmed that the station did two outside broadcasts per month in the past year, but these broadcasts were not solely community outreaches. Many of the station’s outreaches are commercially driven for marketing purposes. This includes the opening of Boxer Super Store Alexandra, which was brokered by Media Connection and sponsored by Boxer South Africa, and the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS) broadcast that focused on creating awareness about the Road Accident Fund. “Our listeners love outdoor broadcasts, especially one that gives freebies. All our broadcasts are advertised twice a day over a period of five days prior to the event. This ensures that we get a good turnout,” says Mashaba. One listener remarked that he loved roadshows. “When Alex FM comes into my neighbourhood. I get to see all my favourite presenters.” Mashaba confirmed that all the station’s broadcasts are done in conjunction with the station’s listener forum, called “Parliament”. This forum’s task is to ensure that the community is actively involved with the station’s events, annual general meetings and outdoor broadcasts. The forum also ensures that volunteers are available to act as security officials, cooks and researchers who engage with the community on programming matters.

Listeners residing within the footprints of all three radio stations sampled indicated that the community was filled with excitement whenever their local community radio stations engaged in roadshows. Roadshows are seen as a

means of bringing the station to the community. Listeners also felt a sense of importance when their community station broadcasted from spots within the community. One listener expressed that there was greater accessibility to the stations during these outreaches. “I enjoy being on live interviews and am very excited to have this opportunity.”

Analysis

This section analyses the findings extracted from interviews, document analysis, a listening diary and live observations within and without the sampled radio stations in Gauteng. In exploring aspects of participation within the community radio sector in Gauteng, namely in the areas of programming, volunteerism, new media and community outreaches, various claims have been analysed below.

This research has shown that community radio stations' management and listeners have different views about participation. Station management in the sample have a thorough understanding of the dynamics and requirements of their audience, however, little is done to materialise their understanding and filter this down to every level of their station. All kinds of claims are made by stations on their ideals for community participation. However, interviews with listeners on the streets within sampled radio stations footprint and analysis of actual content reveal a different reality. Radio listeners have expressed disappointment at programme content disseminated from their local community radio station. The content and nature of participation on all platforms is largely superficial. Citizens interviewed were adamant that their community radio station is great at just talking amongst presenters. Nothing concrete really surfaces from this, because key stakeholders, politicians and decision makers are not featured on their local community stations' radio programmes. Residents feel that although they often expressed their views on their local community radio, their narratives were not robust enough to constantly make an impact firstly within their community space, and secondly at a provincial or national level.

The perceptions of listeners toward their local community radio stations have been borne purely out of this research. Sampled community radio programmes are dominated by dedications, birthday greetings, celebrity gossip and presenters chatting to other presenters about issues that have no community interest and input. Volunteer presenters assume that their programme content interests their listeners, however this research has found that sampled community radio stations broadcasted bland superficial programmes that barely scratched the surface regarding the needs and expectations of community radio listeners.

This research has shown that volunteerism is key to participation and ratifies Finks (1974) claims that: “The passion and exuberance of the citizen who devotes his time, his talents and sometimes his resources to a concern for others is the lifeblood of the voluntary association,” (p.5). There is a huge interest from volunteers to get involved at community radio stations. This is motivated by publicity and attention given to radio personalities coupled with the excitement of being on air. However, the lack of training, poor stipends, lack of policies and the proper work tools are factors that affect the level and quality of volunteer output. Despite this, there is a great deal of responsibility and expectation placed on volunteers from both communities and station management to deliver rich programming that has a significant impact on their broadcast community.

However a great challenge is that there is little or no volunteer training at sampled stations. Training increases capacity and empowers volunteers to perform better. Training enhances the image of the radio station and promotes better interpersonal skills, thus improving stakeholder relationships. Volunteers work well when they are given the relevant tools, work space and motivation. (Labelo-Ratofane T.A, 2014). Volunteers are always on the move to greener pastures and this poses a risk. Therefore Kruger et al maintain that “volunteer training needs to be an ongoing activity, both because of the fact that there will be turnover of people, and because it represents a tangible benefit that volunteers will appreciate. Community radio stations must be training organisations,” (2013, p.23).

The drafting and implementation of policies for volunteers in order to ensure good governance, job satisfaction and value consensus amongst volunteers is a necessity. High volunteer turnover, disgruntled volunteers, volunteers not knowing their parameters and the recruitment of unscreened volunteers have all been attributed to a lack of sound policies. Effective policies are essential tools in defining performance and promoting competency and uniformity in the operations of the station. Therefore policies are necessary for an effective smooth running station. As mentioned, both Eldos FM and Alex did not have any policy documents.

The findings show that programme content on stations sampled is predominantly conceptualised and driven by volunteers. There is no guidance

and oversight from some programme managers to ensure that content disseminated from their radio stations is targeting and inclusive of listenership input from within the stations' broadcast footprint. Without volunteer input, all live content dissemination will cease at community radio. These passive volunteer-initiated programmes are not only badly conceptualised and framed but also lack structure and meaningful focus hence are very informal, unpredictable and loose. Volunteer presenters who represent the station on air have little or no idea on the managements' views on audience participation nor do they encourage listener engagement outside that of social greetings.

However, volunteers do have new media technology, a live interactive tool with the ability to assist volunteer presenters to produce meaningful programmes with impact. Station management, when being interviewed, claimed that new media has redefined and radically changed the manner and methods in which content is sourced by their station. They claimed that new media assisted their stations in programme production, from conception to compilation right through to dissemination. It is a well-known fact that new media boasts great potential for community radio. It has increased real-time accessibility to community radio and has made listener participation less time consuming and hassle free. Historically, fax machines and telephones only allowed limited interaction with stations and their communities, especially prior to 2004. Now citizens have a platform to protest live on air, tweet or post their views on the stations' Facebook pages without physically leaving their homes. Ordinary people who could never access on-air discussions are now able to voice their views on subject matter being discussed. "Social groups that are misrepresented, disadvantaged or stigmatised or even repressed can benefit from using the channels of communication opened by community media," (Wasko and Mosco, 1992, p.7). However this scenario at community radio stations is more of an ideal than reality.

Burns et al argue that community audiences must believe that their participation produces effective results or else they will lose the drive to act (2001). Citizens interviewed complained that stations seldom respond to their new media input and this poses a challenge. Therefore, listeners expressed that they would like to see dedicated personnel at community stations responding timeously to their social media input or queries.

New media also has the potential to assist stations to be compliant with ICASA's programming requirements. The stations are all mandated by their license conditions to have a certain quota of news bulletins per day with at least one grassroots story from the community and one local story from the broader province. News is the dissemination of the latest happenings, events or current affairs. When new leads are not readily forthcoming at community stations, this places newsroom journalists and volunteers under pressure to "scavenge" for stories. Stories are often cut and pasted from local knock-and-drops or websites of leading commercial radio stations. There are many instances of this occurring and this was evident when observing and listening to Eldos FM. As mentioned earlier, this type of journalism is called redactive journalism - journalism that is made of editing in order to make sense of information that is publicly available. Redactive journalism and the adoption of high trending social material from mainstream media by the community radio sector gives issues, discussions and debates of mainstream mass media an opportunity to be filtered down into these subaltern public spaces.

It is not only redactive journalism and a lack of resources that threaten the seeking of grass root community radio news. The lack of professional journalistic input, verifying, balancing and checking all news input before dissemination also poses a threat to the credibility of news disseminated. The concept of community news being local and fresh is excellent, however Kovach and Rosenstiel (1999) caution that although this form of local, democratic innovative target-specific news comes from former consumers who are now producers, this is at the expense of traditional professional standards that are being abrogated daily. This is evident at community stations in this research sample - verification is totally ignored. News is now filled with community opinion and emotion, speculation and controversy. This poses a major challenge in that it implies that the news supplied by these community radio stations has become questionable because volunteers do not verify their news input, especially when sourced from social media. An unskilled volunteer does not understand verification of news or the importance of this journalistic prerequisite.

Meadows et al (2007) maintain that although the commercial giants provide some coverage of local news and information, this is not localised, offering the same depth and magnitude offered by community radio stations. The gathering

of local news is of paramount importance to community radio. Although information differs from station to station, according to resources, number of skilled personal and stations format, Meadows et al conclude that local grassroots news, events and actualities that have deep meaning and significance to local communities are seldom covered by mainstream media.

Data findings of this research paper ratify that community radio acts as a counter public to the broader public sphere. Community radio finds itself in a subaltern space that is subject to hegemonic invasions from the broader public sphere, in that it is not totally independent from the public sphere but largely influenced by it, making the community subaltern space vulnerable to its broader narratives. Having said this, this paper has found that discussions and conversations of this community counter public are not always extrapolated to make a difference to the agendas of the broader public sphere. They fail to bring about tangible meaningful results but just remain as a radio talk show. However discussions and deliberations within community radio's counter publics do play a role in addressing issues at local grass root level.

Nancy Fraser asserts that "subaltern counter publics function on two levels: on one level they serve as a space of withdrawal and regroupment and are concerned with the formation and expression of social and cultural identity; at another level they form discursive opinion and they direct their activities at a wider public" (Fraser 1994, p.124-5). An example of this was when a one-month-old baby whose three fingers and part of a nose were eaten by rats in Alexandra. This sparked on-air conversations that compelled the Johannesburg municipality to take action. City of Johannesburg spokesperson Nkosinathi Nkabinde blamed informal settlements for the rat infestation, especially the residents' improper handling of domestic waste. The city council issued a statement citing it had implemented various strategies to eradicate the problem. City council workers were seen in the township removing domestic waste and placing rodent deterrents in affected areas. The problem has not resurfaced since. Station Manager at Alex FM Segale Mogotsi attributed this effect on the broader public sphere to new media technology. He said that "new media platforms add value and greatly assist in populating on-air content with relevant issues that affect his community only if his station continues to be perceived as being a platform of integrity and efficiency, whilst serving its community's interest".

Listeners have expressed frustration with station's inability to translate their engagement into meaningful on air content that advocates change. One community member in Alexandra said that "unemployment, drug abuse and criminal activity are on the increase daily and these issues are just ignored. We need to get government, civil society and industry to a place where they listen to our voice and do something about our issues. We as a community radio station are certainly not initiating nor are we impacting policy process and change." This is because discussions in this subaltern public sphere do not impact or affect due to content being superficial rather than concrete discussions with a direct meaningful trajectory into the mainstream public sphere.

However Stanley Tsarwe in his study on "Voice, alienation and the struggle to be heard: a case study of community radio programming in South Africa" differs with this notion. Tsarwe maintains that while respondents to his community radio study could not pin down exactly what social movements have done by using community radio programmes to change the lives of the poor within Radio Grahamstown's community broadcast footprint, there is evidence that certain social movements have been affective by partnering and using radio programmes to initiate noticeable change in peoples living conditions. He argues that community radio programming can act as an effective platform of mediation if station's programmes are "owned and run by the 'community' with the specific goal of self-emancipation ... by abiding by the normative values of citizen-centric reporting, and thus elevating the voice of the marginalised," (2014).

Cloete and de Coning (2011) argue that real policy process begins "when one or more stakeholders in society, feel that the actions of the government detrimentally affect them or another segment of society, identify a policy issue or problem. This stakeholder [can be community radio] then mobilises its listenership to persuade policy-makers to do something in order to change the status quo in their favour. This process to change public policy is termed policy agenda-setting," (p.87). In South Africa we have witnessed, in recent years, a key role played by disgruntled youth in many, especially service delivery, protests in South Africa. Wasserman and Garman maintain that this raises the question of why youth are resorting to direct action to influence political decision-making and to air their disillusionment rather than using the media as a platform for debate and expression (Wasserman and Garman, 2014).

Another important implication for the public sphere as per the findings of this paper is that in order for the community subaltern sphere to be effective, it must exclude itself from the broader public sphere. Van Vuuren, K. claims that a process of exclusion of the broader public sector must prevail in the community radio sector in order to, meet its purpose (2006). Exclusion will prevent the agendas and discussions of the public sphere from dominating this subaltern space allowing community radio to continue with its community mandate rather than duplicating the happenings of the broader public sphere. Perhaps community radio should not only have gatekeeping in its newsrooms to ensure balanced reporting, but gatekeeping within its subaltern counter public to ensure that the purpose of the community sector is not abrogated by keeping unwanted discussions and news that do not pertain to this sphere. Unnecessary content that don't contribute or pertain to this particular subaltern community space especially those that are not meaningful, relevant discussions, should be avoided

This gatekeeping is threatened by the constant availability of news from the broader public sphere and the lack of resources at community level, both of which are the main drivers that result in local grassroots news stories not being pursued. The inability of the subaltern public sphere to prevent encroachment makes it fertile ground for redactive journalism that serves as springboard for the dissemination of information making headlines in the broader public sphere to the marginalised poor. Van Vuuren, K. goes on to argue that a community subaltern public sphere is not a totally independent sphere .It is not an exclusive enclosed space but a sphere subject to hegemonic processes (2006).Part of this hegemonic process occurs when community radio finds pieces that are interesting in the broader public sphere and these discussions and debates are extracted and then tailored to suit their subaltern public sphere.

Conclusion

The state of participation between listenership and community radio stations in this research sample is varied from station to station. Stations do have an idea of what participation entails; however, this is not evident within the stations broadcast footprints.

Community radio finds itself broadcasting in a space within a space; it is a subaltern space specifically created to serve as an interactive voice for community audiences within the station's broadcast footprint. However, research findings conclude that a large portion of the sampled stations' content is unstructured, superficial and shaped by volunteers. Community input and engagement as revealed by the listening diary and document analyses was minimal, despite radio stations' claims that new media technologies have created an effective platform for communication between stations and their audiences. Although the perception created at interviews within sampled stations suggests that participation has brought stations and communities closer together, allowing audiences to shape and lead discussions, as well as package programmes and provide eye-witness accounts of newsworthy events happening within their community, this claim was not supported by live observations, the listening diary and, in the case of Alex FM, document analyses.

Volunteer participation is readily available from communities and without this type of participation from their broadcast communities, these stations would not be able to survive. Research has proven that volunteers are the backbone of the community radio sector. They shape content, package programmes and perform numerous tasks daily. However, volunteer interviews and direct live observations at Alex FM and Eldos FM reveal a lack of sound policies and an inability to treat volunteers in a professional manner. This treatment contributed to a high volunteer dropout rate at these stations. Acceptable stipends, the correct tools and workspaces essential for effective on-air presentation, preproduction and news compilation, are absent. Training, development and regular volunteer meetings, ingredients essential in maximising potential and output, are not a priority of management at these stations. These findings negate public journalism's premise that volunteers represent the community and that it's a platform for stations to connect with their communities. Public journalism's main goals are a healthy democratic society with a network of local communities, and participation of the public in public life (Choi J, 2003).

The community radio sector needs to take its audience seriously and set up formal engagement structures within their broadcast footprint in order to foster effective, relevant participation. Media participation is made up of actions and interventions that citizens embark on in order to make their voices heard or to contribute to content broadcasted. Studies on political and civic participation behaviour have concluded that efficacy (the ability to produce a desired or intended result through strategic interventions) is an important ingredient of participation (Burns, Schlozman, & Verba 2001, Verba & Nie, 1972). These strategic interventions can include focus groups.

Therefore is essential for an effective working programme and music selection committee, made up of management and members of the community, to meet regularly and focus on giving the station input and direction with regard to the community's broadcast concerns and needs. These structures will certainly be instrumental in directing and advising stations on relevant effective content and community outreach programmes.

There is a great need for radio stations to understand and promote their gatekeeping role, not only in the newsrooms but also in protecting their subaltern community space from being invaded by the agendas of the broader public sphere. The potential of new media technologies must be maximised. Vatikiotis (2005) maintains that: "New media technological advancements have made audience contribution not only possible, but also more effective. These new forms of communication not only create public spaces, arenas for the free engagement of citizens in deliberation and public debate, they also facilitate communication which is more horizontal than vertical," (p.8). Community radio stations need to change their approach. Instead of just having a top-down approach of information dissemination, stations should embrace a bottom-up, interactive approach beginning with the audience. Stations must be able to maximise the opportunities provided by new media in order to become a significant platform of social development.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Books

Brouwer, D.C. & Asen, R. (2010). Introduction: Public modalities, or the metaphors we theorize by. In D.C. Brouwer, & R. Asen (Eds.), *Public Modalities: Rhetoric, Culture, Media, and the Shape of Public Life* (p5). University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, AL.

Bruce, G. (1992). *A Passion for Radio: Radio waves and community*. Black Rose Books, Montréal .

Bruns A. (2008). *Blogs, Wikipedia, Second Life, and Beyond: From Production to Produsage*. Peter Lang, New York.

Burns, N., Schlozman, K.L. & Verba, S. (2001). *The private roots of public action: Gender, equality, and political participation*. MA: Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Carey, J.W. (1989). *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*. MA. Unwin Hyman, Boston

Cloete, F. & De Coning, C. (eds) (2011). *Improving public policy: Theory, Practice and Results* (3rd edition). JLVan Schaik Publishers, Pretoria.

Cogan, A., Sharpe, S. & Hertzberg, J. (1986). Citizen participation. In So, F.S., Hand, I. & Madowell, B.D. edition of *The Practice of State and Regional Planning*. Municipal Management Series. American Planning Association, Chicago.

Cubitt, Sean. (2005). *Rodopi*, Press, Amsterdam\New York. (Ecomedia).

Denzin, N.K. (1970). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. Aldine, Chicago.

Dragon, DA. (2001). *Making Waves, Stories of Participatory Communication for Social Change*. The Rockefeller Foundation, New York: New York.

Feilitzen, V. C. and U. Carlson (eds) (2003). *Promote or Protect? Perspectives on Media Literacy and Media Regulations*. Nordicom, Gottenberg.

Fink .A.E. (1978). *The field of social work*. Holt, Rinehart and Winson, New York.

Gillmor D. (2004). *We the Media: Grassroots Journalism by the People, for the People*. O'Reilly, New York.

Gordon R. (2003). The meanings and implications of convergence. In Kawamoto K's *Digital Journalism: Emerging Media and the Changing Horizons of Journalism*. Lanham, MD. Rowman & Littlefield..

Habermas J. (1989[1962]). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Trans. T Burger with F Lawrence. MA: MIT Press, Cambridge.

Hindman, Elizabeth Blanks. (1997). *Rights vs. Responsibilities: The Supreme Court and the Media*. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut.

Hollander, E. and Stappers, J. (1992). *Community Media and community communication* cited in Jankowski, J., Prehn, O. and Stappers, J *The people's voice: Local radio and television in Europe*. John Libbey, London.

Howley, K. (2005). *Community Media: People, Places and Communication Technologies*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Jankowski, Nicholas W. and Ole, Prehn. (2003). *Community Media in the Information Age: Perspectives and Prospects*. Hampton Press, New Jersey.

Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York University Press, New York.

Jones, B.D. & Baumgartner, F.R. (2005). *Politics of attention: How government prioritizes problems*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.

Kidd, Dorothy. (2003). *Indymedia.org. A New Communications Commons*. In *Cyberactivism .Online Activism in Theory and Practice*, edited by McCaughey, Martha and Ayers, Michael. 47–69. Routledge, New York & London.

Kovach, B. and Rosenstiel, T. (1999). *Warp Speed: America in the Age of Mixed Media*. Century Foundation Press, New York.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews, an introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Sage Publications.

Kweit, M.G. & Kweit, R.W. (1981). *Implementing citizen participation in a bureaucratic Society*. Praeger, New York.

Lambeth, E.B et al. (1998). Assessing public journalism. University of Missouri Press, Missouri.

Pierre Levy, *Collective Intelligence: Mankind's Emerging World in Cyberspace* (Cambridge: Perseus, 1997), p.217.

Lewis, P. (ed) (1984). *Media for people in cities: a study of community media in the urban context*, UNESCO, Paris.

Lewis, P.M. and Booth, J. (1989). *The Invisible Medium: Public, Commercial and Community Radio*. Macmillan Press, London.

Lippman, W. (1995). *Liberty and the News*. Princeton University Press.

Mcnamara, C. (1999). *General guidelines for conducting interviews*. Minnesota.

Mossenger, Tolbert and Mcneal. (2008). *Digital citizenship: the internet, society, and participation*. MA: MIT Press, 2008, Cambridge.

Moyo, Last. (2012). *Community Radio and Cultural Citizenship: Reflections on Radio Islam and Democratic Citizenship in South Africa*. In *Community Radio in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Gordon, J., p303–320. Peter Lang, Oxford.

Pavlik, John V. (2001). *Journalism and New Media*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Patton, C.V. & Sawicki, D.S. (1986). *Basic methods of policy analysis and planning*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs.

Pool, I. (1990). *Technologies without Boundaries*. MA: Harvard University Press, Cambridge, P8

Powell, R. (1965). *Possibilities for Local Radio*, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University.

Rosen, Jay. (1994). *Public Journalism: First Principles*. In Jay Rosen and Davis Merritt Jr., *Public Journalism: Theory and Practice*. Kettering Foundation, Dayton, Ohio.

Stephen J.A. Ward (2008). *Media Ethics Beyond Borders: A Global Perspective*, published by Heinemann Publications, South Africa.

Verba, S. & Nie, N.H. (1972). Participation in America: Political democracy and social equality. Harper & Row, New York.

Wasko, J. and Mosco, V. (eds) (1992). Democratic communications in the information age. Garamond Press/ablex, Toronto and Norwood, NJ.

Warner, M. (2002). Publics and Counterpublics. Zone Books, New York.

Publications

Barlow, David M.(1996).“Whither non -profit community media?”, Culture and Policy, 8 (3), pp.119-138,

Bennett, W.L., Gressett, L. and Haltom, W. (1985). ‘Repairing the News: A Case Study of the News Paradigm’, Journal of Communication number 35 (2): 50–68.

Boczkowski, P.J. (2001). Affording Flexibility: Transforming Information Practices in Online Newspapers’, PhD thesis, Cornell University.

Cammaerts, B. (2009). COMMUNITY RADIO IN THE WEST. A Legacy of Struggle for Survival in a State and Capitalist Controlled Media Environment. page 639.

Fouhy, E. (1996). All about the Pew center, Civic Catalyst .P11

Goodnight, G.T. (1982). The personal, technical, and public spheres of argument: A speculative inquiry into the art of public deliberation. Journal of the American Forensic Association, 18, P216.

Gordon, Rich. (2002). ‘The Meanings of Convergence.’ Medill school of Journalism: North Western University.

Hammond, S.C., Petersen, D. and Thomsen, S. (2000). ‘Print, Broadcast and Online Convergence in the Newsroom’, Journalism and Mass Communication Educator number 44 (2): Page 16–26.

Heller, P. (2009). ‘Democratic Deepening in India and South Africa.’ Journal of Asian and African Studies 44 (1): 123–149.

Henning, Heloise and Louw, Eric.(1996). DBSA, Perspectives on Communication and Development.

Jones, B.D. (1994a). A change of mind or a change of focus? A theory of choice reversals in politics. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 4, p141–177.

Mathu, E. (2005). ‘Should the FM Radio Sub-culture be Tamed?’, in *Talking with Kenyans: Media Debates*, p22–8. Nairobi: Media Council of Kenya.

Matu, N. (2006). ‘The Link: Quality Training and Journalism’, *The Media Observer*, June, p15–7. Nairobi: Media Council of Kenya.

McKee, N. (1996). A community-based learning approach: beyond social marketing, in *Participatory communication: working for change and development*, edited by SA White et al. New Dehli: Sage.

Meyer, P. (1994). Moral confusion: The what, why, and how of journalism is changing .cited from *Quill Magazine* (November and December issue), p31-33

Nguyen, A. (2006). *Journalists in the Wake of Participatory Publishing*. *Australian Journalism Review*, 28, 1, p47-59.

Nip, J. (2006). Exploring the Second Phase of Public Journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 7,2,P 212-236

Opubor, A.E. (2001). ‘Civic Journalism and Community Media: Issues in the Ethics And Professionalisation of Communication’, in U. Chudi (ed.) *Handbook on Journalism Ethics: African Case Studies*, p27–33. Amsterdam: Media Institute of South Africa /Netherlands Institute of South Africa.

Paterson, Chris. (2013). ‘Journalism and Social Media in the African Context.’ *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 34 (1): p1–6.

Rahim, S.A. (1996). Participatory development communication as a dialogical process, in *Participatory communication: working for change and development*, edited by SA White et al. New Dehli: Sage.

Sheller, M. & Urry, J. (2003). Mobile transformation of 'public' and 'private'

life. Theory, Culture & Society, 22 (3), p107-125.

Tleane, C. (unpub). 'State of the community radio sector in South Africa', Freedom of Expression Institute Research Report, 2005. Cape Town.

Online

Alex Community Radio www.alexfm.co.za retrieved 19 May 2014.

Administration methods. (2010). Retrieved on December 20th, 2014, from <https://www.studentvoice.com>.

Alumuku, P. and White, R. (2004). 'Community Radio for Development in Africa', paper presented at the 24th IAMCR Conference, Porto Alegre, retrieved March 11 from <http://gaz.sagepub.com/content/68/1/5.full.pdf+html>

Barlow, David (1997). 'Whither Non-profit Community Media?' Culture and Policy, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1997: 119-138. Retrieved March 7 2014 from http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=980505173;res=IELAPA_sage.

Berger, G. (2011). Empowering the youth as citizen journalists: A South African experience retrieved April 7 from <http://jou.sagepub.com/content/12/6/708> .

Bosch, T. (2005). Community radio in post-apartheid South Africa: The case of Bush Radio in Cape Town Retrieved 22 July 2015 http://www.transformationsjournal.org/journal/issue_10/article_05.shtml

Brikci, N. and Green, J. (2007). A Guide to Using Qualitative Research Methodology retrieved on January 28 from <http://fieldresearch.msf.org/msf/bitstream/10144/84230/1/Qualitative%20research%20methodology.pdf>

Carlson, Matt. (2007). Order versus access: news search engines and the challenge to traditional journalistic roles. Pages 1025 -1026 retrieved August 21 2014 from <http://mcs.sagepub.com/content/29/6/1014>

Chakaveh, S. and Bogen, M. (2007). Media Convergence: An Introduction, p811-814 retrieved March 17 2014 from <http://feiou.edublogs.org/2010/10/08/chapter-5-media-convergence-theory/>

Choi, J. (2003). Public Journalism in Cyberspace: A Korean Case Study. Communication Studies, University of Minnesota, retrieved March 29 from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.131.4422&rep=rep1&type=pdf>. 9 .

Christians, Clifford, Glasser, Theodore L., McQuail. History of Communication: Normative Theories of the Media: Journalism in Democratic Societies. Champaign, IL, USA: University of Illinois Press, 2009. p24. Retrieved March 21st 2014 from <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/csir/Doc?id=10532349&ppg=37> Copyright © 2009. University of Illinois Press

Convergence in the Newsroom', Journalism and Mass Communication Educator number 44(2): Page 16–26. Retrieved April 1st 2014 from <http://nms.sagepub.com/content/8/6/925.full.pdf+html>.

Community for the Protection of Journalist (CPJ) retrieved February 28th 2014 from <http://www.cpj.org/2013/09/south-african-community-radio-station-silenced-b.php.abilit>

Community Media Sustainability Guide. Washington: Internews. Retrieved March 18th 2014 from <https://internews.org/sites/default/files/resources/InternewsCommunityMediaGuide2009.pdf>.

Dahlberg, L. (2007) and Albrecht, S. (2006) cited in .Reece, C. (2008).The Digital Divide in South Africa: Identifying emerging inequalities in Internet access and online Public spheres retrieved April 1st 2014 from http://uctscholar.uct.ac.za/PDF/161196_Reece,%20C.pdf. Fairbairn, J. (2009).

Davidson B. (2007). Retrieved from <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/nelson/newmediadev/Community%20Radio%20in%20South%20Africa.html>.

Eldos Community Radio www.eldosfm.co.za retrieved from website on 7 may 2014.

Frank Denton and Esther Thorson retrieved May 28th from
http://www.pewcenter.org/doingcj/research/r_doesit.html

Friedman, S. (2013). "Social Media a Far Cry from the 'Voice of the People'". Business Day. Retrieved May 29th from
<http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2013/05/29/social-media-a-far-cryfrom-the-voice-of-the-people>.

Gene Rowe and Lynn J Frewer. (2004).Evaluating public participation exercises: A research agenda retrieved May 8th from
<http://sth.sagepub.com/content/29/4/512>

Hermida, A. & Thurman, N. (2008). A clash of cultures: The integration of user-generated content within professional journalistic frameworks at British newspaper websites. Journalism Practice, 2 (3), p343-356. Retrieved August 8th 2014 from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17512780802054538>.

Holmes, A. (2013) retrieved on 20th December 2014 from
http://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-1-4419-1698-3_1758

Howley, K. (2002). Communication, culture and community: Towards a cultural analysis of community media, The Qualitative Report. Retrieved March 7th 2014 from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR7-.3/howley.html> ci

<https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-373371021/voice-alienation-and-the-struggle-to-be-heard-a> retrieved August 9th 2014

http://www.le.ac.uk/oerresources/media/ms7501/mod2unit11/page_07.htm
retrieved September 7th 2014

<http://communicationtheory.org/social-responsibility-theory/> retrieved January 20th 2015

<http://www.fao.org>. retrieved February 28 2014.

<http://web.mit.edu/21fms/People/henry3/games&narrative.html> retrieved August 2015

<http://www.okstate.edu/ag/agedcm4h/academic/aged5980a/5980/newpage21.htm> retrieved November 18th 2014

Independent Communications Authority of SA. www.icasa.org.za. retrieved 3rd October 2014.

IBA Act 153 of 1993. retrieved 12 June 2014 from <http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/za/za064en.pdf>

Jacob, E. (1998). Clarifying qualitative research. A focus on traditions. Retrieved January 2 2014 from <http://www.indiana.edu/~educy520/readings/jacob88.pdf>

Jiang Fe I & Huang KuO, Community media in China: Communication, digitalization, and Relocation. Retrieved April 2 2014 from <http://nca.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13216597.2012.753927>

Kidd, D. (1999). 'The Value of Alternative Media', Peace Review 11(1): 113–19. Cited in Kruger, Monji and Smurthwaite (2013). The healthy community radio station. Retrieved March 10 from www.osisa.org/book/export/html/4948

Kruger et al.(2013) http://www.journalism.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/healthy_radio_station_final_for_print.pdf
Retrieve 26 August 2014.

Labelo-Ratofane, T.A (2014). Volunteerism in Development social welfare. Retrieved January 22 from <http://hdl.handle.net/10394/11466>.

Law, M. (1986). 'Public Radio: Where is it Headed and Will it Get There?' Media Information Australia 41: 31–5. Retrieved February 3 2014 from <http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft5x0nb3tg&chunk.id=d0e92&toc.depth=1&toc.id=&brand=eschol>.

Nabembezi, Dennis, Nabunya, Harriet, Abaliwano, Juliet and Ddamulira, Davis. Harnessing the Power of Community Radio Broadcasting to Promote Accountability, Transparency and Responsiveness of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Service Provision in Uganda. Retrieved March 2 2014 from <http://www.wateraid.org/~media/Publications/community-radio-broadcasting-promote-accountability.pdf>.

Naimh, Gaynor and O'Brien, Anne (2011). COMMUNITY RADIO IN IRELAND: "DEFEUDALISING" THE PUBLIC SPHERE Javnost-The public. Vol.18 (2011), No. 3, p23 – 38. Retrieved March 1 2014 from <http://javnost-thepublic.org/article/2011/3/2/>.

Mgabisa, (2005). Rhodes Journalism Review, p47. Retrieved April 1 2014 from http://www.rjr.ru.ac.za/rjrpdf/rjr_no25/Community_in_radio.pdf

Owens-Ibie N, (1994) Press responsibility and public opinion in political transition. Retrieved may 30th from <http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/africa%20media%20review/vol8no1/jamr008001008.pdf>

Papacharissi, Z. (2002). The virtual sphere: Internet as public sphere, retrieved September 17 2014 from <http://0-nms.sagepub.com.innopac.wits.ac.za/content/4/1/9.full.pdf+html>.

Patton, M.Q. (1980). Qualitative research and evaluation methods, p19 retrieved February 22 2014 from www.sagepub.com/repository/binaries/pdfs/HistoryofMethods.pdf

Prospects for Enhancing Media Diversity: The State and Fate of Community Media in South Africa A Right2Know Campaign Discussion Document DRAFT 1, July 2011. Retrieved March 3 2014 from http://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/R2K_communitymedia_DisDoc.pdf.

Public Journalism in Cyberspace: A Korean Case Study, Jinbong Choi . University of Minnesota, article number 14, 2003 .Retrieved March 7 2014 from <http://lass.purduecal.edu/cca/gmj/fa03/graduatefa03/gmj-fa03-choi.htm>

Seidu Al-hassan, Alhassan, Andani and Abdulai, Abdul-Malik (2011). The Role of Community Radio in Livelihood Improvement: The Case of Simli Radio. Volume 5. Retrieved January 2 from <http://www.comminit.com/community-radio-africa/content/role-community-radio-livelihood-improvement-case-simli-radio>

Shukla, M. (2014). Democratizing Information in India: Role of Community Radios as a Developmental Intervention. p349-352. Retrieved June 25th 2014 from <http://vision.sagepub.com>.

Social media Overview. <http://webcomm.tufts.edu/social-media-overview13/>. Retrieved April 1 2014.

Soshanguva community radio .www.soshafm.co.za retrieved 21 May 2014 2014.

The Media Club South Africa.

www.medioclubsouthafrica.com/component/content/article?id=article&start=1#ixzz3FMRylch_9 retrieved June 10th 2015

The Rise and fall of Journalism part 5. Retrieved August 20 from

<http://www.technewsworld.com/story/67333.html>.

The South African Advertising Research Foundation. <http://www.saarf.co.za/rams-community/> Retrieved April 27th 2015

Tsarwe, S.(1994). Voice, alienation and the struggle to be heard: a case study of community radio programming in South Africa- retrieved on August 28th

from Wasserman, H. & Garman, A. (2014). The meanings of citizenship: media use and democracy in South Africa. Retrieved August 10 from

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rsdy20>

Witt, L. (2004). Is Public Journalism Morphing into the Public's Journalism?

p49-57. Retrieved April 5 from <http://www.ncl.org/publications/ncr/93-3/Witt.pdf>.

Van Vuuren, K. (2006). Community broadcasting and enclosure of the public sphere retrieved 28th February 2015 from

https://www.academia.edu/1841542/Community_broadcasting_and_the_enclosure_of_the_public_sphere.

Vatikiotis, Pantelis (2005). Communication Theory and Alternate media accessed March 28

http://www.westminster.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/20187/002WPCC-Vol2-No1-Pantelis_Vatikiotis.pdf.

Wilkinson, D. (2008). Strong regularities in online peer production. In Proceedings of the 2008 ACM Conference on Electronic Commerce, ed.

Fortnow, Lance, Riedl, John and Sandholm, Tiomas p302-309. New York, NY:

World wide Worx. www.worldwideworx.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Exec-Summary-Social-Media-2014.pdf.

Retrieved April 6 2014.

Xin (2013). Retrieved March 29 2014 from

<http://talkingpoliticsjomc.wordpress.com/2013/04/18/citizen-journalism-via-social-media/>

Youtube.www.youtube.com/watch?v=H8W0BW2mpyw. Retrieved April 5 2014.

Appendix

Interview Log

Persons interviewed at Sampled Radio stations.		
Alex FM		Interview Dates
Segale Mogotsi	Station Manager	22\09\2014
Chris Nahlaku	Programme Manager	23\09\2014
Nemingwe Nemagowe	News Editor	22\09\2014
Umbrella Mashaba	Marketing Manager	22\09\2014
Siya Vita	Morning Drive Presenter	23\09\2014
Soshanguve FM		
Nolumlomo Sithole	Station Manager	18\08\2014
Wendy Dlamini	Programme Manager	01\09\2014
Sipho Mhlangu	News Editor	18\08\2014
Morris siza	Marketing Manager	19\08\2014
Mpho Paletse	Morning Drive Presenter	19\08\2014
Eldos FM		
Beverly Snaaitje	Programme Manager	10\09\2014
Bevlyn Mekue	Assistant Programme Manager	10\09\2014
Mark Vindvol	Morning Drive Presenter	11\09\2014
Nonhlahla Nhlapo	News Editor	11\09\2014

Listening Diary

Listening Diary of Sampled Community Radio stations			
Name of Station	Eldos FM	Alex FM	Sosha FM
AM Breakfast Shows	3 Hours	3 Hours	3 Hours
PM Drive Show	3 Hours	3 Hours	3 Hours
Language	English	Nguni	Nguni
Listening dates	13\14 OCT 2014	15\16 OCT 2015	16\17 OCT 2016
Categories of Content			
news			
Current Affairs			
Locally produced stings			
Locally produced music			
Shows presented by	Volunteers	Volunteers	Volunteers

Interview Questions

Example of formal interview questionnaire posed to stakeholders at Stations							
Name of Community Broadcaster							
Region	Gauteng						
Type	Rural Geographical						
Station Manager		News		Volunteer		Programme Manager	
Name:							
Q1	What do you understand by participation and what do you do to encourage it ?						
	Do you see this understanding being materialised by your station?						
	How important is participation on the stations agenda						
	Is the community encourage to take ownership of the stations broadcast content?						
Q2	How do your listeners interact with the station?						
	Do they walk in,phone in,use new media technology etc?						
	How do you know what listners want to hear and talk abot-Does the station do research-If so when,where and how?						
Q3	Do they use new media,if when and how?						
	Which platform is most popular>						
	How do you engage listenrship with new technology platforms?						
Q4	How does your community contribute to content production						
	How is news compiled and verified especially if there is community leads.						
	Do you have professional journalists.						
	Do you use stringers in your community?						
	What does your station do to encorage eye witness accounts ?						
Q5	Tell me about your volunteer in general.Also comment recruitment and selection process?How much training is provided.How do you motivate them and what incentives do you provide?						
	Do volunteers have access to internet,telephones and other neccesary tools to perform their tasks efficiently?						
	What is the average lifespan of your volunteers and why?						
Q6	Do you have a programme committee made up of management and listenership-Reasons?						
Q7	Where in your daily programming is audience input used?						
	Do you receive local homegrown,local music from the community						
Q8	Does the station have outreach programmes-If so How often?						
	Describe these events and how is it organised?						
Q9	What are some of the challenges to participation and how have these been adressed?						
	PS. Questions were adapted depending on the role of the interviewee at the station						

4. Alex FM Compliance Report

<https://www.icasa.org.za/LegislationRegulations/LicensingCompliance/CompliancePublications/ComplianceReports/tabid/474/ctl/ItemDetails/mid/1481/ItemID/2859/Default.aspx>
 retreived 20 June 2014