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The interaction between Khwezi community radio, transformative power and social change in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of Humanities, Development Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Dedication

To the unstoppable version of *me* that has emerged from this journey. May she continue to soar to greater heights.

To mum and dad, this *woman* would not have come to being had it not been for your priceless guidance and teachings of wisdom.

To little Nathi! May you grow up living a purpose-filled life that knows no bounds.
Tsepo and Tume, I am handing over the baton; fly on Sistaaz!

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

This thesis has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signature:

Abbreviations

CRs	Community radio(s)
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DDP	The Democracy Development Program
Devcom	Development communication
FGDs	Focus group discussions
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
IDIs	Indepth Interviews
KIIs	Key informant interview
KR	Khwezi radio
KSB	KwaSizabantu Mission
KZN	KwaZulu Natal
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MLC	Masibumbane listeners club
MDDA	MDDA - Media Development and Diversity Agency
NCRF	National Community Radio Forum
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisation
NPOs	Non participant interviews
PD	Participatory development
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme

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Abstract

The research contributes to the discourse on participatory development communication through responding to the primary question: *How does community radio as a participatory medium of development communication contribute to social change?* Through their participatory means, community radios (CRs) empower communities to move away from imposed developmental solutions towards attaining individual and collaborative empowerment to tackle their community challenges. The thesis examined rural communities who actively listen to Khwezi community radio to obtain a broad understanding of the crucial roles that CRs plays in enhancing social change through a multiple embedded case study. The researcher collected data through qualitative methods, i.e., face to face interviews, focus group discussions, observations, systematically listening to development programming on Khwezi radio, and documents analyses. These were conducted with community members (listeners of Khwezi radio), radio staff, key station partners and community leaders.

The study found that CRs contribute to facilitating individual and community level social change in various ways. Individual level change included behavioural change and spiritual upliftment. It further established a strong sense of community fostering social cohesion in *Masibumbane* listeners club which consists of Khwezi's active listeners. This sense of community enabled communities to address their societal challenges collectively. The study also illustrated the critical role that the community radio plays for listenership communities in facilitating the accountability of community leaders to citizens, service delivery and other development-related projects. The study contributes a unique understanding of the role played by community radio in fostering the transformative power of communities resulting in their active contribution to social change initiatives. It further highlights the significance of organic spaces of participation in fostering collaborative empowerment for communities to manoeuvre power contestations as active agents of social change. The thesis concludes on the need for multifaceted support to CRs development roles as transformative agents facilitating social change within a broader ecosystem.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Introduction to the study

Community radio as a medium for participation is a contemporary phenomenon in South Africa. Community radios (CRs) were introduced as media for facilitating participatory development immediately after the dismantling of the apartheid political administration in the early 1990s. The apartheid regime had restricted the flow of information and participation of citizens, especially those from rural areas, in their segregationist developmental processes. Underdevelopment and poverty in rural South Africa are therefore attributed to the apartheid reign, which initiated a first-class economy for a few at the expense of the majority (Gwanya, 2010).

Community radios were established as tools for development targeted at the historically disadvantaged majority (Mtimde, Bonin, Maphiri and Nyamaku, 1998). Community radios were formed to promote people's participation in social change because they were regarded as participatory communication mediums that were central to the success of development and democracy in the post-apartheid period (ibid). Community radios contribute to facilitating development in South Africa, particularly in impoverished areas such as rural communities. CRs contributions include facilitating the exchange of critical development-related information, promoting individual and collaborative empowerment among listeners, preservation of cultural values and heritage, enhancing social capital and social cohesion in communities (Boafo, 2000; Megwa, 2007; Dagron, 2009; Myers, 2011). These and other contributions of CRs to development are discussed further in chapters 8 and 10.

This thesis is guided by four important concepts. *Community radios (CRs)* are defined as radio stations owned and controlled by the community of listeners that ensure participation in the stations' programming and activities and seek to support listeners' development objectives. (Akpojivi, 2012; Mtimde et al, 1998). Second, *participatory development communication* is a theoretical concept advocating for two-way communication expressed in participatory dialogue. It enables local community members to express

themselves and define development in their perspectives using participatory platforms such as CRs. (Dagron, 2001; Myers, 2011; Chikozho, 2013). Third, *transformative power* is a constructive conception of power which illustrates people's abilities to reconstruct a more positive logic demonstrating their creative human capacity to act and change the world. (Bradley, 2019; VeneKlasen et al, 2002). Finally, *social change* is defined as a non-linear, dynamic, emergent and complex social development that prioritizes improving the lives of regular citizens in the progression of society. (Lennie and Tacchi, 2013). In this study, social change is expressed through changes in people's living conditions following the awareness of development information, participatory engagements and empowerment initiatives from Khwezi radio which provides a voice to communities.

This research explores the contributions of community radio to social change in communities. Community radio (CR) is often referred to as an important contributor in development (Al-hassan, Andani & Abdul-Malik, 2011; Tucker, 2013; Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002; Myers, 2008, 2011; McAnany, 1973; Anduvate, 2014; Megwa, 2007a, 2007b; Milan, 2009; Khan, 2010; Choudhury, 2011; Mano, 2012; Ligaga, 2011). CRs have been characterized as accessible, participatory communication channels which give voice to community members, allowing them to tackle development directly affecting them.

The study further recognizes that community radio is both *informative and directional*. The informative role involves providing relevant information to the community, i.e., media, for instance, keeps the community informed about health-related issues, leadership accountability, service delivery, and agricultural knowledge. Media is likewise directional because it is involved in advising the community. It can even go a step further than merely informing to guiding communities, inciting action towards addressing development-related challenges in times of distress and crises. Community radios have critical roles in pointing the community towards directions that will help tackle issues affecting them (Riaz, Pasha & Ahmad, 2012; Selvaraj & Kuppuswamy, 2019; Spence, Lachlan, McIntyre & Seeger, 2009).

Through an embedded case study centred on one of KwaZulu Natal’s oldest community radio station, Khwezi community radio (KR), the study explores the relationship

between the station and its communities. It does so in relation to the extent of the communities' abilities to achieve social change due to the interaction with KR. The 'communityness'[1], which is central to community radio (CR) in this study, is mainly expressed through the Masibumbane listeners club (MLC), a listeners' club encompassing KRs active listeners. The study comprehensively examined the role of community radio to understand its contribution and potential for enhancing social change in listener communities, particularly MLC members defined as active listeners of KR. It employs participatory development communication (devcom) because it fosters an understanding of the social change processes to which community radio contributes.

The study embraces the participatory paradigm of development because it is crucial in the process of social change. This form of development promotes people and communities taking control of their environments and shaping the kinds of change they desire, i.e. participatory, people-centred development (Melkote & Steeves, 2001, 2015; Sen, 2001; Singhal, 2016). Moreover, participatory communication has received growing recognition as a medium to allow people to participate in their development. Studies such as (Cleaver, 2001; Cooke, 2001; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Cornwall, 2002; Hickey & Mohan, 2004) have noted limitations in achieving genuine participation in practice due to the power dynamics often masking participatory processes. This involves gatekeepers defining agenda setting spaces and often speak on behalf of communities while using tokenistic participatory approaches, which yield limited results for the communities in need. This study's contribution is through an examination of how communities are involved in participatory development initiatives, in this case through CR. Through a spatial lens, the study explores participatory spaces i.e MLC and KR, conceptualised as organic and invited spaces, respectively. It also presents a critical analysis of the types and levels of participation that communities engage in, which affects their abilities to effect desired social change. In addition, this research addresses the critiques levelled at participatory development that argues that it neglects the influence of power

[1] The researcher denotes the term 'communityness' in the study to refer to: a sense of community marked by individuals with similar interests collaboratively participating in spaces of engagement. These spaces of engagement are anchored on interaction, close ties in the form of social cohesion and shared values towards achieving common goals. MLC is a primary illustration of a space inciting 'communityness'' as referred to throughout the study.

dynamics and inequalities in participatory processes (Chikozho, 2013; Cooke, 2001; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Escobar, 1997; Kyamusugulwa, 2013; Mansuri & Rao, 2012). The research does so by incorporating a micropower lens to understand participatory development communication.

The study seeks to provide evidence through a qualitative approach on the interaction between participatory development communication, transformative power and social change in communities. The findings presented are thus, a result of the experiences shared by the participants in the research. The next section offers a background to the study, which includes a brief synopsis of the context of CR in development. After this, it unpacks the problem statement that the research addressed. This is followed by an outline of the purpose statement and the research questions that informed the study and a conclusion to the study

1.1 Background to the study: The context of community radio in development

During the apartheid regime in South Africa, rural development policies were confined to targeting support to white commercial farmers. This enforced the exploitation of the black labour force concentrated in the overcrowded rural Homelands.[2] A notable impact of underdevelopment of rural areas in South Africa caused by apartheid policies resulted in uneven development between the urban and rural centres. While the post-apartheid South African government has recorded some positive strides in turning around rural underdevelopment, limited-service delivery has contributed to increasing migration of rural dwellers into urban centres mainly for economic reasons. This continues to leave the rural areas under-resourced and poor (Binns, Hill & Nel, 1997). Binns et al. (1997) further argue that another challenge to rural development has been a recurrence of top-down approaches to development. Interventions are typically not informed by local communities' needs and priorities and therefore do not adequately cater to them. Thus, rural communities, particularly former black Homeland areas, remain adversely affected by poor service delivery.

[2] Homelands were African ethnic reserves established under apartheid policies (Steyn & Foster, 2008).

Mtimde et al (1998) argue that community radio can play a vital role in development and democratization by enabling communities to voice their own experiences and critically examine social, economic or political issues. Moreover, through CRs, communities have more involvement in processes and policies affecting their lives because they are well informed and can mobilise around development initiatives and strategies that can improve their livelihoods. Such initiatives include, for example, voter education, HIV/AIDS education, local government, gender issues, peace-building, and environmental problems (Mtimde et al, 1998). Community radios have by far been seen as influencing communities, more so rural communities in some parts of Africa such as Ghana (Al-hassan et al., 2011; Naaikuur & Diedong, 2014; Akpojivi, 2012) Kenya (Anduvate, 2014; Ligaga, 2011; Myers, 2008; Ojwang, 2017), South Africa (Bosch, 2003, 2014; Megwa, 2007a; Olorunnisola, 2002; Tacchi, 2002), Malawi (Banda, 2007; Manyozo, 2007a, 2007b; Mhagama, 2015) and Nigeria (Ajibade & Alabi, 2017; Moemeka, 2009; Oyero, 2010; Soola, 2002). Radio remains the most significant communication medium in Africa and is more widespread than any other mass communication medium (Mano, 2012). This is due to CRs affordability compared to other media. The relatively cheap cost of a portable radio device makes it possible for communities to listen in wider contexts, particularly in rural settings, which is a major interest of this research.

Community radio has further been seen as possessing high success in educational programming. This is possible given CRs high degrees of listener loyalty, accessibility, and listeners' ability to walk in and obtain more information from broadcast programmes, their connection with local needs, and their broadcast in local languages that their audiences understand and speak. Moreover, community radio’s significance is in its ability to address human rights issues through the right to information and communication, which creates an information culture, enhances emancipation and self-worth, and serves as a platform for debate and the exchange of ideas. Community radio also accommodates people's views and satisfies their spiritual and psychological wellbeing, which other forms of broadcasting cannot do. Community radio also preserves cultural identity by offering a cheap but vital way for communities to protect their language and heritage (Mtimde et al, 1998).

This research shows how CRs as essential media promoting interaction contribute to establishing 'communityness' and collaborative empowerment, which incites collective action, thus contributing to social change. It shows how communication cannot be separated from development and why participatory development is of paramount importance in meeting people's needs (Dagron, 2001, 2009). The research also examined community radio as a driver of social change in communities through inclusiveness and ensuring bottom-up participatory development. Moreover, the study presents a nuanced understanding of how CR facilitates communities' interactions with power structures in the quest for social change. This is a lacuna that the study takes on, which is largely missing in studies that look at CR's development roles. The research notes that understanding power, although not always visible, is essential to understanding how communities facilitate social change. Notably, social change is a non-linear process, and even when development communication mechanisms are used, there is a need to take cognizance of the collective and transformative power that facilitates decision making and agenda setting within particular communities (Batliwala, 2007; Brennan, Birdger, & Alter, 2013; Brennan & Israel, 2008; Cornwall, 2004b).

1.2 Problem statement

The South African government introduced community radios to address development-related gaps, including the lack of relevant information and inadequate participation of marginalised communities. Even though research supports CRs development roles, including their facilitation of information exchange that can empower people to be self-sustaining (Choudhury, 2011; Eyiah, 2004; Gordon, 2012; Megwa, 2007a; Milan, 2009; Schramm, 1964; Akpojivi, 2012). McAnany and Mayo (1980), Diedong and Naaikuur (2014), CRs development roles in practice is not comprehensively documented in South Africa. There is little empirical evidence depicting how CRs contribute to social change in communities. That is, the extent to which and how community radios contribute to community members' empowerment, increased ownership of their challenges, ultimately resulting in their improved livelihoods needs to be better understood. In addition, there is a dearth of empirical evidence on the mechanisms that CRs use to improve their listeners' development challenges , particularly in South Africa It is still not well understood how CRs as participatory development communication (devcom) mechanisms interact with communities to effect change (Dagron,

2001; 2009; Tucker, 2013). Moreover, few studies have presented analyses of radio listeners clubs (RLCs) as collaborative spaces through which CRs change is experienced at the community level (Mhagama, 2015). In fact, RLC's as participatory devcom spaces remain an emergent phenomenon that needs further examination. This study addresses some of these scholarly gaps through studying KR's community of listeners, expressed through the active listener community of MLC.

Further, the participatory development communication discourse has paid little attention to how community radios manoeuvre the extant power dynamics within their communities, which may influence the extent to which community members are able to be drivers of change in their communities. This study delves modestly into addressing the gap labelled at participatory initiatives being incognizant of power dynamics (Hickey and Mohan, 2004). Understanding power relations in participatory initiatives is essential to studying how communities facilitate social change. Consequently, the research contributes to understanding how power takes shape in participatory spaces at a micro-level. It also looks at how communities interact with elites/gatekeepers who facilitate or hinder the emergence of their local capacity (Brennan & Israel, 2008) or who affect or enable social change. As Gaventa (2006) asserts, the ability to better understand power is important to ensuring the manoeuvring of spaces of social change. That is, if we are to shift power relations to be more transformative, we need to better understand how they are reconfigured. This foregrounding is useful to this study because social change is not a straightforward process that takes place in a vacuum. Likewise, studying the role of CRs in fostering social change in communities needs to take cognizance of the complexities such as power dynamics inherent in social change efforts, to which this research contributes.

1.3 Purpose statement

The purpose of the study was exploratory as it sought to examine the roles of CRs as democratic and participatory development mediums, particularly in South Africa, where they were officially introduced at the advent of democracy in 1994. The Broadcasting Act of 1999 (1999) called for the participation of people from previously disadvantaged groups in community radios, hence the need for CRs to be "owned" by the community. The Act further

stipulated that the developmental role of CRs was to focus on issues affecting grassroots communities with an aim to improve these peoples' quality of life. The study examines these development roles to which CRs as participatory media are mandated.

The study is embedded in an interpretivist approach which allowed the researcher to obtain an in-depth understanding of peoples' experiences in relation to their interactions with KR and MLC and the changes that emerged from participating in these spaces. Consequently, through a multi embedded case study in KwaZulu Natal, the study ascertained an in-depth understanding of the participatory development role CRs play. The study's findings seek to be an addition to the discourse on CRs contributions to social change in communities. The findings also aim to show if and how this role can be harnessed for the attainment of development objectives in communities.

Dagron (2001) critiques the initial diffusion paradigm (which focused on one-way forms of communication) for failing to acknowledge that poverty is not merely a result of the shortage of information and knowledge but also includes a shortage of resources, political power, lack of human rights and limited access to land and education. Thus, while this research recognises the importance of information exchange in empowering communities with skills and technical know-how to mediate social change, the researcher considers that information alone cannot solve community development issues. The findings recognise the importance of "communityness" through CR that erupts social interactions and stimulates individual and collaborative empowerment. Through collaborative empowerment, community members attain transformative power to tackle situations that directly affect their wellbeing. However, this is not without power contestations which may affect their abilities to effect change at decision-making levels, illustrating the non-linearity of the process of social change.[3]

[3] This is elucidated in more detail in chapters 8-10.

1.4 Research Questions

The research is exploratory and seeks to answer this central question:

How does community radio as a participatory medium of development communication contribute to social change?

The sub research questions (SRQs) that enabled the researcher to address the central question are:

i. SRQ1 **How has Khwezi community radio contributed to increasing the awareness of development information?**
ii. SRQ2 **What are the participatory mechanisms used by Khwezi community radio to facilitate social change?**
iii. SRQ3 **How is Khwezi community radio empowering communities to become agents of change?**
iv. SRQ4 **What is the nature of social change experienced by communities through Khwezi community radio interventions?**
v. SRQ5 **How does Khwezi radio assist communities to manoeuvre power dynamics between various gatekeepers in achieving transformative power and social change?**

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into ten chapters, as follows:

This introduction has presented a summative outline of the research background by explaining the context of community radio, the role of community radio in rural development, the problem statement, and the research questions underlying the study. Chapter Two delves into the contextual background/synopsis of Khwezi community radio and its surrounds. Chapter Three draws attention to the literature in the field of participatory development communication and community radio from an empirical perspective. Chapter Four presents the theoretical framework grounding the study, followed by the conceptual framework guiding the research.

Details of the research strategy and design proposed in the study are highlighted in chapter Five. This section includes a justification for using qualitative interpretivist and case study approaches. The section also outlines methods of data collection and analysis using

NVIVO software. Ethical considerations that the study undertook are also presented here. Chapter Six presents an analysis of the demographics of the research participants and illuminates the research setting, including the developmental challenges that KR listener communities face.

In chapters Seven to Nine, the research delves into the findings of the study. Chapters Seven and Eight address the HOW question, i.e., the primary research question of this study: *How does community radio as a participatory medium of development communication contribute to social change?* Specifically, chapter Seven details the mechanisms of change, such as participation and empowerment that foster change in communities through KR's various interventions. Chapter Eight then presents Khwezi radio's contributions to social change, categorized broadly into individual and community change. This chapter details the activities from MLC and the collaborative engagements of communities in effective change. Chapter Nine, which concludes the findings, looks at KR's facilitatory roles in communities manoeuvring power dynamics, such as gatekeepers, which are critical in change processes in communities. The thesis concludes with Chapter 10 through a discussion and analysis of the research questions in relation to the literature, theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study. The chapter further presents the study's knowledge contribution's, study limitations, and implications. Recommendations for further research are also presented, ending off with concluding remarks.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2. Introduction

The literature review is structured according to the key review questions (informed by the research questions). These are: What is the context of development communication – specifically community radio? What definitions of (i) development communication and (ii) community radio are employed in previous research? How has participatory development communication in the form of community radios been used to facilitate development – specifically social change? What type of social change have community radios facilitated? What are the opportunities and challenges that community radios face in achieving development (social change)?

The chapter begins by providing clarity on the key concepts in the research questions following an overview of evidence from empirical literature looking at Community radio's contribution to social change. I conclude this chapter by stating the identified gaps in the literature with an overview of the contributions of the current research study. I pay particular attention to the role of community radios in facilitating interlinkages of ordinary community members to community administrative (power) structures and the ways this promotes community development, specifically social change.

2.1 The context of Development Communication and Community radio

The context of development communication and that of community radio is predicated against developments at the global level through to their occurrence in South Africa. These developments are discussed in the sections below.

2.1.1 The relevance of community radio in a global landscape

The purpose and function of community radio differ from region to region. In the more 'developed' world, their focus has been on enhancing the shared cultural values of the society and enabling participation in various forms of dialogue that mainstream media may not offer. In contrast, CRs as mediums of development, particularly during democratic transitions, are highlighted more forthrightly in the literature concerning the 'developing' world. CRS have a

much longer history In the Americas and Europe, dating from as early as the 1960s. As Guo's (2017) study of CRs in the US demonstrated, community radio continues to be relevant in this digital era. While people are losing faith in mainstream media and becoming increasingly suspicious of online content, they consider community radio more trustworthy (Guo, 2017, p. 127).

In contrast, African and Asian regions establishment of CRs typically followed the third democratic wave, most being legislated for in the 1990s. Notably, in Zimbabwe, the establishment of CRs has been difficult owing to repressive government rule and ongoing battles with legalisation. Licencing of community radios in Zimbabwe has not materialised as the community broadcasting sector has only remained on paper, not in practice (Alfandika & Muchetwa, 2019).

Community radios development roles have also been studied in India and Nepal in South Asia. In India, similar to Nepal, CRs have been renowned for playing notable roles in the empowerment of marginalised groups, particularly women (Dahal, 2013; Nirmala, 2015). From studying several CRs within AIR (All India Radio) targeting women empowerment, Nirmala (2015) found that CR enhanced women participation and enabled their awareness of development-related information. This included electoral knowledge, human rights, healthcare, and job skills to improve economic opportunities. Similarly, in Nepal, where CRs have been in existence since 1997, Dahal (2013) asserts that the role of CRs in establishing women's voices for inclusive democracy has had a positive impact, especially in a context where violence against women has been alarming. Dahal (2013) found that CRs have contributed towards women empowerment by bringing discussions on Violence Against Women (VAW) into radio programming as an alternative public sphere.

There is evidence of the significant positive impact that CRs make in development and social change, particularly in marginalised communities in India (Khan, 2010). However, Nirmala (2015) shows that a major challenge remains in how CRs are regulated. Therefore, even though scholars such as Khan (2010) and Nirmala (2015) discuss community radios' significance to people's empowerment and livelihoods, they argue that there still needs to be

an improvement in community radios' regulation. Likewise, CRs have been previously noted as largely government-controlled and lack editorial independence (Pavarala, 2003). The CR policy is also limiting as it only allows for not-for-profit 'legal entity' to apply for CR licensing. Notwithstanding, the country boasted 251 operational CRs in 2019, showing the importance of these communication platforms.

In the Americas, the influence of CRs has been documented in the United States, Canada, and Brazil. In the United States, participatory radios have had a long history dating to the 1960s. CRs differ from other public radio outlets in the U.S. because they allow community volunteers to actively participate as broadcasters (Khan, 2010. Guo (2017) made it evident that CRs significantly contribute to communities' livelihoods that commercial media do not offer. For example, their participatory nature and, as Guo (2017) argues, the diversity in content and their sincerity resonates with audiences. Guo's study found that community radio resonates with listeners because they trust the medium better than they do a large number of commercial media outlets because they don't connect personally with mainstream media presenters. The listeners felt CR presenters were more genuine; in fact a distinguishing factor between CRs and other media is the perceived friendly and intimate relationship between the programmers and listeners (Guo, 2017, p. 122). The "person" of the presenter and their significance in upholding community-centric values of community radio which has often not been examined, is CRs literature is discussed in this study.

Even Canada has seen a rise of CRs since the early 1970s, where CRs have served a significant purpose of promoting and strengthening a shared sense of identity while recognising Canadian multicultural and bilingual status. As such, CRs have been influential in connecting Canadians to one another and increasing appreciation of their shared values. However, as Price-Davies and Tacchi (2001) noted, funding the sector has faced challenges as revenue is mostly driven by advertising. This has caused community stations to act and sound more like commercial stations (Price-Davies & Tacchi, 2001, p. 26).

On the other hand, in Brazil, the community radio sector's independence has been challenged by political interference. Boas and Hidalgo (2011) argue that politicians have used

their power to exploit community radios as a means to influence electoral outcomes. As a result, the high degree of political control that has infested CRs in Brazil compromises the mandate and independence of CRs. Boas and Hidalgo (2011) assert that the bureaucratic process of licencing CRs in Brazil, which involves legislative approval, leaves room for political manipulation. For example, federal deputies can influence the application's fate in the Ministry of Communications and can even expedite the approval or disapproval of some applications.

In Europe, CRs emerged in the 1970s-80s, and they continue to be relevant media despite the digital transformation. CRs operations have been documented in several countries, including France, the UK, Holland and Ireland. For example, in France, community radios emerged between the late 1960s and early 1970s, starting with illegal operations, mostly political, broadcasting material unavailable on mainstream media that was previously government-controlled (Price-Davies & Tacchi, 2001). A feature that contributes to the sustainability of CRs in France is that they are eligible for funding from the *Fond de Soutien à l'expression Radiophonique* (Fund for the Support of Expression by Radio – FSER), which is made up of taxes levied on the advertising revenue of the mainstream broadcast media (Price-Davies & Tacchi, 2001). CRs are in turn restricted to obtaining no more than 20% of their total income from either advertising or sponsorship. This approach has been notable towards contributing to CRs maintaining independence, dignity, freedom of speech and credibility of the sector.

This global overview presented on CRs in various contexts reinforces the significance of communication media to development. It depicts community radio as not merely a traditional, outdated phenomenon but also current and resonates well with communities. From the exponential use of CRs in the West, it is evident that they have maintained relevance even within the fourth industrial revolution, which offers myriads of digitalised information sources. It is also important to note how governments, like that of France, subsidise the sector and limit its advertising quota, supporting the sector's sustainability and independence. It is essential to highlight the relevance of this medium as alternative public spheres to mainstream media which this study delves into. According to Guo (2017, p. 114), alternative

media represents a nexus of multiple alternative public spheres that prioritise specific identity or interest groups' voices and needs. In these types of spaces, anyone in that “alternative public” can access and participate in CR platforms. Consequently, as this study illustrates, CRs provide communities with an opportunity to participate in public discourse on their specific development issues.

Also noteworthy is the recognition of CRs influence beyond their developmental role. As Guo’s review of two community radio stations in the USA illustrated, CR audiences can consist of the predominantly well-off, white population and not only the marginalised as is theoretically the case with the expected reach of CRs. This presents an interesting perspective to the audience of CRs and what the future of such communications media holds. In terms of its sincerity and trustworthiness, CRs can appeal to broader audiences, not necessarily only marginalised groups who don’t receive the attention they deserve from mainstream media. This finding is unique to the discourse of CRs existing primarily to serve development objectives. However,one needs to consider the contextual variations of the of the different community needs in the USA versus in African rural communities for example. This study presents a useful contribution as it presents empirical evidence on a unique South African context.

Mcphail (2009) defines development communication as the process of intervening systematically or strategically with either media (print, radio, telephony, video, and the Internet), or education (training, literacy, schooling) for positive social change. The change could be economic, personal, spiritual, social, cultural, or even political (Mcphail, 2009, Lennie and Tacchi, 2013). Khalid (2012) similarly describes development communication’s ability to be used for development. It involves using communication to bring social change and improve the way of life of the citizenry and maintain society’s established values (Khalid, 2012; Mcphail, 2009). At the centre of the concept of development, communication is the notion of empowering people to communicate more effectively with one another to improve their lives and their societies at large (ibid).

Radio, particularly community radio, is increasingly viewed as a dominant and strategically influential form of development communication central to improving people's livelihoods. The first community radio station globally was Radio Sutatenza opened in October 1947, in Colombia, which aimed to broadcast Christian doctrine to poor farmers and teach skills contributing to community development. Dagron (2001) argues that the network of miners' radio stations in Bolivia established in 1949 are one of the best examples of participatory communication in the world. This network of radio stations is conceived, set up, managed, technically run, financed and maintained by the community. In the 1970s—the miners' radio network comprised as many as 26 independent stations and continues to expand (ibid) into epitomes of voices of consciousness resistance and empowerment for the communities (O'connor, 1990).

In Africa, the first community radio was at Homa Bay, situated on Lake Victoria, in Kenya, in 1982. However, from the 1990s onwards, community radios have continued to expand both in Africa and worldwide (Myers, 2011). Community radios have established their repute as powerful social and cultural institutions that are "run" and "owned" by their communities in different parts of the world. This is important particularly in developing countries which has substantiated their significance notwithstanding their accessibility and relevance. Dagron (2001) sees community-based radio as one of the best ways to reach excluded or marginalised communities in targeted, useful ways, mainly because it provides a voice that video cannot provide to most marginalised communities.

2.1.2 The history of broadcasting and community radio in South Africa

Little is documented about the history of community radio in South Africa before 1994. However, some scholars such as the works of Bosch, (2006) and Lekgoathi (2009) trace back community radio in South Africa to Radio Bantu (now Thobela FM) in 1960, which became popular among Africans because it broadcast as a fully-fledged radio station in different African languages. This was promulgated by the Broadcasting Amendment Act, No. 49 of 1960, which granted the SABC's Board of Governors increased powers of control over the affairs of Radio Bantu and the interpretation of its functions (Lekgoathi, 2009).

The apartheid government used radio to shape public opinion through seeking to assert maximum control in programming, e.g., through censoring the news broadcast. Community radio was seen as a potential for the voice of the oppressed to play a significant role in informing and mobilizing communities against apartheid (NCRF, 1999). The tight information control over the station also extended to censoring the music played, for instance, through the prohibition of freedom songs. Lekgoathi (2009, 586) adds in this regard, "A controller would sit in the control box adjoining the studio from where he could monitor everything that the announcer was saying, noting any slippages in his report book".

Radio Zibonele in Cape Town is also documented as having been initially established illegally in 1993 before it aired legally on August 2, 1995 (Dagron, 2001). Listeners of the station, from before the station's official licensing, used their experiences gained from Radio Zibonele's rich history of community involvement through participatory processes to lobby and advocate for community radio throughout the country (ibid). The station programming is to date centred around facilitating self-help and has continued to support educational activities on issues such as environmental and cultural issues as well as promoting grassroots participation in actions that benefit communities.

The apartheid regime regulated and controlled all broadcasting media, including the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which acted as a monopoly that controlled the media industry at the expense of other media outlets like community radio. Radio Bantu was used to enhance government manipulation as well as disseminate and reinforce the government's policies. It played a substantial role in reinforcing ethnic separatism among urban and rural North Sotho-speaking people from 1960 to 1994 (ibid). Lekgoathi (2009) further argues that radio played three main roles during the apartheid era, which had remarkable contributions to society. First, black radio announcers were able to subvert white control by inserting hidden messages using vernacular language. Second, the station gained popularity through providing a range of educational, developmental and entertainment programs broadcast by Africans in their languages. The use of Northern Sotho on the station attracted listeners who were able to find ways of relating to the station and not be

discouraged by the political propaganda of the time. Lastly, the radio drama on the station provided the opportunity to grow an African knowledge community hence providing a worthwhile outlet of skills (Lekgoathi, 2009). Moreover, Bosch (2006) documents the crucial role that Radio Bantu played as providing a platform for interrogating the apartheid government policies and practices amongst citizens.

2.1.3 The upsurge of community radios in South Africa

Upon the country's transition from apartheid to democracy in the 1990s, the South African Broadcasting Authority, which had maintained exclusive control of the airwaves during apartheid, was decentralized and liberalized.[4]The transition to democracy paved the way for rural communities to use community radio as an important medium for communication (Mtimde et al, 1998). Radio was rebirthed with the transition to democracy in South Africa, which saw the upsurge of community radios within an enabling environment consisting of freedom of speech and media. The abolishment of the apartheid policy, which had long controlled media and restricted the content that could be broadcast on the airwaves, was finally dismantled. As Olorunnisola (2002) argues, the rise of community radio in South Africa is directly attributable to the dismantling of apartheid. The introduction of multi-racial democracy, decentralization of the broadcasting sector and the accompanying empowerment of rural communities enabled CRs growth. This led to the engagement of progressive forces to push for the establishment of community radio as a tool for development by community groups from the historically disadvantaged majority[5].

In South Africa, over 80 community radios obtained broadcast licences in 1994. By June 2013, the number of community radios with broadcast licences had risen to 150. Community radios in the country have gained popularity, particularly in rural areas. And given the country's sharp divide between rural and urban areas, community radios have maintained relevance as key sources of information. For example, Conradie, Morris, and Jacobs (2003) argue that the average internet user in South Africa is relatively affluent and educated. But as

[4] www.columbia.edu

[5] The new democratic government introduced a three-tier broadcasting system: (i) Community radio stations, (ii) Commercial sector (iii) Public broadcaster (SABC's 7 language radio stations) and Television; SABC 1, SABC 2 and 3).

Akpojivi, (2012) states, community radio helps bridge the gap between the 'information haves' and 'information haves nots' that exists in society (ibid).

The community radio sector in South Africa was formerly created in 1993 by the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act (IBA) (Megwa,2007). It was created to democratize the airwaves, encourage ownership and control of broadcasts by historically underprivileged groups, and ensure that broadcasting is free of government interference. Evidence shows that 9 out of 10 black South Africans (mostly those in former townships) depend on radio for news and most of them see it as a credible source of information (Mersham (1997, referenced in Megwa, 2007). Community radios have increasingly proved to be critical media mobilising towards addressing community development issues. Cases in point include Radio Zibonele in Cape Town which supports educational activities on issues such as environmental and cultural issues as well as promoting grassroots participation benefiting the community (Dagron, 2001); Moutse Community Radio in Moutse Mpumalanga Province, South Africa, which was started in 1997 by a group of rural women to mobilize around issues of water shortages, and other community needs (Jallov, 1996); Radio Al-Ansaar which is aimed at the reconciliation of Muslim identity(Mall, 2006); and Bush Radio which is used as a space for resistance against oppressive measures as well as facilitating community members' identity construction (Bosch, 2003).

2.2 Community radio Regulatory frameworks in South Africa

2.2.1 The Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 1993

The airwaves in South Africa were transformed when the Independent Broadcasting Act established the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA). The IBA was enacted on 27 October 1993 by Parliament and was the first Act of Parliament in the pre-election period consented to by the CODESA negotiations. This Act freed the airwaves from state monopoly priorities from the previous regime. This was made possible by the national campaigns, with Civil Society Organizations taking centre stage towards open democratic broadcasting and promoting complete press freedom (Mtimde, 2000).

The Independent Broadcasting Authority regulates broadcasting in the country's public interest as set out in the Act. The Act governs broadcasting activities in the country in the public interest and to open the airwaves. This is in order to effect Section 2 (a) of the IBA Act, which aims to 'promote the provision of a diverse range of sound and television broadcasting services on a national, regional and local level', which, when viewed collectively, 'cater for all languages and cultural groups and provide entertainment, education and information.

The IBA is mandated to regulate three categories of license-holders; public, private and community broadcasting services. Public broadcasting is operated by a statutory body, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), and caters for the general public, providing education, information and entertainment. Secondly, Private and commercial broadcasting consists of commercial radio stations and television channels owned by independent corporations. Lastly, community broadcasting services are run, owned and controlled by community organizations for their communities and funded from grants, sponsorships, donations and advertising. Broadcasting profits have to be ploughed back into community service and may not be distributed as dividends. The Act made provision for the application of broadcasting licenses which has supported the growth of licensed community radio stations across the country. Within two years of the IBA, more than 80 stations were licensed, representing the broadest spectrum of geographic and interest groups from rural, urban, universities, and religions (Mtimde, 2000).

2.2.2 The Public Broadcasting Act, 1999

The nature and function of this sector are regulated by The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) as stipulated by the Public Broadcasting Act (1999). ICASA is the independent statutory body responsible for regulating all radio and television broadcasts in the country. ICASA regulations aim to ensure that community needs are prioritized; hence, ICASA monitors CR activities to ensure community participation is achieved. These regulations are essential in ensuring that community radio stations put the needs of their communities first. It is, therefore, vital to understand and define community radios to provide a conceptual understanding of them in the literature and create a backdrop to this study.

2.3 Understanding /defining community radios

Different scholars view community radio from different perspectives based on the unique attributes of the media policies of nation-states (Akpojivi, 2012). Common themes reflected in the various definitions of community radio include ownership structures that reflect the marginalized communities served, non-profit-oriented and non-partisan programming content, and operation from and service to a marginalized community (ibid). Additionally, MISA (2003) view community ownership and control over community participation as essential characteristics of community radios.

As the third tier of public media, community radio is often defined as any radio station established mainly to serve the needs of a particular community (Mtimde et al., 1998). Mtimde et al., (1998) refer to community radio as radio stations owned and controlled by a community defined either geographically or as a community of interest. Moreover, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA, 2003) defines community radio as non-profit service-oriented radio owned and operated by the community with the potential to encourage communication between people and across cultures.

In contrast to public and commercial service media, community radio practitioners generally see community radio as 'grassroots' and 'participatory', which Tabing (2002) has called a model of "Profit, Propaganda, Power and Privilege". Despite the fluidity in these definitions, participation remains essential to any definition of community radio. For instance, in Colombia, community participation in programming is a legal requirement stipulated in community radio legislation (Myers, 2011).

These definitions suggest that a central characteristic of community radios is that they should be owned and funded by the community to avoid the stations being influenced by other vested economic and political interests. Community members must actively participate in the programmes production, which must revolve around activities in the community. Broadcast content must also be non-partisan and non-profit (Myers, 2011). Community radio, therefore, is a distinctive medium of communication, particularly in this current era of deregulation that has facilitated a market-driven media environment (McManus, 1994). The

economic and political interests of media owners are considered before that of the public capitalist-driven media markets. To McKay (2009, p. 75), the unique attributes of community radio (non-profit, non-partisan, ownership structure) that makes it free from vested economic and political interests enables it to create an opportunity for local participation, which is essential for democratic consolidation.

Several scholars (McKay, 2009; Tucker, 2013; Myers, 2011; Akpojivi, 2012; Dagron, 2001) agree that access and participation are central characteristics of community radio. Community radio exists to provide access to media and public information to those public forums and individuals who have not previously had such access (Tucker, 2013). Hence community radio is essential to providing an opportunity to hear the voices of the voiceless. Community radios are designed to be participatory, which entails that they are supposed to encourage the participation of local citizens in all elements of their operation, including management, planning, education and production (ibid). Community radios are a forum for the discussion of community problems and thus are spaces where community problems can be described, interpreted, analysed, mobilized around and solved. Community radios further create public spaces/spheres for marginalized people to express themselves where this was restrained before (Tucker, 2013).

Community radios also play a significant role in contributing to bridging the gap between the information-rich and the information poor by extending information access to poor and rural communities in society (Megwa, 2007, Dagron, 2001, Akpojivi, 2012). This is attributable to the accessibility and relative affordability of radios and their intimacy with the audience. Community radios also can serve as an interface between new information technologies and rural and poor communities (ibid). Community radios further provide listeners with a sense of community and identity that conquers language barriers, serves as reliable sources of development information and creates action space for people to connect with their local leaders and institutions (MISA, 2003; Siemering, Fairbairn and Rangana, 1998). Furthermore, community radios can mobilize communities to act as change agents by engaging groups and organisations to direct their resources to actualize strategies at the individual, group and organisational level (Mersham, 1997).

This study defines community radios as radio stations owned and controlled by the community and that ensure community participation in the stations programming and activities. The literature has provided a view of community radios through the lens of communities that own, control and participate in such radio stations. What has been shown is that the developmental contributions, particularly with regards to community radios, have the potential to enhance social change in communities which this study explores further.

2.4 The role of community radios in development

There is growing research focusing on how community radios can be a positive force for development primarily because they allow for the active participation of community groups in programming and institutional structure (Alumuku, 2006; Fairchild, 2001; Fraser and Estrada, 2001, as referenced in Diedong, 2014). Community radio's growing recognition is partly sustained by organizations whose sole purpose is to introduce and support community radio in Africa. This has occurred, for instance, through the Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET) and the Community Media Development Organisation (COMEDO), as well as the National Community Radio Forum (NCRF) in South Africa (Mtimde et al., 1998)

Consequently, despite the growing recognition of community radio's developmental role, community radio as an important weapon for development has not become a popular site of academic enquiry (Sharma and Uniyal, 2016; Dagron, 2001). Sharma and Uniyal (2016) argue that the dissemination of information for development purposes has not adequately reached all populations, resulting in the limitations that have accompanied development communication. Despite radio's dynamic role, the popular and everyday uses of CR by citizens has not been properly investigated (Chiumbu and Ligaga, 2012). A primary hindrance in the path to development for CRs is that the scope of information is not widely available to all groups. For (Sharma and Uniyal, 2016), the development brought through development communication should be equally shared by all sections of the society.

Figure 2.1 below illustrates the multi-dimensional development roles of community radios which provides a useful (although not exhaustive) basis for the study's examination of

community radios contribution to social change. CRs contribute to the social and cultural dimensions of development by providing channels of participation and social and political empowerment (Milan, 2009). Community radio can contribute towards community building through its nature to be interactive and a two-way dialogue able to transforms individual ideas into collective visions of a better reality. Media can also strengthen community ties; Milan (2009) argues that change becomes possible when people come together. When a community is empowered and united, they become a driving force for development projects.

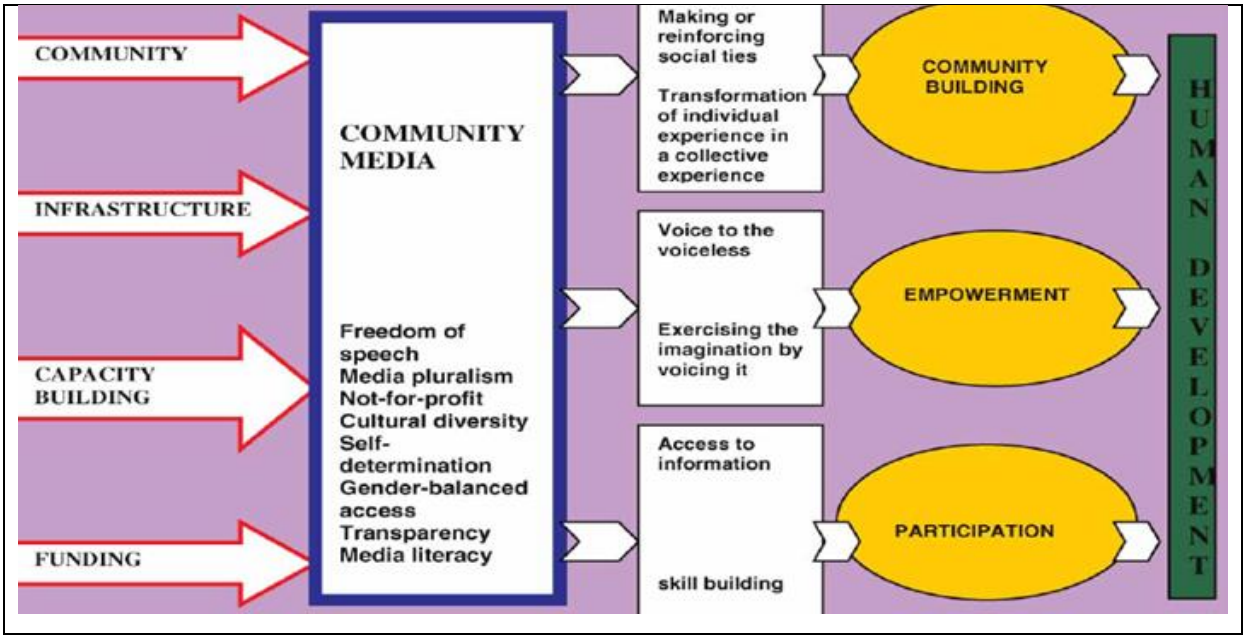


Figure 2. 1: The relationship between community media and development (*adapted from Milan 2009)*

Figure 2.1, in juxtaposition with other similar studies, highlights key themes that have emerged from the literature on CRs contribution to development that include; raising public awareness (Diedong, 2014); facilitating dialogue and openness (Myers,2011); accessibility of local content (Mano, 2012); empowering communities (Milan, 2009; Diedong & Naaikuur 2014; Manda, 2015, (Perkins, 2000); developing a sense of community through communication (Soola,2002); encouraging participation (Schramm, 1964; Mtimde et al., 1998 ;Perkins, 2000); educating and skills development (Milan, 2009; Mtimde et al., 1998; Perkins, 2000); agenda setting and addressing social challenges (Olorunnisola, 2002; Manda, 2015; Myers, 2008 ; Mnyozo, 2007; Al-Hassan, 2011; Fraser, 2002); mobilising support for social

development campaigns such as health, agriculture (Myers, 2011; Mano, 2012; Okunna, 2002); strengthening community ties and contributing to cultural solidarity/conservation (Eyiah, 2004, Gunner et al., 2012; Lekgoathi, 2009) as well as encouraging democratic participation (Tucker, 2013). This chapter examines these key themes as an important basis of the study's contribution to understanding CRs development roles.

Nevertheless, counter-narratives have argued against participatory development communication and, more specifically, the developmental nature of community radios. For instance, studies have cautioned against examining CRs in isolation from other factors that could be taking place simultaneously and contributing to achieving developmental outcomes in communities (Tucker, 2013; Sharma and Uniyal, 2016; Melkote, 2001, 2003; Chokozho, 2013; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Cornwall, 1998 as referenced in Cooke and Kothari, 2001). Tucker (2013) for instance, poses the question of how a small or medium communication platform such as CRs can produce any appreciable outcome in a world dominated by larger media and the larger concerns of global communities. Similarly, criticisms have been raised on development communication not being effective enough to resolve development challenges, hence the need to look beyond information access and exchange to tackle development issues head-on (Sharma and Uniyal, 2016, Melkote (2001,2003); Chokozho,2013). Moreover, participation in development has received criticism given that despite being a buzzword amongst development practitioners and scholars, its implementation remains limited (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). There is also a tendency for development practitioners to understand communities as homogenous structures that are static and that involve people sharing completely similar interests. Consequently, this has ignored the inherent power dynamics and other biases and interests brought forth as a result of age, class, caste, ethnicity, religion and gender (Cornwall, 1998 as referenced in Cooke and Kothari, 2001). However, notwithstanding these criticisms and in adopting a critical holistic approach to the research question, this study provides a critical overview of community radio's contributions to social change and the challenges thereof.

2.4.1 Raising public awareness and mobilising support

Boafo (2000) notes the importance of ensuring the increased utilization of media channels in community development initiatives because they aid in raising public awareness of issues affecting their communities. One case in point is the adoption of the United National General Assembly resolution in November 1996, which underlined the vital role of communication for development as an instrument facilitating dialogue between citizens and the public powers. Community radio has thus assumed an important role in influencing the lives of marginalized communities, particularly as radio has more resonance with local life than other media, such as television, which depends largely on programmes produced in Western countries (ibid). Mano (2012) highlighted the characteristics of the local content of radio and its technical simplicity, which make it maintain high reception and widespread use in Africa. Community radio further supports community development projects by delivering critical knowledge to people, raising their awareness and consciousness. This creates further empathy among target audiences, thus contributing to the success of these projects.

Mass media also plays a mobilization function which is central to developing communities everywhere. It seeks to bring people together and help advance national development goals (Eyiah, 2004). Several cases in point have shown community radios as contributing to articulating and realising human rights in different contexts. Examples include campaigning for gay and lesbian rights by CRs in South Africa, educating and mobilizing villagers to protect their forestry from logging companies in Mali, campaigning against female circumcision and forced marriage and providing a safe house for young women escaping these practices in Maasai Tanzania (Myers, 2011). Community radios have additionally contributed to peacebuilding; for instance, radio stations in Colombia have aired programmes pleading for hostages being held by insurgents to be released. Radio Maendeleo in DRC assisted with providing information on local fighting, troop movements and roadblocks for the troubled area of South Kivu. In the Philippines radio, DXUP has helped inter-communal peacebuilding among Christians and Muslims in Mindanao (Ibid).

2.4.2 Facilitating ease of information access and exchange

Community radios are gaining continued recognition for their ability to provide access to communication for diverse groups. Information is a key development ingredient and a critically important part of the mission of community radio stations (Megwa, 2007). Characteristics of CR that have supported this recognition include its simplicity, affordability and accessibility even in more remote areas. As a result, radio occupies a strategic position in communication for development, particularly in less developed contexts (Soola, 2002). In their information-diffusion role, community radios can inform large numbers of people of news and information in the community, including development projects and goals (Tucker, 2013). One primary means through which accessibility of community radios is achieved is the use of local indigenous languages to exchange information that enhances development through communication. Language is an essential part of culture contributing to community solidarity.

Schramm (1964) categorizes the role of media in development in three ways: to inform, instruct, and participate. The media's informing role involves developing a society economically, socially and politically through access to information. Secondly, media plays a role in instructing and educating people by teaching them basic skills through media platforms, which helps communities develop their living standards. Media further contributes to educating the masses, for instance, by informing them on governments' policies and citizens' rights and responsibilities (Eyiah, 2004). Thirdly, because participation is necessary for the development of society, community media provides a platform for discussion and debates amongst people. This assists with raising awareness of issues, participating in development programming and ultimately bringing change to living standards in society.

The role of community radio has been recognized for giving provision to large numbers of illiterate and semi-literate people who may not absorb information through other forms of media, such as written media. Given the use of local languages on community radios, they further provide the advantage of serving linguistic minorities (Tucker, 2013). For example, in India, Community radios have been recognized for providing advantages for development communication through their ability to reach an illiterate population, their relative affordability and the localization of radio broadcasts to specific communities which appeals

to local people. Radios' ability to effectively reach individuals with less formal education and lower socioeconomic status means they can reach many rural areas and people requiring family planning and public health initiatives. Clearly then, radio remains an effective channel for reaching the vast audience of rural poor (Sharma and Uniyal, 2016).

Furthermore, CR is recognized for its role in enhancing women's participation. This challenges the stereotypes which have traditionally portrayed women's involvement in radio oppressively. These include representing images of women in offensive ways on media platforms, women's limited access to media sources, lack of women's participation at all levels of media production, direction and ownership, as well as the limited availability of opportunities encouraging women empowerment (Beijing Platform, 1995; referenced in Tucker, 2013). Community radios play a significant role in providing a platform for women to be empowered by enhancing their skills, knowledge, and access to information, thereby enhancing their social and political power.

2.4.3 Education and preservation of cultural heritage

Community radio has also been recognized as possessing a high success rate in educational programming. This is because (i) there is a high degree of listener loyalty and the community audience is willing to trust a presenter they know, (ii) the station is accessible, and people can either call in or walk-in if they need more information about a programme that has been broadcast, (iii) most community stations are aware of local needs and language requirements so that they can adapt programmes to suit their audiences and lastly, (iv) stations can enrich learning that takes place with educational programmes – e.g. running essay competitions for schools linked to the programmes addresses language issues. Through community radios, people are better equipped to understand broadcasts in their local languages[6].

CRs also enable communities to address human rights issues through the right to information and communication. Community radio offers a sense of an information culture in societies that enhances emancipation and self-worth, serves as a platform for debate, and

[6] http://www.journalism.co.za

exchanges ideas. CR also accommodates people's views and satisfies their spiritual and psychological well-being, which other forms of broadcasting do not do. Community radio also preserves cultural identity by offering a cheap but vital way for communities to protect their language and heritage (Mtimde et al., 1998; Soola, 2002; Ligaga, 2008 Lekgoathi, 2009). Examples include community radios programming that educates people about different social issues such as farming, agriculture, health, and nutrition (Sharma and Uniyal, 2016, Soola, 2002). Moreover, some radio forums emerge out of radio listeners suggestions to discuss social issues which the radio station educational programming aired.

Another important factor is the significance of development communication in enhancing communities' cultural identities, for instance, by facilitating the sharing of traditional knowledge (Dagron, 2009). Mano (2012)'s case study on radio Zimbabwe "izaziso zemfa" (announcements of bereavements) provides a case in point of a very relevant, useful and influential programme to audiences that shows the ability of radio to tap into the cultural fabric of the society to which it broadcasts. (Mano (2012) sees radio as playing a crucial role in preserving people's cultural heritage. This is, for instance, through providing information that helps ordinary people question and challenge circumstances that oppress them, resulting in the community fighting back against oppressive authorities that ignore the popular will. In Africa, radio is viewed as a means of alternative communication that enables grassroots populations to understand their situations and provide the will to try to do something about it. Radio, in this way creates spaces that provide the ability to speak against power blocks in the society (Sparks, 1992 as referenced in Mano, 2012).

In another example, radio theatre produced for the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), which features weekly plays, has also been noted to provide entertainment and information to its audiences and contribute to the appreciation and preservation of the local culture. The programme offers a large spectrum of themes speaking to various aspects of Kenyan everyday life. (Ligaga, 2008). Despite the historical limitations of state control surrounding the programme, it continued to produce interesting moral lessons useful to its listeners. Moreover, as Lekgoathi (2009)'s historical overview of Bantu radio demonstrated, radio played a significant role in preserving the culture and language of the Northern Sotho

despite the Apartheid regime's attempts to diminish African cultural heritage. Thus, Bantu radio station became an alternative space to nurture and preserve cultural values.

2.4.4 Addressing social challenges in communities

Manda (2015) sees communication as playing a big role in addressing social challenges facing the 'developing' world through media defining agendas and mobilizing support for social development. Furthermore, community radio acts as a catalyst for community development and providing services such as electricity, the building of community schools and neighbourhood clean-up efforts by the government (Myer, 2011).

Numerous social and agricultural gains across Africa can be attributed to campaigns on community radios, such as Mega FM in Uganda. Through its radio campaigns on voluntary counselling and testing for HIV/AIDS, Mega FM was able to boost attendance at clinics to the point that the local health authority often runs short of testing kits (Ibid). Mano (2012) cites additional examples of how radio has resonated with Africa's development, such as radio *Mang'elete* in Kenya, which has helped rural women address problems such as water provision. In Uganda, *Kigadi-Kibaale* community radio has assisted listeners in dealing with domestic and sexual violence issues, evidenced by a 60% reduction in domestic and gender-based violence due to the station programme (Musheshe, 2007, cited in Myers, 2009). Moreover, in Malawi, *Dzimwe* community radio station prioritises community concerns in its programming, including development content such as subsistence farming, fishing, youth unemployment, women's rights, and environmental issues (Myers, 2011).

Community media are associated with the push for social change and are seen as a form of protest media (Jayaweera, 1991). Moreover, community media often embrace social missions such as educational focus, health and childcare programs, agriculture, human rights, and literacy projects. Cases in point where radio has played an important role in development areas such as health, nutrition and agricultural productivity include; the Kenya Health broadcasts (UNICEF, 1975); the Guatemala agricultural-information programmes (Academy for Education Development (AED), 1976); and assessing "beneficiary" communities' in HIV/AIDS (Tyali & Tomaseli, 2015). These cases have demonstrated that radio can attract a

wide audience to get messages across that can affect behavioural change, all done at a reasonable cost. Another example from Southern Honduras, reported by White (1976), showed how the adaptation of the conscientization method to agricultural education yielded some positive results. This was done through agronomists and professionals meeting with promoters of local study groups for instructional talks about ongoing development projects. In this way, the local radio station assisted the community in receiving agricultural expertise they otherwise would not have got (Diedong, 2014). Community media further contributes to creating shared meanings and interpretations of reality and hence highlighting opportunities for change.

2.4.5 Empowering communities

There has generally been an overall consensus in recognizing the role that community radios play in empowering communities towards taking ownership in tackling issues and challenges that concern them (Manda, 2015; Milan, 2009; Diedong, 2014; Sharma and Kashyap, 2015; Dahal, 2013; Moyo, 2013; Mnyozo, 2009). Empowerment ensures people's access to and participation in decision-making processes and their increased awareness of these processes. Empowerment further involves individuals' abilities to maximize opportunities made available to them despite the constraints of structure and state or their perceived lack of agency to control local situations (Rogers & Arvind Singhal, 2003). Empowerment also involves individuals becoming more aware of their interests in relation to others. It ensures that they are able to participate in positions of greater strength in decision making and tasked with the ability to influence decisions (Rowland, 1995).

Empowerment is a process that can take time to yield visible results as it requires people to take charge of their own needs in ways that other change agents do not impose (e.g., donors, community development practitioners). It consists of three main dimensions; firstly, the personal, which involves individuals developing a sense of self, confidence and capacity, thereby undoing adopted oppression. Secondly, close relationships encompass developing the ability to negotiate and influence the nature of the relationship, including decisions made within it. Lastly, the collective aspect involves individuals working together to achieve more extensive impact – such as in political structures (ibid).

Rogers & Arvind Singhal (2003) examine the communication dimension of empowerment through a reference to Paulo Freire and Saul Alinsky's work. In Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, he embodies communication as raising consciousness and empowerment by promoting dialogic interaction. This dialogic interaction increases and enables students' awareness of class and power contradictions. On the other hand, Alinsky (1989) highlights the significance of community involvement in social change to ensure true empowerment. Dialogic communication interventions have been viewed as more effective in addressing empowerment as opposed to one-way communication techniques. In this manner, individuals gain a belief in their power to achieve desired goals by interacting with peers (Rogers and Singhal).

Consequently, community radios seek to empower local people to define and solve their problems and build their community's capacities from within (Manda, 2015). For example, *Radio Kwizera* in Tanzania focuses on issues of poverty and powerlessness, while *Radio Mampita & Magneva* in Madagascar focus on community building in poor areas through encouraging the participation of poor people in the creation of programming. In the Philippines, the *Tambuli Radio Network* calls itself the "voice of the small community for the development of the underprivileged" (Dagron, 2001:207, As referenced in Tucker, 2013). Additionally, *Radio Zibonele* in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa, trains illiterate volunteers to produce a radio broadcast and use radio equipment, thus empowering community members to have their voices heard (Dagron, 2001: 139).

Similarly, Myers (2011) recognizes the advantage of community radio over other types of media given its ability to create community through facilitating dialogue and openness between community members. That is, it creates a sense of "communityness", which is formed partly through its capacity to speak to and for a group of people to express and enrich their identity**.** Community media's key role is in making or reinforcing social ties as the symbolic basis for change. The message is that 'together we can make it; in this way, community media is essential in empowering communities (Milan, 2009).

However, it is worth noting the challenges that come with empowerment. Empowerment is not a linear process, given the power relations existent in societies.[7] Rowlands (1995) argues that empowerment cannot be separated from understanding the wider power relations. White (2004) argues that power dynamics remain a significant barrier to participatory communication on grassroots initiatives. While community radios may provide spaces for the less powerful groups to express oppression and to provoke debate towards taking charge of their needs, the process of social change is not linear. It needs to be understood within broader power relations with which communities interact. For instance, hierarchical power structures may limit services in rural areas and urban slums (ibid).

2.5 Accessibility and influence of community radios

2.5.1 Participation

Participation is a significant and primary characteristic of community radios. CRs are essentially set up to encourage the participation of their communities in the radio station programming and issues that are of concern to them as individuals and communities at large. Consequently, participatory approaches to development involve moving from top-down approaches towards ensuring that people are central to development efforts (Cleaver, 2001, Myers, 2011). Participatory development aims to increase the involvement of socially and economically marginalised people in decision-making processes that affect their lives (Cooke and Kothari, 2001).

Carpentier (2011) classifies people's involvement in the media into two interconnected forms, participation in the media and participation through the media (Mhagama, 2015). The difference between the two is that "participation in the media deals with participation in the production of media output (content-related participation) and in media organizational decision-making (structural participation)" (Carpentier, 2011, p. 68). On the other hand, "participation through the media involves opportunities for mediated participation in public debate and for self-representation in the variety of public spaces that

[7] This dealt with more specifically in Ch 4.

characterize the social" (Carpentier, 2011, p.67). Similarly, this can be associated with Arnstein's (1969) longstanding ladder of participation demonstrating citizen participation along a continuum of 8 levels demonstrating the different progressions of participation: non-participation at the bottom of the ladder, token participation in the middle and citizen power at the top.

Arnstein's participation ladder is significant in demonstrating the complexities surrounding participation, particularly how the different power struggles the less powerful face in mobilizing resources to change the status quo to meet their needs. Despite the varying participation platforms, the upper level indicates citizens power and taking control, where citizens agency begins to lead to change and shifts in the status quo.

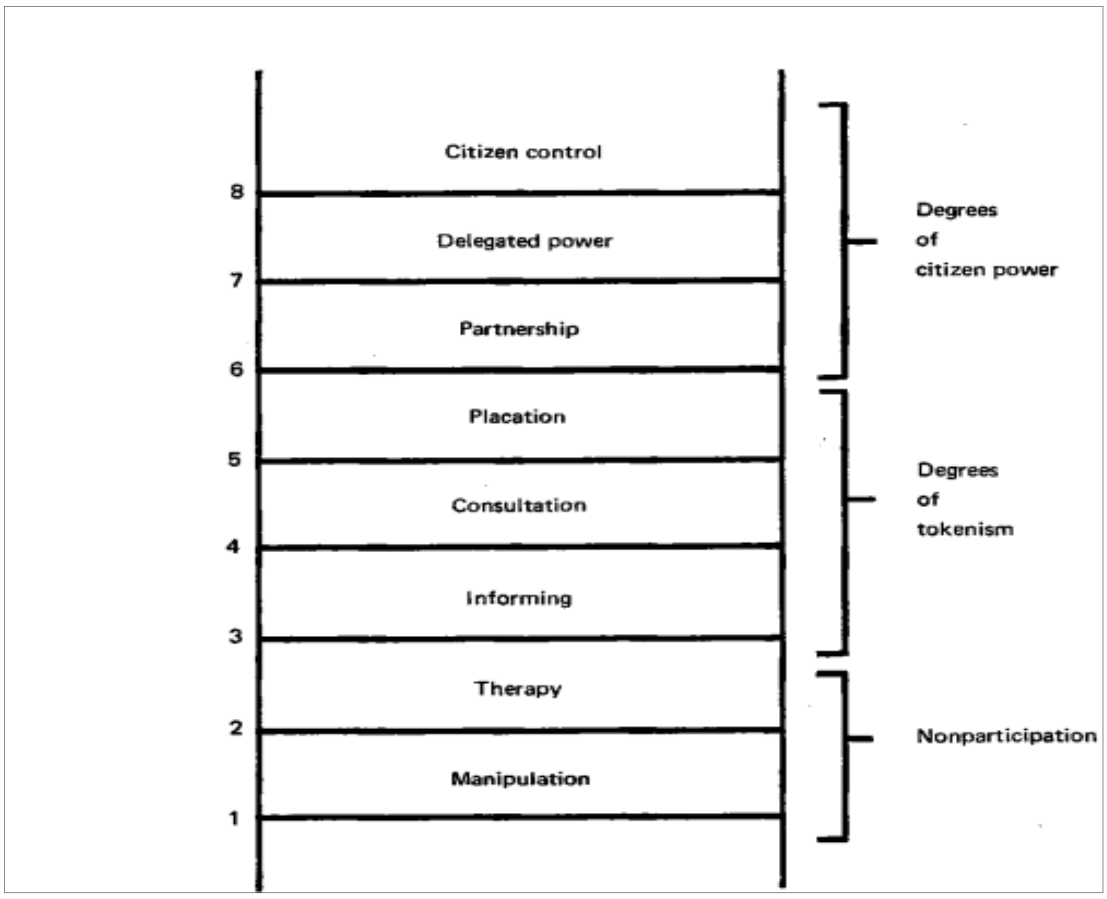


Figure 2. 2: Arnstein's Ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein,1969)

Building on these classifications of participation, this research provides an overview of the different characterizations of participation as a result of community radio. What sets

community radios apart from other media is the ability of communities to participate as planners, producers and performers. Furthermore, this participation is the means of expressing the community, rather than for the community (Mtimde et.al, 1998).

Emphasizing the role of participation in development and the intermediary role of communication thereof, FAO, 1998 (Referenced in Soola, 2002) argue that:

> ”People-oriented development can only realize its full potential if normal people are involved and motivated and if information and knowledge are shared. Communication caters for the human dimensions of development; it establishes a dialogue with rural people, involves them in the planning of their own development, provides information as a basis for social change and conveys the knowledge and skills required to improve the quality of their life” (FAO; referenced in Soola (2002, p.14).

Additionally, community radio has been considered a development tool essential to democratization and democracy (Tucker, 2013). This is because of community radio’s role in providing an alternative conception of democratic participation and increasing public deliberation and communication. Community radio stations have been considered great tools for creating democracy in communities because they enable communication, organizational skills, political information, and technical skills. (Tucker, 2013, Soola, 2002). Furthermore, through community radios, communities are enabled to develop their political understanding and work towards bringing their problems to the larger public's attention. Community radio activists and theorists alike argue that participation is a key element of democracy. To have participatory democracy, a particular kind of media is necessary, including participatory citizen and community-controlled media. This is central to community radio’s characteristics (ibid). A healthy democracy requires engaged, vigilant, and well-informed citizens and community radios to provide such possibilities for citizenship and democracy (ibid).

To reiterate, participation is a non-linear process because it encompasses issues of power and control and is largely a political process (Cornwall, 2008). Carpentier (2011) emphasizes the connection between participation, power and decision-making processes,

arguing that participation processes are embedded within political realities and struggles. Cleaver (2001) critiques literature on participation in development for tending to focus on the techniques (such as Participatory Rural Appraisal, Participatory Learning and Action) which fails to adequately address issues of power and control of information and resources. This provides a limited view of the determinants of technical and social change.
As Cornwall (2008, P. 276) highlights;

> "Participation as praxis is, after all, rarely a seamless process; rather, it constitutes a terrain of contestation, in which relations of power between different actors, each with their own 'projects', shape and reshape the boundaries of action. While a frame might be set by outsiders, much then depends on who participates and where their agency and interests take things."

Thus, limitations surrounded by power dynamics and social boundaries affect how participatory development processes may play out in practice.[8]

2.5.2 Community radio in rural populations

Community radio has been comprehended as having the power to reach rural communities that may not have the opportunity to converge in other places. A large proportion of the population of Africa is rural, and this has been pointed out as a challenge for development projects (Sachs, 2005). Radio's main advantage is its ability to overcome the main communication barriers on the continent, namely poverty, illiteracy and linguistic diversity (Mano, 2012). Radio already plays a significant role in political communication in many African countries (Tucker, 2013). Radio remains the most popular form of mass communication in sub-Saharan Africa, given the majority of the population living in rural areas. Moreover, community radio has its highest reach in rural areas given the relative cheapness of the medium, the low level of functional literacy and the accessibility through the local language of communities (Aginam, 2005). In the rural context, radio is the primary medium through which political and development communication is possible (Tucker, 2013).

[8] See Ch 4 for a fuller discussion of the theoretical and conceptual framework that this research is employing that takes into consideration the scope and unique contributions of this research.

Several development projects have used community radio to reach dispersed rural populations. These include *Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan*, a rural women's radio project in Gujarat (Aginam, 2005), *Radio Huayacocotla* (the 'Voice of the Peasants') in Mexico that operates on short-wave bands to reach peasants in rural areas (Dagron, 2001; Vargas, 1995). Or, *Radio Chaguarurco* in Ecuador which helps empower dispersed rural peasants by airing peasant complaints about landlord and commercial exploitation (Tucker, 2013). Information and communication technologies (ICTs) have also been increasingly significant in enhancing the participatory nature of community radios and advancing their reach beyond geographical bounds.

2.5.3 Information and communication technologies (ICTs) in community radio's development

Community radios are recognised for increasing access to technology and diffusing positive manifestations of new ICTs to rural and poor communities in South Africa. On the other hand, ICTs limitations with regards to limited accessibility to remote and poorer communities have been challenges that are continuously noted. This has earned radio its popularity as an accessible medium that contributes to bridging the digital divide (Megwa, 2007). The convergence of traditional radios with ICTs has transformed the definition of radio. Radio stations have advanced beyond radio hosts simply creating content towards community members being actively empowered to participate; for instance, through sending in stories, calling in to give their views and comments on policies (Nasanga et al., 2012).

ICTs have played a significant role in expanding communicative radio spaces and transforming the nature of audience engagement. Mano (2012) states that the availability of radio on multi-platforms such as television or cell phones have helped cement its place as the continents main mass medium. In addition, radio encourages deliberation and participation through phone-in programmes and studio audiences. Chiumbu and Ligaga (2013) see ICTs as playing a crucial role in contributing to the changing nature of participation. These ICTs include internet use, blogs, social media and mobile phones to distribute their content and interact with audiences. Mobile phones are the most popular forms of ICTs that have

significantly transformed radio practices and audience engagement, particularly through listeners calling in to participate in radio programmes through their mobile phones.

Radio stations have increasingly turned to ICT platforms to access programme content and enhance interaction between radio hosts and listeners. In South Africa, radio stations have increasingly become accessible on multiple platforms, such as having interactive websites, social media pages, audio and mobile streaming, and web-based SMS systems. Increased use of ICTs by radio stations has contributed to various participatory cultures among radio audiences. Community radio stations are likewise increasingly making use of the internet to find answers to listeners' questions and translating them into local languages to encourage learning and discussion around issues of community interest (Chiumbu and Ligaga, 2013). ICTs have accelerated the discursive spaces offered by radio and their ability to draw audiences closer to the station's production and institutional processes. New media technologies have further contributed to constructing 'new publics' in radio, allowing audiences to engage more fully. Chiumbu and Ligaga (2013) further argue that social media platforms and websites enable listeners to get to know one another and form a community. Multiple avenues of debates are created around personalities, events, and information, allowing those who respond to connect as a community of listeners.

As argued by Carpentier (2007) and Rennie (2007) (as referenced in Chiumbu and Ligaga, 2013), the digital age provides an opportunity to envision community radio from a different perspective. This changes the notion of "community", as listeners of community radio are located in geographical, trans-local and diasporic spaces. Such is the case with Khwezi radio station, which is accessible on multimedia platforms including website live streaming, Google Store mobile Application, Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp.

Although ICT developments have been shown to provide the opportunity to increase the effectiveness of participatory development projects, concerns still arise around their accessibility to other communities such as rural areas. As Hammond (2001, p.97) remarks, "The Internet may be changing everything for those who use it, but it is doing nothing for the 19 out of 20 people who still lack access". ICT optimism has not fully extended to the rural

areas as social networks connected through mobile technology have not taken root in most rural areas, given that mobile phone access and ownership are still low there compared to the urban areas (Nassanga et al., 2013). Moreover, high internet tariffs restrict many people from accessing the internet. South Africa has one of the highest tariff charges in the world (Smith, 2009).

Additionally, some rural areas may not have mobile coverage. As a result, as is the case with Bush radio in South Africa, some stations still rely more on face-to-face community interaction to enhance community participation (Chiumbu and Ligaga, 2013). Notably, traditional methods of communication are still dominant in rural areas. For instance, a study among farmers in Ghana found that radio and word of mouth are used far more than mobile phones as sources of information about farming issues (Myers, 2011).

Therefore, this study is crucial in exploring the extent to which ICTs have penetrated the radio station and the community under study and how these have enhanced community participation and, ultimately, community members' empowerment. Thus, contributing to understanding how community radio stations are attempting to fill the gap ICTs leave open by being the most accessible platform for rural development communities.

2.6 Understanding the "community" in community radio

The primary benefit of community radios over other mainstream media, which makes them suitable for development, is their ability to create community (Tucker, 2013; Lewis, 2002). The sense of community provided by community radio is what distinguishes community radio from alternative media. The definition of community goes beyond the common understanding equating communities to localities and involves a group of people sharing a common interest within a particular locality (Blender, 1978). It follows that communities can be understood as situations in which members share cultural, social or political interests independent of their geographical proximity (Jankowski, 2002 as referenced in Bosch, 2003). Similarly, Webber (1964) challenged the traditional understanding of community as where one lives to a site of meaningful interaction and social relations instead. Notable, places are not necessarily communities. Kempers (2001), as referenced in Brennan et al, 2013) states

that the concept of community describes the total of 'how', 'why', 'when, 'under what conditions' and 'with what consequences' people bond together. Community is therefore not limited by space. Consequently, Bradshaw (2008) argues for post place community which focuses on the essential characteristics of the community as the social relations between people, beyond the historical definition of a community consisting of shared boundaries geographically (Brennan et al., 2013). Moreover, *community* can be further understood as a social network characterized by distinctive human interaction as recognized by Bourdieu's (1977) notion of habitus (ibid).

As has been alluded to above, a central defining characteristic of community radio stations is that they are started, operated, and owned by the community which they serve. It is noteworthy that few community radio stations are community-owned because a fair majority of them receive financial support from other organizations (NGOs), local and national government (Tucker, 2013). These ownership dynamics may, in turn, influence the relations within the running and programming of radio stations and the sense of community that they seek to build.

Brennan and Israel (2008) argue that communities are centred on interaction, and that community and interaction cannot be separated. Additionally, as Wilkinson (1991, p.17) states, "If interaction is suppressed, community is limited." Brennan and Israel (2008) describe "community" through a field theory perspective to understand the emergence of power in communities. In this description, local societies are understood as comprehensive associations meeting common needs and expressing common interests, the realization of which are centred on social interaction. Interaction promotes agency which results in the development of the community. On the other hand, power can facilitate or suppress social interaction, warn Brennan and Israel (2008).

2.6.1 Radio Listeners Clubs (RLCs) as a form of community/ invented spaces

Radio Listening Club (RLCs) are defined as community-based groups organized by community members themselves, which use radio programmes to facilitate development discourse within their communities (Development Broadcasting Unit (DBU), 2000; Chirwa et al., 2000

as referenced in Mhagama, 2015). The origins of radio forums date back to 1940 in Canada, where they were referred to as farm forums (Mhagama, 2015). Sparse research still exists on RLCs and their relationship between the radio station, listeners and the social change efforts they instil. The existing empirical research has been in Malawi (Mhagama, 2015; Manyozo, 2005; Mchakulu, 2007; Manda, 2015), Rwanda (Fisher, 2004), Zambia (Banda, 2007), Niger (IIboudo, 2003), Nepal (Sood et al., 2004).

While (Mhagama (2015) study has a strong focus on the listening aspect of RLCs, and Banda (2007) has a focus on the participative, production-oriented aspects of RLCs. On the other hand, my research adopts a participative and strong sense of the 'communityness' aspects of RLCs, i.e., RCLs stimulation of a sense of community amongst listeners. Notably, the literature on Radio Listening Clubs in South Africa remains scant. The *Masibumbane listeners clubs* that comprise different listener club branches from radio Khwezi's listeners is the research case study and henceforth provides nuances to understanding the operation of RLCs as spaces of community engagement. It provides an avenue of understanding the 'invented spaces' within the community that support RCLs in addressing their development needs.

Acknowledging the significance of formal institutions in encouraging and fostering participation in communities, Cleaver (2001) notes the crucial role that informal institutions play, which tends to be neglected. Specifically, there is a need to consider interactions between people that also occur outside formal institutions. These informal institutions can be deeply embedded in social relations. A case in point is Cleaver's (2001) illustration of informal local institutions managing the water source and grazing land in a rural village in Zimbabwe. Such informal community setups are deeply embedded in the community's social relations and are important in shaping cooperation and public negotiations (ibid). This research acknowledges the significant roles that the Masibumbane listeners club have played in collaboratively supporting communities' needs beyond individual needs and more to the collective.

2.6.2 "Community" in the context of Power relations

On the other hand, Dagron (2001, 2009) sees communities as complex and diverse as opposed to what he refers to as the typical academic interpretation portraying communities as "pure" or "untouched". He states that "Communities are complex social bodies, made up of individuals that may have diverging interests, and in some cases opposing interests (Dagron; 2009, 458)". Cleaver (2001) further calls for a more realistic understanding of community, including solidarity and conflict, shifting alliances, power, and social structures. Additionally, social stratification and socio-economic differences in communities need to be acknowledged. Thus, while having people's participation and ownership of their development programs should be a given (and its importance is widely recognised), the challenge remains inherent power and culture limitations which may hinder this in practice (Dagron, 2009). This has been important to note and explore in this research, which seeks to understand hindering factors to participatory development based on the selected case. Similarly, Burkey (1993) cautions against the tendency to view the poor as homogenous. Burkey (1993) states that rural communities are composed of individuals and groups with different and often opposing interests. Taking these factors into consideration leads to the conclusion that different communities have their nuances which should be considered in studying them. Likewise, these nuances should be considered when trying to understand the effect of communities' interaction with community radios.

On the other hand, Lennie and Tacchi (2013) acknowledge the role of communication for development that challenges power dynamics (power relationships and structures). They consequently note the importance of acknowledging power dynamics and issues of inclusion and exclusion and empowerment and disempowerment. This is a noteworthy contribution that still requires further examination and research in strengthening the development communication discourse. The case study in the current research at hand takes strides towards understanding the role of community radio in challenging power dynamics in the community and henceforth contributing to social change.

2.7 Challenges faced by community radio

Evidence from the literature shows that community radios face numerous challenges that limit their developmental contributions to the communities they serve. These challenges primarily include sustainability threats (Olorunnisola, 2002) or funding challenges (Milan, 2009; Mtimde et al, 1998, 2000; Diedong, 2014). Moreover, individuals may have their political agenda(s) impacting their ability to serve the communities they are supposed to educate, inform, entertain, and mobilize for development (Eyiah, 2004). There is also the concern of radio station volunteer attrition (Myers, 2011, Diedong, 2014). These challenges, among others, threaten the effectiveness of community radios.

Limited availability of stable funding mechanisms such as reliance on state-funded subsidies threatens the existence of community radio (Milan, 2009, Mtimde et al, 1998). The policy environment needs to support community media's role in contributing to citizens' development by ensuring that community radios are capacitated adequately to perform this role specifically to those parts of society that are faced with information gaps (Tacchi, 2002). This would help ensure that community radios better contribute to addressing development in rural areas.

In South Africa, funding is also posing a challenge to their sustainability (Olorunnisola, 2002). Noting that community radios are not for profit entities, funding for radio comprises of the following options: advertising, donors (international aid and loans), community-based income generation as well as state aid (Myers, 2011). Notably, some national laws do not permit advertising on community radios. While those national laws that do allow some form of funding still have challenges arise from the fact that they can only attract limited advertising revenue. On the contrary, a problem of content quality arises with larger audiences who may attract more advertising but tend to be attracted more by sensational, controversial and entertaining content. A case in point is that of Jozi FM in Soweto, which has successfully generated revenue from advertising, yet it has faced criticism for neglecting its educational responsibility (Myers, 2011). This highlights the difficulty of community radios maintaining their primary development role while ensuring that they are financially sustainable enough to continue operating.

Additionally, South Africa has the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) which promotes and ensures media development and diversity to enable historically disadvantaged communities and persons not adequately served by the media to gain access to the media.[9] As of March 2010, the MDDA had supported 282 small media outlets and distributed a cumulative total of R102 million since 2004 (Myers, 2011). A case in point is that of Moletsi community radio in Limpopo, which benefited from the MDDA grant in 2008 that enabled it to build new radio station premises (ibid). This demonstrates the positive strides being taken towards supporting community radios in South Africa.

In addition, community radios face challenges involving having young, low paid, voluntary and sometimes untrained radio presenters and journalists. This occasionally results in stations being charged for spreading factual errors, myths and unsubstantiated rumours. Moreover, reliance on volunteers can lead to a lack of responsible journalism, unmotivated staff, unreliable scheduling or taking over or hijacking station programmes by particular interest groups (Myers, 2011). International donors have typically assisted with supporting a large proportion of rural and semi-rural community radio stations. However, this model also faces sustainability challenges, given that donor cycles usually end after five years. This further neglects the maintenance and running costs of the station.

2.8 Contributions of the study to gaps in literature

This study contributes three important primary gaps identified in the literature. Firstly, the study critically looks at the contested, non-linear nature of participation in development communication and the implications on social change. Second, the study examines the relationship between individual and collaborative empowerment through CRs and the RLCs and transformative power as a vital for social change initiatives. Finally, this study contributes to an understanding of CRs potential facilitatory roles between community members and various power structures or gatekeepers that may hinder or support the attainment of social change in communities. These gaps are discussed in the subsequent chapters.

[9] http://www.mdda.org.za/

The literature review established CR's key development roles, i.e., raising public awareness and mobilizing support; facilitating the exchange of development information; educational programming; preservation of cultural heritage; assisting and empowering communities with tackling their social challenges. Authors such as Khan (2010), Akpojivi (2012), Dagron (2001), Megwa (2007) and Myers (2011)concur on the significant contributions of CRst to social change in communities. They further assert the centrality of a sense of community to CRs development role. However, there remains little critical evidence on the "organicness" of participation spaces emerging from development communication platforms such as CRs and RCLs and the effects of the contested nature of participation on social change. This research delves into these nuances through an analysis of transformative power in participatory development communication and the implications for social change.

In addition, there remains a dearth of evidence on the role of the "individual" in social change. This study contributes to this gap by examining the relationship between individual and collaborative empowerment resulting from CRs interventions and how this contributes to social change. This study further aims to contribute to the scant academic literature on Radio Listening Clubs (RLCs), a form of community formed by radio listeners fostering collaborative empowerment and critical to facilitating social change in their communities. This conception needs further study and exploration as RLCs are critical forms of emerging communities emerging from community radio. This limitation could also reflect the limited documentation of existent cases and thus the need to grow the discipline accordingly. For these reasons, this research is significant because it contributes empirical evidence and understanding that showcases community radios' contributions to social change. Studying communities in their day-to-day interactions with community radio provides an understanding of the information exchange and solidarity and the collective agency used to address issues of concern with fellow community members.

Furthermore, while the growing research enunciates community radios having significant contributory roles to play in people's lives, it remains unclear how they empower communities to tackle "developmental" issues amid societal power structures or gatekeepers. Limited research has shown the contributory role of development

communication (specifically community radios) towards facilitating linkages (that facilitate development outcomes) between communities and their local administrative structures (community leaders). This is another literature gap that this research attempts to address.

2.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter outlined the contextual backdrop to CRs globally, then zoned into the continent with a specific focus on the landscape of CRs in the South African context. The chapter presented a synopsis of the relevant literature on the developmental roles of community radio, including their accessibility in rural contexts. Understanding the centrality of "community" to CRs was further detailed, with a special focus on RLCs as spaces of engagement between listeners. The chapter ended off by describing some challenges that the sector faces and highlighted the primary contributions that this study seeks to make to address the identified gaps in the literature. The study makes a significant contribution to literature by presenting a unique empirical and theoretical understanding on the role of participatory development communication media such as CRs in empowering communities to addresss community development issues.

The following chapter presents a contextual background of Khwezi radio and the community relevant to the study.

Chapter 3: The context of Khwezi community radio

3. Introduction

This chapter aims to present a conceptual overview of the study's research setting, both inside Khwezi radio (KR) and the community setting. The chapter further provides contextual background into some of the critical stakeholders that support the station's development objectives. The chapter begins with outlining the research setting, which describes the municipalities covered by the study. It then delves into painting a picture of the radio station followed by an overview of the community of listeners, mainly through an examination of Masibumbane Listeners Club (MLC) members. The chapter then provides a summative overview of the programming on KR and the station's support functions. This provides an understanding of how the station works towards attaining its objectives.

3.1 The Research setting

The study was conducted within four district municipalities in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Most of the research participants (i.e., community members) came from ***uMzinyath*i District**, where Khwezi radio station is located. This district also had the highest listenership out of all the regions covered in this study, particularly *uMsinga* municipality, which also had the largest listeners' club branch. The other three districts covered in the research are ***uMgungundlovu* District**, ***iLembe* District**, and ***King Cetshwayo* District.** Table 3.1 shows which municipalities and specific areas (communities) were spread across these four districts in the data collection.

Table 3. 1 Areas covered in the research

DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY	LOCAL MUNICIPALITY	AREA (S)/COMMUNITIES COVERED IN THE STUDY
UMzinyathi District	uMsinga, uMvoti	Kwakopi, Kranskop, Ntunjambili, Greytown, eMaTimatolo, Vikindlala, Ntembisweni
UMgungundlovu District	uMsunduzi,uMngeni, uMshwathi	Piertermaritsburg, Howick, Kwa Hhaza
ILembe District	Maphumulo, Mandeni KwaDukuza	Darnall, Mangethe
King Cetshwayo	UMlalazi	Eshowe

Figure 3. 1: Socioeconomic indicators in the local municipalities studied [10]

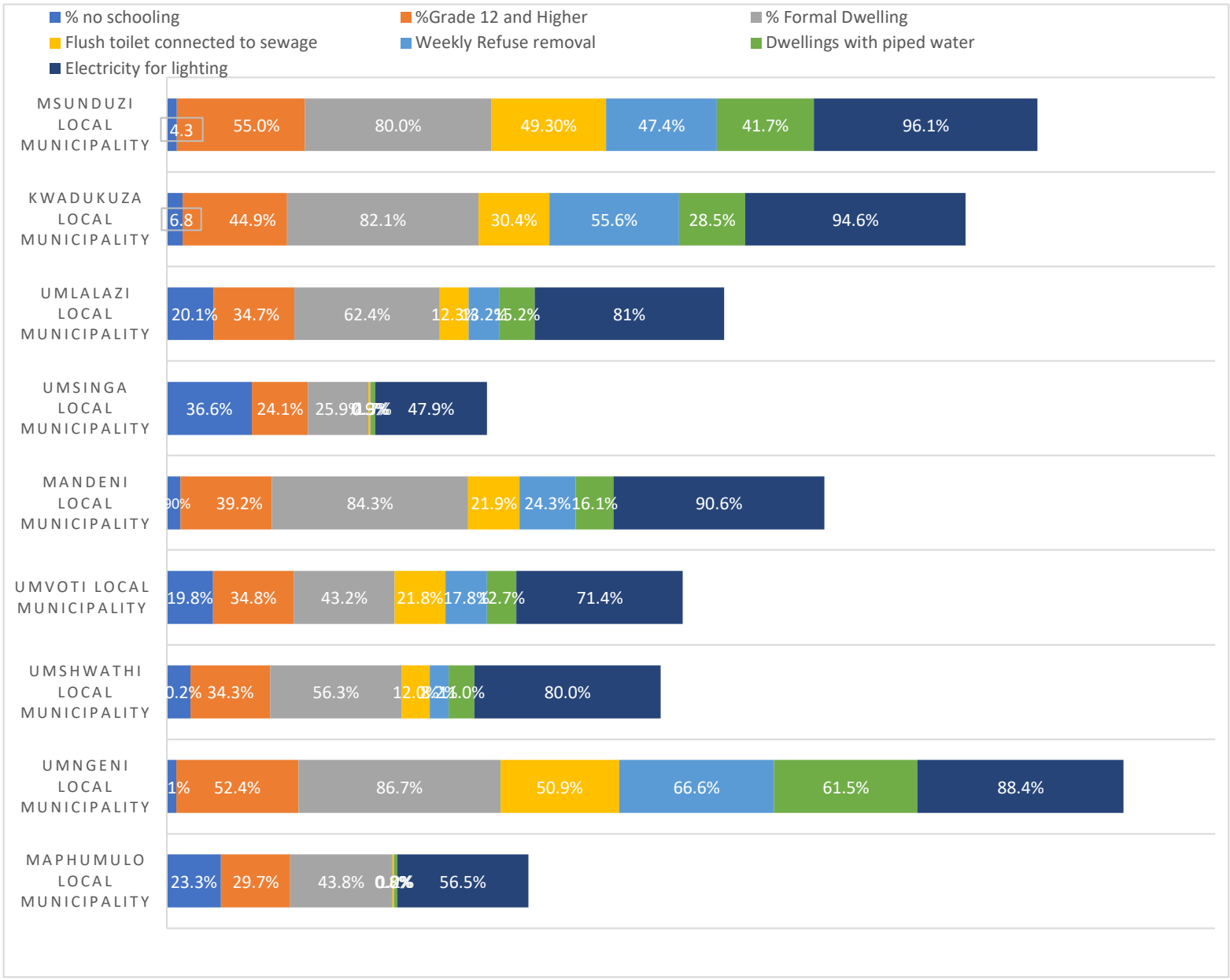


Figure 3.1 shows the distribution of socio-economic services in the municipalities falling within the study. These are primary socio-economic indicators that are important to understanding the socio-economic status of the communities studied. These indicators include schooling, type of dwelling, flush toilet connection to sewage, availability of piped water, refuse removal, and the availability of electricity for lighting that communities had

[10] Data adopted from: *https://municipalities.co.za/provinces/view/4/kwazulu-natal*; STATS SA Community survey (2016); Main and Muller (2019)

access to in 2016. These socio-economic indicators are a useful illustration of the status of service delivery in the municipalities and allow for a deeper understanding of the contextual surroundings of the research site. They provide a statistical picture of the development context the people of this study face in their particular geographical area.

There are noted divergences between the various socio-economic indicators that Figure 3.1 highlights. For example, *uMsunduzi*, *uMngeni* and *KwaDukuza* local municipalities fall within peri-urban areas and had some of the highest social service offerings. For instance, *uMsunduz*i, which encompasses Pietermaritzburg and *uMngen*i which borders Pietermaritzbur,gshows the highest water accessr. On the other hand, predominantly rural areas such as *uMsinga*, *Maphumulo*, *uMshwathi* and *uMvoti* had the least access to development services and infrastructure, for example, the least access to water and the highest population with no schooling. uMsinga, which is also the hub of KR listenership and has the largest listeners club branch stands out as having the least development services. Local municipalities that were neither peri-urban nor purely rural had average socio-economic indicators. This presents the disparity of service delivery in these communities, with rural communities remaining most burdened in terms of development-related services.

For example, in terms of education, rural areas such as *uMsinga*, *Maphumulo*, *uMlalaz*i, and *uMvoti* local municipalities had the highest percentages of people with no schooling in their municipalities. On the other hand, peri-urban areas such as *uMngeni*, *uMsunduzi*, *Mandeni*, and *KwaDukuza* had a lower percentage of people with no schooling (StatsSA, 2016). Additionally, with regards to the indicator presenting a percentage of those with grade 12 and higher, peri-urban areas such as UMsunduzi, uMngeni, KwaDukuza again had the highest percentages, while rural areas such as uMsinga, Maphumulo, UMshwathi and UMvoti lag and had the lowest percentages of community members with Grade 12 and Higher (Main and Muller, 2019).

A similar trend is visible in water services, with rural *uMsinga*, *UMvoti*, and *UMshwathi* facing the most water restrictions (StatsSA, 2016). Figure 3.1 thus charts a socio-economic landscape that is not even but crucial to laying out the contextual overview of the research.

These illustrations further serve as an important backdrop to understanding the socioeconomic characteristics of the community that is described in chapter 6. In presenting the development programmes and challenges communities face, these limitations to service delivery, such as water shortages and unemployment, are made more apparent in context.

Before proceeding with outlining the primary case study of Khwezi community radio station, a brief outline of the *KwaSizabantu* (KSB) Mission which is the backdrop against which Khwezi was formed and is its physical location is necessary. Radio Khwezi broadcasts from KSB Mission in Silverstream Farm, where Khwezi radio staff also reside.

3.2 KwaSizabantu Mission



Figure 3. 2: Khwezi location within *KwaSizabantu* mission (www.ksb.org.za)

Khwezi radio is located in KSB Mission close to the Cedar College of Education, *uMzinyathi* District, in KwaZulu-Natal, as Figure 3.2 shows. KSB mission is located between Stanger and Greytown, in *UMvoti* local municipality, in KwaZulu Natal[11]. The Mission has accommodation for over 7 000 people in various rooms, rondavels, and homes. People visit *KwaSizabantu* from different locations with multiple problems and needs, such as mental and psychological problems. Furthermore, the Mission opens itself up to visitors from across the world who often visit to gain spiritual upliftment and reconnect with their faith and serve the

[11] The data collection took place in 2019 and this study was not in any way associated with the allegations levelled against KSB in 2020.

community and surrounding communities at various levels that the Mission offers. The Mission is internationally recognized as a non-profit Christian institution seeking to help the needy. The name *KwaSizabantu* is isiZulu for "a place where people are helped". The work of the mission began in 1970, founded by Reverend Erlo Stegen, seeking to help people in terms of uplifting their livelihoods, with the primary aim of teaching them the Gospel and uplifting them spiritually.

When I took my first field visit to Khwezi radio in March 2019, I was startled by the remarkably vast, vibrant, multicultural, multifaceted set up of the Mission. KSB is located in a mountainous area and stands on an over 340-hectare farm surrounded by butter avocado trees used for export and a huge revenue contribution to the Mission. Moreover, the area is endowed with natural water springs that motivated the formation of the AQuellé water plant, which is a huge revenue generator and a source of employment for residents of *KwaSizabantu* and nearby communities as well. KSB further boasts several projects that keep the mission self-sustained, such as the large-scale farming and dairy factory. The mission also contributes to the community and individuals well-being, for instance, through skills development and mentorship, job creation, social support, rehabilitation, and especially spiritual upliftment.

3.3 Khwezi community radio station

Radio Khwezi is a community radio broadcasting station that began as a vision of Reverend ErIo Stegen for a small production house for recording sermons (Feyissa, 1999). In 1994, when the new Broadcast Act was amended to include public, commercial and community broadcasting, the station director applied to the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) for licensing, thus starting the community radio station. The radio station licensing was approved, and Radio Khwezi was officially on air on the 1st of September, 1995.

Radio Khwezi means "the morning star" in isiZulu, is reported to be the oldest and one of the most successful rural community radio stations in KwaZulu Natal.[12] The station currently broadcasts 95% of its programming in isiZulu and the remaining 5% in German, reaching a listenership of over 300 000 across the province. The station has been the recipient of many

12 Interviewee from the National Community Radio forum(NCRF, 04 September 2019

awards, including three National Department of Communications awards, including Best Community Station in KwaZulu Natal, Best National Drama Programme, Best National Disability Programme. It has also received Vodacom's Ten Years of Democracy Prize and the SABC's National award for Overall Community Radio Award in 2008.

Khwezi radio's primary aim is to work together with the rural communities it serves, develop, produce and broadcast quality programmes, educate, empower, mobilise, and uplift the social, economic, and spiritual lives of individuals, families, and communities. The station's vision is to contribute to a society in which all forms of poverty, discrimination, and injustice have been eradicated, and the marginalized rural community is empowered and mobilized to engage in their own development.[13]The primary objectives of the station include being a credible alternative to the public broadcaster for rural communities in KZN; producing ethical programming aimed to educate, empower and uplift communities; encouraging participation of communities in the station's activities; establishing partnerships with the community, CSOs, government and other community stakeholders; and promoting CRs role in supporting democracy, development, empowering communities, as well as, freedom of expression and combating discrimination and poverty in the country.[14]

13 https://www.khwezi.org.za

14 Ibid

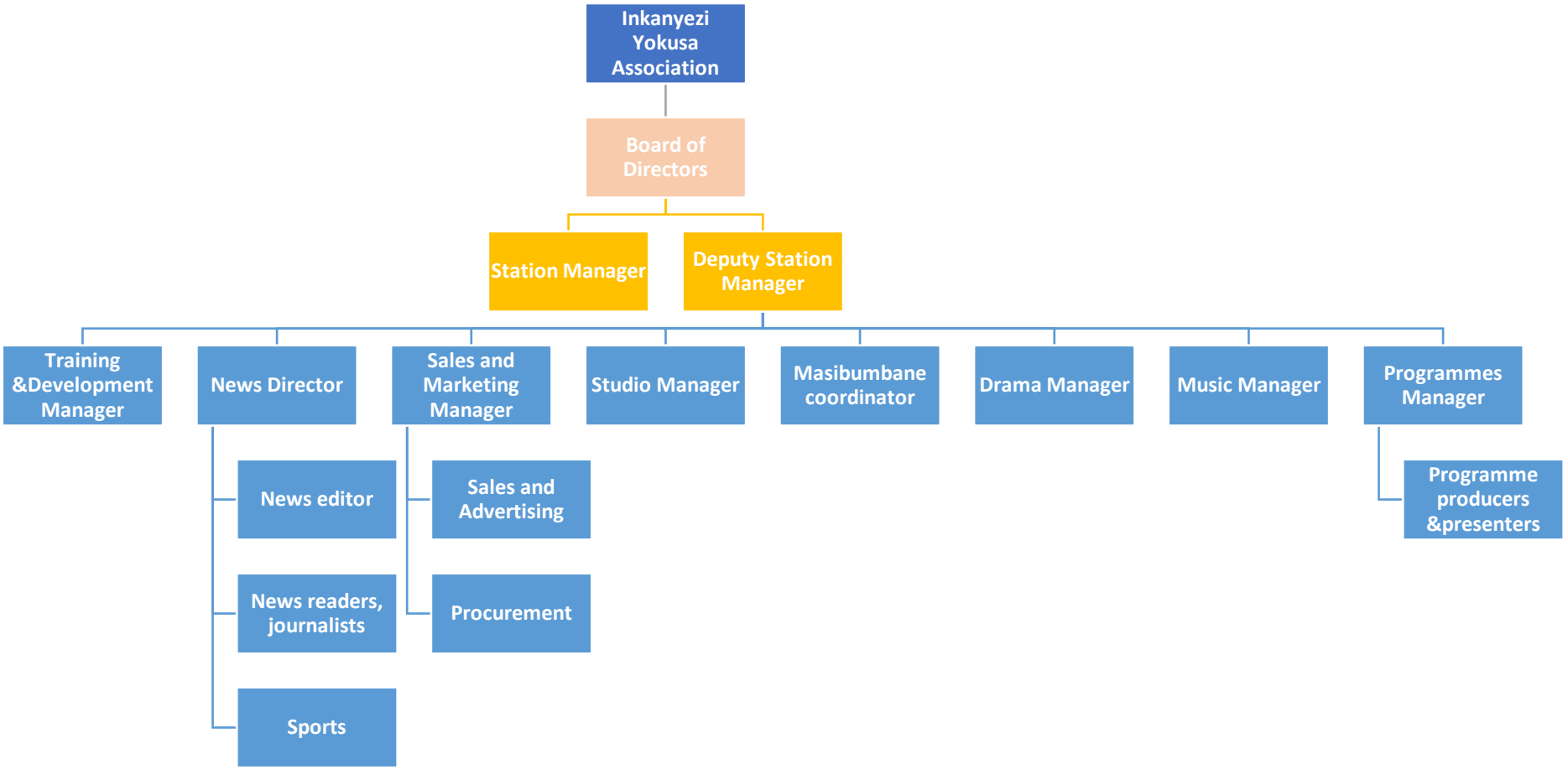


Figure 3. 3: Khwezi's organogram (The researcher’s illustration)

The community radio station is a formally structured organisation with 25-30 members, including those who work part-time and seasonally. The radio station staff get paid a stipend and receive accommodation and food from *KwaSizabantu* Mission. The organogram in Figure 3.3 illustrates radio Khwezi's organizational and staff structure, which includes: *Inkanyezi Yokusa* Association(The morning star association), The Board of the station, The Station management and its sub management which consists of The Station Manager and Deputy Station Manager, Training and Development, Programmes, the Newsroom, Studio Maintenance, the Sales and Marketing Division, *Masibumbane* coordination, Drama and the music departments.

Inkanyezi Yokusa Association essentially consists of the active listeners and contributors of Radio Khwezi. The association thus represents the community of listeners of the station at various levels. This is made up of listeners who were present from the inception of the radio station. Before the approval of its broadcasting license, community members were consulted, and after expressing interest in launching such a community radio station, their details were captured into a database. This database has recently been updated to include other community members who are actively involved in the station's work at present. These include representatives of MLC and other experts who contribute to the station's programming. These community members form part of the *Inkanyezi Yokusa* Association, which elect the Board of Directors. They are kept informed about the radio stations activities at the Annual General Meetings held in conjunction with the Board of Directors and Management of the station.



Figure 3. 4: Khwezi Community radio broadcasting footprint(www.Khwezi.org.za)

To better understand the interaction of Khwezi Community Radio station with the community (listeners) which it serves, the following section describes *Masibumbane* listener's club in more detail.

3.4 Masibumbane Listener's club (MLC)

Masibumbane Listener's Club (*MLC*) is a programme managed and initiated through radio Khwezi towards attaining its vision of contributing to empowering communities. The club consists of Radio Khwezi listeners who willingly join in supporting each other and jointly taking on Khwezi's Code of conduct and station messaging into developing themselves and their communities. The Listeners club was launched to ensure that listeners play a more meaningful role in the station's activities and can participate in Radio Khwezi programming.

Masibumbane listeners club at the time of the data collection had 54 branches spread across Radio Khwezi's listenership. While listeners' clubs' activities are autonomous and at the discretion of their members, they uphold the stations' values and vision. They are coordinated centrally by a coordinator that is a staff member of Khwezi Radio. The Listeners club branches

support the station's vision in their communities. This includes the role of Khwezi in developing communities through fighting against poverty, racism and injustice. Through the Listeners Club, the radio station seeks to empower rural communities that may otherwise be neglected from development initiatives. *Masibumbane* related activities take place in collaboration with Radio Khwezi. Moreover, members of MLC play a role in supporting the work of the station in their communities, such as when the station broadcasts live in the communities, for instance, during the annual Women's day event.

The main objectives of Masibumbane Listener's Club are:

- Developing communities through programmes that provide business skills and laws that are enabling
- Ensuring that news on the radio station is reported in a fair, unbiased and impartial manner
- Developing the listeners of the station and growing KRs listenership into a well-recognised station
- Ensuring a good relationship between Radio Khwezi and its listeners is maintained
- Encouraging the community to participate in Radio Khwezi's activities and role in building the community through supporting one another in deepening the roots towards achieving more significant impact
- For the community to assist the radio station in supporting democracy, empowerment and ensuring communities have the freedom to express their views in fighting all forms of poverty and racism[15]

MLC members commit themselves to live according to the core values and lifestyle promoted by Radio Khwezi. This includes promoting laws that build the societal moral fibre through radio programmes that enable and empower communities to be self-sustaining and fostering social support and a sense of community amongst individuals through community members supporting one another to ensure development impact.

The Listeners Club members subscribe to the following values: determination and dedication; working together (participation) for the common good; respecting diversity and aiming for unity; ensuring high standards are maintained in whatever members are engaged in;

[15] Stipulated in the MLC Code of conduct

being trustworthy as to do everything satisfactorily. Interested members are then required to complete and sign a membership form as part of the registration process. Moreover, this form explains the details pertaining to the Listener's Club, including the views and lifestyle, values, objectives, ambitions and the code of conduct. A copy of this form is attached in Appendix 7. A joining fee of 50 –R is the membership fee and is paid upon joining; this earns one a membership badge. Membership to MLC can be terminated upon members breaching the code of conduct and disrespecting the values that they commit to when they join.

3.5 A typical day at Khwezi radio station

Each day at KR is abuzz with different activities, and staff are engaged at various levels contributing to supporting the programming, maintenance, and general running of the station. Khwezi on-air programmes can be categorised as multi-orientated and versatile in nature. For example, the daily breakfast and afternoon drive shows airing during peak times consist of entertainment, motivational speaking, music, sports and news reports.

The station further has programming which fosters social relations between families and communities more broadly. The objective is to provide essential economic, socio-psycho support and facilitate interaction and cohesion within social structures such as families, formal and informal associations, including community groups, particularly the MLC. Moreover, a range of KR programmes focus on spiritual upliftment, including the frequent playing of gospel music on the station.

Programming promoting culture and heritage is done mainly through the drama department. As radio Khwezi is one of the few community radios in KZN endowed with drama recording facilities, radio dramas recorded at the station are also a daily feature. The drama topics range from life lessons and skills; educational entertainment (edutainment), including, amongst others, focusing on challenges youth face; human rights. The drama stories ensure listeners can relate to the situations and characters portrayed while being informed and entertained.

The German hour is a show broadcasting in German to the community of German listeners within KR's broadcasting frequencies. It takes place every day, from 14h00-15h00. The hour is another noteworthy means of preserving German culture and heritage. It presents German folk and music and preserves the German language that the community of listeners appreciate. Including the daily German hour in a predominantly Zulu speaking cultural setting could more than likely be attributed to the station's founder being of German descent.

News, current affairs and sports also forms part of the programmes' focus. The newsroom holds the responsibility for all news bulletins, current affairs, and sports updates presented on KR. Kwezi radio station is live from 4 am to 11 pm, after which it automatically switches to the British Broadcasting Channel (BBC) for the rest of the night. In this study, the researcher was most interested in development-related programming and concentrated on MLC, which are now described in more detail.

3.5.1 Programming promoting social relations in the community

A: Strengthening the family structure

Kwelethu ikhaya (*in our home*) programme airs on weekdays from 11h05-13h00 and focuses on homely discussions. The show consists of the presenter sharing information with listeners relating to hygiene, healthy living, mentorship, for example, in the workplace, sharing different kitchen tips such as recipes, household solutions, exercise tips and other features relating to living a healthy lifestyle. The discussion topics are often determined by the listeners' requests for the presenter to feature on upcoming shows and seasonal themes, such as environmental day or National energy month. Some discussions centre on health matters such as bipolar and other psychological disorders. Discussions around financial issues are also prominent on the station with the feature ***kwezezimali*** (*money talk*) with financial advisor guests taking listeners through how to draw up a budget, talk about debt, and share financial tips on how to save money.

B: A focus on women

An hour of the families' programme often discusses issues relating to or affecting women. These issues discussed centre on women's rights and how women are taking charge of their families. Sometimes the focus is centred on talking to widows and encouraging them in their day to day lives. Women generally share their different experiences on-air and encourage one another to strive to be the best that they can be because women are capable of anything.

C: Community inclusion

Makubekhona ukukhanya (*let there be light*), airing from 12h30-13h00 on Mondays and Tuesdays, is dedicated to people with disabilities. It has a heightened focus on integrating people with disabilities into society, for instance, how the blind can live a fulfilling life despite one's shortcomings. The programme seeks to raise awareness at a broader community level on treating people with disabilities of different forms with respect and fairness. It teaches listeners that even people with disabilities have skills and abilities that add value to society, and hence stigma should be stopped at all costs. They share how different disabilities face their challenges, as well as ways to conquer them and excel despite the limitations they may pose. The show is presented by a presenter who is blind, who often refers to his life experiences and lessons. It usually also has experts who have faced challenges that motivate listeners in their various challenges. *Makubekhona ukukhanya* also airs from 16h00–16h30 on Sundays.

Another programme promoting social inclusion in the community mainly through reconciliation is ***Sibuyisa isizwe*** (*we are bringing back the nation*) which airs from 13h05-14h00 on Saturdays. It focuses on bringing back those who may have diverted one way or the other from general society. This mainly includes prisoners whose families may be battling with forgiving their loved ones and may not have imagined giving them support and reintegrating them when they return. The programme focuses on sharing encouragement and words of wisdom to support the reintegration of these groups of people into society with their families and reconciliation with those they may have harmed.

D: Social interaction through on-air greetings

Programming facilitating greetings between listeners in different geographical locations are common phenomena on KR. Some programmes have this as a central feature, like ***wokhonz'ekhaya*** (*greet those at home*) and ***vuka uzithathe*** (*wake up and take on the world)*. ***Wokhonz'ekhaya*** (*greet those at home*). From 11h05 –12h00 on Saturdays, an opportunity is presented for listeners to call in or communicate either through SMS, WhatsApp or Facebook to pass customised greetings to loved ones at home. The greetings programme is very interactive, with the presenter facilitating the jovial greetings with occasional music playing. ***Vuka uzithathe*** *(wake up and take the world on!*) takes place from 4-5 am and is a listeners' greetings show which involves listeners that are awake at that time calling in to show that they are up and listening, and also to say good morning and wake other listeners up. The presenter uses part of the show to receive calls from and engage with listeners' greetings and general comments relevant on that day.

3.5.2 Community centric programming: *Itafula likaMasibumbane*

The *Masibumbane* show is a 'community-centric show which airs is on Sundays from 19h05–21h30, consisting of presenters from KR and *Masibumbane* coordinators from different branches (on a rotational basis). This is a show dedicated to listeners that are part of the *Masibumbane* Listeners Club (MLC). The *Masibumbane* show outline variates depending on the week. The group of presenters on each Sunday show typically introduce themselves and are referred to as "*itafula*" (*the Masibumbane table*). The presenters usually change weekly as different MLC branches can be represented on the show.

Although, there can be some presenters from KR each week without a change. The presenters introduce themselves in a jovial manner using their Masibumbane name, *itafula*, a nickname that they have given themselves and used by fellow MLC members. Listeners from the different Masibumbane members call in and greet the MLC "table" members acknowledging those present on that particular day. The listeners appreciate what is "adding flavour" decorating the MLC table "*lihlobe ngani itafula*" (This refers to the "flowers" around the Masibumbane table,

i.e., the characteristics or descriptions of the people around the table on that particular day). This gesture appreciates the diversity of the different characteristics of members of the Masibumbane table in anticipation for what the listeners will gain from the MLC representatives on air in a particular show. Listeners call in and make contributions throughout the programming. These can include recognising the characteristics of the presenters, such as their age group, their skills, expertise or abilities and backgrounds, and highlighting the diversity or non-diversity, strengths and or limitations of the "*itafula*". This is somewhat an informal way of acknowledging the presenters and demonstrating approval for what will be discussed for the rest of the show.

The presenters then have a discussion topic where they invite listeners to call in and participate. The *Masibumbane* show has a lot of time dedicated to listeners from different branches greeting each other and wishing each other well. The MLC coordinators are granted a chance to call in with any announcements to their branch members, e.g., invitations to upcoming activities. The show is also used to plan, update one another, and share around group activities across MLC branches. During the show, birthday announcements and well wishes are also presented each month for MLC members. There is also a celebration of new members who call in expressing interest in joining the MLC. Presenters shout "*joiniiii*" to show appreciation and to welcome new *Masibumbane* members.

3.5.3 “We are building the nation.”

The weekly development programmes slot takes place from 19h05-20h00 on weekdays. The nature of the development programming varies across the days of the week and is in three main parts: Mondays and Tuesdays are the ***Sakh'isizwe*** (developing or building the nation) shows: Wednesdays and Thursdays include ***ezolimo nomnotho*** (Agriculture and the economy) primarily comprising of the Agricultural shows on the station. Finally, Fridays encompass the ***umthetho uthi*** (the law says) show. Several partnerships are in place to support the content of the development programmes, such as the show "e***zolimo nomnotho***", which is in collaboration with and sponsored by PANNAR seed.

On Mondays, a range of development issues are discussed on air, usually informed by the season and what is pertinent and relevant at that time. As a KR presenter stated.

> "I think about the topics. Perhaps through looking at seasons – farming seasons so I have to think along those lines, e.g., when it's time to prepare the soil for planting, the show has to dwell on that." (IDI, KR Staff, 05 April 2019)

Additionally, KR receives invites from different organisations in the community that are working on particular issues of community development, for instance, gender awareness campaigns. KR participates in such activities and can record the primary takeaways and then communicate with listeners. Such information is then shared on-air during this programme.

The programme with community leaders, rotating in monthly cycles, takes the development programming slot on Tuesdays. KR currently works with four mayors (2 district and two local municipalities), and these each takes 30 minutes of this show once a month. The show involves the mayor (or district mayor) coming live on the station to discuss progress regarding development projects in the concerned communities. They also report on completed projects and projects that are still pending. The focus is mainly on the successes and challenges encountered with the implementation of the different development projects. Following this presentation, the telephone lines, Facebook and WhatsApp communication channels are open to allow listeners to call in and ask the mayors any direct questions relating to their communities. The mayoral slots are also an opportunity for listeners to clarify any information regarding the ongoing projects in their communities, thus offering an accountability mechanism between community members and their leaders.

Occasionally, on Tuesdays with no mayoral slots assigned, the presenter holds personal finance discussions. The finance discussions involve looking at financial and personal finance issues such as savings and investment and providing guidance on developing good financial skills and practice such as budgeting and investments capabilities. The personal finance

programme has been recognised and awarded runners' up in the personal finance category of the Sanlam Financial Journalism Awards in 2018. The KR presenter partners with expert financial planners and advisers to enrich the content for the show.

The ***Ezolimo nomnotho*** *(*Agriculture and the economy) programme takes up the Wednesday and Thursday development programming slots. Wednesdays have different agriculture features and discussions, while Thursdays are dedicated to PANNAR seed company. Wednesday discussions are also seasonally influenced, with different expert contributions. This sometimes takes the form of having a representative from the Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment sharing appropriate information with listeners on various farming techniques. For example, farming techniques such as crop rotation, for instance, moving between growing maize and growing soya beans to preserve soil nutrition, and harvest techniques are discussed. Sometimes individual experts from the community can share expertise on the programme. For instance, the presenter noted:

> There's a lady who also gives us information. We've been working on the issue of promoting organic farming, she provides excellent advice, and we get such good responses. Because when you practice organic farming, there's no need for you to keep applying different chemicals to crops. So, she promotes growing crops in the traditional way, and there's also a market for that (IDI, KR Staff, 05 April 2019).

PANNAR seed provides technical support to rural farmers on agricultural expertise through KR. The show's presenter presents different information depending on the planting season, e.g., which crops produce good yields during the rainy season and guidance on which seed to use. They use the KR platform to sell seeds to listeners and provide group discounts where possible to community cooperatives that may be interested in agricultural start-ups. As was explicitly explained by a participant from the organisation:

> We provide technical support to farmers, from planting, to harvesting, to marketing; that's what we do. We also tell them of the various programs or practices available for them that they can

> use. The program is about information sharing, teaching and training farmers, and linking them to other markets. (KII, PANNAR representative, 08 August 2019)

Umthetho uthi (The law says) on Fridays holds discussions that aim to educate and inform listeners about the law and their rights as a form of guidance. As a presenter on the show explained.

> On Fridays, we talk about the law, for instance. When it comes to claiming for Road accidents, many listeners have been able to make claims who previously didn't know how to claim. Now they know what to do. (IDI, KR Staff, 05 April 2019)

As shown, KR offers a cocktail of development programming ranging from interaction with community leaders on community development to farming, financial savviness, human rights, women empowerment and mentorship.

3.6 Conclusion

In summary, the chapter has presented an overview of the research setting of this study, looking at the location, foundation and objectives of Khwezi radio. It has also presented a brief outline of the listeners, focusing on MLC, which is the centre of the community in this study. The chapter further examined what a typical day at KR involves, focusing on development-related programming, which encapsulates the study's interest. The socioeconomic challenges presented highlight some of the development needs that the KR community of listeners face. Moreover, the presentation of KR's context and offerings outlines a synopsis of the station's potential in the community of listeners. This creates a valuable backdrop to understanding the relevance of the station in improving the listener` livelihoods. We return to the community setting in a preamble to the research findings in chapter six.

The following chapter outlines the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This chapter details the theoretical framework and the concepts relevant to the research to illustrate their interrelatedness. The chapter begins with a background and outline highlighting the historical overview of development theories that inform the participatory development communication (devcom) disposition relevant to this study. It presents an outline of the post-development paradigm and the emergence of the participatory development discourse and its relevance in this research. An analysis of the limitations of participatory development communication is also presented, followed by a statement of the theoretical perspective adopted by this study to examine power in micro contexts. The chapter further explores the power dynamics inherent at the micro-level and how they interact with spaces of participation and affect social change. This consequently means looking at how communities and individuals manoeuvre different facets of power over in a quest to achieve transformative power.

Several concepts emerged from the theoretical framework and guided the research's analytical and interpretive framework. Consequently, the chapter will define and unpack these fundamental concepts as follows; ***community, community radio, development as social change***, ***empowerment (including power)***, ***participator***y ***development communication,*** and ***invited and invented space(s) of participation.*** The chapter will look at the relevance of these concepts to the study how they have been applied in similar studies, noting the gaps that this study seeks to address.

4.1 Historical overview of development theories and the emergence of development communication media

This section delves into a discussion of key development theories from the 1950s to the1990s. It is set within the backdrop of the media's role in development and how this relationship has progressed within each development paradigm, from top-down to more bottom-up approaches. Development theories are relevant to understanding the shifting roles that communication through media has played in development. In this way, the research strives to

show how participatory communication emerged after decades of such media being aligned to traditional forms of development. Typically, communication media was top-down and primarily used to inform and not dialogic as in the case with participatory development communication with which this study is concerned. It is worth acknowledging the role that media has played, from as far back as the 1950s and even to the present, in being a tool able to shift people's attitudes. However, the emergence of participatory communication, through channels such as CRs, has shifted the nature of communication to dialogue and shared knowledge that enables local communities to participate in their development concerns.

The historical overview of the developmental theories presented here illustrates the contested nature of theorising development origins and how it can be measured. Therefore, there is a lack of consensus among scholars as to what stream of development theory should take precedence over another. It is also nearly impossible to understand the history of development communication without appreciating the prominent role developmental theories occupy in Africa's developmental discourse. Although there are numerous conceptions of development theories, it is not in the interests of this study to detail all of them.

Subsequently, for this research, attention is given to the development theories associated with communications and mass media; that is, the interest is in the origins and the state of development in so far as communication is concerned. The participatory development and development communication paradigms are relevant as a theoretical focus for this study. Despite the contentions that may exist in the field of development communication, it is universally accepted that the foundation scholars of the field were Lerner (1958), Rogers (1983) and Schramm (1964). These scholars laid the foundation for an understanding of the role of communication in creating change in societies.

The following sections present five historical trajectories in the emergence of communication development theories. This section highlights the relevant communications theories from the 1960s to more current development paradigms that led to the creation of development communication. The chapter concludes with a justification for using participatory

development communication theory alongside a transformative micro power lens in explaining the contribution of community media to development.

4.1.1 The 1950s-60s: Emergence of the modernisation theory: Vertical communication through mass media on the rise

Development theories emerged as former colonial regimes increasingly concerned themselves with developing the "underdeveloped" societies emancipated from colonial rule (Melkote, 1991). The first significant period was predominated by the modernisation theories, which Melkote (1991) terms the dominant paradigm. This saw the prominence of modernization arguments in shaping the development discourse (Durkheim (1933); Hagen (1963); Lerner (1958); Rogers (1976); Schramm (1954); Weber (2009). Modernization theories viewed development from the perspective of the former colonial empire. They regarded the 'first' world as resembling the ideal modern structure that only had to be emulated in less developed countries so that they would abandon their traditional structures that were deemed futile (Lerner, 1958; Melkote, 1991; Schram, 1954). Modernisation supported the view that copying the approaches and accomplishments of the West would enable development in newly independent nations because it regarded its society as the standard of what modern society looked like (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). Development was seen as equivalent to the modernity of the West. In essence, modernisation theory created a binary division of the global system that was characterized by a top-down relationship between the centres of modern progress and the peripheries of traditional backwardness (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). Also prominent during the modernisation period was the focus on development as economic growth such that most 'third' world problems were diagnosed as economic in nature (Melkote, 1991).

Communication was recognised as a tool for change within this epoch, and the mass media, therefore, became a defender of modernisation ideologies. Schramm's (1964) top-down approach argued that governments should own development and invest in mass media. His text became a practical guide to governments on the crucial role of mass media in creating a better life for citizens, with "better life" being understood through Lerner's (1958) "modernisation" thesis. Conversely, in the 1970s to 80s, Schramm's (1964) account faced

criticism as governments increasingly doubted the impact of mass media on the future of their countries (McAnany, 2012).

It is also worth noting that mass media was viewed as powerful and effective towards achieving development during this modernisation era. This idea was supported by the diffusion of innovations approach, which viewed communication as the necessary route for change from traditional to modern society. Mass media were considered important vehicles of transferring new ideas from the 'developed' nations to the 'third' world as information was considered the missing link in development trajectory (Lerner, 1958; Melkote, 1991). The impact of mass media was viewed as direct, powerful and uniform on individuals. Theories such as bullet theory and hypodermic needle theory were used to describe the direct, one-way flow of information and the powerful effect of mass media on audiences (ibid).

4.1.2 Late 1960s to the 1970s: Dependency and World-Systems theories of development: Media's effectiveness questioned

The second development period consisted of the dependency paradigm of development sparked by the dissatisfaction and pessimism at the rate and nature of development in former colonial nations and the gradual weakening of the modernisation paradigm. Modernisation theories were particularly critiqued for their Eurocentric nature that promoted European superiority and supposed innate intelligence (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). Modernisation was further critiqued for its ahistoricism as it perceived societies as having the same history and thus able to go through the same stage of development they had gone through. Moreover, Andre Gunder Frank (1966) critiqued the dual society thesis, which classified societies into modern and traditional; he argued that the economic, political, social and cultural institutions of so-called underdeveloped countries resulted from the penetration of capitalism.

The dependency theory argued that Europe's development was based on external destruction, notably brutal conquest and colonial control that stripped non-Western societies of their people, resources, and surpluses (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). Henceforth, the relationship between centre and periphery assumed a spatial form of dependence in which the dominant

countries achieved self-sustaining economic growth. In contrast, dependence grew in periphery countries that only reflected the development changes in the dominant ones (Santos, 1970). Through the "development of underdevelopment" hypothesis articulated by Frank (1966), the underdevelopment of the 'third' world was seen as a consequence of the development of the developed world. Thus, the period was marked by and critiqued for its exploitation of the third world (Melkote, 1991).

Information originating from the West was regarded as having more status, credibility and therefore was considered more informative than knowledge from the South. This resulted in a cycle of dependency on the West, at the expense of undermining and oppressing the resources and possibilities in the other parts of the world, referred to during this period as the 'third' world. Notably, during the dependency phase, the power and effectiveness of mass media for development became questionable, given that its challenges, which affected its effectiveness, had been predetermined by the West. These included mass media's potential to widen, rather than lessen, knowledge gaps between the rich and the poor, its potential of striking down revolution caused by rising frustrations of 'third' world citizens and its dependence on environmental factors. Additionally, the diffusion for innovation model came under scrutiny for its failure to uplift developing societies, given the noted bias of media messages and decisions (Melkote, 1991). However, dependency theories were criticized for emphasizing economic rather than social, cultural, and political contexts within which development took place. Thus, the dependency paradigm did not demonstrate much progression from the modernization grounding (Peet & Hartwick, 2015; Willis, 2011).

Like Dependency theory, Wallerstein's World Systems theory also explained development through an economic lens. It demonstrated that inequality in the world economic structure existed because of the unequal relations between the peri, semi-periphery, and core. Wallerstein (1974) approach sought to provide insight into the emergence and development of capitalism, industrialism and nation-states through an analysis of the world economy structured on the exploitation of less developed countries (the periphery) by the developed (the core) (Sorinel, 2010). Wallerstein (1974) saw the core, semi-periphery and periphery as

non-static. Between them lay unequal power relations and hierarchy as the periphery and semi-periphery remained dependent on the core. He further described the core countries as having efficient, complex production systems and high levels of capital accumulation and being administratively well organised. In contrast, peripheral countries had the opposite characteristics and semi-peripheral combined elements (Peet & Hartwick, 2015).

Wallerstein's application has some relevance in national economies, particularly in unequal societies like South Africa. Here, the linkages between the developed core of the South African economy and the poorer, former Bantustan areas[16] that provided labour and sometimes raw materials for the core are evident. For example, most of the labour for the mining and manufacturing sectors is typically drawn from these underdeveloped, formerly Bantustan regions. The World-systems theory in time declined in significance. Critiques were directed at the approach, particularly focusing on state-level action while ignoring the local level processes and its narrow Eurocentric focus (Willis, 2011).

4.1.3 The 1970s: Alternative conceptions of development: media's shifting role from direct influencers of change to indirect agents of reinforcement of change

The 1970s saw the rise in critiques of the traditional development theories, primarily modernisation and other development paradigms that failed to explain development processes in the 'third' world. It became more widely accepted that the traditional development theories could not explain the status of development that led to alternative conceptions of development to be sought. Willis (2011) further critiqued these traditional development theories as they focused primarily on economic perspectives of development that used economic indicators such as the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gini Coefficient of countries to measure development. These types of flaws led to the conceptualization of other forms of development (Melkote, 1991).

[16] Most of the study was conducted in former Bantustan rural municipalities in KwaZulu Natal.

More research emerged that alluded to the weak nature of mass media affecting important and attitudinal changes among receivers during this period. Thus, the role of mass media became seen as indirect and agents of reinforcement instead of agents of behaviour change. Increasingly, evidence showed that individuals were not just defenceless targets to persuasive information given that their perception, exposure, and retention of information were influenced by their individual beliefs, values, culture and other dispositions (Melkote, 1991).

4.1.4 The 1980s: Emergence of people-centred, grassroots approaches of development: The shift to participatory communication as an agent of development

The fourth period, during the 1980s, was primarily marked by a drive for conceptualising development in more contextualized approaches for societal needs. Moreover, there was a shift from focusing on economic growth and industrialization of the modernization era to a more people-centric focus. Developmentalists increasingly recognised the limits in investing solely in industrial societies, especially since it produced only marginal returns. Moreover, the traditional development approaches had centred on top-down notions of development, which favoured political elites and ignored ordinary people's demands (Gardner & Lewis, 1996). This sparked the growing need to give communities opportunities to define their own developmental goals (Melkote, 1991).

There was also a move to emphasizing non-material indicators of development such as self-determination, self-reliance, and cultural autonomy, maintaining ecological balance, and placing emphasis on human rights. A notable shift was the emergence of the new paradigm, which Melkote calls "the new development", which was characterized by paying attention to people's basic needs and emphasising participatory democracy (Melkote, 1991). This involved a more bottom-up focus and approaches supporting the growing decentralisation of development in the 1980s away from state-driven development practices (Willis, 2011).

In response to these new conceptualisations of development, an understanding of development is more than just the aggregate number of goods and services in a domestic

economy (GDP) and an understanding of how livelihoods were affected by economic growth. Institutions like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) led the design of the Human Development Index (HDI) in the late 1980s (Sen, 2001; Willis, 2011). The HDI incorporated three dimensions of understanding development in human beings' wellbeing: a long and healthy life, education and knowledge, and a decent standard of living. These indicators shifted the thinking from wholly economic perspectives of development towards recognising other social factors related to people's overall wellbeing. Its indices, however, remained quantitative thus, its measurements came under reproach (Willis, 2011). Moreover, the HDI received criticism for not taking into cognisance the contexts of development (i.e. how people conceive development in their terms) (Friedmann, 1992). Other approaches to people-centric development that continued to gain prominence in the field include Sen's capability approach and development as freedom (Sen, 1993; Sen, 2014); Participatory development (Mohan, 2002) and approaches such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (Chambers, 1994a).

Shifts within communication in this period involved a budding departure from top-down approaches towards using communication to conscientize local people to their needs and problems. Communication was seen as an essential tool to diagnose community problems and a valuable vehicle for community participation (Melkote, 1991). With the idea of self-development on the rise, there was increased emphasis on bottom-up flows of communication between people, which involved having joint discussions instead of simply giving people information. Communication channels gained prominence in playing crucial roles in initiating dialogue between users and sources and promoting dialogue (Schramm, 1977).

4.1.5 The late 1980s to 1990s: From Post-development to participation as the "buzzword" of development: Community radios as platforms of participatory development communication

The post-development scholarship grew in prominence in the 1980s due to dissatisfaction with conventional development paradigms marked by limited results and built on Eurocentric ideologies. Post developmentalism involved a radical response to economic and social development dilemmas in developing countries (Pieterse, 2000, p. 339). Post-development theories are situated within critical social theory and advocate for the ability to critique and

change society instead of traditional approach that focuses on understanding or explaining society. Proponents of these theories critiqued traditional development notions as statements of power designed by a Western development discourse. They thus sought to challenge these ideologies as they were worried that the promise of development had not brought relief to many parts of the world. Instead, many nations continued to deteriorate and had massive impoverishment, exploitation, repression, poverty, and different forms of violence (Escobar, 2005; Sidaway, 2002). They challenged the way development was conceived and practised and its disregard, rather than recognition for indigenous development approaches (Willis, 2011). As a result, Post developmentalism sought to offer alternative conceptions to development that would transform underdevelopment. Some of the prominent of these scholars include Biccum (2005), Crush (1995), Rahnema (1990, 1997), Sachs (1992), Escobar (1997, 2005), Esteva and Prakash (1998) and Kothari (2005). Consequently, post-development theories highlight the need for development to focus on local communities' needs and not be a mere response to imposed forms of development.

However, several scholars (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; S. Melkote & H. L. Steeves, 2015; Mohan, 2002; Mohan & Hickey, 2004; 2011) note the limitations and contestations surrounding post-development. In particular, these theories neglect grassroots activities and participation and have remained largely a theoretical phenomenon. Nevertheless, it has also been noted that while post-developmentalists challenge development theories, they have not suggested apparent alternatives besides the suggestion to focus on grassroots communities (Willis, 2011).

Development from the 1990s to the present have been marked by the increased recognition of the importance of bottom-up approaches, anchored on people's participation in addressing their development needs which was neglected by the traditional development approaches (Melkote, 1991). Furthermore, whilst participation has been emphasized in development, it has not been successfully applied in practice in many instances. As Cooke and Kothari argue, it has not practically delivered on its promises. In some cases, it has reproduced the power structures it seeks to challenge (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Moreover, whilst Mohan and Hickey (2004) recognize the importance of participation and situate it under the post-

development discourse, they caution that it can also trigger fragmentation instead of ensuring transformative participation and provide an alternative people-centric development. They mainly guide against "sanitizing" discourses with alternatives that could be prone to denying people agency (ibid). Consequently, the dangers of some participatory initiatives being tyrannical and not presenting genuine participation to the less powerful but serving the more powerful interests are noted by Cooke and Kothari (2001).

Table 4.1 summarises this section's discussion by providing a brief overview of the key development timeframes, significant milestones, and development communication implications. The researcher has broadly adopted these from Melkote (1991), Servaes (2001) and Willis (2011).

Table 4. 1: Summary of key development and communication milestones in relation to the study

Period	Key development Milestone(s)	Implications for development communication
1.First phase of Development: The 1950s-60s	• The dominant paradigm: modernization and dependency theories influenced the understanding of development. • Emphasis on economic growth and following the Eurocentric model	• The dominance of models of mass media as having a direct and powerful effect on audiences. (e.g., bullet theory, diffusion of innovations theory) • Mass media's role seen as agents of modernization in the 3rd world • The role of the government in promoting mass media highlighted. • Communication was vertical, authority-based and primarily top-down.
2.Second phase of development: The 1970s	• Dissatisfaction with the top-down, capital intensive nature of development • Development centred on the exploitation of the developing nations (development of underdevelopment hypothesis) • The weakness of the dominant paradigm	• Challenges identified with mass media for development purposes • Weaknesses identified with diffusions of innovations
3.The rise of critiques on dominant development paradigm, Alternative conceptions of development: The late 1970s	• Criticisms levelled at the modernization paradigm • Loss of credibility of the neoclassical economic model of development • Rising need/reflection on the need for active participation of people at the grassroots • Encouragement of self-determination and reliance, freedom from dependency. • Increased emphasis on meeting people's basic needs	• New roles for communication media in development • Shifting role of communication as a catalyst for change rather than the sole cause • Recognition of communication strategies addressing knowledge gaps between the rich and poor.
4.Third development decade, Emergence of new theories of	• The insurgence of the New development/participatory development paradigm	• Media's role as ensuring knowledge sharing on a co-equal basis between senders and receivers

development: The 1980s	• Greater focus on participation in decision making, the rise of grassroots approaches, considerations of local context and indigenous knowledge • Pluralistic, open-ended and culture-sensitive models of development • Greater awareness of the importance of gender considerations in development	• The right to communicate emphasized • Participatory communication highlighted
5. The fourth: The 1990s- current period Participatory approaches	• Increased emphasis on the role of people in development initiatives • The role of culture in development recognized; increased awareness on the effects that development has on different social and cultural groups • Participatory action research and empowerment strategies • Increased engagement with globalization • Sustainable development era	• An increased favour of participatory approaches in development communication • Participatory communications media such as community media increasingly recognized as crucial development media • Development communication viewed through the lens of the empowerment framework

In summary, development theories gradually led to more inclusive and participatory forms of development and increased recognition of development communication in people-centred development. The following section provides a more in-depth look at the underlying theoretical framework guiding the research.

4.2 Theoretical framework of the research: Participatory development communication within a power lens

Development communication emerged from a traditional Eurocentric background and moved towards more participatory forms of development. This section looks specifically at the theoretical framework relevant to this study: participatory development theory and development communication referred to as participatory development communication.

The research recognizes the importance of using a power lens to better understand how participatory development communication results in social change, which is of central interest to the study. Adding a power analysis helps the study unpack the research question that examines community radio's role in social change. The study argues that participation, development communication, and community are crucial aspects of ensuring empowerment amongst individuals and, more, so communities are achieved. Social change and the analysis of the power relations that people manoeuvre within spaces of participation is also an important consideration of this research and must be unpacked.

4.2.1 Participatory development theory

Several studies have noted the prominence of a participatory approach to development (Dagron, 2009; Lennie & Tacchi, 2013; Servaes, 2001). Consequently, participation is a critical concept in development communication that scholars refer to as participatory development communication (Bessette, 1996, 2004; Boafo, 2006; Yoon, 1996). The following section describes these notions and highlights the centrality of participation within development.

Participatory development (PD) theory is a dominant school of thought emanating from the post-developmental period. PD gained significance in the 1970s as a response to observations that traditional approaches to development that were inherently top-down approaches failed to reduce poverty significantly and empower poor and marginalized people (De Campos Guimarães, 2009). Traditional development paradigms, particularly modernization, dependency, world systems schools of thought, had failed to explain the state of development. For instance, regions such as the Asian tigers that had been classified as undeveloped were experiencing rapid industrialization and booming economically, contrary to these theories' conceptualizations (Willis, 2011).

The participatory development paradigm took centre stage as a theory that emphasised indigenous populations' role and active participation in development processes (Chikozho, 2013). A key characteristic of participatory development involves creating a sense of ownership for community members partaking in development initiatives. PD operates under the

assumption that when the less privileged contribute their services, resources, ideas to a project, they feel a sense of responsibility for and control over development initiatives (Bessette, 2004; Osikhena & Chikadzi, 2014; Shah & Baporikar, 2012). Participatory development also gained popularity as a theory that moved from economically focused definitions of development to encompass social and political dimensions such as education, health and gender equality (Chikozho, 2013). This progression in the understanding of development saw a move away from theories that were primarily influenced by modernisation, that was intent on focusing on industrial and capital-intensive growth. Through PD, the role of human capital was increasingly acknowledged as a critical player in creating efficient industries, which also saw the incorporation of social and cultural dimensions of development (Willis, 2011).

The theoretical origins of participation development can be traced back to Paulo Freire in the early 1970s (Darder, 2014). Freire's main ideas that contributed to PD are based on his critical expose "the pedagogy of the oppressed" in which the role of education in combating the struggle of oppression is emphasized. Freire, 1970 as cited in Darder (2014) argues that every human being, no matter how 'ignorant' or submerged in the 'culture of silence, is capable of looking critically at his world, and that, provided with the proper tools, he can gradually perceive his personal and social reality and deal critically with it. These ideas contributed to a splurge in development institutions such as the World Bank advocating for more participatory approaches in development initiatives (Dagron, 2009). As a result, there was a rising need for more people-centric approaches to development, and with this hype, participation became a buzzword in development scholarship (Willis, 2011).

In emphasizing the importance of participation in development initiatives, Singhal (2016) refers to Everett Rogers' shift in mindset in a personal interview in 2014. The interview points to a shift from Rogers' initial top-down theoretical framing of the diffusion approach towards recognising a more horizontal approach to communication and acknowledging the centrality of participation. Participatory development maintains that people need to be central to their development and be involved in decision making about initiatives aimed at their progress. Thus, development cannot work if people do not own it (Osikhena & Chikadzi, 2014).

Moreover, participatory development seeks to increase the involvement of socially and economically marginalised people in decision-making processes that affect their lives (Guijt & Shah, 1998). For example, in this study, communities' participation includes their ability to influence programming on Khwezi radio and their abilities to influence the development agendas in their communities and hold their leaders accountable for service delivery.

Lennie and Tacchi (2013) see participation as largely under-theorised. They cite Carpentier (2011), who provides a valuable contribution to theorising participation by defining its five key elements: (1) That power is a defining element of participation; (2) that participation is situated in particular processes, localities and actors; (3) that participation is dependent on the beliefs, ideological frameworks (strategies and values) within which it is applied; (4) that participation is based on diversity, power-sharing and equal power relations in decision making and not an overthrow of hierarchy and; (5) that participation is structurally different from access and interaction.

Whilst participation has had intentions of ensuring that development is more people-centric and has provided a turning point in development discourse, it faces growing criticisms. This is because it has been difficult to achieve genuine participation in practice and has also been challenging to measure. Ultimately, participation in the practice of development remains a challenge. Cooke and Kothari (2001) also raise concerns over the little evidence that exists, which shows the effectiveness of participation, materially improving people's lives or as a strategy of social change, as it is intended. Cleaver (2001) further argues that literature on participation in development has typically focused on the techniques such as (Participatory Rural Appraisal) PRA, and Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) while failing to adequately address issues of power and the control of information and resources. This has resulted in the creation of a limited view of the determinants of technical and social change.

Moreover, what has been documented theoretically about development participation has not been evident in practice. Willis (2011) states that communities should be involved in agenda-setting for genuine participation to be achieved. Participation should be a route to

empowerment, resulting in greater self-awareness and confidence, consequently contributing to democracy (ibid). Moreover, as Cleaver (2001) states, meaningful participation should go beyond individual verbal contributions in public meetings. Membership and attendance at public meetings do not necessarily overcome exclusion, subordination or vulnerability. However, in practice, participation has typically remained at what Arnstein (1969) called the tokenistic and non-participation lower levels of the citizen participation ladder.

Willis (2011), therefore, concedes to Cooke and Kothari's (2001) critique on participation and the limitations that accompany the implementation of participation interventions in practice. Cooke and Kothari (2001 argue for the need not only to seek to understand the incentives of people participating but also investing in understanding why some people do not participate. Consequently, they argue that spaces for genuine participation are sometimes not made available for people to participate. Examples of the considerations to people's participation include the time and money required for people to genuinely participate that must consider the heterogeneity of local populations and the different levels of participation that comes with these nuances (Cooke & Kothari, 2001).

Cornwall (2004a); Hickey & Mohan, (2004); Kothari, 2001 and Smith (1998) further highlight that participatory development tends to ignore micro-level power dynamics. Participatory development scholars have therefore paid little attention to power and power relations. Cooke and Kothari (2001) argue that power articulations are often obscured as these are embedded in social and cultural practices, and participation approaches tend not to be cognizant of these. Kothari (2001) further argues that power is inherent in the creation of norms and social and cultural practices at all levels. Thus, there is a need for participatory approaches to reflect power relations in society beyond the "haves" and "have nots" as this maintains a historical materialism view that does not take cognisance of the broader power relations in society. Cooke and Kothari (2001) therefore demonstrate the crucial role of applying power analyses to participation to uncover the varied and subtle manifestations of power in the discourse of participation. As Foucault (1980) argued, power should also be explored at the

local and micro levels as power is everywhere. Thus, a thorough analysis of power needs to recognise power relations operating within different contexts.

4.2.2 Rationale for a 'power' theoretical lens

The importance of genuine participation and taking ownership of development programs by communities is primarily an accepted development practice. However, the challenges of understanding power dynamics and its effects on participation have not been well documented or understood, which affects the extent to which genuine participation that results in social change is applied to communities (Chikozho, 2013; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Dagron, 2009; Henkel & Stirrat, 2001; Hickey & Mohan, 2004).

Arnstein (1969) argues that participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless that can maintain the status quo. Moreover, according to Brennan and Israel (2008), gaps in literature exist in explaining the emergence of power at the community level, given that power analyses have typically been focused at a macro level. However, there have been an increasing number of scholars studying power at the local level, such as the interaction theories and social power, that acknowledged local levels of power (Batliwala, 2019; Bradley, 2019; Gaventa, 1980, 2006). Thus, there is widespread consensus on the importance of looking at power and the contextual factors that shape participatory initiatives. However, several scholars have observed that studies on power have tended to ignore the micro-dynamics of power (Bradley, 2019; Chikozho, 2013; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Dagron, 2009; Henkel & Stirrat, 2001; Hickey & Mohan, 2004; Kothari, 2001; Osikhena & Chikadzi, 2014).

Brennan and Israel (2008) argue for the importance of a micro power analysis that enhances understanding of how local communities can accrue power and interact with elites that may limit or facilitate the emergence of their local capacity. Batliwala (2019) further demonstrates the multifaceted ways in which power manifests and, as such, defines power as the capacity of individuals or groups to determine *who gets what, who does what*, *who decides*

what and *who sets the agenda*. Gaventa (2006) argues for the importance of understanding how power operates to bring about effective changes able to influence power relationships, such as ensuring inclusivity for marginalised groups. Therefore, there is a need to understand power relations and how best to engage with them.

Moreover, studies discussing power have often understood power as oppressive, characterised by one having power over another. So power is depicted as embodied in certain individuals having control over those with less power. While several approaches exist in conceptualising the complex nature of power, it is outside the scope of this research to go into the various conceptions of power. This research is instead interested in understanding power as it relates to participation. This includes understanding how power plays itself out in communities and how power dynamics affect the role of participatory development communication in achieving social change. This study will present different conceptions of power to demonstrate the progression towards understanding micro-power dynamics. These are the first dimension/face of power (Dahl, 1957; Polsby, 1960, 1980); Power's second dimension/ approach (Bachrach and Barat (1970); Power's third dimension/face (Lukes, 1974). These three forms of power are conceptualised as decision making, non-decision making and ideological power (Lukes, 2005), transformative power (Miller, Veneklasen, Reilly, & Clark, 2006; VeneKlasen, Miller, Budlender, & Clark, 2002) and power at the local/micro-level (Brennan and Israel, 2008). The following sections describe these conceptions as they are the basis for the power lens adopted in this study.

The first face/dimension of power: Decision-making power

Dahl (1961)'s view of power forms the basis of conceptualising the three faces of power. Decision-making power consists of observable conflict in decision making, and power is understood as accruing to who prevails in bargaining over the resolution of critical issues. Decision-making power further includes the more straightforward mechanisms of power that typically involve political resources such as votes, jobs, and influence brought by political actors into the bargaining game. In Dahl (1957) and Polsby's (1960) first face of conceptualising power, "A" has power over "B" that can get "B" to do something "B" would not normally do. As Lukes

(2005) argues, this form of power refers to the ability to shape people's actions directly. This consists of open decision making, with leadership perceived as the representatives of the masses. In this approach, people act upon recognised grievances in an open system either for themselves or through their leaders. Non-participation is not viewed as a political challenge. Power is considered to be zero-sum and conceived through examining who participates, who gains and loses, and who dominates in decision-making circles (Gaventa, 1982). Thus, power is understood as a social force that results in social agents altering other agents' behaviour (Isaac, 1987).

Gaventa (1982) critiques this one-dimensional approach for its inadequacy in considering the contextual factors that explain quiescence or the decision for people not to act. These critical considerations to understanding variations in people's behaviour include low income, education levels, status and culture.

The second face/dimension of power: Non-decision-making power

Bachrach and Barat (1970) challenged the first face of power and introduced non-decision-making power as the second face of power, which refers to the ability of people to shape the decision-making agenda (Lukes, 2005). Bachrach and Barat (1970) critiqued Dahl and Polsby on two key issues. They argued that the focus on the formal decision-making process leaves out an important dimension of power because it does not consider that decisions differ in their significance and, most importantly, that certain decisions may not take place (Berenskoetter, 2007). Decision-making power was further critiqued for being devoid of an account of the suppression of conflict, a key feature of power (Isaac, 1987).

The second face of power was characterised by an analysis of power that addressed why some issues and alternatives are excluded in decision making spaces. Consequently, who holds the authority to exclude issues from decision and non-decisions is an important dimension of power, they argued (Berenskoetter, 2007). Hence, power can involve preventing certain issues from arising; thus, some actors get prevented from acting. In this conception of power that Bachrach and Baratz (1970 pp. 43-44) developed, the notion of "non-decision" is defined as "a

decision that results in suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision-maker".

Therefore, inaction in political processes by deprived people, may result from the power demonstrated in participation and non-participation (Gaventa, 1982). According to Bachrach and Barat (1970: 8), the "non-decisions" analysis of power has to be understood within an "agenda-setting power" which is the ability of actors to create or reinforce barriers to the public airing policy conflicts. Barenskoetter (2007) sees this dimension as primarily structural. It focuses on how individuals are disadvantaged by their structural circumstances, rather than assuming that power relations involve two autonomous individuals facing each other and perceiving victory as an indicator to identify the powerful (Berenskoetter, 2007).

Bachrach and Barat (1970) suggest a structural formulation conceiving power as implicated in institutional practices. To this effect, they use the notion of mobilisation of bias derived from Schattschneider (1960). In this, political systems and sub-systems develop a "mobilization of bias," which is a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures or "rules of the game" that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain groups and persons at the expense of others (Schnattschneider, 1960). Through mobilization of bias, some groups are systematically denied access to the decision-making process. This can be through their exclusion from decision making spaces through force and sanctions. This dimension may also include other non-decision-making power processes that are not explicitly observable, such as institutional inaction (Gaventa, 1980). Gaventa (1982) argues that the limitation of this approach is its voidness in understanding the range of possibilities in which power may intervene in raising different issues.

The third face/dimension of power: Ideological power

The third face of power, ideological power, grew considerably in popularity after the first two faces of power were criticized for their inability to provide a conclusive argument on the nature of power in society (Lukes, 1974). Lukes (1974) proposed that if the concept of power is to consider how interaction is shaped and limited, it cannot limit itself to instances of behavioural

compliance, like the first and second dimensions have done (Isaac, 1987). The third dimension of power is grounded on the view that power is not only at work where there is *conflict* of interests but also where there is *consensus* (Berenskoetter, 2007). Lukes (2005) introduced the third face of power by highlighting that the absence of conflict did not guarantee the absence of a power relationship. He specifically argued that "the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent such conflict from arising in the first place" (Lukes, 2005, p. 27). Ideological power, he argued, involves the least understood mechanisms of power identified through specifying the means through which power influences, shapes possibilities and strategies of challenge in situations of latent conflict. This includes studying how social myths, language and symbols are shaped and manipulated in power processes. The study of communication of information, that is, what is communicated and how it's done, also can be included in understanding power processes.

Moreover, thought control could take more mundane forms, such as through the control of information, through the mass media, and through socialisation which may normalise the process of dominance (Gaventa, 1980). In Lukes (1974) third face of power, agents may play out their specific roles without complete comprehension of the full effects of their power relations. Similarly, the oppressed may subconsciously comply with their domination. Hence, "A" has power over "B" by getting him to do what he does not want, including influencing what "B" wants, and all this can occur with no observable conflict.

Lukes (1974) and Foucault (1988) both see power dynamics as characterised by shifting intensity rather than a zero-sum distribution. They concur on approaching the study of power from a critical perspective as they see it primarily as having an oppressive and dominating (or 'power over') effect, leaving open when, or to what extent, the process of shaping interests and identities has a supportive or enabling (or 'power to') effect (Berenskoetter, 2007, pg 11).
Guided by Lukes' ideological power, Gaventa (1980) studied the roots of quiescence amid the inequalities and obstacles to rebellion. By examining an expanded notion of power, he questioned whether its workings could be witnessed in a communities' everyday activities. In doing so, he highlights power's hidden faces that work in maintaining quiescence and

suppressing rebellion. He further argued that one of the most critical aspects of power is not to prevail in a struggle but to predetermine the agenda of the struggle to determine whether certain questions ever reach the competition stage (Gaventa,1980).

The three faces of power see power as an empirical relation of cause and effect and did not conceive of power as involving any necessary connections with structural relationships (Isaac, 1987. These power dimensions also do not take cognisance of the social and cultural environment within which agents operate(ibid). The three faces of power also did not reflect power's relational nature, and Isaac (1987) further notes the need for a relational understanding of power that clarifies the distinction between "power to" and "power over," what he calls relations of domination and subordination. The faces of power further demonstrate the non -neutrality of spaces – that is, how agents constantly face power struggles that have implications on decision-making. Furthermore, these conceptions failed to recognize the possibility of the transformative nature of power and have relied on depicting power as oppressive and typically zero-sum, with the subordinate always remaining at a disadvantage.

Understanding these conceptions of power provides a useful foundational framing for how power has been understood, i.e., how one termed 'powerless' can have "power over" another and become 'powerful'. Power in this manner is an embodied phenomenon, which is typically oppressive in nature. However, scholars such as (Batliwala, 2019 and Bradley, 2019) highlight the limitation of such theorisations of power because they tend to focus on power as a negative process which includes violence, control, abuse and fear, which is referred to as "power over". Power over involves the privilege of certain people to marginalise others, such as through the control of resources or decision-making processes that decide who can and cannot have access (Bradley, 2019).

Conversely, power can be viewed positively, as it is crucial for producing healthy changes in social relations, for instance, in relieving poverty and injustice (Eyben, Harris, & Pettit, 2006). Therefore, it is also crucial to study how power can be harnessed for change and made to work for tracing and learning from the myriad of micro-level efforts, successes, and

failures to understand how power manifests (ibid). This study examined communities' potentials to attain transformative power through community radio interventions to better understand how power dynamics affect social change. Such a micro power analysis can highlight the extent to which community members can manoeuvre gatekeeping spaces, typically infested with 'power over' that may hinder or foster social change initiatives in their communities.

Forms of power at the micro-community level

Power at the micro-level is another conception of power that helps to theorise power relations in a community. Brennan and Israel (2008) provide a theoretical framework to understand how local communities accrue power and interact with elites that may limit or facilitate the emergence of local capacity. They depict local power using a choice/consequence model through a field theory lens. Moreover, they describe two aspects of power; pluralism and elitism. Pluralism falls under the consensus approach, centred on social interaction and consists of coordinated efforts in the community. Elitism is framed around conflict models that constitute hierarchical distributions of power and include constraint, monopolisation of power, dominance, and manipulation (Brennan & Israel, 2008; Dahrendorf, 1959; Hyman, McKnight, & Higdon, 2001).

Brennan and Israel (2008) use of field theory perspective to interrogate the emergence of power in communities understands local societies as comprehensive associations that meet and express common interests. They emphasize social interaction as the basis for the realisation of everyday needs and interests in communities. They further argue that communities have social fields or groups where people can participate or act, to achieve their goals and self-interests. These social fields are in constant interaction with each other and organised according to the influence and distributions of power in society. Subsequently, the community field includes various individual social fields that encompass community-wide efforts focused on the community's common needs. The organisation of these fields is influenced by how power is distributed within local communities. Thus, power is a determinant

of social interaction in communities because it can facilitate or suppress social interaction. Therefore, interaction and community agency are vital to influencing social fields.

As community members interact over common issues of importance, community agency emerges, which breeds local power that is sometimes visible through collective actions, such as community members protesting against a status quo. Therefore, interaction promotes agency which results in the development of the community (Brennan & Israel, 2008). As Brennan and Israel (2008) further argue, 'community' cannot be separated from interaction. Similarly, several scholars (Brennan, 2007; Loluff, 1988; Luloff & Swanson, 1995; Wilkinson, 1991); cited in (Brennan & Israel, 2008) concede that there is a need to build and enforce local capacity to implement collective action strategies that can create local power. Consequently, this study sought to understand how community radio contributes to building collaborative strategies that promote local power.

Brennan and Israel (2008) describe four scenarios they refer to as choice and consequence scenarios in which power, local capacity, and community action can be better understood. In this, 'choice' is understood as the decision to pursue an action or remain inactive. 'Consequence', on the other hand, reflects the positive and negative impacts of action and inaction. Through these scenarios, it becomes apparent that actors' agency is not straightforward and has much to do with the choice to act or not to act and that either of the two has consequences. The four scenarios used to explain the choice and consequences of power are namely (i) No choice negative consequence (Ritualized Agency); (ii) No choice positive consequence (Abandoned agency scenario); (iii) The Choice Negative consequence (Incomplete Agency) and (iv) The Choice Positive Consequence (Authentic Agency). This is shown schematically in the diagram in Figure 4.2.

Firstly, in the 'No choice negative consequence' or 'Ritualized Agency' scenario, citizens have minimal agency or collective capacity to act mainly due to overt force and threat. Here, citizens choose not to act or lack the capacity to act because elites control decision making processes resulting in no benefits reaching the general public. This could result in ideological

hegemony and quiescence being entrenched. One way to challenge this scenario is to ensure the interaction of the different social fields through the powerless mobilizing and establishing partnerships, creating awareness and action plans that can weaken and challenge the powerful to ensure that social change occurs.

Secondly, in the 'No choice positive consequence' or 'Abandoned agency' scenario, power-holders are disguised as legitimate and having the community's best interests in mind. As a result, citizens are inactive and leave action to the elites who will represent them. 'Abandoned agency' can be seen in the authoritarian structures of institutions such as schools, families and workplaces. Weakened interaction and cooperation and a lack of involvement of different community views in decision-making are evident in this scenario. Counter-hegemony is needed to dismantle this scenario's perseverance and challenge the conditions instilled by the ruling elite and external exposure to contest the accepted status quo. Additionally, community agency can be instilled by promoting interaction among social fields, as well as having processes that encourage listening to 'other' voices from different social fields that can lead to more informed and united communities able to challenge prevailing ideologies.

Thirdly, the 'Choice Negative consequence' or 'Incomplete Agency' scenario consists of a complete form of agency. However, it still does not achieve the desired goals and broader community wellbeing. Although interaction occurs between social fields, no strong communication channels and interaction exist, and there is a narrow focus on community needs. Fundamentally, the choice to act is not a straightforward phenomenon, while collective action can have serious obstacles. For instance, local mobilisation may not achieve its intended goals, resulting in adverse outcomes such as a loss of confidence from some individuals in facilitating such changes. Mobilising and organising residents to build agency and community takes time, efforts and commitment: Although it may mobilize automatically under extreme threats such as natural resource threats. Community building may also sometimes be limited by narrow focus, such as towards specific sectoral concerns including health care and schools due to limited resources. There is, therefore a need for capacity building that facilitates access to additional local resources. Moreover, mobilisation can help reconcile differences in opinion

amongst diverse residents, resulting in identifying more clearly defined general community needs that all groups can work towards.

Lastly, 'Choice Positive Consequence' or 'Authentic Agency', although uncommon among contemporary communities, its scenario involves local citizens having access to and managing resources. 'Authentic Agency' can avoid elite domination, link various social fields and establish foundations for current and future actions. In this scenario, actions are in place targeted at meeting community needs. There is also consistent interaction of social fields and mobilisation of communities to facilitate change. Interaction, collective mobilisation and local capacity building result in the emergence of agency and community. The scenarios are illustrated in Figure 4.2.

Consequence	Choice Setting: No Choice	Choice
Negative	*Characteristics*: Minimal agency or collective capacity to act; quiescence; disaffection among local residents; unconnected social fields; oppression at the hands of the elite; abandonment of hope by locals for overcoming power obstacles. *Outcomes*: Negative life environment with little concern for the masses. Fragmentation of powerless groups. *Benefits*: Private *Example*: Exploited labor in a company town; disenfranchised racial or ethnic minorities.	*Characteristics*: Presence of agency or collective capacity, yet failure to achieve goals. Interacting, but not fully connected, social fields. Development 'in' community where locals interact with elites to enhance segments of the locality but not the entire community. *Outcomes*: Action seen as a one-off occurrence or as successful goal attainment. Action focused on select segments of the community. Failure signals end of local empowerment. *Benefits*: Primarily Private and limited Public *Example*: Growth Machine and the 'great Buffalo hunt'; Building industrial parks that lay empty
Positive	*Characteristics*: Minimal agency or collective capacity to act; quiescence; minimally connected social fields; hidden oppression at the hands of the elite; belief by populace that action is not needed, as the elites will take care of them. *Outcomes*: Good/tolerable life based on the arbitrary positive treatment by elites. *Benefits*: Private and Public *Example*: 'Town fathers' that take care of the community; the "free rider" problem of apathetic, uninvolved, or acquiescent residents.	*Characteristics*: Agency, empowerment, and collective capacity. Strongly connected social fields. Development 'of' community. Communities achieve goals, negotiating a place at the decision-making table, mobilizing to facilitate change, fail to achieve goals, yet mobilizing to continue their efforts. *Outcomes*: Episodic action seen as one in the scope of many. Community and development seen in the actions of individuals, not goal attainment. Enhanced social well-being. *Benefits*: Public *Example*: Community unites to defeat unwanted extralocal development attempts; restoration of significant local historical site and development of cultural center

Figure 4. 1: Choice and consequence model *(adapted from Brennan and Israel, 2008 pp91)*

Understanding micro power dynamics is essential to understanding how communities facilitate social change, which is useful to this study because social change is not easy to achieve through development communication. This model above provides a valuable framework for this study to take cognisance of the power and agency operating at Kwezi radio station and its particular communities that may support or hinder social change.

Brennan and Israel (2008) further highlight the importance of examining the forms that power takes and how power is exercised to understand how community power is concentrated and how decision-making happens in communities. In doing so, they stress Boulding's (1989) four forms of power, namely, destructive power, productive/economic power, knowledge power and integrative power. Destructive power involves the capacity to destroy something or someone. Productive/economic power refers to having more resources to exchange with and, therefore, having more power. Knowledge power refers to the ability to accumulate information, skills and experiences which result in people taking action. Finally, integrative power involves getting people to act out of respect, care and love.

Guided by these categorizations, this study examines the extent to which community radio contributes directly to enable community members (i.e. listeners) with power. Such an analysis supports community members in obtaining agency through information and interaction from community radio that assists in tackling concerns. Thus, gaining knowledge power through Devcom channels such as community radio helps listeners obtain agency. Furthermore, this research seeks to contribute to understanding the significance of knowledge power in relation to the other proposed forms of power. In such an analysis, it is vital to take into account Bradley's (2019) caution that the multidimensionality and fluidity of power can range from domination and resistance to collaboration and transformation; henceforth, power can also be used positively and more obviously negatively.

This study explores how these forms of power play out in the communities studied and how this relates to social change. In light of this, it becomes imminent to highlight the positive,

constructive nature of power and its contribution to social change. Additionally, it becomes paramount to understand how power shapes, determines and influences strategies in latent conflict situations such as in community communication dynamics through the community radio station. This also involves appreciating more constructive forms of power, such as transformative power.

Transformative power

Several scholars (Gaventa, 2006; Miller et al., 2006; VeneKlasen et al., 2002) concede that power cannot only be expressed as something negative and oppressive as the forms of 'power over' illustrate, but that power can also be something positive and transformative. This has resulted in the growing discourse on transformative power. The transformative power framework is characterised by the democratic forms of power and demonstrates how power can be cultivated in equity, inclusion and liberation (Bradley, 2019; VeneKlasen et al., 2002). Transformative power provides an understanding of the awareness of oppression that makes people feel subordinated and powerless on the one hand. It also illustrates people's abilities to reconstruct a more positive logic demonstrating the creative human capacity to act and change the world.

Miller et al. (2006) discuss three forms of transformative power: 'power within', 'power to' and 'power with'. In addition, Bradley (2019) discusses the fourth form of transformative power referred to as 'power for'. Firstly, **'**power within' is grounded on a belief in the existence of an inherent human dignity to be found in all people and comprises one's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge, the ability to think independently, value oneself, challenge assumptions as well as to seek fulfilment. Secondly, 'power to' refers to one's unique potential to speak, take action and shape their own lives and worlds. Thirdly, 'power with' includes the ability to possess collective strength that comes with finding common ground and community with other people.

Consequently, power can be expressed in alliances, collaboration, and solidarity with the understanding that having multiple individual talents, knowledge, and resources can achieve a more significant impact. Lastly, 'power for'' comprises having combined vision, values

and demands that position people's work. It embeds the strategies and alternatives of the world we seek and provides a logic for transformative power. 'Power for' motivates the sustained efforts needed to generate 'power within', 'power to' and 'power with' as the building blocks for change. Having illustrated the transformative nature of power and the significance of a micro power lens in this study, the following section outlines development communication theory which is primary to an analysis of the developmental role of CRs.

4.3 Development communication theory

4.3.1 Understanding development communication theory

Several definitions of development communication exist depending on scholars' conceptualizations of development. Dagron (2009) argues that development communication remains a complex phenomenon that is still perceived as a nuance despite its existence since the early 1970s. The different characterizations of development communication include those by; (Choudhury, 2011; Khalid, 2012); Quebral (1975); (Rogers, 1976; Sharma & Uniyal, 2016a). Quebral (1975) defined development communication as applying human communication to transform countries from poverty to states of economic growth and achieving economic and social equality to fulfil human potential.

Similarly, Rogers (1983) understood development communication as the uses of communication to enhance development among people. Moreover, Waisbord (2001) defines development communication as; "A sort of umbrella term to designate research and interventions concerned with improving conditions among people struggling with economic, social and political problems in the non-Western world" (Waisbord 2001, pg. 28). Okunna (2002) additionally notes that development communication involves mobilizing people to effect positive change in their living conditions by exchanging information that influences change. Another development communication conceptualization splits development and communication into two parts to understand it better (Choudhury, 2011; Khalid, 2012). Communication is understood as the sharing of information to further the process of development, while development refers to the change of society for the better. Furthermore,

Choudhury (2011) states that development communication refers to the uses to which they are applied to further development. Such an approach to communication provides communities with information that may be useful to improve their livelihoods.

In the discourse of development communication, media is seen as a crucial empowerment tool that can facilitate and encourage people's participation in development activities. Choudhury (2011) sees communication, in the context of development, as referring to the use of different types of media and the sharing of information and experience to accelerate change. Moreover, Choudhury (2011) understands development as the change of society socially and economically for its betterment. Additionally, communication for development is understood as a social process designed to seek a common understanding among all participants of a development initiative (Morris, 2003). Thus, these dominant perspectives recognize the synergy between communication and development and the central role in developing people's lives. Additionally, Laxmana (1963) saw communication as a prime mover in the development process, noting communication as a central link through which exogenous ideas enter local communities.

4.3.2 Participatory development communication

The integration of development communication with participatory development, as complementary frameworks for this study, provide a more concrete understanding of community media's role as a tool for social change. This study notes the tension between developmental practitioners and community members' autonomy. Having people operate their development can be a challenge to development practitioners to promote, given that, at times they have a different agenda. Through examining the role of communication in participatory development, the study provides some nuances to understanding PD initiatives. Given the concern that PD is an inadequate concept to study empowerment, this research addresses this shortcoming. It, therefore, looks at how accessible forms of communication, particularly community radio, can enhance empowerment and, consequently, participatory development, notwithstanding the challenges that accompany these contributions.

Dagron (2001, p. 34) distinguished participatory communication from other development communication strategies seeking social change by highlighting nine strengths of participatory communication, which sets it apart from other development communication channels. First, participatory communication is characterized by horizontal communication, which involves people actively participating and being in control of communication processes. Second, participatory communication involves people taking charge of their futures through dialogue and democratic participation in planning their communication activities. This is as opposed to top-down approaches that do not encourage community-level engagement. Third, participatory communication is viewed as encompassing a long-term project because it takes time for people to take ownership of the process. This is contrary to short term communication processes which focus on demonstrating results that may be sensitive to people's realities. Fourth, communities collaborate to achieve particular community interests and not focus on individual interests that may be separate from that of the community.

Fifth, Dagron (2001, p. 34) raises the notion of 'with' vs 'for', which involves ensuring participation in researching, designing, and disseminating messages instead of designing messages for people in their absence. Sixth is the notion of 'specific' vs 'massive' communication, which means ensuring that communication messages are adapted to fit each community, particularly their content, language, culture, and the type of media used. These participatory strategies disregard the use of massive messaging, which is not considerate of contextual nuances. Seventh, 'people's needs' vs 'donors' musts' entails having communication dialogues and processes that help identify and define the communities' real needs. These processes are contrary to top-down communication initiatives that may not be rooted in the community's real needs.

Eighth is the conception of 'ownership' vs 'access'. Here it is stressed that the community should own communication processes and should have equal access to them. Thus, access to communication initiatives should not be restricted in any way by social, political or religious factors. Lastly, a distinction is drawn between consciousness and persuasion, whereby

participatory communication initiatives are considered as having the ability to raise consciousness and understanding about social reality problems and provide solutions. This is different to them using persuasion, focused on short term behaviour change. Thus, Dagron (2001, p. 34) demonstrates the importance of participatory approaches to development communication to attain social change. This study considers these characteristics in analysing community radio as a participatory communication platform seeking to promote social change in communities.

Participatory development communication provides a useful conceptual frame to explain the role of community radio in social change. Community radio facilitates community participation by allowing listeners to make their programs and respond to broadcasts, either in person on-air or via intermediary producers/presenters (Myers, 2011; Osikhena & Chikadzi, 2014). Dagron (2001) sees community-based radio as one of the best ways to reach excluded or marginalised communities in targeted, useful ways, primarily because it provides people with a voice, while video remains out of reach for many marginalised communities. He further argues for radio's critical role as the most utilised and most successful form of social change.

Moreover, Mano (2012) states that the advantage of radio is that it has a close relationship with its listeners. The high level of participation of listeners makes radio integral and closely implicated in modernity and globalization processes in Africa. Dagron (2001) states that radio has been the most supportive medium of communities struggling for a better world. Additionally, radio has advantages over other media as a tool for social change and participatory communication. These include the cost efficiency of radio, radio’s pertinence in language and content, relevance to the broader populace, even the illiterate. Additional advantages include radio's ability to maintain relevance to local practices, traditions and culture, outreach, and geographical coverage. And finally, its convergence with the internet has provided community radios with new strength and increased its networking opportunities. Additionally, once an investment in radio equipment is achieved, it can be sustainable if the community is participatory (Dagron, 2001).

4.3.3 Relevance of participatory development communication theory to the study

Participatory development and development communication theories *(together referred to as Participatory development communication in this research*) are central to this research. This conceptualization allows for exploring community radio's role in empowering individuals and communities by participating in development discourses and directly engaging in addressing development concerns relevant to them and their livelihoods.

Community radio as an essential medium for development communication can reach people from different parts of society, including rural communities that often do not have access to other sources of information like the internet, print media, and television. Development communication is the most relevant theoretical framework for this study because it understands that community radio is an essential developmental medium that empowers communities to address issues that affect them. In addition, according to Chikozho (2013), participatory development communication advocates for two-way communication, which is, in essence, participatory dialogue. This provides different platforms for local community members to express themselves and define development in their perspectives. Additionally, local communities take charge of their development instead of the model of experts defining development for them. It cannot be assumed that development communication is in its nature participatory. Thus, there is a need to examine the participatory nature of development communication in this study.

Despite the increasing development communication scholarship, there remains sparse research, particularly explaining the role of communication in development and social change (Dagron (2001). It is worth noting that some studies have been conducted applying participatory development communication theory to community radios in Africa (Boafo, 2006; Chagutah, 2009; Chikozho, 2013; Cleaver, 2001; Davids, 2012; Makumbe, 1996; Sow & Adjibade, 2006). Filling this gap in the literature about participatory development communication theory as applied to community radios in Africa is one of this study's original contributions.

A participatory model of development communication that is cognizant of existing micropower dynamics, which may affect social change, supports bottom-up rural community development. It further notes that participation is power-laden, which illustrates the complexity surrounding social change. Since communication cannot be separated from development, community-based participatory development is of paramount importance in meeting people's needs. Melkote and Steeves (2015) align to the stance of this research in their conceptualization of development as a process of directed social change, which highlights the significance of individuals and community members' capacities and opportunities to contribute to articulating and shaping the kind of change they desire. Social change is facilitated by communicative actions like strengthening a vibrant public sphere, active public discussion and debate, empowered communities, and coalitions. It also comprises what Melkote and Steeves (2015) refer to as supportive mass media. In this study, community radio is regarded as a communicative action to facilitate social change in less advantaged communities. It is a medium for facilitating the participation and empowerment of communities in addressing development issues that affect them.

4.3.4 An overview of the limitations of participatory development and development communication theory

Despite the contribution of development communication theory to social change, the theory has not stayed immune from criticisms. It has primarily been critiqued for not considering issues of power and for taking it as a given that people's participation will result in inclusive development with people being active agents of change. Moreover, the inherent power dynamics that exist in participation initiatives have not been well explored. According to Jennings (2000), Neef (2003), Mohan et al. (2001), Cleaver (1991), Osikhena and Chikadzi (2014), participatory development continues to face limitations that are conceptual, methodological and difficulty in measuring participation.

Subsequently, Neef (2003) highlights key theoretical, conceptual and methodological limitations of participatory approaches that have resulted in their growing criticism. These are

(i) their methodological limitations and lack of scientific rigour: (ii) Their inability to consider the complexity of communication processes, group dynamics as well as power relations: (iii) The reduction of participatory methods to the diagnostic stage; (iv) The myth that participation provides instant analysis of local knowledge; (v) the critique that has been raised of participation encompassing tyrannical characteristics (Kothari, 2001): (vi) Having an instrumental character and (vii) the costs of participation tend to be undermined (Cleaver, 2001): And lastly (viii) participation as a substitute for good governance. It remains questionable whether participatory initiatives have genuinely built up the capabilities of individuals, groups and communities. Furthermore, Duraiappah, Roddy, and Parry (2005) postulate that, although the poor are primarily involved in the various stages of development, their inclusion does not always constitute authentic participation.

Some scholars have argued that the concept of participation has increasingly become politicized by development practitioners. Aims to depoliticize the concept have also been misguided, and some have gone so far as to argue that the concept cannot gain relevance outside of the political real (De Campos Guimarães, 2009; Mohan & Stokke, 2000; Williams, 2004). A further criticism is that PD has continually failed to promote an authentic dialogue with deprived peoples in a way that practically addresses their development concerns (Osikhena & Chikadzi, 2014). Genuine transfer of power is not guaranteed and thus remains a critique of PD. Thus, it is essential that PD is mindful of power dynamics existent in societies and consider seriously the complexities and non-linearity surrounding participation.

Osikhena and Chikadzi (2014) also note that people cannot be considered merely passive recipients of the dividends of development. Thus, analyses of local participation must include political considerations, including analyses of the various power structures existent in initiatives to achieve participation. Henceforth the common view of PD as a smooth, apolitical process indicates that development practitioners have many times over-reported the successes of participatory development (Duraiappah et al., 2005; Mansuri & Rao, 2012) (referenced in Osikhena and Chikadzi (2014). Furthermore, the realities of power struggles remain undermined and distorted at the local level (Mohan et al., 2001). These criticisms, as mentioned

earlier, justify the need for further research to develop conceptualisations of participatory development to include a power lens.

4.4 The Concepts relevant to the research

The conceptual framework is essential to explaining community radio's role in development. The researcher notes that the conceptual framework presented here is not exhaustive; it is based on theories of development communication, participatory development theories, and the theoretical underpinnings of power relations in communities. The conceptual framework seeks to further provide an understanding of these concepts in relation to the theories of 1. development as social change, 2. space of participation, 3. community and the "communityness" of community radio, and 4. "power" in empowerment. This will be done in relation to how these key concepts have been applied in other studies, and importantly, how they are employed in this study.

4.4.1 Development as Social change

This section zooms into the conceptualization of development to set the tone for the rest of the chapters. It recognizes the diverse, contentious subject that development is and presents the rationale for understanding it as a means to social change. A useful perspective in understanding development as social change and showing people's primacy to the process of development is that of Amatya Sen, which perceives development as freedom. Sen (2014) argues that the primary aim and means of development is the expansion of human freedom. In this account, development involves removing people's unfreedoms such as poverty, poor economic conditions, systemic and social deprivation, neglecting public facilities and intolerance of repressive states. For him, human freedom is the objective of development. While Sen acknowledges the importance of economic freedom, he urges us to look beyond it because economic growth is not an end in itself. He says development should involve enhancing the lives people lead and the freedoms they enjoy.

Additionally, Sen investigates development in an inclusive manner that integrates economic, social and political considerations. His integrated representation recognises the

roles of different institutions such as market institutions, governments, political parties, civic institutions, and the media in contributing to the development agenda. Consequently, he acknowledges the role of social values and shared norms that can influence people's freedoms. He asserts that societal values and norms can also affect the presence or absence of unfreedoms such as corruption or the role of trust, for example, in political relations.

Sen (2014) shows the link between individual freedom and the achievement of social development. Notably, peoples' abilities to positively change their freedoms is influenced by other factors such as economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, good health, education and other social initiatives. He further stipulates that this is influenced by how people exercise their freedoms through their ability to participate in social choice and in public decisions that foster the progress of these opportunities. Greater freedoms are essential towards enhancing people's capabilities to help themselves and to influence the world. He recognises the role of societal arrangements such as state institutions and the media to enhance and guarantee the freedoms of people who are understood as active agents of change. Sen further speaks about the agent as a person who acts and brings about change and whose achievements can be judged according to their values and objectives.

Although the researcher notes the holistic nature of development, for this study, the focus will be on the social aspects of development, specifically social change. Lennie and Tacchi (2013) describe social change as a non-linear, dynamic, emergent, complex and inter social development which prioritizes human needs in the growth and progression of society. The focus is on improving the lives of regular citizens, especially the poor, to make society a better place for everyone. Social development is aligned to the more participatory development paradigm, which is invested in human capabilities that seek to create a more inclusive society where everyone gets a say (de Haan & Foa, 2014). Social development is an ultimate long-term goal, while social change includes the mechanisms contributing to achieving social development. This study zooms into the latter (social change), which allows the researcher to understand the contributory role of community radio to social change within the constraints and limitations of a thesis scope.

The justification for this research's focus on social change is steered by the development communication theory guiding this study which ascertains social change as the primary contribution and desired outcome of development communication platforms such as community radio. This is primarily achieved by encouraging individuals and their communities to tackle development concerns that they deem appropriate. Henceforth, social change is about changing people's conditions, particularly awareness of information from the community radio, which provides a voice to communities. It further networks and empowers individuals to take charge of their developmental needs. Moreover, Rogers (1976) argues that development is understood widely as a participatory process of social change in society and intends to produce social and material advancement, which include greater equality and freedom through people gaining control of their environment. Some scholars highlight the complexities surrounding social change both in its conceptualising as well as its measuring. Lennie and Tacchi (2013), for example, see social change as a non-linear, complex, interconnected and emergent concept that takes place through multi-level, interconnected, interdependent, non-linear and unpredictable relationships and processes. This gives rise to the need for a systems perspective to analyse social change, which considers the contextual understanding, local culture and relationships between people, groups, and institutions.

In this research, community radio is studied in detail to assess the extent to which it promotes open discussions, empowerment, and support to the communities it serves. This will contribute to understanding community radio as a medium of development communication and social change. Subsequently, the research has focused on looking at these dimensions of social change in Khwezi radio listener communities (i.e., Radio Listeners Club branches). This is done by understanding the institutional arrangements (formal and informal) in the different communities that enable people to have a say in development-related issues. Moreover, community radio's role in enhancing social cohesion and community participation and the extent to which that contributes to social change and, ultimately, social development is also an important dimension. The extent to which people in the studied communities are empowered

through the community radio platform is examined by how well and freely people (individually and collectively) have taken charge of their developmental concerns.

4.4.2 Participation

As a significant contributor to the participation discourse, Chambers (1992, p. 13). conceptualised Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA) in reference to approaches and methods used to enable local people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life conditions to plan and to act. He saw participation as a central ingredient in enabling the empowerment of local people through their shared knowledge (Chambers, 1994b). According to Dagron (2001), the word "participation" is multifaceted as it continues to vary across contexts and different usage experiences. For White, Nair & Ascroft (1994, p. 16), The word participation is kaleidoscopic; it changes its colour and shape at the will of the hands in which [it] is held. Henkel and Stirrat (2001) highlight five key themes noting the characteristics of participation. These are (i) an emphasis on bottom-up approaches; (ii) stressing empowerment; (iii) stressing the marginal groups that are often excluded from society, such as women; (iv) distrust of the state as it often encourages top-down development; and finally (v), celebrating indigenous knowledge. Ismail et al. (2005) outline the benefits of participation as; leading to greater acceptance of development activities that gives people the feeling of belonging to programs; enabling people to develop a sense of ownership which can promote sustainable development; motivating people to take responsibility for their development; and, providing people that are usually marginalised from community activities the opportunity to influence development initiatives in their communities and further motivate people to accept responsibility for their own development that ultimately promotes self-reliance.

Whilst characterisations of participation tend to focus on people's active involvement in processes that are crucial to their development, some scholars have argued for the reconceptualization of participation. Chambers asserted that the reversal of power relations is the key and the weak link in achieving participation (Chambers, 1994b, p. 2). Moreover, Cooke and Kothari (2001), Smith (1998), Hickey and Mohan (2004), Batliwala (2019) argue for the need for a power-laden analysis and interpretation of participation given that participation is a

complex, dynamic and multifaceted process with inherent power dynamics operating at various levels. These need to be understood to ensure that genuine participation is indeed taking place.

Furthermore, Gaventa (2004) argues for the need to reconceptualise participation to include a governance framing. This involves linking participation to the political sphere, hence reconceptualising participation to reflect new forms of engagement between citizens and the state. In so doing, he introduces the concept of participatory citizenship to highlight the linkages between participation in the political, community and social spheres. The concept of citizenship seeks to bridge the gap between citizens and the state by recasting citizenship as a practice rather than a given. Within this is the notion of active citizenship, which reflects citizens' agency as makers and shapers rather than users and choosers of interventions designed by third parties (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2000).

Moreover, the notion of citizenship as participation represents participation as a right, which enables people to act as free agents (Lister, 1998). To this effect, community participation in community radio requires active citizenship, which is central to ensuring that communities own and control their radio stations. The community radio should reflect the interests of the community it serves. Dagron (2001) looks at participation in community radio stations as varying from total ownership by community members to different degrees of audience involvement in programming and management. This entails the community's involvement in the running of the station, such as the election of leadership, policymaking, management of the station, selection and provision of programming, production of programs and external representation of the station (Mtimde et al, 1998). Several authors have also recommended a spatial analysis when looking at participation. This study regards spaces as they relate to participation in community radio while acknowledging the power-laden spaces of participation.

4.4.3 Closed, invited and invented spaces for participation

Hickey and Mohan (2004) state the need for the participation discourse to take cognizance of the temporal and spatial dynamics of participation. They recommend an approach that

recognises overlapping and shifting political spaces of power that can positively influence participation. Furthermore, Cornwall (2004a) applies spatial thinking as he sees participation as a spatial practice. Thus, in talking about spaces for participation, he illustrates the situated nature of participation, the bounded yet permeable arenas which invite participation, as well as the spaces and opportunities which invite citizen involvement (Ibid). Spaces can be understood as social and theoretical constructs and as lived experiences (Hickey & Mohan, 2004).

Additionally, Bradley (2019) defines space as institutional and community spaces of engagement and deliberation, both in person and virtually. Cornwall (2004a) emphasizes the non-neutrality of spaces for participation as they are shaped by power relations surrounding and entering them. Consequently, power relations further shape boundaries within participation spaces, i.e., the possibilities within them, who may enter them, with which identities, discourses and interests (ibid). Gaventa (2004) notes that the locations and relationship of spaces, arenas and power are constantly shifting, and they are dynamic and interwoven.

Brock, Cornwall, and Gaventa (2001), Cornwall (2002), Gaventa (2004), Bradley (2019) describe a threefold continuum of different spaces that exist and in which various shifting forms of participation and power can be expressed. These are closed spaces, invited spaces and, or, invented (i.e., claimed/created) spaces. Closed spaces are characterised by decisions made behind closed doors without broadening the boundaries for inclusion. These spaces typically involve formal political processes, such as council meetings (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). On the other hand, invited spaces are spaces into which people as citizens are invited to participate by different authorities such as government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as part of efforts to increase participation. Invited spaces can be regularised, for instance, constitutionally, and they can also consist of once-off forms of participation platforms.

Lastly, invented spaces, also known as claimed or created spaces, are spaces that are claimed by less powerful actors from or against power holders or created autonomously by

them. (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). Cornwall (2002) refers to claimed spaces as organic because they arise out of common concerns or identifications and may consist of spaces where like-minded people come together to pursue common interests. For instance, they could be a result of popular mobilisation. Previously, the emphasis of space has been placed on existing institutions inviting guests. That is, they were enablers of public engagement in governance and regarded as supporters of transformative participation. Cornwall (2004a) cautions against these institutions as being artefacts of external interventions, henceforth, not organic spaces for participation. He argues that invited spaces can be characterised by power dynamics that may affect their inclusivity. Cornwall and Gaventa (2000) further illustrate the fluidity and shifting power and boundaries within spaces by noting how agents participate in different spaces by moving between domains of association.

Cornwall's (2002) spatial analysis is useful in demonstrating power dynamics and the effects of voice and agency towards ensuring transformative social action. He argues that different spaces hold different domains of participation, namely officialised (such as public consultations) vs non-official spaces, each with varying relations of power within them that are constantly shifting. Moreover, Gaventa (2004) recognises that creating innovative spaces contributes to participatory governance and yields transformative possibilities. He argues for the need to consider what voices are really being heard; the issues of representation and accountability within the spaces; how the various forms of local governance accommodate the different meanings of citizenship across gender, political, cultural and social lines; and finally, if greater participation results in pro-poor outcomes. While highlighting the inherent nature of participatory spaces to be shaped by larger power relations, Gaventa (2004) raises the crucial need to examine the transformational possibilities of spaces for participatory governance that may offer possibilities that facilitate pro-poor changes in relation to the larger power fields, which surround and permeate them. He further describes three continuums of power, place, and space crucial to assessing political spaces' transformative possibilities. Firstly, these are how spaces are created; secondly, the places and levels of engagement within spaces; and lastly, the degree of visibility of power within spaces. In addition, dynamics of power within

various spaces influence which actors, voices and identities are included and excluded from spaces (ibid).

4.4.4 Community and the "communityness" of community radio

Some scholars have argued that communities are not homogenous as each community has its unique structure and setting and further cautioned against the reference to communities as standardized structures (Dagron, 2009; Hickey and Mohan, 2004). Consequently, the definition of community is not unanimous. Dagron (2009) and Hickey and Mohan (2004) add that communities are complex and diverse and caution against the notion of trying to understand communities as homogenous. They highlight that all communities are unique because each has its social strata and divergent interests and should thus be understood within its distinctiveness. Hickey and Mohan (2004) further state that communities are contested entities; therefore, group dynamics should be considered in understanding what influences participation. Additionally, political learning should be encouraged across different and new spaces.

To be sure, community radio cannot exist without the community. They do not exist outside of communities as they are established for and by community members to serve their interests Mtimde et al, 1998; Fraser & Estrada, 2001). As suggested by Fraser and Estrada (200I), for a radio station to qualify as a community radio station, the ownership and control of the station must squarely and unquestionably rest with the community that it claims to serve. Community radios seek to play critical roles in encouraging interaction between different fields and building a sense of community that promotes social action. Similarly, Brennan and Israel (2008) argue that communities cannot exist without social interaction; hence interaction is a crucial characteristic to the existence of communities. This research illustrates how community radio, as an essential medium promoting interaction, contributes to establishing community and contributing to social change.

4.4.5 “Power” in empowerment

Schutz (2019) discusses empowerment as a term that has been overused and vaguely understood. Like ‘participation’, the meaning of empowerment has also been susceptible to getting lost in popularity. While noting the contested nature of the concept of empowerment, Schutz defines it as the process of transmitting ‘power to’ or generating ‘power with’ people. In highlighting that empowerment is linked and embedded in one’s relationship with power. Schutz (2019) argues that empowerment is, therefore, unable to exist outside of power. He ties the typologies of empowerment to the continuums of power by describing continuums of power as types, spaces, and forms related to how they relate to the different approaches of empowerment. Schutz (2019) typology is in part adopted from Gaventa (2006) power cube conception). Types of power are classified into; individual ‘power to’, to the collaborative ‘power with’, and to the hierarchical ‘power over’. Spaces are either open, invited or closed spaces. While forms of power involve visible, hidden, and invisible forms, amounts of power move from zero-sum/limited/win-lose to non-zero-sum/generative/win-win power. There are connections between these continuums of power (types, spaces and forms of power) to the different empowerment approaches.

Different approaches are presented in understanding empowerment, central to these being the dualistic approach described by McGee and Pettit (2019) and Schutz’s typologies of empowerment. The dualist approach of McGee and Pettit (2019) looks at agency and structural perspectives. Schutz’s (2019) five typologies of empowerment classify empowerment approaches into individual, collaborative, counterscript, solidarity, and civil resistance forms of empowerment. In McGee and Pettit’s (2019) approach, they describe the agency perspective as limiting empowerment to the personal acquisition of skills and abilities that one obtains, often from a disadvantaged position. On the other hand, the structural view sees empowerment as a result of ideology and shared meaning inherent in social structures and systems.

Further, McGee and Pettit (2019) support a post-structural and multidimensional view of empowerment as collective and emancipatory. It is worth noting that this dual approach to

understanding empowerment is reflected in Schutz' (2019) first two types of empowerment: individual and collective empowerment. This is noteworthy for this study because the researcher delves into individual and collaborative forms of empowerment as they align directly to the research scope.

Schutz (2019) notion of 'individual empowerment' relates to McGee and Petit (2019) agency perspective, centred on equipping and empowering the individual. According to Schutz (2019), individual empowerment aims to alter individuals, for example, through the education system, to develop individual understanding and skills in a particular area. Schutz (2019) regards individual empowerment efforts as involving the use of invisible power to alter the vital social habits that make us who we are. Individual empowerment focuses on 'power to' and excludes most other forms of power, such as its more collaborative forms. He cautions against the limited and insufficient nature of individual empowerment as when individuals gain 'power over', they are likely to reproduce the unequal status quo. This is only in exceptional cases where they may resist becoming like the oppressors and seek to use their power to assist others. However, these isolated incidents have little chance of resulting in social change. Schutz (2019) further warns against giving individual-focused solutions to broader societal challenges, which stands the risk of disempowering people and emphasizes the need for collective effort.

Consequently, the second approach he detailed, 'collaborative empowerment', aligns with McGee and Pettit (2019)'s collective view of empowerment. Schutz (2019) defines collective empowerment as characterised by ongoing dialogue and equal participation across different participants' perspectives. Schutz further states that collaborative empowerment fosters individual transformation (i.e., 'power to' and 'power within') as it enables individuals to work with others to transform their perspectives and gain skills and knowledge. Ideal collaboration rejects 'power over' and operates to generate new power. Ideally, collective spaces are meant to be participatory; however, a primary challenge facing these spaces is leadership. Collaboration struggles with the realities of power and resisting stronger leadership forms, as this threatens to inhibit their ideal egalitarian approach. Moreover, collaboration can face challenges of scale, notably the difficulty in making decisions on behalf of a large group.

This challenge is especially prevalent when spaces get larger, and people tend to lose an understanding of other people's unique perspectives.

Even though the different typologies of empowerment have contributed to understanding social change, it is crucial to highlight some of its limitations and the reasons the extent to which participation enables empowerment has been questioned. It is still unclear if, indeed, participatory development enables empowerment in communities (Duraiappah, Roddy & Parry, 2005; Cleaver, 1999). Additionally, empowerment has been argued to have lost its originality and radical nature in achieving its aims towards enabling the poor and marginalized groups (Chikadzi, 2014).

The study contributes to understanding the interaction between individual and collaborative empowerment and social change. A critical contribution of this study is on demonstrating the role of spirituality grounded in the values of Khwezi radio as a critical tenet of individual empowerment. In the same breath, as Schutz (2019) argues, religion as a form of individual empowerment could resemble the use of invisible power in altering individuals ways of being. Thus, the research argues for recognising religion, particularly spiritual upliftment, as a form of empowerment and illustrates its importance in social change efforts. It further acknowledges the ideological/invisible power expressed through Khwezi radio's values being shaped mainly by KSB (KR's host and founder) Christian values.

This section has illustrated the centrality of participatory development communication theory to understanding social change. It affirms the need to utilize a power lens in the study of participatory initiatives because they are not linear. Thus there is a need to understand how communities manoeuvre spaces of participation, which are often power-laden. This is especially important to understanding how community radio (as a devcom platform) empowers community members to manoeuvre the complexities surrounding them as they seek to achieve transformative power and, ultimately social change. The guiding theoretical framework for the study is illustrated in the schematic diagram in Figure 4.3.

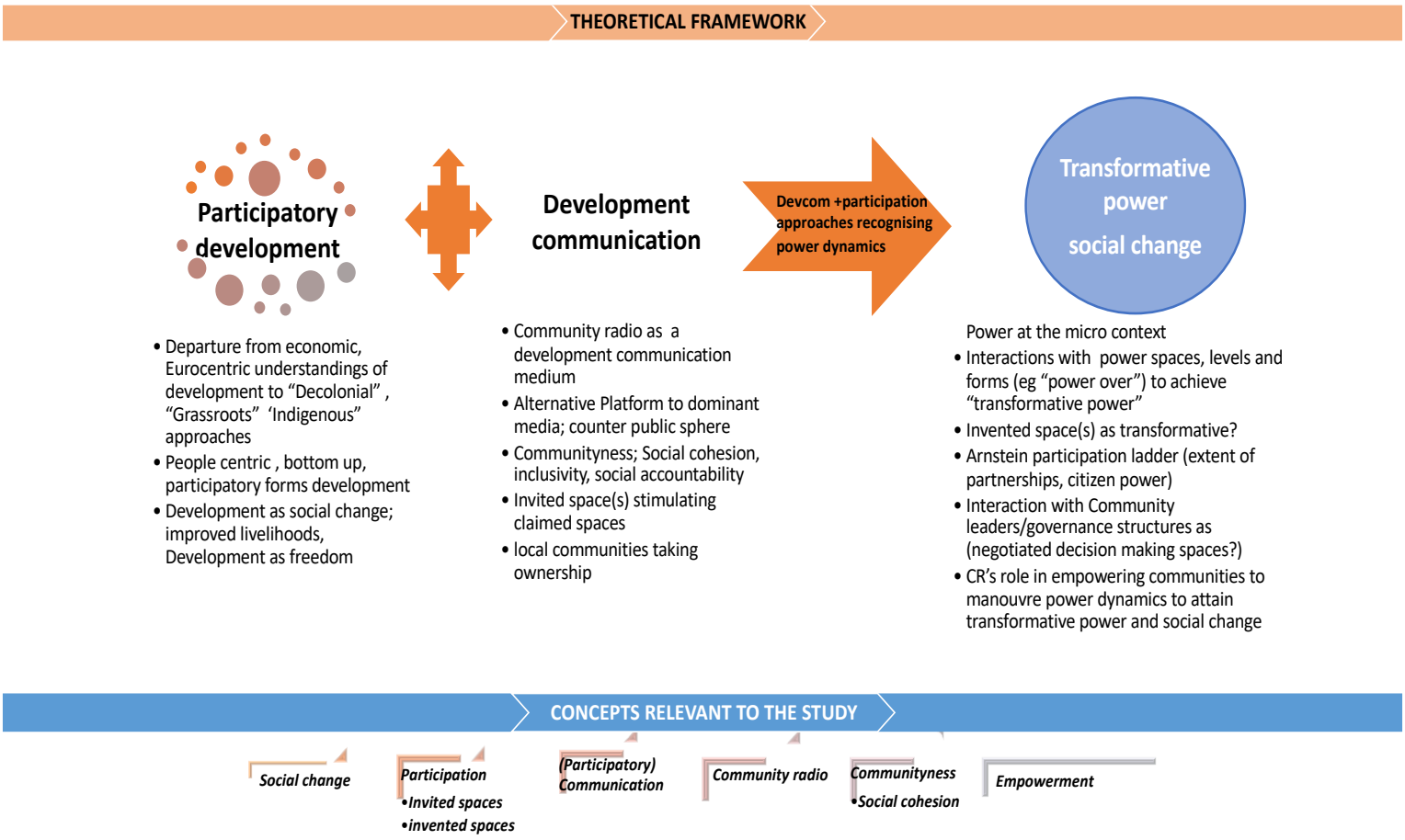


Figure 4. 1: Theoretical and conceptual representation of the study (The researcher's illustration)

4.5 Conclusion

The chapter began with a historical overview of development theories. This outlined the dominance of the modernisation and dependence theories in the 1950s-60s. It then illustrated the emergence of mass media and the increased recognition of its role as an important communication medium. However, top-down development approaches such as the bullet theory dominated the communication of information and regarded information as a necessary part of modernisation, where people were viewed as recipients and not an interactive part of the process. The 1990s to present saw the rise of the post-development era, where participation and indigenous people's approaches emerged as central features of development.

The chapter outlined the theoretical framework relevant to the study highlighting participatory development communication. This framework appreciates community radio's critical role as a participatory development communication medium that contributes to social change in communities. The chapter showed that through a micro power lens, the limitations facing participatory interventions can be addressed for not considering power dynamics and perceiving participation as linear. As a result, the study considers the importance of understanding participatory devcom within this power lens. Such a theoretical framework will allow the study to look at the various forms and spaces of power and their manifestations at the community level. This provides the study with a framework to analyse how communities, through the community radio space, manoeuvre various power manifestations, what choices they have to make, and the consequences thereof, achieve transformative power, and ultimately social change in their communities.

The chapter ended by detailing the concepts from the theoretical frameworks that are relevant to the study. These include an understanding of development as social change, participation and its spaces; community radio and its centredness on community and interaction; and finally, the embeddedness of power within the different approaches to empowerment.

Chapter 5: Methods, processes and design of the study

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to outline the research methods, processes, and procedures used in this study to answer its research questions. The chapter seeks to answer critical questions concerning its methodological choices to clarify how, who, what, when and why, it has chosen certain methods of action. The chapter is structured into five broad areas. Firstly, it begins by outlining the philosophical underpinnings of the research embedded within the interpretivist approach of social enquiry. Secondly, it presents the justification for applying qualitative research methods and its relevance to this study. Thirdly, a detailed description of the case study approach pertaining to this study is critically analysed. Fourthly, the methods and processes followed in the data collection are described, including a geographical overview of the case and ethical considerations that were followed. Lastly, the methods of data analysis that were used in the study are presented.

5.2 Philosophical underpinnings

The questions on the nature of reality, theories of knowledge and methodological standpoints are central to discussing philosophical underpinnings of research methodologies. Consequently, research paradigms are understood through three intrinsically linked notions: ontological, epistemological, and methodological. Ontology refers to the researcher's belief about the world around them, i.e., the nature and form of reality. It informs epistemology which involves the researcher's beliefs about the nature of knowledge (how we know). A researcher's ontology and epistemological beliefs inform their methodology, which informs how knowledge should be collected; this then informs the type(s) of methods used in a research inquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 2014).

Additionally, the researcher's philosophical underpinnings and choice of methodology should be aligned with the purpose of the research. The methodology focuses on why, what,

where, when, and how data is collected and analysed (Scotland, 2012). Methods are the specific techniques and procedures used to collect and analyse data (Crotty, 1998, as cited in Scotland, 2012).

The study makes use of interpretivism because it is the most relevant to the research questions and objectives. Interpretivism and constructivism are sometimes used interchangeably (e.g. Mills and Birks, 2014), but in some instances, constructivism is understood as a part of interpretivism. Interpretivism is a theoretical stance that informs the methodology and provides a context for the process and grounding of the studies logic and criteria (Crotty, 2003 as referenced in Ahmed (2008). On the contrary, constructivism refers to the epistemological stance of the research.

Interpretivism rejects positivist objectivist views about the nature of reality. It recognizes that people have other ways of knowing, perceiving and interpreting the world around them other than direct observation (Al-Saadi, 2014). Both interpretivism and constructivism argue that knowledge is produced by exploring and understanding the people's social world, focusing on their meaning and interpretations. In other words, meanings are socially constructed by the social actors in a particular context (ibid). Furthermore, Mills and Berks (2014) explain constructivism as a paradigm that recognizes that reality is constructed by those who experience it; hence research involves reconstructing reality. Ontology, in this way, is defined, shaped and understood from the point of view of those who live in it. Hence reality is not only subjective but also is not static; therefore, multiple constructions of reality exist (Guba and Lincoln, 2014).

According to Terre Blanche et al. (2006, 272), interpretivism involves taking people's subjective experiences seriously as the essence of what is real for them (ontology). Interpretivism also means making sense of people's experiences by interacting with them and listening carefully to what they tell us (epistemology), and using qualitative research techniques to collect and analyse information (methodology) (ibid). Consequently, interpretivism has two main principles: (i) understanding should be in the context within which meanings are created,

and (ii) the researcher is the primary instrument of the research process (ibid). Interpretivist researchers further recognize knowledge as dispersed and distributed, thus call for the researcher to view different places and things to obtain a deeper understanding of phenomena (Henning et al., 2004).

Beyond examining and interpreting different meanings presented by research participants, interpretivist research interrogates how people reach the meanings in their lives. This means it must interpret the frames of experiences that shape meaning to fully appreciate the role of social contexts (Henning et al., 2004). The interpretive paradigm aims to produce descriptive analyses emphasizing an in-depth understanding of social phenomena. Interpretivism perceives reality as limited to context, space, time and individuals or groups in a given situation and cannot be generalized into one common reality (Chilisa and Kawulich, 2012). Being interpretive involves emphasising the production of meanings and learning the unique view of actors (Pfeifer, 2001 in Sorantakos 2012). The researcher is interested in subjective meanings, namely how people make sense of their world and the meanings they assign to it. Interpretive inquiry understands subjectivity as something that makes it possible to understand personal and social realities empathically. Interpretative research aims to understand people's experiences (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

Research within the interpretive paradigm is apt to this research for various reasons. Firstly, the research takes place in the natural setting where the participants live, experience their realities and make their living (Chilisa and Kawulich, 2012). This supports the research aim of obtaining a deep understanding of community radio's role in empowering community members, thus contributing to social change. Additionally, interpretivism allows for the understanding of participants' experiences and perceptions on the extent to which Khwezi Community Radio has improved their livelihoods. Because the nature of interpretivism supports multiple perspectives of reality and it was well suited to my research which sought to obtain as many people perspectives' as possible to enrich the understanding and interpretation of community radio and social change. Moreover, constructivist qualitative approaches are useful for uncovering emic views, i.e., an insider's perspective to understanding issues (Guba

and Lincoln, 1994). Such an emic view was possible in this study because knowledge was created through the in-depth interaction between the researcher and the participant(s).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) add that human behaviour cannot be understood without reference to people's meanings and purposes to their activities. Additionally, the research process is inductive, mainly because constructivist and interpretivist research aims to generate a theory from the data collected rather than use the data to test an already existing theory. The researcher favours this approach as it provides more insight into human behaviour and the ability to recognize multiple realities. It can also illuminate the complexity of phenomena because it recognizes that there are different contextual interpretations in understanding research phenomena.

The researcher, therefore, is interested in a qualitative interpretivist approach as opposed to a quantitative positivist approach. The latter is not of interest in this study because quantitative research perceives reality as fixed, objective and generating the same meanings for all actors. This view is contrary to the researcher's philosophy that acknowledges the diversity of meanings and the existence of multiple realities. (Sorantakos, 2012). The quantitative paradigm ignores peoples' subjective meanings of reality and loses out on the individual's experiences. As a result, the qualitative interpretivist paradigm was more favourable to this research's aim of understanding the extent to which community radio has contributed to their empowerment and development.

As an inductive approach, the research uses a qualitative case study to ensure an in-depth understanding of the research context, thereby facilitating theory development. In-depth face-to-face interviews, focus group discussions, observations, systematically listening to radio Khwezi, and document analysis were also used in this research. Methodological triangulation was employed to ensure improved measurement and more valid findings (Babbie, 2004; Neuman, 2014). Because of the study's use of qualitative methods through an interpretivist approach, its relevance for this research must be fleshed out.

5.3 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is renowned for its ability to develop methodologies that seek to understand human phenomena in context (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). The research design is qualitative in nature because it suits the central aim of understanding a specific organizational reality and occurring phenomena from the perspective of those involved. Henning et al. (2004, p. 5) conceptualize qualitative research therefore as "a type of inquiry in which the qualities, the characteristics of the properties of a phenomenon are examined for better understanding and explanation". Additionally, according to Babbie and Mouton (2001), qualitative research gives a more in-depth description and understanding of events or actions, which helps the researcher gain insights into the context beyond just presenting a phenomenon. Moreover, qualitative researchers aim to study human action from the insider's perspective (emic perspective) and understand and describe rather than predict and explain human behaviour (ibid). Qualitative research is employed when researchers seek to understand how people make sense of their environment and the factors and conditions that shape their lives (Ibid).

Qualitative research involves studying things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of and interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Moreover, in qualitative research, the researcher studies the selected issue(s) in-depth, detail and openness and identifies categories of information emerging from the data (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Consequently, qualitative studies are used to explore phenomena in their real-world situation(s) inductively and to provide detailed "thick" descriptions (Ibid).

In this study, qualitative methods are applied given their ability to ensure the study of a social phenomenon (in this case, the role of community radio in social change in communities) from the community's point of view. This allowed the researcher to capture social realities by interacting with the Khwezi radio station community (Sarantakos, 2013). The qualitative approach further ensures richness and diversity, based on sound epistemological parameters that enable it to address issues of interest within different environments (ibid). Moreover, the qualitative approach was advantageous in the research, given its interest in establishing meanings from various participants. Given its phenomenological roots, qualitative research

emphasises peoples' interpretation of meanings. Such interpretation was important to this study because it captures the interpretation of meanings from the research subjects (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

The researcher established trust, rapport, trust and authentic communication patterns with the participants, which allowed for probing their contributions and capturing the subtle nuances of meaning from their voices (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). This allowed me to immerse myself in the natural research setting to capture the research findings as accurately as possible. In qualitative research, the researcher uses the empirical information obtained by interacting with participants to interpret meaning and obtain deeper meaning of the studied phenomena. Henning et al. (2004) go so far as to see the researcher as a co-creator of meaning.

Considerations of objectivity, validity, and reliability need to be considered in qualitative research, as in quantitative studies. Triangulation, writing extensive field notes, member checks, and peer review mechanisms are fundamental ways qualitative researchers can ensure validity and reliability (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Triangulation employs multiple paradigms, methodologies, methods and is considered one of the best ways to enhance validity and reliability. Denzin (2009) describes triangulation as the employment of various external methods to collect data and the analysis of the data to enhance objectivity, truth, and validity. He categorized four types of triangulation for social research. Data triangulation for correlating people, time, and space; investigator triangulation, which denotes correlating the findings from multiple researchers in a study; theory triangulation involving using and correlating multiple theoretical strategies; and methodological triangulation correlates data from multiple data collection methods (Denzin, 2009).

Similarly, Terre Blanche et al. (2006) define triangulation as the process of collecting material in as many ways and from as many diverse sources as possible. Additionally, extensive field notes which include a description of the context of the study should be taken as they are also useful means of enhancing research validity and reliability. Another approach used is member checks which involve taking the transcripts back to the participants and confirming if

the details were captured correctly. In this study, the researcher ensured triangulation through employing different qualitative research designs (In-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions, Document reviews, Observations and listening to radio programming. Secondly, the research includes varied categories of participants: Khwezi radio staff, community members (listeners of the station), organizations supporting community radios, and community leaders that allowed obtaining information and meanings from different perspectives.

Lincoln and Guba (1985, as cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001) allude to the important characteristic of trustworthiness, i.e. neutrality of findings or decisions in classifying qualitative research as objective. To this effect, they assert the need for qualitative studies to be reliable and transferable. But before it can be transferable academic research has to be deemed credible. Transferability refers to the applicability of research findings to other contexts or other participants (ibid). Babbie and Mouton(2001) highlight processes that give rise to the credibility of research as follows: conducting fieldwork until saturation is achieved; conducting persistent observations to yield different interpretations; ensuring triangulation to elicit divergent constructions of reality; maintaining referential adequacy, i.e. having materials to document findings; peer debriefing to review perceptions, insights and analyses from the study and finally, conducting member checks to verify the captured data and interpretations with the participants.

Additionally, dependability and confirmability are other characteristics of establishing the trustworthiness of qualitative research. Dependability involves the researcher assuring the reader that should the study be carried out with the same or similar participants; they would obtain the same results in the same contexts. Confirmability is the degree to which the research findings are the product of the research's focus and not the researcher's biases (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). To achieve dependability and confirmability, the researcher has to maintain an audit trail accessible for the reader to determine if the conclusions, interpretations, and recommendations can be traced to their sources and are supported by the research. This involves reviewing the raw data, field note write-ups, process notes, and instrument development information. The researcher has included the research instruments and some

interview and Focus Group Discussion transcripts in the Appendices to ascertain the study's trustworthiness.

The researcher is not interested in any statistical generalizations but in understanding the context being studied, in this case, Kwezi radio station. Moreover, as Lincoln and Guba state, the onus of transferability rests on the reader of the research findings, who make judgements on the feasibility of transferring the research to a different context (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). From these philosophical underpinnings, it is also important to detail the Case Study Approach, including unpacking its relevance for the research. In addition to this, details on the case selection are outlined.

5.4 The case study approach

Little consensus exists on what constitutes a case study and how case studies are conducted (Harrison et al., 2017; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2014). This is mainly due to the confusion that arises when case study research is conflated with the definition of a case study as a unit of study (the case). There is confusion caused by the product of this type of investigation or understanding of a case studies strategy and method. Scholars have provided different conceptualizations of case studies demonstrating varying understandings of the approach. For instance, case studies are sometimes equated with fieldwork, ethnography, participant observation, qualitative research, naturalistic inquiry, grounded theory or exploratory research (Merriam, 1998). Some misunderstanding has also been noted with case study research being confused with the case studies used in teaching (Yin, 2014).

Case studies can be described either by disciplinary orientation or by the overall intent of the study. These include ethnographic case studies (Byrne and Ragin, 2009); historical case studies (Widdersheim, 2018; Tomasini, 2017); Psychological case studies (Bromley and Bromley, 1986), Economics (Teiu and Juravle, 2011; Miller, 1987) and Sociological case studies (Miller, 1987). On the other hand, classification by overall intent involves; descriptive case studies, interpretive case studies and evaluative case studies (Harrison et al., 2017). Some case studies can encompass a combination of intention, such as being both descriptive and

interpretive, which is more analytical and embraces theory building (ibid). Furthermore, research that makes use of a case study can encompass a range of methods, including interviews, observation, questionnaires, surveys, and mixed methods of both qualitative and quantitative research (Yin, 2014).

A general definition of case study defines it as *"an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the case) in depth and within its real-world context especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident"* Yin (, , 2003, 2014; p.16). To this effect, Yin (2014) notes that with case study research, the phenomenon and context are not always easily distinguishable in real-world situations, i.e. there could be more variables of interests than data points. There are no single or multiple case studies that can cover the number of cases that would match or exceed the number of variables. As a result, defining "the case" could be complex in some instances where case study topics involve less concrete phenomena such as relationships and communities. Thus, case studies rely on using multiple data sources to ensure the data converges through triangulation. Finally, they use prior development of theoretical dispositions to guide data collection and analysis (ibid).

On the other hand, Merriam (1998) understands a case study as an intrinsically bounded system (i.e. a unit with boundaries). This is similar to Miles and Huberman's (1994) conceptualizations of a case as a phenomenon occurring in a bounded context. By defining a case as a bounded phenomenon, Merriam (1998) explains that the assessment of the boundedness of a case is conducted by looking at whether there is a limit to the number of people involved within the case study (for example, the people to be interviewed and the observations to be conducted both in theory and practice). A bounded case should have a limit; if not, the phenomenon is not bounded enough and does not qualify to be a case (ibid). Stake (1995) supports this assertion and conceptualizes a case as a 'specific, complex, functioning thing'. Henning et al. (2004) concur with the notion of a case study as a bounded system and add that the bounded system should be within a clear unit of analysis. Thus, a case study is

understood as an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomenon or social unit (Merriam, 1998).

Qualitative case studies can be characterized as particularistic, descriptive and heuristic. Olson (in Hoaglin et al., 1982) developed similar characteristics of case study research which can also be grouped into these characteristics. Firstly**,** particularistic refers to case studies that focus on a particular situation, event or phenomenon. The specificity which case studies provide merits their recognition as good designs for practical problems and for unpacking questions and complex occurrences of everyday life (Merriam, 1998). Moreover, Olson et al. (1982) note that case studies are particularistic as they can suggest to the reader what to do or what not to do in a situation.

Secondly, descriptive refers to the ability of case studies to bring forth rich, thick descriptions of the phenomenon under study (Merriam, 1998). Additionally, case studies can illustrate complex situations, provide hindsight even while relevant in the present; they also show the influence of personalities and passage of time on issues. They can include vivid material, obtain information from various sources, provide information from multiple standpoints and present information in a wide variety of ways (Olson et al., 1982).

Thirdly, the heuristic characteristic refers to case studies' role in discovering new meaning, which can expand the reader's knowledge base. They also provide insights into how things are the way they are. Olson et al. (1982) add that case studies can explain problematic backgrounds and the reasons for their occurrence; explain why or why not innovations worked; discuss unselected alternatives, and evaluate, summarise, and conclude issues giving rise to potential applicability.

Yin (1994) agrees that there is value of case study designs in situations where it is impossible to separate the phenomenon's variables from their context. Consequently, the relevance of case studies is primarily determined by the research questions of a particular study. Research questions are suitable when they probe for explanations of present

circumstances to answer ‘why” and “how” particular social phenomena work. They are also relevant when research questions require an extensive and in-depth description of certain social phenomena (ibid). Stake (1981) acknowledges the significance and uniqueness of the case study approach compared to other research designs. This is due to case studies' ability to produce more concrete, contextual, and developed knowledge by bringing in the interpretation and knowledge that allows the reader to extend generalizations to reference populations.

Case studies allow the researcher to get as close as possible to the subjects under study. This is made possible through direct observation in a natural setting, access to subjective factors (for example, thoughts and feelings), which is not possible with studies of a quantitative nature (Merriam, 1998). Furthermore, Sanders (1981) (as cited in Merriam, 1998) indicates that case studies help to understand the processes of events, projects, and programs and discover context characteristics that are essential to shedding light on issues and phenomena. The rich, thick descriptions and analyses that case studies provide are critical in assessing social change than more positivist designs such as surveys. The context must be described in as much detail as to allow for sufficient understanding of the factors in the environment in which the case is embedded (Babbie and Mouton, (2001). In this case study of Khwezi radio station, the purpose is not to generalize the findings to other rural communities. However, what it reveals can provide an in-depth understanding of the selected case and provides nuance into community radio's role in communities’ social change.

Through the case study approach, the researcher sought to unearth the interaction of the significant factors characteristic of the research phenomenon (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The case study approach was suitable for this study, given its focus on holistic descriptions and explanations crucial to unpacking an in-depth understanding of the study’s research questions. Moreover, the case study approach helped the researcher focus on individual(s) and group(s) levels to understand their perceptions of events. The case study approach also allowed the researcher to be integrally involved in the case as a co-creator of meaning (Ahmed, 2008).

Babbie and Mouton (2001) and Yin (2014) note the advantage of using multiple data sources in case study research. Similarly, Cook and Campbell (1979) highlight multiple methods to support the replication and convergence of the research. With replication, as the number of occurrences of a phenomenon increases, it similarly increases the confidence of the researcher and enables the reader to see the findings as reliable. While with convergence, multiple sources of evidence are brought into effect on variables of interest, for instance, asking about the same phenomenon across a range of cases. Yin (2014) asserts that case studies with multiple sources of evidence rate more highly in quality than those with single sources.

Further, the use of multiple sources of evidence gives the researcher the ability to address broader historical and behavioural issues. It allows for the development of converging lines of inquiry and results in the research findings being more convincing (Yin, 2014). However, utilising multiple approaches is not an arbitrary choice. It is dependent on the type of research questions. It may involve use of more than one approach like conducting multiple interviews, observations at different points and instances, having a variety of informants, and multiple person case studies (ibid). At the same time, using multiple sources of evidence is often referred to as triangulation to elicit thick descriptions in the research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In this study, the researcher employed triangulation as multiple sources of data collection, including interviews, focus groups, observations and document reviews which allowed the researcher to obtain thick descriptions in understanding the research phenomena.

5.4.1 Critiques of the case study approach

Scepticism around case studies has been raised, a case in point being the challenge that case studies' cannot meet the generalizability test given the research focus on a small sample of a phenomenon rather than a broader, wide-ranging sample encompassing more units (Stewart, 2014). However, to this effect, Yin (2003, 2014) argues that generalisability tends to be limited to scaling up from a small sample to a larger population. In contrast, case studies can allow the generalisability of theoretical constructs. Case studies have also been critiqued for their ability to present exaggerated versions of events, distorting the readers' conclusions about the actual

state of affairs. Other limitations involve a lack of representativeness and rigour in collecting, constructing, and analysing empirical materials.

Consequently, the lack of representativeness has resulted in criticisms against case studies being biased due to researcher subjectivities (Babbie and Mouton, (2001). While the case study approach is a useful research method that provides depth in understanding social phenomena and other characteristics, it is not free from flaws. Concerns have also been raised over the expensive nature of case studies. The costs and money it takes to obtain rich, thick descriptions for case studies and the difficulties poised by getting the researcher to be immersed in the context of the study can be problematic (Yin, 2014).

5.4.2 Selecting a case: purposive sampling

Merriam (1998) indicates that selecting a case study is influenced by the research problem and questions being asked. In selecting to use a case study, the researcher wielded Remenyi (2012) and Yin's (2014) guidelines. This suggests that the researcher should consider the following in selecting a case: the relevance of the case from the point of view of the research questions, the significance of the case and accessibility to the data. Cases are selected due to the following criteria; the case is an instance of concern, issue or hypothesis; the case is intrinsically interesting; the case can be studied to achieve as much of an understanding as possible of the phenomenon under examination (ibid).

The researcher used purposive sampling in selecting the case for this study. Purposive sampling (sometimes referred to as judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling) is understood as a form of non-probability sampling in which selection is based on the characteristics of a population and the study's objectives (Crossman, 2019). In purposive sampling, the researcher uses their judgement and knowledge to fit the selection criteria for desirable participants to meet the research objectives (Henning et al., 2004). The researcher applied personal judgment in choosing cases ranging from diverse communities that helped answer the research questions and achieve the set research objectives. This type of purposive sampling is referred to as 'maximum variation' or 'heterogeneous purposive sampling'. This

involves the researcher selecting a diverse range of cases relevant to the phenomena under study to provide as much understanding as possible into the research phenomena (Crossman, 2019). Consequently, this narrowed down the sampling to Khwezi radio staff and management, listeners of Khwezi radio station (particularly members of Masibumbane Listeners Club), organisations in partnership with Khwezi radio support development programming as well as community leaders interacting with communities through KR.

The researcher notes that the research findings from the purposive sampling technique may not be representative and generalizable to the entire population. However, the research does not seek to generalize findings but understand a specific phenomenon with as much depth as possible from participants that are considered "key" in terms of their knowledge and interaction with the community radio, hence the purposive sampling technique. According to Terre Blanche et al. (2016), qualitative researchers are not concerned with representing their findings but rather transferability. Transferability involves using the research findings to help understand other contexts or groups similar to those being studied (ibid).

Moreover, the researcher used the snowballing technique, which allowed for guidance towards additional participants considered as "key" to include in subsequent data collection. Snowball refers to the process of accumulation as each located participant suggests additional research participants (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). As Terre Blanche (2006) also asserts, snowballing refers to the process where an appropriate participant can lead the researcher to others, originating from how a snowball gets larger as it continues to roll down a hill.

Of the 54 branches of the Masibumbane listeners club currently in place, the researcher purposively selected representatives from 13 active Listeners Club branches (LCBs) that spread across 4 District municipalities in KwaZulu Natal province. The LCBs are defined as Khwezi radio listeners who meet regularly and collectively undertake activities (i.e., at least monthly), consistently interact with Khwezi radio station and have at least twenty members in their branch. Accordingly, the selected listeners club branches were spread across these four districts, allowing the researcher to develop a deeper understanding and find evidence of

community members' interaction with Khwezi radio and the station's contribution to social change.

Finally, the researcher collected data until achieving saturation which was the determinant of the scope of the data collection. Terre Blanche et al. (2006) describe saturation as the condition of an interpretive account where the account is richly fed by the material that has been collected until the researcher can intuitively say they have thoroughly explored the data and obtained a satisfactory sense of what is going on. Additionally, data saturation in qualitative research can be defined as: when there is enough information to replicate the study (O'Reilly & Parker, 2013; Walker, 2012); when the ability to obtain additional new information has been attained (Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L, 2006), and when further coding is no longer feasible (Guest et al., 2006 as referenced in Fusch & Ness, 2015). Dibley (2011) highlights that the richness and thickness of data are important characteristics of a study reaching saturation. Hence, saturation is beyond the number of participants used in the study but also considers the quality or depth of the data. Fusch and Ness (2015) further express a direct link between triangulation and saturation in social research. Data triangulation, therefore, ensures data saturation which is important in ensuring validity in research. Still, a presentation of the case study used in this thesis and its related components must be discussed further.

5.5 Presenting the case: A single case with multiple embedded units

For this research, the case study consisted of a single case with multiple embedded units. Using multiple embedded units provides a more in-depth understanding of the case study and allows cross-comparisons between the units of analysis (Remenyi, 2012). Furthermore, studying sub-units of a case study can present an opportunity for extensive analysis to enhance the researcher's insights into the primary case study (Yin, 2014). However, Yin (2014) also cautions against the challenge associated with single case studies with multiple embedded units. Yin (2014) alludes to the caution of case studies, sometimes focusing on the sub-unit levels and then neglecting the larger unit of analysis. The researcher took cognisance of this and ensured that Radio Khwezi remained the larger unit of analysis throughout the study.

The embedded units within the case of Khwezi community radio were influenced by the research question that sought to look at how the community radio station contributes to social change in the listenership community. The multi-units of the case are made up of the primary case and Khwezi community radio (KR) station, which has threefold units used in establishing relationships with its listeners (here referred to as the community). More importantly, KR's interaction with these units and their contribution to social change in the community was of particular importance. These components include (i) the listeners of the radio station (particularly MLC); (ii) organisations supporting the community radio sector as well as those partnering with KR specifically; and (iii) community structures including community leaders (particularly the Mayors). These are depicted in figure 5.1.

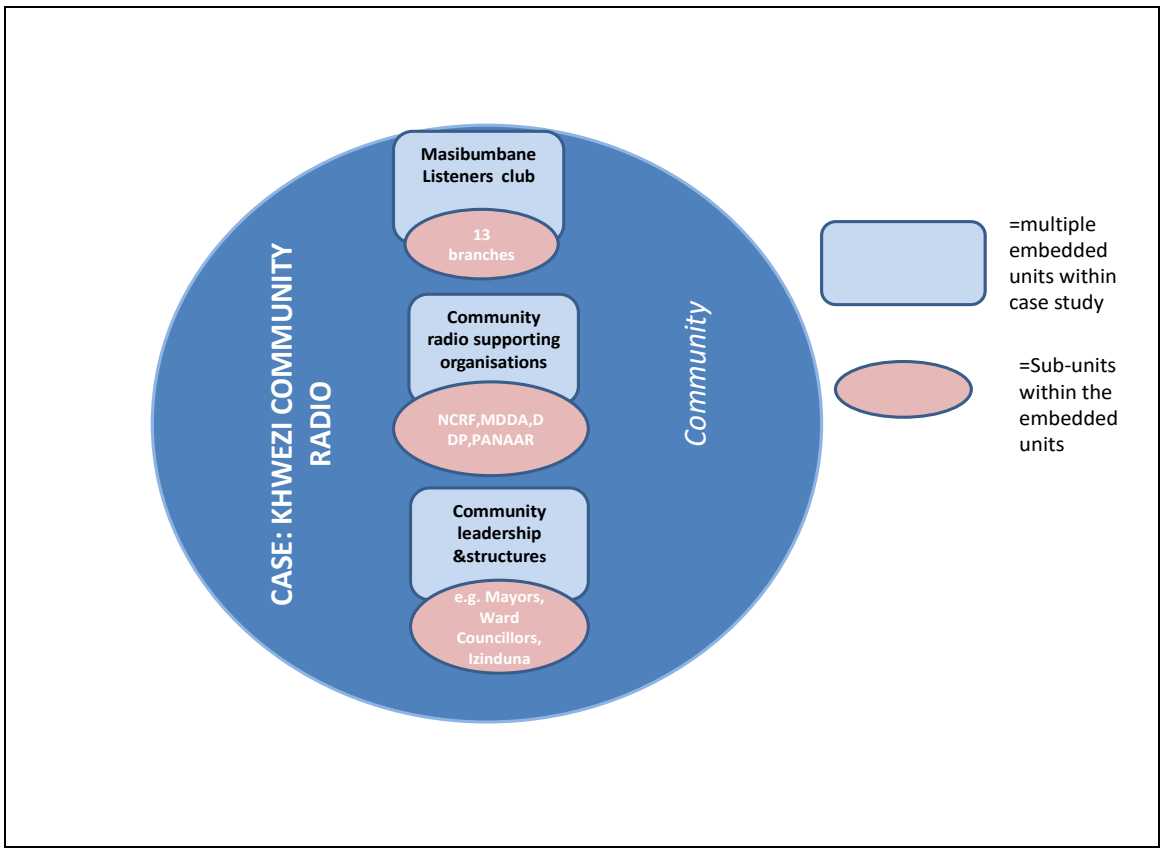


Figure 5. 1: Single case with multiple embedded units (*Researcher's illustration)*

The researcher specifically applied a single case study with multiple embedded units' approach (Remenyi, 2012). Remenyi (2012) further defines this as an approach with multiple operating units within a larger organization. This is beneficial in allowing for cross-case analysis

and comparisons between different units of analyses. The application of the multiple embedded unit case study approach in elucidating the research process that the study embarked on also requires discussion.

5.5.1 KR Staff and Management

The primary case study, KR had 14 participant comprising both radio presenters and managers in various departments. Data from this category was collected through in-depth interviews and non-participant observations, primarily targeted at activities or instances that provided the researcher with an opportunity to study Khwezi radio and how the station works with the community. All interviews and observations took place at the Khwezi Radio offices located in KwaSizabantu Mission (KSB), situated between Mapumulo and Kranskop in KwaZulu Natal. The interviews and non-participant observation with KR staff spanned several departments within the community radio station. These included the station management; the newsroom; the station programming (production and Broadcasting); the sales, marketing and advertising; Masibumbane Listeners Club (MLC) coordination; radio drama and poetry, staff development and training.

5.5.2 Listeners (community members)

Data amongst listeners of KR was collected through focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and non-participant observations. Participants from the community category were mainly made up of active listeners of KR. In this study, this is defined as being part of the Masibumbane Listeners Club (MLC). Data was collected from both members and coordinators of the 13 MLC branches that made up the study. Another category less prominent is the non-active or ad hoc listeners who are less engaged in KR and are not part of the listeners club. In sum, 66 participants were interviewed, encompassing 45 females and 21 males, made up from the listeners' category in the study. Most participants were adults, with a few falling under the youth category[17]

[17] Specific age was not requested due to the sensitivities around asking older people their ages in the isiZulu culture

Ten focus group discussions were conducted with listeners who are members of MLC across different branches across KwaZulu Natal. The most prominent was the Msinga area, which has KRs highest number of listeners in the province and has the biggest listeners club branch (KwaKopi branch) with approximately 200 listeners. Three FDGs were conducted from this branch. Other branches included in the FGDs were Eshowe, Darnall, KwaSizabantu (KSB) Mission, Pietermaritzburg, Howick, KwaHaza and Mangethe. The participants in the FGDs ranged between 2 and 8 in total. Most of the FGDs had three persons participating in the discussions. The overall gender composition of the 10 FGDs was 40 females and six males[18].

More in-depth interviews(IDIs) were conducted with Masibumbane Listeners Club (MLC) members spread out across these branches in the Ntumjambili, Ntembisweni, eMatimatolo, Kranskop, Greytown and Vikindlala areas. The researcher also conducted an IDI with one ad hoc listener who is not a member of the MLC. The gender composition of the IDIs included four females and five males. Another group of ad hoc listeners[19] formed part of the data collection. Subsequently, seven unstructured interviews (UIs) were conducted with this group. These interviews took place at a community event that the researcher attended with KR staff.

Participants from eSwayimane were made up of two groups, with all-male participants and four one-on-one interviews with individual men. The interviews took place alongside a men's meeting (discussing male-related concerns during men's month in July[20]) in the community (it was a male-targeted event, hence, the fact that only males were participants here). One other UI with one female was conducted in Maphumulo during a target visit to the ad hoc listener's home with a KR staff member. The researcher also attended one major listeners' event, which allowed for non-participant observation (NPOs) of KR's active listeners during their joint annual celebration event in November 2019. Moreover, the researcher used

18 Women make up the majority of Khwezi's listenership.
19 The researcher met these listeners, defined as being irregular listeners and not members of MLC, during a community event attended with KR Staff.
20 In KwaZulu Natal, July is recognised as men's month.

the interviews, FGD sessions, and KR facilitated meetings with MLC coordinators to conduct ongoing observations with listener groups and community members.

5.5.3 Community leaders and organisations working with CR and KR

Two key informant interviews (KIIs) with community leaders, including an analysis of two mayoral programmes on KR's development programming, were included for this data collection. The mayoral programmes consist of the monthly slots that different mayors within KR's geographical bounds have to speak to community members on-air regarding progress on development programmes and service delivery issues in the community. The researcher conducted a detailed review of the live shows held on 01 April 2019 and 29 July 2019, with a local municipality mayor and one district mayor in KwaZulu Natal, respectively. This is part of the Sakhisizwe (We are Building the Nation) programme described in chapter 3. These Mayoral shows provided a useful basis for an analysis of KRs facilitatory role between communities and their leaders.

In addition, two key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted with organisations that support community radios more broadly. These organizations contribute to community radios' governance and support, not just at KR. The researcher interviewed two representatives, with significant experience, from two central to CR's support, the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) and the KwaZulu Natal National Community Radio Forum (KZN NCRF).

As depicted in figure 5.1, the study consisted of an in-depth exploration of KR, which consists of various sub-units. These are the Masibumbane Listeners Club (within which 13 listeners clubs were studied), organizations supporting community radios (in which case 4 organizations were selected), and community leaders, such as the Mayor and Deputy mayor District and local Municipal level. These were the two community leaders interviewed.

The emphasis on the 'community' is a significant construct of this study. This is because 'community' is the bigger picture to which community radio contributes to building communities. The case study looked at community radio as a community-oriented intervention

seeking to contribute to social change in the audience communities. Exploring the sub-units allowed the researcher to obtain as much of a broad understanding as was possible on community radios' role in supporting community social change. A detailed description of the method of data collection used in the researchprovides a description ofs the research setting and the case study's key elements an d sub-units that the researcher employed to understand Khwezi Community Radio's contributions to social change.

5.6 Methods and processes of Data collection

This section discusses the five-stage process that this research followed. It then delves into the steps taken by the researcher to gain access to the research setting. It further details the threefold data collection process, consisting of three field visits spanning across 2019.

5.6.1 The Research Processes

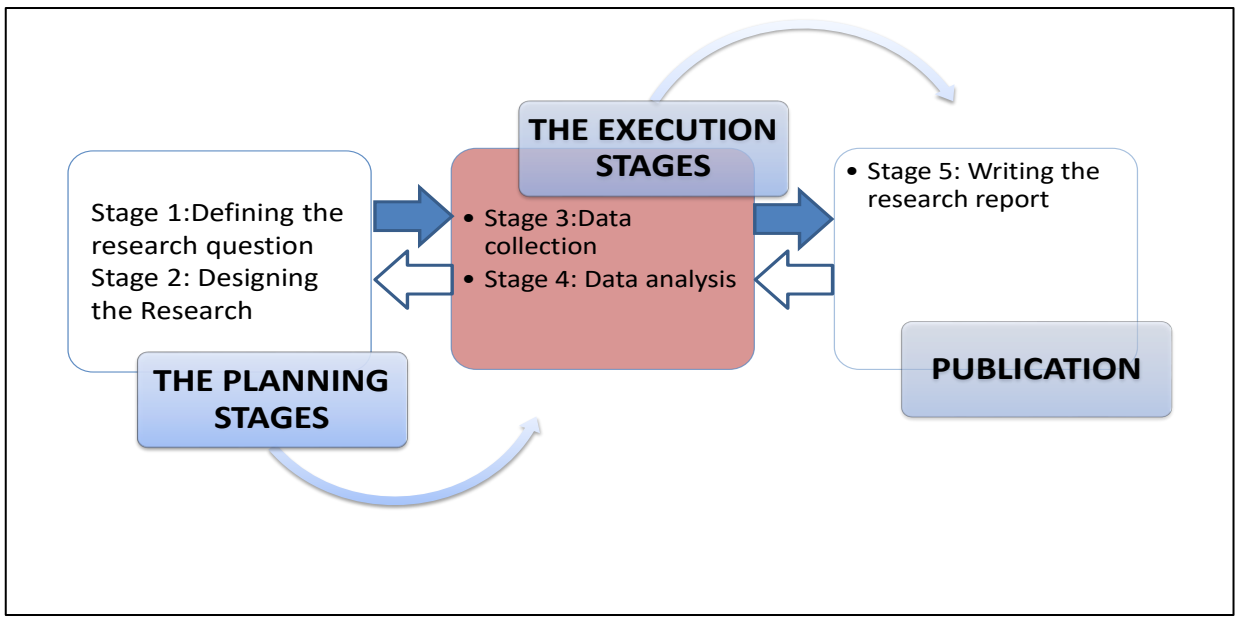


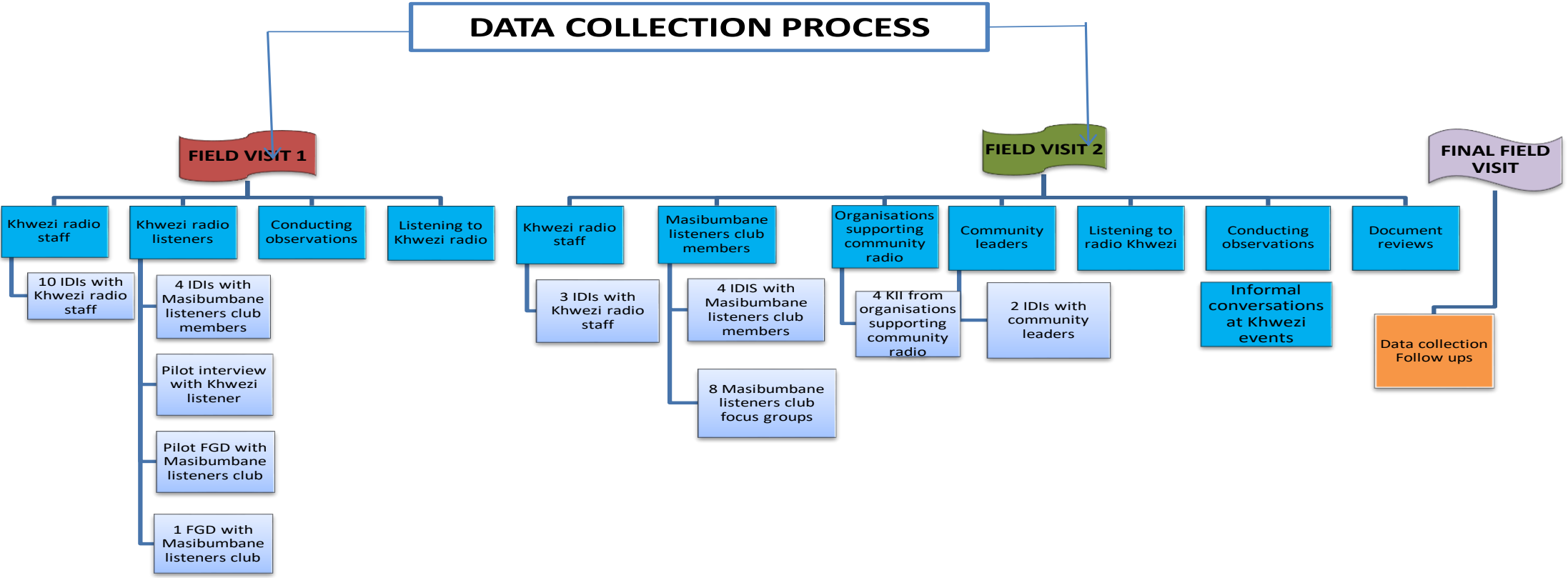
Figure 5. 2: The research process (*authors diagrammatic illustration*)

Stages adopted from Terre Blanche et al. (2006)

Terre Blanche et al. (2006) highlights five key stages in the research process, namely: defining the research question, designing the research, data collection, data analysis as well as writing the research report as illustrated in the diagram above. While the research process as a blueprint consists of a sequence of activities that start with the research question and end with the research report, it should be noted that research, particularly qualitative, is a reiterative

process that requires a flexible and non-consequential approach. Hence the arrows in the diagram above are not linear; they instead point forwards (to the right) and backwards (to the left) as the process may go back and forth as a result of situational changes that may, for instance, result in changing the research design (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Thus, a discussion on the execution of stages, specifically steps three and four, must follow the data collection and data analysis processes.

Figure 5. 3: The data collection process (*Researcher's illustration*)



5.6.2 The data collection process

As figure 5.3 shows, the data collection process was threefold and took place in 2019 in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. The first field visit was a week-long and took place between 31st March to 6 April 2019. The second field visit spanned more than three weeks from 20 July to 2nd September 2019, and finally, the final field visit was a week-long between the 22nd -30th of November 2019. Before the fieldwork, the researcher wrote a formal letter to the community radio station detailing the purpose of the visit; the key participants sought as well as the planned duration of the visit. The letters for the field visits are attached in appendices 1-3.

Gaining access to the research setting

Before embarking on the fieldwork journey, the researcher conducted in-depth desktop research to understand Khwezi radio station –its location, the Radio station's objectives, its work to date, and its target listener communities. This informed the research proposal and the interest in studying the station and its interaction with audience communities. The case presented an interesting outlook on community radios facilitation of development in communities which sparked the drive to choose it as the site of this study. Moreover, because I understand IsiZulu, from which IsiNdebele is an offshoot, made this case an easier choice because IsiZulu is the main language of communication in KwaZulu Natal.

The researcher searched for the Radio station's contact details on the radio station's website and attempted to establish initial contact with the Station Management. This was commenced at the proposal stage in January-February 2018. It took several months before any concrete response was obtained. Upon emails and telephonic follow up attempts, the researcher finally got through to the Programmes Manager, at that time, who was able to send the request to conduct research of the station's work to management for review. After a few telephonic conversations outlining the research objectives and interests, this permission was granted. The research acceptance letter from radio Khwezi, dated 08, March 2019, is attached in the appendices.

Once the ethical clearance was obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand Human Research Ethics Committee (the ethics certificate is attached in Appendix 4), the researcher emailed Khwezi radio Management proposing the preferred dates for the first field visit. This took place from the 31st March to 6th April 2019. Having someone from the management team, who was assigned to support the researcher with my data collection, was very helpful throughout the data process. The Radio Khwezi Management representative was very instrumental in the smooth access to the research sites. This involved being the liaison person between the radio station, the listeners (particularly Masibumbane Listeners Club), the community leaders who engage with the station, and the organizations that work with Radio Khwezi in support of community development initiatives. This facilitated the researcher's entry beyond the radio station and to the broader community of listeners.

The researcher's linkages with KwaZulu Natal - as a Khumalo and having the ability to speak and comprehend isiZulu were very significant door openers that created a favourable environment right from the start and throughout the research. Khumalo's in KwaZulu Natal are recognized as linked to the royal household that was a part of King Mzilikazi Khumalo, who founded Matabeleland's Kingdom. Having this namesake, which is a part of my heritage, did help in the research process. As a result, whenever I introduced myself in various settings, I was met with a lot of welcome and respect from research participants. In some instances, this was followed by the declaration of clan names and totems of Khumalo, which took some getting used to. The researcher ensured that this did not create any hierarchy between herself and the participants by maintaining humility, being respectful to research participants, and clarifying her role as a researcher in that context.

To be fair, the researcher acknowledges that this made access to participants smoother. These factors were critical to the researcher establishing a comfortable rapport with the research participants. The researcher further recognizes the opportunity presented by radio Khwezi's location at Mission KwaSizabantu, which is open to public visitors, as enabling easy accessibility to Radio Khwezi. KwaSizabantu Mission became the researcher's 'station' during the three data collection periods in 2019. Khwezi Radio Management assisted me with obtaining accommodation at the Mission's Guesthouse, which houses different visitors to the Mission free of charge. Furthermore, when I was not out in the listener

communities, Radio Khwezi Management allocated me a space to sit and work at the station offices. This further enabled greater rapport with Khwezi staff and made it possible for the researcher to learn more about the station's work through informal conversations and ongoing observations.

Khwezi radio station staff played a central facilitation role between the researcher and the participants by introducing them to the researcher and setting up a suitable time to schedule interviews or focus group discussions with participants. Because a representative from Management was tasked to be the liaison person for the research, it made the data collection process pleasant. In most instances, the researcher was escorted by an allocated representative from the radio station to the listener communities. Often these were in very remote rural areas that would have been very difficult for the researcher to find independently. These introductions were very important in making the listeners comfortable to engage with the researcher about their familiarity with the radio station. It was also useful to have this support for translation purposes whenever it became necessary, as some of the isiZulu words used were of a very high standard when used in certain contexts and not as familiar to the researcher.

The research topic generally received much interest from participants, especially the listeners. People largely seemed excited to meet the researcher and share their stories on how they have interacted with the station, the listeners club and the stations' effects on their livelihoods. Thus, I was able to build good relationships with the radio station staff and management, making the research process manageable and seamless. Rapport was built from the first field visit and throughout the research process, especially after becoming known amongst the listeners and the Khwezi radio staff. This outline of the researcher's process to gain access into the research site must then unpack the three-pronged data collection process that the researcher followed. This further illustrates how the rapport built with the participants was very critical to ensuring an in-depth focus of the phenomena under study.

Field visit one: Case study scoping and preliminary data collection

The researcher used the first field visit to pilot the questionnaires and build rapport with Khwezi Radio station staff and some listeners. During the week spent there, the researcher was able to get a sense of what the case study would entail, particularly the geographical location and the possibilities within which data could be collected. For instance, when the researcher submitted the proposal, she had not anticipated the vast spread of Khwezi radio's listeners and where they resided in relation to the station. Moreover, I had not anticipated the vibrancy of the Masibumbane Listener's Club and its central role in contributing to Khwezi radio's community development objectives. During this first visit, the researcher was accommodated at the KwaSizabantu Mission Guest House. I spent most of the time at the Khwezi Radio station offices and meeting some listeners from various communities.

The researcher began by piloting the interview guides – both for the Radio station staff and the community members and listeners of Khwezi radio. I conducted ten in-depth interviews with Radio Khwezi Management and staff and five interviews with listeners. Moreover, two focus group discussions were conducted with a group of listeners. During this initial phase, the researcher interacted with community members who are also KR listeners. These were conducted specifically within the scope of three listeners club branches. The interview and Focus group discussion guides are attached in Appendix 6.

Field visit two: Primary Data collection

Most of the research fieldwork was spread out between the 20th of July to the 2nd of September 2019. This involved conducting in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, observation, and systematically listening to radio programming. During this fieldwork, the researcher was able to gain deeper embeddedness into the research setting because I spent a lot of time in the field and interacted at greater length with Radio Khwezi staff, Masibumbane listeners club members and other listeners of the station. This paid off as the researcher engaged with community members from eleven listeners club branches during this visit. This visit further allowed the researcher to engage with community leaders and organisations that work with the radio station.

During this second visit, I was again stationed at Radio Khwezi offices and travelled extensively to listener communities. The researcher also attended events and meetings with Khwezi staff that were very crucial to understanding how the station works and engages with the

community. Cases in point included attending meetings with Masibumbane coordinators, staff meetings, and a community event to which the station was invited- (the 'Men's conference' held on 23 July 2019. During these platforms, the researcher had informal conversations with listeners of the station and scheduled in-depth interviews after the meetings. Moreover, during this period, the researcher had the opportunity to attend a seminar hosted by the Democracy and Development Program (DDP) on community media's role in promoting active citizenship. This seminar aimed to enhance and strengthen relationships between community media and other stakeholders such as government and civil society. This was a useful platform for the researcher to connect with key stakeholders supporting community radio, particularly the MDDA and the NCRF.

Final field visit

The final visit to the prime research site, Radio Khwezi, was planned to align with the Masibumbane listeners club Year-end Christmas celebration on the 23rd of November. This is an annual event that brings together all the listeners club branch members and Khwezi staff to celebrate the year that was as well to interact and exchange gifts among one another. The researcher sent a formal request to the management of Khwezi radio asking to be part of this event and stay a few days thereafter to conduct any follow-up fieldwork the study might require. The request is attached in appendix 3. The last phase of the data collection was essential. It allowed the researcher to conduct follow-ups and more importantly data validation with the radio station and listeners within reach.

5.7 Methods of Data collection

The researcher employed very definite qualitative methods to collect data and answer the research questions. These are interviews, focus group discussions, observations, document reviews, and listening and analysis of selected radio Khwezi programmes. These are, in turn, described here, respectively.

5.7.1 Interviews

The researcher was guided by Kvale's (1996 cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001) seven stages in completing the interview process. (These are namely: 'thematizing', which involved clarifying the purpose of the interviews as well as the concepts to explore; 'designing' which

involved detailing the research plan on achieving the research purpose including ethical consideration; ‘conducting’ the planned interviews; ‘transcribing’ the interviews; ‘analyzing’ the interview data in relation to the research purpose; ‘verification’, notably checking the reliability and validity of the findings and ‘reporting’ the findings, i.e., writing the research report.

In asking where the interview data will come from, Babbie and Mouton (2001) cite Spradley (1979), who provides a three-pronged criterion for selecting interview participants. Firstly, enculturation, which involves familiarity with the context and phenomenon. Secondly, participants' current involvement in the issues concerning the study is essential. And lastly, the ability of participants to make adequate time for the research. The researcher applied this criterion in selecting interview participants. It did this by selecting key informants who are familiar with the research phenomena and are currently involved, one way or the other, in the issues and those that were available (able to make time) to contribute in the study.

Non-structured and semi-structured in-depth face-to-face and telephonic interviews were held with Khwezi community radio staff, community listeners of radio Khwezi. These community leaders have partnerships with KR for programming purposes and organizations that support community radios more broadly or Khwezi radio specifically. Most of the interviews were conducted in IsiZulu, as this is the dominant language spoken in the area. The researcher has a good understanding of IsiZulu, as her home language is isiNdebele, a part of the Nguni languages. As a result, she was able to conduct the interviews, and where necessary, received translation support from the radio station's representatives. The interview guides were also translated to isiZulu, and the consent forms were read out orally to ensure that the participants remained comfortable in the research setting.

In-depth interviews are an essential source of case study information (Yin, 2009). The purpose of research interviews is to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on specific matters (in this case, the community radio’s contribution to individual empowerment and consequently social change in the community) (Gill, Stewart,Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008). There are three types of interviews: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Semi-structured interviews

were used for this study. They allowed the interviewer and interviewee to diverge from the constraints of structured questions and pursue an idea or response in more detail if it proved useful to providing a deeper understanding of social phenomena (Gill et al., 2008). This is a flexible form of an interview that allows for the discovery and elaboration of important information for participants. This approach was appropriate for the study as it helped the researcher obtain a better understanding from community members on how they see development in their communities. It further showed the extent to which community radio has empowered them towards their involvement in development concerns that affect them. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to have guided questions in line with the research objectives and questions while allowing for flexibility and open-ended responses, which provided rich perspectives and openly detailed the participants' experiences and views. Semi-structured interviews present a flexible approach which have a combination of closed-ended and open-ended questions. They allow the interviewer room to adjust the sequence of the questions being asked based on the context of the participants' responses (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009).

In addition, the study conducted unstructured interviews when the researcher had an opportunity to attend a community event with the radio station in one of the areas, eSwayimane. Unstructured interviews are sometimes used interchangeably with informal conversation or non-standardised interviews (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). According to Patton (2002), unstructured interviews are a natural extension of participant observation, and they rely on the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of interaction. This approach supported the researcher's use of an interpretive approach. It further allowed for obtaining meaning through the participants' perspective and assisted with obtaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon without imposing a structure on the questions.

Two separate interview questionnaires were designed for selected community members and community radio key informants. The researcher was able to establish rapport and created a comfortable environment with participants. Before conducting the interviews, participants were informed about the study details and received assurance about ethical principles, such as anonymity and confidentiality. Moreover, the researcher took notes during the interviews and participants' permission was sought before any recording to ensure

consent was obtained. The ethical clearance allowed the researcher to obtain oral consent rather than written consent. Given the nature of the research setting, requesting signed consent forms from participants could create scepticism.

5.7.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus groups can be defined as forms of group interviews that capitalize on communication between research participants in generating research data (Kitzinger, 1995). Focus group discussions use group interaction as part of their approach to data collection. Participants are encouraged to speak to each other, ask questions, exchange anecdotes, and comment on each other's experiences and points of view (ibid). Focus group discussions are beneficial for community studies because their strengths lie in exploring people's knowledge and experiences by examining what people think, how they think and why they think in a particular way. Fusch and Ness (2015) see FGDs as useful ways to elicit several perspectives on a given topic to reach data saturation if the researcher had a large pool of potential participants from which to draw. Thus, while more depth is obtained from the researcher conducting individual interviews with some participants, FGDS are more useful for obtaining group perspectives about the phenomena being studied.

In considering the appropriateness of using focus group discussions, Kitzinger (1995) asserts that they are particularly appropriate when the interviewer has a series of open-ended questions and wishes to encourage participants to explore the importance of their vocabulary, according to their priorities. Moreover, focus groups provide the ability to analyse group interaction, humour, consensus, and dissent and the researcher's ability to ascertain and understand different types of narratives used within the group. Additionally, through these discussions, the researcher can identify shared and common knowledge between research participants (Ibid).

Kitzinger (1995) recognised some key advantages of using focus group discussions as follows; their ability to encourage participation from those who may be intimidated by individual interviews and encourage participation from people of diverse groups. FGDs also encourage other participants to contribute through engaging in group discussions initiated by

other participants. This allows for the free exchange of ideas as more members of the group can break the ice for those who may be shy and introverted.

The researcher conducted FGDs with participants with some homogeneity, particularly regarding their active engagement in the listener's club and Khwezi radio's activities. The participants in the different focus groups conducted still had their nuances. For instance, depending on which Ward they lived in, they shared different experiences that brought diversity to the group discussions. In most cases, the focus group members participated actively in the discussions and felt comfortable sharing at length with other group members.

Limitations of Focus Group Discussions

The advantages of focus groups explain their popularity as a research method. But FGDs do have some limitations that are worth noting, which the researcher considered for this research. Terre Blanche et al. (2006) point out that the challenge with FGDs is that they cannot guarantee confidentiality as the researcher does not have certainty that all group members will treat the information heard from others with respect and confidentiality. The presence of other research participants could also compromise the confidentiality of the research session (Kitzinger,1995). Hence the research participants should be briefed about confidentiality in advance of the FDG. Also, some participants' articulation of group norms could silence individual voices of dissent (Kitzinger,1995). The researcher took cognizance of these limitations and attempted to create a safe and comfortable space by giving time to allow each participant to contribute to the discussion.

5.7.3 Non-participant Observations

In this study, non-participant direct observations were conducted in public settings as non-staged events in conjunction with the in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions. Less formal, direct observations were conducted throughout the research fieldwork, particularly during interviews, FGDs and Radio Khwezi events attended. Observation can be defined as "the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study" (Marshall and Rossman, 1989, p. 79). Furthermore, Williams (2008, p. 561) defines

non-participant observation as:"…a relatively unobtrusive qualitative research strategy is used to gather data about some aspect of the social world without interacting directly with its participants." He adds that researchers conducting nonparticipant observations may, in some instances, be co-present with research participants in their natural setting. Non-participant observations help understand a phenomenon by entering the community or social system involved while staying separate from the observed activities (Liu and Maitlis, 2010). They have the advantage of providing a more nuanced and dynamic appreciation of situations that cannot be as easily captured through other methods (ibid).

In this case, the researcher spent a significant amount of time being co-present with participants, particularly at the Radio Station and engaged a lot with Khwezi staff, given that she was also staying at KwaSizabantu Mission for the duration of the research fieldwork. The researcher's observations of the participants in their natural settings helped provide a broader understanding of the research context and the phenomena under study. In addition to non-participant observation, the study also incorporated document reviews to collect data.

5.7.4 Document reviews

Bowen (2009) defines document analysis as a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents, both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material. Document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Rapley, 2008). Yin (2014) supports the use of documents in social research to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources.

Secondary data in the form of government policy documents of development, local municipality annual reports and radio Khwezi station reports and other guiding policies, listenership statistics, radio programme plans, the outline of events and successes to date were collected. Meeting minutes from the MLC that were made available were also reviewed to understand how community issues that were identified fed back into the community radio. The data obtained from these documents were essential to triangulating with findings from the interviews, focus group discussions and observations, which provided richer information that provided a deeper understanding of community radio's contribution to community

development. By triangulating data, the researcher sought to provide a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility' (Eisner, 1991; p. 110). Moreover, by examining information collected through different methods, the researcher corroborated findings across data sets and reduced the impact of potential biases existing in the research (Bowen, 2009).

5.7.5 Systematically listening to and analysis of KR radio programming

The researcher systematically listened to radio Khwezi programmes, mainly the development shows and analysed the programming in line with the research questions. This involved listening to and analysing a selection of randomly selected recorded development programmes and programmes relating to Masibumbane Listeners Club from the period February 2019 to January 2020. The researcher listened to and analysed these selected programmes, i.e., the content aired and the nature of the interaction between listeners and station presenters in line with the study's research questions. This was a crucial additional method of triangulating the research data obtained from the interviews, focus group discussions, observations and document reviews.

The researcher undertook the multi-methods approach, which ensured as much of an in-depth understanding of the case study as was possible. Conducting interviews, focus group discussions, document reviews, non-participant observations, and listening to and analysing radio programming provided enough data to be collected for the study. Still, even with adequate data collection techniques, the study had to take seriously the data analysis processes employed.

5.8 Data Analysis

Before the analysis began, the researcher ensured that all audio files were transcribed verbatim. This included translating interviews, focus group discussions and radio programmes held in isiZulu into English. Following the transcription and translation of the data, the researcher studied the data in detail, looking for patterns, insights, and concepts of interest emerging, taking note of any preliminary observations and interpretations (Yin, 2014). The researcher then made useful connections, including noting and highlighting recurring themes, connections, similarities, and differences found in the data. Thereafter the researcher

undertook quality assurance to ensure that all audios were transcribed, made sense and were named and filed clearly as part of the data cleaning process. This led the study to start the thematic analysis process.

5.8.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns or themes within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 57). Through conducting thematic analysis, the researcher made sense of collective meanings and experiences from the research participants (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Thematic analysis is advantageous for conducting high-quality qualitative data analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) outline six phases required when conducting thematic analysis: familiarisation with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and finally producing a report of the analysis. These steps informed the analysis of the research findings, with the researcher making use of NVivo 12 (version 12.60 (3841) qualitative analysis software to support the data analysis.

The researcher used NVivo, given its advantage in processing large amounts of data. NVIVO allowed the researcher to gain more perspective of the data in relation to the research questions (Adu, 2019). Moreover, as Bazeley and Richards (2000) asserted, NVivo makes it possible to manage, access, and analyse qualitative data that allows the researcher to have perspective on the data without losing its richness and closeness to all the data. As a guide to analysing qualitative data using NVivo, the researcher adopted Adu's (2019) six stages of qualitative data analysis using the NVivo software, which is well-aligned to the stages of thematic analysis. These six stages include; preparing qualitative data, exploring the data, coding empirical indicators, developing categories or themes, visualising outcomes and exporting outcomes.

Firstly, the researcher familiarised herself with the qualitative data transcripts through the process of immersion, i.e., reading and re-reading the transcripts and making notes to make sense of them. In NVivo, this was captured by steps one and two, i.e., Preparation of the qualitative data and exploring the data. In the data preparation, analysis on NVivo began by importing all the clearly labelled transcribed field transcripts into NVivo, i.e., the interviews, FGDs, observation notes and radio programming notes transcripts were imported.

I then created classification cases of the data- i.e., gender, listeners club branch (i.e., data collection site), residence, age and age group, Khwezi Staff positions, community leaders, and the organisational representatives supporting KR and CR more broadly. Next, in exploring the data, Adu (2019, p. 232) asserts, the more a researcher learns about their qualitative data, the better the quality of the analysis. Similarly, the data exploration in this study was heightened by using NVivo's functions, such as running the word frequency which allowed the researcher to visualise the frequency of the words from the transcripts.

The researcher proceeded to step two of Braun and Clarke's (2012) idea of generating initial codes, which involve the systematic analysis of the data through the coding process. Braun and Clarke (2012, p. 61) define codes as the building blocks of analysis, as they provide labels for the data features in relation to the research questions. On NVivo, generating initial codes aligns with Step 3 of Adu's process, namely Coding empirical indicators. Here, the researcher went through each transcript with the research questions in mind, coding each along with their correspondence to the research questions. This is referred to as creating nodes on NVivo (Adu, 2019). Each node is then labelled accordingly. The coding strategy used in the study was interpretation focused coding which is suitable for research that aims to explore, explain or understand specific behaviours, settings, phenomena, experiences or events. The strategy is typically used for research questions that start with 'what' or 'how' (Adu, 2019, p. 91). Interpretation focused coding was a suitable approach for the study as it allowed the researcher to identify meaningful information in the data and come up with codes that represent an understanding of the information (ibid).

The researcher then moved to phase 3 of searching for themes which involved moving from codes to themes. According to Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 82), themes capture something important about the data in relation to the research questions and represent patterned responses or meaning within data sets. In this studies development of themes and sub-themes, the researcher reviewed the codes assigned from the data to identify similarity and overlap areas. This stage also involved exploring relationships between themes and the picture they provide of the data. In NVivo, this aligned to Step 4 of Adu's categorisation, i.e., Developing categories or themes. Using NVivo, the researcher assigned the codes developed into the appropriate themes and subthemes generated, guided by the research questions.

Reviewing potential themes that Braun & Clarke (2006) discuss as essentially a quality assurance exercise of the themes developed was the next stage undertaken. Here, the researcher reviewed the themes developed to ensure that they made sense in relation to the coded data, the data set, and the research questions. As the themes were refined, some got discarded, and some were merged. In NVivo, this was a continuation of Stage 4's development of categories and themes. The refining and revising took place on NVivo, which allowed the researcher to discard, amend or collapse themes were necessary.

The following stage in the analysis process was Braun and Clarke's (2006) stage 5, i.e., defining and naming themes similar to the previous involves quality assurance and refinement of themes developed. This is similarly a continuation of stage 4 in NVivo. Here, the researcher checked the themes on NVivo to ensure there was no repetitiveness, overlap, themes that did not address the research questions and a coherent story. The review also involved coming up with suitable names for each theme. The researcher then turned the final two stages outlined by Adu (2019), i.e., visualising and exploring outcomes in ensuring that the data was well presented and in communicable format. On NVivo, the researcher used word cloud and word frequency tools to present the data, allowing new insights into the data as shown in appendix 8. In the final NVivo stage of exporting outcomes, the researcher exported the codebook and other supplementary information such as word clouds, word trees as illustrations of the data. This organisation of the data was critical in communicating the findings in preparation for the write-up.

The analysis stage concluded with Braun and Clarke's (2006) final stage of producing the report. This is the write-up[21] where the researcher has the chance to present a compelling story, i.e., both at the descriptive and analytical level of the data, based on the analysis exercise. During the write-up phase, the themes and arguments presented must respond to and attempt to answer the research questions. The last methodological ideal that needs to be unpacked are the ethical considerations the study followed as guided by the university's ethical policies.

[21] Ch 6 – 10 of this study are the write-up sections of this study.

5.9 Ethical considerations

Emanuel et al. (2004) present a useful framework with eight practical principles benchmarking ethical standards in research, namely 'collaborative partnership', 'social value', 'scientific validity', 'a fair selection of participants', 'favourable risk/benefit ratio', 'independent ethical review', 'informed consent' and 'ongoing respect for participants and study communities. These principles provided a useful, ethical stance in ensuring the ethicality of the research.

Broadly, the research adhered to the University of Witwatersrand's ethical standards. Moreover, an independent ethical review process was followed by the Faculty of Humanities Ethics Committee. The researcher applied for ethical clearance of the research on 12 September 2018 and obtained the ethical clearance certificate on 15 February 2019. Consequently, the research followed the ethical standards of the university both during and after fieldwork.

Consent was obtained most times orally – particularly with the community members interviewed as the researcher felt that introducing a form to complete in that setting would have brought discomfort to the participants. In other instances, where participants were more comfortable with formalities such as the Radio Khwezi staff, consent forms were completed. A sample of the consent form used (which was in most instances translated and read out in iSiZulu)is attached in appendix 5. The consent request involved providing details on the research and what it entailed, asking the participants if they were comfortable participating in the research, informing them of the confidentiality of the information provided, and that they could withdraw from the study whenever they felt uncomfortable with the interviews or the general research process. Participants understood that their participation in the study was voluntary and that those who declined to continue at any part of the interview would not face any negative repercussions (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Participants were further assured that their identities would not be revealed by explaining to them that the information they provided would be publicized only in the context of academic

reporting and nowhere else. Additionally, for scientific validity, the researcher took the time to apply rigorous data collection and data analysis principles to obtain valid findings.

5.10 Methodological limitations

No research of this nature is without its methodological limitations. The researcher observed that the translation process from isiZulu (which is the language that was used for most interviews) to English resulted in losing some richness from the data. However, the researcher attempted to maintain the richness by presenting some quotes in isiZulu with English translation for understanding.

The researcher further acknowledges that the close involvement of KR may have biased participants' responses or influenced the group of listeners interviewed in the data collection process. However, the researcher countered this by using data triangulation, i.e., incorporating FGDs, interviews, non-participant observations, systematic listening to KR, and document reviews. Moreover, incorporating a diverse range of participants in the study through the multiple embedded case study presented varied perspectives and a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Moreover, the limited scope to conduct follow-up studies with listeners' community due to the study being conducted within a particular timeframe and within a limited budget needs to be recognised. However, this study provides findings that future research may find useful as a basis for conducting follow-up studies.

5.11 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented a justification for the qualitative approach embedded in the interpretivist tradition that informs the research. It has also presented a synopsis of the multiple embedded case study design employed by this research. The chapter further outlined the various considerations that the researcher followed to access the research site, the three-stage data collection process, and the ethical guidelines adhered to. The chapter detailed the use of thematic analysis supported with NVivo qualitative software to analyse the data. The chapter concluded with the methodological limitations and how the researcher factored these into the study.

Chapter 6: The socioeconomic characteristics of Khwezi community radio.

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the socioeconomic and other demographic characteristics relating to Khwezi Radio and its listener community in relation to the synopsis of the community presented in Chapter 3. The chapter begins by sketching a picture of who makes up the radio station staff, their responsibilities and what motivates their work at KR. It further presents the socio-economic background of the community members (i.e., the listeners of KR). Thereafter, the chapter briefly looks at the community leaders and organisations that work with KR and their community development initiatives.

6.1 Khwezi Radio staff characteristics

The KR departments have been described in more detail in the KR organogram presented in Chapter three, section 3. This section builds on that foundation and describes what motivations the staff to work at KR. The literature on Community radios remains scant on the contributory roles the staff and volunteers play. This includes factors such as what drives them and how they contribute to the functionalities of CRs. Staff and volunteers are particularly central to the stations' work and maintaining CRs vision in communities. First, the characteristics of the KR staff are described.

6.1.1 A synopsis of Khwezi radio staff in the study

Table 6.1 illustrates the KR staff included in the study. These ranged from those managing the programming, news production and reporting, revenue generation and the overall internal day to day running of the station, including quarterly reporting to the Board of Directors and providing strategic direction to KR. These roles are encapsulated in the organogram discussion in Chapter 3. The participants from KR were mostly male. Only two female staff members were interviewed at KR. Most staff have worked with KR since its inception in 1995,

with only a few staff members having less than 13 years' experience at the station. The least experience indicated from KR interviewees was four years' experience at the station.

Table 6. 1 Demographics of KR Staff and Management participants. (The author's illustration)[22]

No	Source	M/F	Yrs. at KR	Motivation For working at KR	Key Responsibilities
1	IDI	M	24	Spiritual calling	-Mentorship -Training of presenters -Radio programmes development
2	IDI	M	24	Individual passion and KR as a platform aligned to career goals, service to the community	-News editorial and production -production of current affairs shows -field visits+ community events for news broadcast
3	IDI	M	13	Interaction with communities, service to the community	-Managing live room presenters, producers -Scheduling shows
4	KII	M	13	N/A	-Sales, Marketing -Advertising and other revenue generation
5	KII	M	13	Individual passion and KR as a platform aligned to career goals	-Programmes production and broadcast -Facilitate radio content and programmes with presenters; Facilitate feedback loops on programming with listeners
6	IDI	M	8	Interaction with communities, service to the community	-Produce content for assigned shows -Present daily radio shows/ programmes
7	KII	F	20	Interaction with communities	-Coordinating listener club branches -community outreach
8	IDI	M	11	Individual passion and KR as a platform aligned to career goals	-Radio drama, poetry, radio presenter
9	IDI	M	24	Spiritual calling	Producing religious programming, KR management
10	IDI	M	4	Individual passion and KR as a platform aligned to career goals	Producing and presenting/broadcasting radio shows and programmes
11	IDI	M	24	N/A	station management, Reporting to the Board
12	IDI	F	8	Individual passion	Producing and presenting radio shows, mainly targeting women
13	IDI	M	24	Individual passion and KR as a platform aligned to career goals	Station management
14	IDI	M	24	No information	Station management, manage governance and strategic direction of KR as part of the Board

[22] Key: IDI = In-Dept Interview; KII = Key Informant Interview; FDG = Focus Group Discussions; Gender M=Male; F=Female

One Khwezi staff coordinates the 54 listeners club (MLC) branches across KR's community of active listeners. Th job of coordinating the Listener's Club branches entails managing the community development aspect of the radio station. It also includes liaising with listeners across all branches on the activities in their communities and strengthening interlinkages between KR and the listeners. This linkage between the station and the community of listeners sustains the strong community centredness of community radio's as asserted by scholars such as Milan (2009), Mtimde et al (1998) and Tucker (2013).

6.1.2 Motivation for working at KR

KR staff noted multiple motivations for working at the station, such as interaction with the community, service to the community, spiritual calling, individual passion and KR as a platform aligned to their career goals.

Community Interaction

Several Khwezi staff were motivated to work at the station because it offers the ability to interact with the community. The fact that the staff of KR are community-centric makes a notable contribution to the phenomenon of communityness discussed in the theoretical chapter. Staff members embraced the community values of CRs, which was evident in their approachability and love for people, which contributes to sustaining the communityness of KR. Most presenters felt that there was an advantage that KR presented them. It offered them the opportunity to interact at various levels with the community of station listener members. The "love for people" was specifically alluded to by some participants, whose interests in community interaction made their work feel like a calling rather than merely a job.

> *I am motivated to share information that I may have on each particular day. I am in contact with the community, and I can relate well with people. My background taught me how to relate to people. I have been able to build contacts with people. I do follow-ups to check on issues (IDI, KR Staff, 2019).*

Similarly, another participant asserted:

I am privileged to be part of the station. I love people, my life is centred on people, and radio connects me to people (IDI, KR Staff, 2019).

Community Service

Some KR staff members indicated that the ability to provide 'service to the community' motivates them to continue their work. Service to the community is described here as the opportunity to contribute to effecting change to community livelihoods through KR's work. Recognising their work at KR as crucial to serving the community, one KR presenter expressed:

I get lots of attention from my listeners, and I see that as making me a community servant. I enjoy the interaction with my listeners a lot- during the show and on social media. I believe in improving my community. God has a purpose for placing me in my community at this level (IDI, KR Staff, 2019).

Spiritual calling

'Spiritual calling', as used in this study, refers to one being motivated to work at KR because of the drive of their Christian conviction to serve and make a difference in people's lives. Participants motivated by spiritual calling also serve at the KSB Mission and see working at KR as part of fulfilling their missionary calling. The calling is considered a response to what they believe is a part of their Christian responsibility to the community. As one of the presenters motivated by their spiritual calling stated:

It is part of my calling to serve the community. I desire to develop our local community to be part of development (IDI, KR Staff, 2019).

Individual passion

Several KR staff found working at KR as 'fulfilling their passion and providing a platform aligned to their career goals'. This refers to KR staff who are motivated to work at the station due to the alignment of the work to their interests and life orientation and develop their skills at KR further. As one newsroom staff put it:

I enjoy this work because you cover fresh stories, report to people, which keeps people informed (IDI, KR Staff).

The contributions of CR staff and their values to the station's objectives have not been clearly presented in CRs literature. The research found that there is significant knowledge that can be learnt from the people representing the station to the community. It is the radio staff, particularly the presenters, who begin the process of putting into effect the development work of the station. The social attitudes presented here show the attributes found in KR staff, such as their openness, love for the community and being well aligned to the vision of CRs. They can be seen as equal contributors to undertaking the objectives that the station has to communities. It can further be argued that being self-motivated, which stood out across CR staff, was a crucial attribute in this type of work that did not have substantial remuneration benefits but made up for this by being more community service orientated.

6.2 Community members' demographics

6.2.1 Period of listenership

Table 6.1 shows the number of years community members have been listening to KR ranged from 1 year to 24 years, since the station's inception in 1995. There were a few participants who did not recall how long they had been listening to the station. Most participants (six in total) indicated that they have been listening to KR for 24 years, followed by those who had been listening to KR for 11 years (five participants). All of the Howick participants reported 11 years of listenership. The average years of the active listenership of KR is 15 years[23] , which indicates community members' loyalty to the station.

There was also a unique category of participants, mainly from *Msinga, KwaKopi*, and *Ntunjambili,* who cannot listen to KR but are part of the MLC. This is mostly due to signal limitations in their households. Three listeners fall under this category and, in some instances, receive updates concerning the specific activities of KR or Masibumbane from their neighbours. As such, the community here, formed through the Listener club, nurtured close ties between listeners that enabled them to connect even outside the station. The Listener's club not only had the ability to provide access to KR, for those who could not listen to the

[23] The average years of listenership calculation was based on available data from 40 active listeners

radio but also fostered a sense of still being part of the community spirit to these people with limited access. As was asserted by two MLC members:

> *I am from Mbangweni. Khwezi does not play at our home; the signal refuses. One of my neighbours who is also part of Masibumbane gets signal, and they are the ones who relay information to me, e.g., when the next meetings and activities are taking place (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

> *I like Khwezi, but my problem is that the signal does not allow me at my home. When I do get to listen to it, perhaps at someone's home, it really builds (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

In addition to ascertaining radio station staff characteristics and community members' listenership habits, the study found it crucial to understand the socioeconomic background of research participants. This socioeconomic background focused mainly on the source of livelihoods listeners had. This was regarded as an essential indicator of socioeconomic status and provided the backdrop to their motivation to become active listenership members of KR. An understanding of participants' socioeconomic status also presents a backdrop to the changes gained by listeners to their livelihoods as a result of KR interventions discussed from chapters 6-10.

6.2.2 Source of livelihood

The participants reported various sources of livelihoods. The main categories listed included being self-employed (informal sector), employed (formal sector); and unemployed (including pensioners and other grant recipients). Most listeners reported being self-employed. People who worked for themselves mostly indicated being dependent on small scale farming and livestock rearing for consumption and sales in the market. The crops they grow include maize, green vegetables (such as spinach and kale), beans, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, eggplant and onions, while others also rear chickens, goats and cattle. Several participants are also engaged in different forms of handwork (such as beadwork) and informal trading – including selling food items, sewing, selling mats, and clothing to sustain themselves and their families. Other

types of self-employment activities mentioned included running a non-profit organisation (NPO), taxi operation, domestic work and catering services.

Most people employed in the formal employment industry were mainly contract-based workers, while full-time employment with defined wages was less common. In this category, listeners participate in activities such as seasonal farm work, community caregiving (CCG), CWP (Community Works Programme), CWP, general worker, shop assistant, crèche teacher, working at a funeral parlour, a teacher, and two local government officials. Lastly, there was one male participant who answered that he was unemployed. Additionally, two men are pensioners, while another female mentioned being a grant recipient.

Unemployment remains a growing concern, and its increase has become a national trend in South Africa. Data from Stats SA (2016) shows a steady rise in unemployment aligned to the national and provincial increases. This trend is illuminated in Table 6.2 for the iLembe district, one of KR listenership communities, where unemployment has seen a constant increase over recent years when compared to KwaZulu-Natal.

Table 6. 2 Unemployment rates (Source: iLembe District Municipality IDP Review, 2020)

Date	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**
South Africa	24.7	25.2	25.5	26.9	27.8
KwaZulu-Natal	30	30.3	30.5	31.6	32.4
iLembe District	29.1	29.8	29.6	31	32

Moreover, recent unemployment statistics from the Stats SA quarterly labour force survey (2020) showed a further increase in unemployment in 2019. This is especially true in non-metro areas in KZN, which represent KR listener's geography. This is depicted graphically in Figure 6.1. The dark blue line shows the unemployment rate in the metro, which was at 25%, while the red line shows the unemployment rate in non-metros at 28.1 % (Stats SA, 2020).

Figure 6. 1 Labour force characteristics in KwaZulu Natal (Source: Quarterly Labour force survey, Quarter 4, 2020, pp38)

	Oct-Dec 2019	Jan-Mar 2020	Apr-Jun 2020	Jul-Sep 2020	Oct-Dec 2020
	Thousand	Thousand	Thousand	Thousand	Thousand
KwaZulu-Natal					
Population 15–64 yrs	**7 161**	**7 188**	**7 214**	**7 240**	**7 268**
Labour force	**3 554**	**3 656**	**2 832**	**3 245**	**3 488**
Employed	2 664	2 672	2 297	2 389	2 454
Unemployed	890	984	535	856	1 034
Not economically active	3 608	3 532	4 382	3 995	3 780
Discouraged work-seekers	824	821	611	753	786
Other	2 784	2 711	3 770	3 242	2 994
Rates (%)					
Unemployment rate	25,0	26,9	18,9	26,4	29,6
Employed/population ratio (absorption)	37,2	37,2	31,8	33,0	33,8
Labour force participation rate	49,6	50,9	39,3	44,8	48,0
KwaZulu-Natal – Non-metro					
Population 15–64 yrs	**4 695**	**4 714**	**4 734**	**4 754**	**4 783**
Labour force	**2 048**	**2 124**	**1 758**	**2 012**	**2 092**
Employed	1 473	1 479	1 311	1 330	1 346
Unemployed	575	646	447	683	745
Not economically active	2 647	2 590	2 976	2 742	2 692
Discouraged work-seekers	664	687	432	557	590
Other	1 983	1 903	2 544	2 185	2 102
Rates (%)					
Unemployment rate	28,1	30,4	25,4	33,9	35,6
Employed/population ratio (absorption)	31,4	31,4	27,7	28,0	28,1
Labour force participation rate	43,6	45,1	37,1	42,3	43,7

In addition, table 6.3 illustrates that employment in the formal sector (skilled, semi-skilled and low skilled) in the uMzinyathi district, which is the hub of KR's listenership, continues to be dominant. Similar to the trends observed in this study, this table shows that there has been a steady increase in the informal sector over the years.

Table 6. 3 Formal vs Informal employment in uMzinyathi district (Source: uMzinyathi Local Economic Development Strategy 2017, cited in uMzinyathi IDP pp 296)

Employment	**2006**	**2011**	**2016**
Formal: Skilled	17%	19%	18%
Formal: Semi-skilled	34%	31%	29%
Formal: Low skilled	31%	25%	24%
Informal	18%	25%	29%

This trend could be attributed to the rising unemployment crisis nationally, resulting in more people seeking self-employment opportunities. This was widely expressed by KR listeners who had invested in self and collective efforts to sustain their livelihoods.

6.3 The development status quo in listener communities

This section seeks to paint a vivid picture of the development initiatives in the rural communities, where most KR listeners live. The description that follows is informed by the data obtained from the interviews, focus group discussions, non-participant observations conducted with listeners of KR, and consulting secondary sources. This description provides a backdrop for understanding how KR interventions may be challenging and addressing the status quo in the communities studied. In this way, this background provides the context for development communication as an important contributor to critical awareness, which seeks to change communities' developmental challenges.

The importance of describing the communities' development status quo and the challenges it faces is to understand how KR is possibly mitigating these problems. Describing the development initiatives illustrates the existing community development efforts operating at the governmental, community, and individual levels. These initiatives are often intertwined. For instance, individual initiatives can require support from the government; or individual initiatives can benefit from the collaborative nature of community-driven initiatives such as farming co-operatives.

6.3.1 Government initiatives

Participants generally noted limited knowledge of government-initiated programmes in their communities. Those they did mention ranged from programmes targeted at youth, the Community Works Programmes and projects supported by agricultural extension workers. As shown in Figure 6.1, KZN citizens were largely uninformed of government programmes initiated in their communities. The results point to the lack of awareness around provincial government programmes and limited attendance of consultative meetings (Stats SA, 2018 pp71). This trend was similarly expressed by participants in the study who could not think of government programmes in their communities and had largely resorted to self and community-initiated projects to sustain themselves.

The majority of listeners, therefore, expressed an overwhelming sense of helplessness and despondency in government initiatives. While a few acknowledged the importance of government-driven initiatives towards driving development in communities, an overwhelming sense of unreliability about government-initiated programmes for self-sustenance was expressed. This was accompanied by a growing recognition of the need for communities to develop through their efforts and community-driven initiatives.

Aligned to this reported despondency, The Stats SA (2018, pp72) KwaZulu Natal Citizen Satisfaction Survey revealed that more than a third of KZN inhabitants, aged 15 years and older, were outright dissatisfied with the overall performance of the provincial government. This was more than those who indicated being satisfied or somewhat satisfied at the provincial government. In particular, the majority of citizens highlighted fraud and corruption as the notable challenges that needed eradication (Stats SA, 2018).

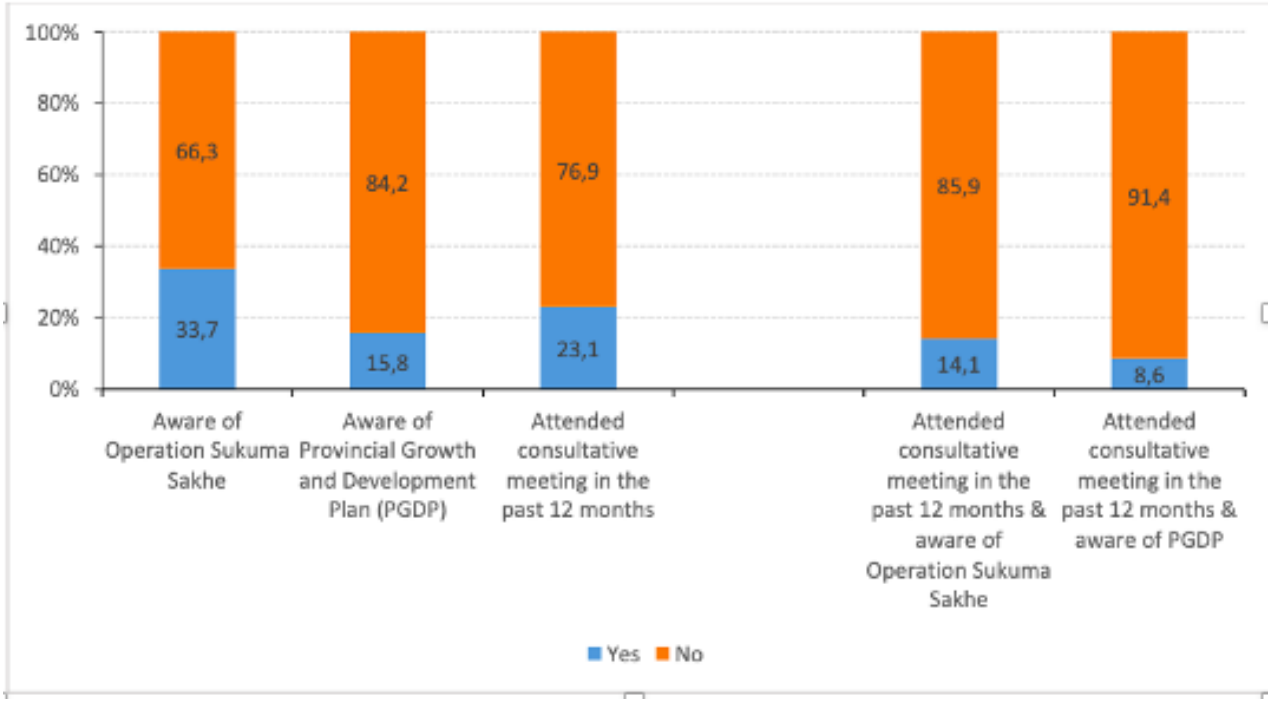


Figure 6. 2: Percentage distribution of persons aged 15 years and older by awareness of KwaZulu Natal provincial government programmes. (Stats SA, 2018)

The importance of government programmes in supporting the development of communities was acknowledged even while participants recognized several concerns that

limited the accessibility of such programmes. The importance of government-led programmes in fostering development in communities was recognised, with particular attention to the importance of community members being well informed about the roles and structures different government departments play. This involves citizens taking charge of their development and becoming equipped with various government entities, resources and opportunities available to them. Expressing the importance of citizens making use of government initiatives and the need to take the initiative to inform oneself about government programmes, one listener stated:

> *There is support for certain projects, but procedures must be followed so that one can get help. They told me they can help me, that the money is there, the problem is one needs one to have a way to write to a particular person, to know who is in charge of what in which Department. The problem is it's also us who are not utilising these channels. Government resources should benefit us, the taxpayers, and we should use them (UI, Masibumbane member, Ntembisweni).*

There was, however, an indication of the existence of youth-targeted programmes in some communities. These were particularly aimed at addressing youth unemployment, albeit the lack of fairness that was noted in some processes affecting the access to such opportunities. One councillor was commended in helping to fight the plight of youth unemployment:

> *The new councillor is helping. Many youths were not employed; now there's a difference in them getting access to opportunities in the area (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).*

A sense of despondency was indicated by some community members who felt that government programmes and projects were only for a selected few that are well connected to community leadership and political structures. As a result, people felt discouraged and hopeless in continuing their attempts at accessing government opportunities in their communities. As one participant expressed:

We do have programmes aimed at development brought about by the municipality, such as youth committees. However, people now have this passive mentality that even when meetings are scheduled, they feel like it's for those connected, so they don't feel encouraged to take part. They say, "even if we go, there's no point they will choose so and so because they are close to x/y/z!" (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).

Several participants hinted at partisanship as a stumbling block to implementing government programmes and projects, resulting in limited opportunities for communities. Moreover, partisanship in the distribution of opportunities, for example, targeted at youth in the community, was pointed out as a setback, particularly in addressing unemployment. For instance, one participant stated:

Regarding issues affecting youth, some people assist accordingly, but it all depends on who you are and who you know. I remember in one year, the councillor came with the posts on the last day of application and gave us in the community! That made us see that there must be people who were already selected for the positions as we would hear people speaking in the community about the posts (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).

Political patronage was noted as often being the cause of the limited access to government opportunities, which furthermore affected service delivery. It was indicated that belonging to certain political parties gave some advantages over others who did not have a particular party membership. Thus, development services tend to be prioritised to known party supporters' geographical areas and individuals. As was alluded to by one community member listener:

We do try to apply, but in such issues, our leaders are not good at all as it depends on who you are and whom you know. There is also political party affiliation as a factor that contributes to people getting particular opportunities. If you are not a member of a particular political party, you don't get help. There was a time when shacks were burning in a particular area; the councillor dragged their feet since the people in that area had voted for another political party. Even if they brought the support, there was

disagreement as to why their party didn't bring support (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).

Emphasizing the existent partisanship, other participants exclaimed that access to opportunities benefits only those well connected.

When something – a project arises, they choose each other- e.g., a project to build roads. They choose each other according to who knows who when opportunities arise. Others get nothing. It's all about how much you are known and how close you are to the councillor. Some of us would be working, but you'd never see that because they choose each other (voice getting louder); YES, OPPORTUNITIES GO ACCORDING TO WHO YOU ARE… (everyone speaking at the same time…) (FGD, Masibumbane members, Mangethe).

Some community members respond to this inaccessibility of opportunities by distancing themselves from government associated activities and instead focusing on their individual and community-driven projects. To illustrate this, a community member from Darnall held that:

When the government has programmes in place, the issue becomes whom to place in those positions. The problem is that people fight over the opportunities and put their friends in place. If you want to be involved in a particular project, then you don't get the chance to, e.g. the project of the tunnels stands incomplete because of such contentions. That's why I chose to focus on my gardening.

Another participant detailed how she spends her time distanced from community activities as that has not proved to be fruitful in her experience:

I'm someone who works by myself most of the times, so I don't really involve myself in community issues because I leave in the morning and go to work then come back in the evening, so I'm not really clued up on things happening in the community. I know there are instances where people get caught up in who got chosen for particular opportunities over others; that's why I like to maintain a safe space. I like to go to

work, come to the garden, go to Masibumbane, that's it because talking doesn't help, even violence doesn't help (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).

6.3.2 Community initiatives

"…We mustn't just wait for the government to come and assist us; there must be something that we are doing ourselves. We can't keep saying government, government, government! Alone, the government can't work; it's not the same as getting someone who will encourage you" (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntembisweni).

This excerpt from an interview with one community member, who is also part of MLC, highlights the importance of active citizenship and taking charge beyond government-initiated programmes. This partly provides a rationale for the need to discuss community and individual initiatives. Several participants seemed unaware of official government programmes and noted having independent initiatives not supported by the government in their different communities. The KwaZulu Natal Citizen Satisfaction survey results indicated a similar trend in the study, which illustrates that citizens are largely unresponsive in participating in the provincial government's consultative processes. As shown in Figure 6.2, less than a quarter (23,1%) of KZN citizens having attended consultative meetings in the past 12 months (Stats SA, 2018 pp71).

In response to the sense of helplessness resulting from limited development-related assistance from the government and their community structures, people worked together as community members to drive their initiatives. As one woman commented on their start-up of farming programmes for women in her particular community:

We met as women for farming programmes because we are not getting help with farming equipment; we didn't get any help (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).

Nonetheless, while people have several means to sustain themselves individually, the government's crucial role in development progress remains desired and is appreciated when fulfilled. This includes the government approval processes and technical support required to

initiate some programmes. In some cases, community projects, such as co-operatives, were indicative of the relationship between government support and community projects. Either the government initiated them or provided some support along the way. A case illustrating this interconnectedness is a mushroom farming co-operative project where a community received support from agricultural extension workers and benfited from the Department of Health's checks and regulations. As noted:

> *We are also taught cleanliness as part of the Department of Health requirements. As you harvest the mushrooms, your hands have to be clean, and when you sell, the produce must be fresh (UI, Masibumbane member, Ntembisweni).*

The agricultural extension officers act as community advisers. They provide technical guidance related to agricultural ventures, such as advising community members on the appropriate steps to officialising their projects within the stipulated health and safety regulations. One participant benefiting from this support stated that:

> *Also, I am happy that my first dream is now coming to pass. When I got in touch with the community advisers (agricultural extension officers) under Greytown, I was able to ensure we go ahead with our mushroom project…The way our community advisers are working surprises me. They are so committed. (UI, Masibumbane member, Ntembisweni).*

Other forms of community-led initiatives mentioned by the participants are community cooperatives. These are initiatives developed by community members with common goals and aspirations to improve their livelihoods and economic wellbeing. The community co-operatives include associations formed by groups of people to meet common economic, social, and other individual and community needs based on the members' objectives. Several KR listeners indicated being part of community co-ops, mostly encompassing farming-related and youth development programmes, which is a means to support each other to meet their common needs. Some co-operatives are linked to particular MLC branches and provide support between members in the branches. These co-operatives

are established with the primary aim of supporting community members that are part of the Listener's club branch, particularly those that are not engaged in economic activities.

The benefit that being associated with Masibumbane provided for the initiation of projects in the community was also noted. One listener who sought local government's support to get their co-operative off the ground credited his accomplishment to the association with MLC and KR:

> *Some were even asking me how I got hold of the opportunity; what helped me was that when I introduced myself, I said Masibumbane, which is under Khwezi. Khwezi has indeed helped us because even when we speak on air, there are people who know us (UI, Masibumbane member, Ntembisweni).*

Other community projects, indicated by participants, focused on women uplifting themselves. This was achieved through, for example, learning handwork skills and coordinating money contributions for women to support one another when they are in times of need (stokvel). One comment about women-focused programmes stated:

> *We have cooperatives, e.g., for sewing school uniforms, it's made up of several women. The community has companies like NGOs, construction companies who work in the community like building flats (FGD, Masibumbane member, Pietermaritzburg).*

6.3.3 Individual driven initiatives

Several listeners indicated their involvement in individual driven initiatives within their families or home setups. The most common among these are agricultural farming projects focusing on growing crops and rearing livestock for subsistence and for sale when there is a surplus as well as stokvel associations. These activities are discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

In some instances, individuals took it upon themselves to support others who are struggling. One prominent case is a woman in Howick who started a shelter for the less fortunate and elders in her home to support the less fortunate in her community through giving them shelter, food and support for their livelihoods. The challenge has been obtaining support from

community leaders to provide goods to cater to these people. Because of this, she has had to mobilise resources from local business to assist her where possible;

> *I had got a site; the support was not visible. So on my own, I have a few people that I am living with and supporting; others are going to school, I do this with my family, I tried as a group, but others said they don't make enough to be able to assist. I'm helping 150 children, 20 grannies and ten grandpas. I go around asking even local businesses and shops for help, and they give me this and that. I am on my own; I don't have support. I got help from Fairfield Dairy, who gave me yoghurts. I get mealie meal from my husband's earnings; then I make sour milk for them to eat (FGD, Masibumbane member, Howick).*

Further, to tackle some of the challenges that people may face and promote a sense of unity, structures, similar to 'war rooms', exist in some communities, but these have not been sufficient; thus, there remains a need for individual initiatives to provide support where possible. One woman mentioned she has also had to take the initiative to assist with alleviating homelessness in the community:

> *I tried the War rooms, went but didn't get any help, lost hope because what I had asked for support with to get a place for the orphans to meet, a Hall I didn't get, so I got tired of asking for one thing. That's why I decided to build homes. I went to the chief, he agreed; I got the place (FGD, Masibumbane member, Howick).*

6.4 "*We are on our own*": Limited-service delivery in focus

There are evidently challenges to community development. Most local municipalities in the study, including Msinga, Maphumulo (Classification one), UMshwathi, UMvoti, Mandeni, UMlalazi (classifications one and two of local municipalities), as classified by the state of Local Government in South Africa Report (COGTA, 2009) are considered vulnerable. These classifications consist of the most vulnerable municipalities that are least performing and are made up of the former Bantustan areas (COGTA), 2009). As shown in Table 6.4, most local municipalities categorized as most vulnerable are in KwaZulu Natal.

Table 6. 4 : Provincial location of most vulnerable/classification one municipalities. (Source: COGTA, 2009)

Province	Total Municipalities in classification 1	% municipalities in the Province
Eastern Cape	18	47.4
KwaZulu Natal	24	48
Limpopo	13	52
North West	2	9.5

These areas consist of the former Bantustan areas. The rest of the area, except KwaDukuza, encompassed more metropolitan areas of uMsunduzi and uMngeni. More so, there is a massive concentration of poverty in the rural areas, the former Bantustans, which have traditionally been subject to historical underdevelopment. This has left these areas constrained in reversing their underdevelopment (Hemson, Meyer, & Maphunye, 2004). In this study, the major development challenges that have been noted can be broadly categorized as service delivery issues—for example, threats to community safety, water shortages and unemployment.

6.5.1 Limited-service delivery

When asked what challenges hinder development in their communities and households, an overwhelming majority of participants highlighted different tenants of limited-service delivery in their communities. These challenges build on the socioeconomic discrepancies that affect the community, such as limited access to schooling, sanitation, and access to water and lighting. Notwithstanding the sporadic cases of community members expressing how effective their councillors have been in providing water and electricity services in their communities, these were overshadowed by this overall complaint about service delivery. The progress in service delivery, in some, although minority cases are illustrated by two participants from such communities:

> *At Ward 8, we have no water, and we have no cell phone network. But the councillor has helped with several things; we have electricity, toilets, and roads, so the challenge remains water. But he's making a plan to get water to us through the Water trucks (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

I'm in Ward 1, Our councillor tries, but a couple of things still lack a lot, but the councillor tries with other issues to try and develop the community. For instance, there's a road that we had been complaining about for a very long time, now as I'm talking to you the construction is in progress, so we have been heard. They took action even after the elections (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).

Nonetheless, crime, more specifically theft and drugs, were the most prevalent challenge communities face. Other challenges affecting community development that were highlighted include water shortages, unemployment, corruption, limited education, poor infrastructures such as roads, alcoholism, ineffective policing and inactive leadership. All of these challenges are largely viewed as a concern of the lack of service delivery in the community

Threats to community security: Crime

The majority of participants indicated high levels of crime at various levels, mostly due to the lack of opportunities and high unemployment rates in the communities. The crime reported mainly involves theft and abuse of drugs which threatens the safety of communities.

Children commit crime in the community, even drugs because most people don't have jobs (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).

The children have a problem with drugs; then they steal; the councillor rises against these issues and intervenes (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).

Another community member, who works as a shop assistant, demonstrated the link between crime and the high unemployment rate. Specifically speaking about the challenge of theft, he mentioned that;

Many people remain uneducated, which leads them to not getting jobs, thereby resulting in crime, e.g., stealing at the shop. The stock doesn't sometimes balance, which indicates theft (IDI, Adhoc listener, KSB).

Moreover, crime problems persist due to what has been seen as an ineffective policing system in some communities. There have even been witnesses who have reported cases where the police have taken criminals over community members. The lack of trust the community has in the police is one of the reasons the community policing forum was acknowledged as an initiative to support the community and police working together;

> *The police don't help when we report cases – they let the criminals go eventually that's the problem, so we need community members to work with the police through the CPF (Community Policing Forum) – to assist the police and fight crime (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).*

However, some communities also noted interventions that are in place to tackle the challenge of high crime rates. For instance, despite the limitations that may surround community policing forums, such as lack of cooperation from some community members when their children have been implicated in criminal activities, people still do view their creation as a positive development to tackling crime challenges.

Water shortages

Another serious service delivery problem is the inadequacy of water delivery. The struggle by water authorities to fulfil basic service delivery obligations have been historically reported (COGTA, 2009). Water shortage continues to be amongst the communities' biggest challenges. This is also due to the vast differences in abilities and capacities between municipalities, particularly the metros versus the rural-based municipalities. For example, according to the Stats SA Citizen Satisfaction Survey (CSS) for the uMzinyathi district, depicted in Table 6.5, shows the prevalence of this water crisis that this research also highlights.

Municipality	Piper Water	Other
Umzinyathi	79 642	46 429
Endumeni	18 653	2 480
Nquthu	25 638	6 984
Msinga	15 701	24 790
Umvoti	19 650	12 175

Table 6. 5 Access to piped water in uMzinyathi district (Source: Stats SA (2016) cited in the uMzinyathi district IDP,2020 pp 179)

Out of a total population of 554 882, only 79 642 had access to piped water, representing only 14.4% of the population. The rest of the 46 429 people had access to other water sources (especially in uMsinga), which marked 8.4% of the total population (Stats SA, 2016). This left a significant amount of the population without access to water which is common in rural municipalities. Even though there is no current disaggregated data showing the situation to date, the qualitative evidence in this study shows that water shortages continue to scourge communities. An overwhelming majority of participants alluded to the shortage of water as a significant challenge in their communities. Many rely on water delivery to households by water trucks, which has not been effective for some people, as some research participants asserted;

> *Water is a problem, it's tough, the trucks that deliver water don't get here, but water is life. No river can supply us with drinking water here. We had to buy tanks here at home; we have three. We are avoiding a situation where we lack drinking water. But we can't drink the water it has salt, even for bathing it has a white thing on top, but it helps a lot with watering the garden it's what has been helping us a lot. We were sitting and not farming because of a lack of water (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

Water is the main issue; it runs out, even boreholes are not working. Many people have tried drilling boreholes, and they are not finding water (IDI, Masibumbane member, eMatimatolo).

Access to water was also recognised as a notable stumbling block to people's livelihoods, especially health and farming-related projects.

Once the water challenges are solved, we would do so much better in our farming projects. Water is life; everything needs water(FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).

Another participant constrained by limited water supply stated:

Although we have water, it comes out very slowly. We all know how to farm, but we don't have water, we have limited supply from the tanks it's not sufficient(FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe)

And, similarly, another participant said;

The major challenge is a shortage of water in our area; this affects how we work in our community, e.g., planting/agricultural activities (FGD, Masibumbane member, kwaHaza).

Likewise, a Masibumbane member from another community reported the dire water challenges they faced;

Our main challenge is a shortage of water; it's a big issue. The water we drink is from the dam. The dam is not safe; it's not enclosed, we drink water with cattle and donkeys. We like to farm, even I have a small garden as it was said every home should have a garden, I have it, but the issue becomes water. It's hard that I have to think of fetching water to come and drink then, at the same time, consider water for the crops (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

Some participants felt there was a lack of responsiveness to tackling the water crisis in their communities. Patronage was indicated as also affecting how community members access water services. In particular, unfairness in the process of distribution of water tanks was mentioned;

> *We don't even get water; we see the water trucks passing by every time it just came now at the end of the month. Do they think someone can survive on drinking water only once a month? Yet we see it passing all the time, going to other places skipping us. Water is not there even the tanks we have are empty, it hasn't been raining. The water truck only came on Wednesday after all month of waiting, maybe we will only see it next at the end of August, yet it passes by and fills up where there are connections, at the friends' places! (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

Moreover, another participant explained that there is a lack of support within their community on addressing the water shortages;

> *A few days ago, the community had gone to complain about the water challenges at the municipality. When we got there, they told us that the one we should be going to see is not around, we don't know whether they had hidden him or what! Things are not going well (down tone) (FGD, Masibumbane member, kwaHaza).*

Unemployment

Many participants also expressed unemployment as being a big challenge. The participants noted that many youths struggle to obtain employment even after obtaining qualifications. Unemployment continues to be a deteriorating crisis nationally, particularly amongst youth whose unemployment ranked 55.2% in the first quarter of 2019 (Stats, 2019). In light of the heightening unemployment crisis, communities continue to find it essential to develop other ways to survive, such as farming. Responses from these two community members exemplify this;

I'm still young, but I'm at home. I don't have a job life is tough. They're no job opportunities (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

Our children are sitting without jobs, and it is hard to get employed in what you studied. It would be good if children could get something (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).

Another participant alluded to the lack of motivation by young people in getting further qualifications beyond matric. In fact, it has become common practice for people to get jobs through bribery. The value of education is thus depreciating amongst youth: She held that.

Unemployment is high in Greytown. When you want to work, you have to bribe to get a job. Education is not seen as important. In Greytown, most people stop with Matric; they are not interested in education. They see it as the end, then they bribe. Very few people have certificates (IDI, Masibumbane member, Greytown).

Sometimes the inability to obtain jobs and opportunities was linked to corruption. Patronage was also noted as being at play in tender allocations and qualifying for employment opportunities. Participants from two different communities illustrated this in practice:

When the government has programmes in place, the issue becomes whom to place in those positions. The problem is that people fight over the opportunities and put their friends in place. So, if you want to be involved in a particular project, you don't get the chance to, e.g., the project of building tunnels stands incomplete because of such contentions (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).

In places where opportunities become available, it seems only those that know the right people make it in. Even hiring for jobs at the municipality depends on which party one is a member of. If you are not part of that party, then forget, even if you have an appropriate qualification, forget! Maybe even being seen wearing a particular party t-shirt when the party has its rallies, you should have been seen attending, getting into the bus! If you are not seen doing this and not participating in these activities, you don't get anything (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).

The lack of information pertaining to access to markets to sell the produce the community produces was also noted as a shortfall for several community members who rely on different forms of handwork such as beading and sewing to make ends meet;

> *Shortage of knowledge remains a challenge; for instance, after doing our handwork, we struggle with getting markets – and wonder where/whom we can sell to (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

Nonetheless, one participant noted that there was also a lack of initiative on the part of people in the community to obtain information about the opportunities available to support them;

> *Many people don't put an effort to take strides in getting equipped with the right information, such as getting to know the municipality to be well informed on opportunities etc (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).*

Put together, the threats to community security, water shortages, and unemployment nevertheless point to the lack of adequate service delivery, affecting the development of communities.

6.5 Conclusion

In summary, the chapter has detailed the participants' primary demographics. It has detailed the Khwezi radio staff and listening, community members. In addition, the chapter illustrated the developmental setting of Khwezi radio's listenership communities, ending off with the barriers that the communities face to their development. This has set the scene for Khwezi radio's role in the listenership communities through development communication that empowers and tangibly develops the community it airs to.

The discussion in this chapter has implications for the rest of the thesis. Its illustration of the high levels of unemployment, especially formal employment, contributes to the desperate need for communities to make ends meet through more informal activities such as

small-scale agricultural initiatives. The chapter has also shown the high levels of distrust and low expectations people have in receiving government assistance with service delivery to their communities. Such a situation has led to the rise of self-driven initiatives by communities. Moreover, these challenges have resulted in community members' awareness of the need to individually and collectively find solutions to their development. As such, KR'S critical role as an empowering agent of community members as change agents is noteworthy. Also worth highlighting is the prominence of collective strategies and a culture of solidarity and *Ubuntu,* which incites collective development strategies. For example, the cooperatives which are reinforced through Masibumbane listeners' club interactions that are discussed in the subsequent chapters

Chapter 7: Khwezi radio's mechanisms in contributing to social change in communities

7.1 Introduction

In examining the contribution of Khwezi radio (KR) to social change, the chapter looks at the mechanisms through which the radio station contributes to changes in listeners' livelihoods in their various communities. More specifically, this chapter will discuss the mechanisms through which KR contributes to to effecting social change in listener communities which the data identified as fivefold . These mechanisms are 1. Production of development-related information and allowing for dialogue to influence change; 2. The facilitation of platforms and activities for listeners' interaction; 3. Listeners active participation in implementing KR objectives; 4. Facilitating interaction with other community agents of change; and 5. Facilitating empowerment. This chapter sets the tone for an in-depth discussion of social change by addressing how a participatory development communication medium like KR contributes to social change. Khwezi's different contributions to social change are discussed in Chapter 8.

The chapter is structured into five main sections. The first section delves into how KR increases development awareness among listeners. The second section looks at the various modes of participation that KR facilitates with the community of listeners both in and outside station programming. The third section looks specifically at participation through the Masibumbane listeners club. This is followed by the fourth section looking at the interaction between KR, its listeners and community agents of change. Lastly, the fifth section delves into the forms of empowerment resulting from Khwezi and Masibumbane listeners club (MLC).

7.2 Increasing the awareness of development information

The findings confirmed several scholars (Schramm 1964; Sharma & Uniyal, 2016b; Soola, 2002; Tucker, 2013) assertions of community radios as a critical medium to facilitate ease of access to information (including development-related information) across a diversity of groups of people. The role that KR plays to increase the awareness of development information and how this effects listeners' lives at various levels is illustrated using excerpts

from participants. Participants in the study confirmed the accessibility of KR given the lower cost of radios and ease of access through using radio applications on mobile phones, the focus of the radio station on dialogue and active participation from listeners and lastly, reaching people from different socioeconomic backgrounds through predominantly using isiZulu.

KR's role in increasing the awareness of development information was acknowledged and appreciated amongst several KR staff members and listener participants. For instance, one representative from KR management illustrated how the station seeks to contribute to development by affording listeners information and opportunities to support them in obtaining better livelihoods. A staff member summed up the importance of the station in providing information that helps listeners to develop their lives;

> *For us, it's not just about giving people money but opportunities and information to enable them to reach their full potential (IDI, KR Staff).*

KR staff highlighted that several station programming, features and content contribute to increasing development awareness for social change in communities. Those prominent included the programme focused on people living with disabilities which have reportedly made a significant difference to listeners' lives, particularly in fighting the negative social stigma directed at people with disabilities. When asked about the programmes providing information that benefited listeners, one presenter highlighted two programmes, one on HIV/AIDS and the other involving domestic grievance, stating;

> *It was in 2012. We were talking about HIV on a feature called "let's face it". We were talking about couples who have different statuses. That stayed in a lot of people's minds that if your partner Is HIV Positive, it doesn't mean you have to break up with them; there are ways in which you can continue living a healthy life. Even with me, the topic is still in my heart when I think of all the life-changing topics we have broadcast. Another one that comes to mind is a feature we had called "Wawungenzenjani" (what would you do). In one feature, one male caller reported having cheated on his partner. In return, this woman wanted to kill his child to spite her; the couple was based in GP. Here I was thinking about what to do; I connected them to the South African Depression and Anxiety Group, they met and sorted the issue out, and they lived well after that (IDI, KR Staff).*

Additionally, other development-related information provided on KR that helped listeners improve their ways of being include broadcasting focusing on finance and investments expertise, which has reportedly helped listeners become more financially savvy. He also illustrates the value of KR in disseminating important information at an accessible level in isiZulu to all listeners to benefit and make better sense of it. As the presenter of these programmes shared:

> *I can also count the programme on personal finance as one of the programmes because it has changed people's patterns. They even phone in saying that due to listening, they have reduced some policies- after realizing they were paying for policies that are doing the same thing as funeral covers. They have learnt that they shouldn't just be saving for burials, but there are other issues like retirement savings, medical aid schemes things like that that enlighten both young and old. Other issues include money loans, e.g. umashonisa[24] , which have lots of interest rates. Tonight, we will be talking about repo rate, so someone who is just here at UMsinga, how does it affect them? Our job is to take these things and distil them to be understandable at the community level.*

The importance of the information received on KR was recognized as influential in informing listeners' day to day practices. This type of information involved making listeners aware of issues directly affecting them in their communities, such as protest action and road blockages that kept communities. In addition, one KR presenter supporting development programming alluded to innovative programming on the station, in particular promoting eco-friendliness in communities, such as water-saving techniques:

> *The other feature on the show touched on the environment. It was part of a group I joined on Eco-friendly journalism. The sources from there taught the community a lot about how to be eco-friendly. This environmental awareness was able to help people, for instance, the issue of water shortages that we face, how best can we save water (IDI, KR Staff).*

[24] Loan sharks

However, the data also illustrated nuances in the informative role Khwezi radio played in supporting the lives of listeners. Development-related communication entails communication that helps communities make more informed choices, for example, in finances. In the case of KR, as noted by listeners, what stands out is development-related communication that has been applicable and tangible to their [personal] everyday lives. Thus, beyond the typical discourse provided by national media sources, including commercial media, community radio listeners can access an alternative space to discuss issues directly relevant to their lives. This supports the conception of community radios as counter-public spheres, given their role in promoting alternative discourse development in communities. Kidd, Barker-Plummer, and Rodriguez (2005) argue for a counter-public sphere, deducing that 'faced with a systemic exclusion from the dominant media, counter publics must create their own communications.

7.3 Listeners' participation in Khwezi radio's invited space

Participation by nature is spatial (Cornwall, 2004a). Spaces of participation can be closed, invited or invented and claimed(ibid). This section illustrates the different types of participatory spaces within KR. In this study, CRs are understood as invited spaces legislated by the government and regulated by ICASA to operate within the bounds of these regulations. Thus, KR is accountable for meeting the objectives set by ICASA as the government regulator.

Additionally, MLC is viewed as an organic space as it consists of like-minded people joined together in pursuit of shared interests (Cornwall, 2002). The research confirms KR as embodying the characteristics of an invited space because it invites communities to participate in achieving its developmental objectives within listener communities. Moreover, community radios themselves are invited spaces because they are established to achieve, among other things, citizens' participation, bottom-up community development initiatives and air a diversity of voices.

In discussing participation, Cornwall (2002) notes the need to be clear on the practicalities of participation. In other words, it is important to understand who participates and on what basis they participate. Understanding who is left out from participation and why others participate in the first place is also important. Furthermore, how people participate

and with what resources (such as material resources, knowledge, and social and political connections) are equally important. Also, Cleaver (2001) states that the incentives for people to participate are not always clear. The common notion is that people participate because it's the right thing to do. However, Cooke and Kothari (2001) caution against the possible tyrannical manifestation of participation and highlight the power-laden nature of it, which needs to be analysed in any participation exercise. This section will answer some of these questions, providing empirical evidence on how KR listeners participate in and outside KR.

The incentives for why they participate in the first place are also detailed. The data demonstrate that listeners participated as KR listeners and as MLC members in four primary ways. These are (i) Participation in the station's programming (including feedbacks loops between listeners and KR); (ii) calling in/interactions by listeners on-air; (iii) KR staff interacting with listeners (either through face to face or through social media and phone-ins), (iv) listener community exchanges with organizations and other groups collaborating on programming.

7.3.1 Participation in station programming

The findings from this research illustrate KR as an open communication platform, which provides listeners with the ability to participate in radio programming. This is primarily through listeners feeling a sense of inclusion in being a part of the discussions on-air, influencing the content, and suggesting adjustments to programming when deemed inappropriate by listeners.

One listener positively acknowledged KR's transparency in the programming as follows:

> *The programming is transparent. The presenters are not proud, and nothing is hidden from the station. As a listener, you know everything from top to bottom (IDI, Masibumbane member, Vikindlala).*

Some listeners noted involvement in KR station programming through being part of the music recordings, which KR facilitates with interested community members, particularly youth choirs. This is one of KR's practices to support skills development and ensure youth

participation in the station's activities. A representative from management further explained this;

> *We record local music groups. They are charged a small fee and receive a CD with which they can use to promote themselves. They pay a small fee for this (R600). For us, this helps us promote local music-our local quota is 50%. There is also an element of developing skills given that in some instances, people who try to record don't get it right in the first instance and are provided with another chance till they get it right (IDI, KR Staff).*

Moreover, one KR presenter detailed how listeners are involved in KR programming and also contributed when anything was not going accordingly; he used the Drama broadcasts in making his point:

> *The community is involved; let me make an example. A Drama came in with a scene that had played before; while the drama continued, people phoned and said, "sorry the drama you are playing now is not the right one. It's the one that was playing yesterday." We had to apologize, which means the listeners recognize their involvement that each programme is for them, so they don't keep silent, they phone immediately. So, it's like we give them food that they eat, and if the food is making them sick, they phone the same time and say –this food you are giving us is making us sick. So can you see that they own Khwezi? It's theirs! That's why it's a community radio station; they own it, so they speak whenever they don't understand something well (IDI, KR Staff).*

Although some KR staff observed challenges to youth participation in the station programming, the station's conscious efforts to improve this through making programming more relevant to youth. Youth participation has been on the rise, also partly given that the youth are increasingly finding relevance in developmental related programmes such as farming which offers them economic opportunities. A KR presenter explained this;

> *We ensure youth participation on the show, by involving them more, as has not typically been the case. If you look, you will see that they are currently participating, mainly because of the very high unemployment rate. Things like farming don't need a specific qualification but training. Radio can be a useful tool to assist in this (IDI, KR Staff).*

The study interestingly ascertained that listeners had a form of decision-making power in the station's programming. By asking questions regarding the extent to which listeners could influence or have a say in KR programming, the majority of participants mentioned how KR allowed them to provide feedback and provide suggestions to the programmes. For example, some listeners described the opportunities presented to them to alter programming;

> *Khwezi looks after people's needs; they give us a chance to change the station programming. We have sikhulekeli sizwe (we are praying for the nation), which we didn't have before. Now we do, which shows our participation in the programming as we requested a programme of its nature (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

> *And we can communicate with Khwezi when need be, but at present, we are happy with programming (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

However, while the listeners' views were found to influence KR programming, changes to KR programmes are sometimes the prerogative of the programme management team. Programming changes can also be based on Programme managers proposing specific programme related changes to the station management. Thus, listeners are not always involved in initiating programmes, but they are given the privilege of voicing their concern to effect changes to existing programmes. As was clarified by a KR staff representative in explaining changes made to the weekend programming;

> *Me: So, you didn't say how you decided that the weekend needs changing, was it a Khwezi decision?*
> *A: It was my idea, I shared the idea with the Programming team, and I presented to management, and they said yes, it's a good idea. (IDI, KR Staff).*

Feedback loops

Feedback loops are the channels of communication between KR and the listeners of the station (the community). Feedback received can be in the form of suggestions, recommendations and other general comments, which can be provided in different ways such as social media and through Khwezi's annual survey on air. The feedback loops between KR

and listeners are an important part of this study's consideration of the decision-making power that listeners have in influencing changes to the content and other programming related matters. By asking the nature of feedback loops available between listeners and KR, the study found that these were mainly done on air through an advert that runs on KR annually or on a needs basis. This advert requests listeners to input their feedback on any programme related matters, including suggested changes. It is usually targeted in September, the birth month of the station. Once the station has received all the feedback, it is presented at a Management meeting, after which the feedback is scrutinized to determine the way forward. This is followed by an agreement on the next steps on implementation, including timeframes. KR programming staff described the on-air survey requested for listeners' feedback in more detail by explaining how the *on-air survey* worked in 2019;

> *We did our survey. We had a promo on the radio in September for two weeks, asking them to comment. It was saying. "…What would you like us to change, to add or take out from the station" that was the question. To my surprise, the promo ran, there was no response. The feedback started to come in after the promo (IDI, KR Staff).*

An example from the Music department was used to illustrate the nature of feedback received and the extent to which the feedback that listeners provided was incorporated to inform programme related changes on Khwezi radio. An interview with a representative from KR management illustrates the action taken to address the feedback received;

> *I would say 80% of participants' feedback were complaining about the music that we are playing. So, I then organized a meeting with the music team; we discussed that and agreed that we still lack, so as management we are still working on that (IDI, KR Staff).*

An additional complaint raised concerns the need to reduce the greetings on air [25] primarily driven by MLC and replace them with more content to accommodate other listeners. An imminent challenge appears to be some MLC members saving airtime to call-in during

[25] These comprise of greetings shared between different listeners on air, mostly centered on exchanges messages within and across MLC branches

greetings shows and less so for commenting on content-specific discussions. As was explained;

> *We've got many greetings because of MLC, many of whom prefer greeting each other instead of participating on our shows. When we discuss issues, we find it difficult to get interaction because they save their airtime for greetings instead of commenting on our topics. So, the comment said I think this thing of greetings is old; why don't you put something with content instead of greetings (IDI, KR Staff).*

Because MLC members make up most of KRs listeners, they comprise a large percentage of the station's active listeners. This group of listeners find the greetings very valuable and lay at the centre of the greetings on air. However, there is the possibility of neglecting the minority of other listeners of KR who may not be in the listeners club but see value in balancing the content and the greetings benefitting the station. The unintended consequence of the greetings on air limiting the participation of non-MLC members from the station is that it as well limits the "invited" nature of KR outside of non-MLC members.

Another way listeners provide feedback on content suggested changes is on air during live programming, as one presenter noted;

> *Some can phone me suggesting a particular topic, and I advise them that okay, we can do that on another day – some of them even phone in on-air while you are talking about something else! (raising voice) then I have to mention that we can't talk about that today; we will schedule another time for that discussion (IDI, KR Staff).*

While KR Management took strides to ensure that they executed the feedback received from listeners, there are some instances when feedback did not meet management's value judgement of necessity. Thus, the feedback provided by listeners had to be first reviewed and vetted by KR Management to ensure that it is within KR's best interests. This illustrates the upper hand that the station has in implementing the feedback received from listeners. It also illustrates KRs relationship with the community in managing the

programming of the station. This was illustrated in a conversation with one KR staff working in programming:

> *The other feedback we received was like why we don't combine "Kids on Air" and "Teen talk" that was also a question. Q: Are you going to do it? A: Mmm, I don't know. Q: So, to what extent do you actually incorporate this feedback? Is it up to you as a programmes manager to take it? A: Noo, we have to compromise, but not much. Like if you, for example, say, "take out Sam26, I have to think, okay, take out Sam, but why, because Sam is this and this and this, okay, you're right. Is this a temporary decision, or is it something that will live for ten years? You have to think twice. I have to judge correctly (IDI, KR Staff).*

Feedback was also passed from listeners to the station through the presenters either on-air or on social media platforms. As one presenter stated:

> *People give me feedback on the programs; some do this on Facebook, some call in. The feedback is mainly for youth features such as looking at how to secure employment, also for HIV related discussions (IDI, KR Staff).*

It is important to mention that there is another level of feedback that influences programme development that takes place between producers and KR Management. Thus, internal systems within KR also shape the development or refinement of programming on the station. One representative from KR Management explained this:

> *If the programmes are not doing well, we sit with the producer, e.g., the breakfast show-we feel it needs to go deep into news shows, it's not doing well with listenership, people want more information provided, people need trending news. We are working on developing the programme (IDI, KR Staff).*

7.3.2 Calling in: Interactions by listeners on-air and interaction between listeners

When asked about their calling into KR, most participants felt that they could freely contribute on-air by calling and interacting on different programmes. They saw KR as providing a free

[26] Pseudonym

space in which to do so. Listeners from various communities represented in the study responded to whether they could phone into KR freely and if they did so regularly. For example:

> *Yes, I can call into Khwezi when I have a contribution to make (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

> *I phone in to "khonza" (to greet). I love it. I phone in; I feel free to speak! I am part of Khwezi, I am! (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntunjambili).*

> *Everyone: (laughter) – yes, we are free to contribute, we don't feel afraid, or doubt ourselves (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

> *I can, and I do call into the station. I feel free when I'm doing that (IDI, Masibumbane member, Tugela Ferry).*

> *I contribute to the discussions on the station, I call-in (IDI, Masibumbane member, Vikindlala).*

> *I phone in when I can. I phone in freely (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

Participants presented different reasons for interacting in the station programmes. Examples that were indicated include –agriculture programming, where listeners call in and ask the experts questions, and programming slots used to welcome new listeners. One listener explained the usefulness of the Thursday slot in welcoming new listeners:

> *Even new listeners get a slot on Thursday to call in, and we welcome them as new listeners; the listenership is increasing, even from other provinces (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

In addition, a KR staff member shed light on the call in's that take place during agriculture programming;

We do that through the messages on the station, such as the agriculture programs where we get experts in and teach how to plant etc. People can call in and ask the experts questions (IDI, KR Staff).

It is also worth noting that listeners indicated calling into KR only during specific shows, which was determined by their interests and the perceived usefulness in the particular programme that was being aired. Prominent amongst these is the Masibumbane programme on Sundays, which was described as being very interactive. It provided different listeners' club branches with the chance to host and for the other branch coordinators to provide updates on air about matters related to their listeners' club, such as the signing up of new members. This show is characterized by active call-ins and greetings between listeners from different communities across different MLC branches. As one representative from KR Management explained briefly:

There is a Masibumbane show every Sunday from 7.30 pm-9 pm. The listeners phone in and appeal to other listeners. Coordinators phone the station to say these are the people that have joined (IDI, KR Staff).

Some listeners stated their preferences in calling in about specific KR programme areas:

I have a chance to participate in the show; for example, in the morning (at 5 am), we have an opportunity to contribute. I feel very free when I contribute (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntunjambili).

I tune in to Masibumbane. I don't do politics. I contribute to preaching (IDI, Masibumbane member, KSB).

Similarly, another listener also mentioned her lack of interest in contributing to politics-related discussions as she felt that contributing did not bring any results from politicians. She offered that:

I call in to contribute every now and then (I feel free when I do so), but I don't do it with politics because I don't get any help from there as politicians don't do anything (IDI, Masibumbane member, Greytown).

Calling into KR was sometimes perceived as effortless, especially as the friendly presenters created a conducive atmosphere for listeners to contribute. A KR listener shared this view:

... when you phone in at radio Khwezi you get through easily. The presenters have the same heart and spirit, it's like they are born by the same mother (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

However, some listeners mentioned not contributing to the discussions on-air and preferred listening instead:

Most of the time, I just listen to gain knowledge; I don't contribute to the discussions (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).

Moreover, other listeners noted some challenges calling into specific shows as call-ins were seen as being dominated by the same individuals, thereby diminishing chances for fair participation. This was mainly a challenge with the monthly mayoral slots within the development programme. One presenter assigned to that programme described the high demand from listeners trying to call in and contribute via social media to ask the mayor(s) questions, resulting in several listeners not being heard. As was explained:

Q: So let's talk about yesterday's show, the one with the Mayors; do you feel like listeners can phone in freely? A: Yes, they do phone, and to be honest, it's such a good opportunity, but the demand is too high; many people try to phone in but the time is limited, and not everyone gets to contribute or ask questions. So, most of the mayors' slots are 30 minutes, they use like 20 minutes to speak, then the 10 mins we give to listeners, we encourage listeners to call in. Problem is there is no municipality which has more than one slot in a month, so by the time they come on air; the listeners need to speak to them. But people do get a chance (IDI, KR Staff).

To meet the high demand from listeners who wanted to contribute to the programme, the presenter used a more flexible approach to use the time permitted for the slot more efficiently. He further described how he made efforts to make room for more contributions or questions from listeners during the programme:

> *The only issue with the mayoral slots is the high demand, so not all listeners can call in, but you know I'm not very strict with regards to the time the mayors take to speak- I know the slot is 30 mins, but that doesn't mean I stop them if they were not done speaking because the show is for the community's benefit (IDI, KR Staff).*

Other cases in point are the *Vukanathi* Breakfast show and the song selection "*celingoma*" (song requests) show which attracts similar contributors. One listener further explained the limitation of some listeners' ability to get a chance to contribute to KR programming:

> *I wish I could also get a chance to get into the Vukanathi Breakfast show and contribute. It shouldn't be the same people contributing. Even with Celingoma (song request show), the same thing applies; we should all get a chance at least once a week. The regulars are known. If you're new, it's a challenge (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).*

The cases reported by some listeners struggling to contribute to KR programming, when desired raises questions around the accessibility of Khwezi to its community. Specifically, how open it is to all listeners participating in programming and how participatory KR is as an invited space. As argued by Hickey & Mohan (2004), there is a need to understand participation in relation to power structures and political systems to ensure a transformative approach to development. The thesis will later critically detail the role of power structures in development communication in Chapter 9.

7.3.3 KR station engaging with listeners/community members

The study found that KR interacts with its listeners in three main ways: Firstly, on-air, on social media or telephonically and lastly, through face-to-face engagements (such as during roadshows). Several participants acknowledged the role of KR presenters in connecting the station to the community. Many listeners complimented the presenters for their sense of openness and interest in engaging with listeners. Some of the KR staff interviewed mentioned

feeling a sense of family and a deep connection to their listeners, which strengthened the relationship. Two examples can be highlighted to illustrate this;

> *I would say there's no magic in this whole thing; it's about how you engage with people. You know some of these listeners have become mothers. People give us gifts all the time. You know, for me, respecting people is the thing (IDI, KR Staff).*

> *I also give them my numbers; they're like family (IDI, KR Staff).*

Presenters' openly sharing their phone numbers was confirmed by one listener, thus illustrating the remarkable interactiveness of the relationship between the presenters and the listeners:

> *The presenters give us their numbers (FGD, Masibumbane member, Howick).*

Commending KR presenters in creating an open atmosphere, one listener from the KwaHaza area said:

> *You find that someone can even use their own phone to contact you and guide you through any issue you may be facing (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).*

Another listener from KwaKopi remarked:

> *Khwezi makes the listeners very important; they say they are nothing without the listeners. The station loves us, even when we have meetings as coordinators of Masibumbane (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

KR presenters were further commended for their sense of humour on-air and grabbing the attention of different listeners during programming, in this context, illustrating a free channel of communication between the presenter and the listeners. Similarly, one listener commended the closeness of the station to the community, as exemplified by their ability to broadcast community events such as the Men's conference:

Khwezi is close to the people; we needed to speak to Khwezi to pass the message about this men's conference. This event looks at various issues ranging from what problems men face and how men can play a better role in supporting women (UI, Adhoc listener, eSwayimane).

And similarly, another asserted:

Khwezi should grow; it's nice that they come and talk to us as a community. We need such contact (UI, Adhoc listener, eSwayimane).

In sum, there is a closeness and interactiveness of KR to the listeners of the station. Through these engagements on and off air, a sense of ownership and belonging to the station was conveyed by listeners who feel that Khwezi is like a home to them. These factors are central to the sense of community and interaction that define CRs uniqueness.

Interaction through social media

Social media interaction was on the rise in fostering communication between the radio station and its listeners, especially during programmes on-air, with Facebook being the most utilized platform. Other social media platforms mentioned by listeners were WhatsApp, Twitter and Short Messaging Service (SMS). Khwezi radio valued social media platforms for their ability to increase the participation of listeners.

One staff member illustrated the multifacetedness of social media interaction through Khwezi radio:

We have got grannies, they are not on Facebook, but we use telephone calls for them. When young people use WhatsApp, they send Voice notes; then we have SMS's and Facebook. Facebook is mostly used by youth, Sportspeople, for News, yes. We are coming for Twitter, but not much; we are still coming (IDI, KR Staff).

One KR presenter further mentioned how he enjoyed the interaction with listeners:

I enjoy interacting with my listeners a lot- during the show and on social media (IDI, KR Staff).

The engagements on social media were appreciated for their abilities to increase participation between listeners. As one KR staff member said:

> *Social media platforms help us increase participation, and they allow us to track engagement with people/listeners (IDI, KR Staff).*

Similarly, listeners further appreciated the use of social media to expand the reach of Khwezi's work. As one listener put it:

> *Thank you, Khwezi, for expanding the station. This is happening because of social media- we wanted to expand this richness that we get from Khwezi, so thankfully, they have extended the means of communication, so now people get to contribute on Facebook and can also use WhatsApp. Anyone can contribute and say what they want (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

Facebook was also used frequently by presenters to give a synopsis of upcoming shows, invite people to participate, and provide an opportunity for listeners to comment on the discussion(s) at hand.

> *There is a lot of Facebook interaction; every presenter posts at least 30 mins before their show inviting people to participate (IDI, KR Staff).*

Several participants also noted the frequent usage of WhatsApp audio by older listeners and the decline in letter writing to communicate with the station.

> *Letters from listeners have reduced. Due to the rural location, it may be challenging for people to travel to post their letters. WhatsApp is very popular; people typically use voice notes and interact through Facebook (IDI, KR Staff).*

Similarly, another presenter mentioned the increased use of social media by youth, whilst the older population interacted more using WhatsApp audios:

Social media is mostly used by youth. On Mondays, we have youth activation. The older population use more WhatsApp, e.g., audios (IDI, KR Staff).

While several listeners and Khwezi staff generally attested to the active engagement between listeners and the station on social media platforms, the challenges of its accessibility were also noted. One representative of KR stated in this regard;

It works very much, but there is a gap, it works more with the youth, but there is a challenge with older people. You can see the age group that people can't afford; most people didn't go to school and would not use Facebook (IDI, KR Staff).

Face to face interaction

Face to face engagements were found to be taking place in groups such as in the listeners' Annual General Meetings, Masibumbane annual Christmas celebration and roadshows organized by the station. One listener described KR as being 'in touch' with its listeners:

I attend Khwezi activities outside the station. Khwezi is in touch with its listeners through face-to-face activities (IDI, Masibumbane member, Greytown).

Additionally, KR staff were also found to interact with listeners on individual and household levels, for instance, when one was sick, or suffering the loss of a loved one, as was elucidated:

We also go out; if someone is sick or someone dies, we can support (IDI, KR Staff).

Also, another case in point illustrated the interaction, on an individual level, how visiting the elderly is a part of their outreach:

Khwezi staff visit me and check how I'm living, which helps me (IDI, Masibumbane member, KSB).

Khwezi radio staff also conduct roadshows to facilitate face to face engagement with their listeners across different communities. These often take place during festive periods, such as during the Easter season. The objective of the roadshows is for the station to connect

with its listeners and raise visibility as a community radio broadcaster in the area. As expressed by one KR Manager:

> *We do a lot of roadshows, e.g., Easter. We have an upcoming branch coordinators' meeting- every branch coordinator and secretary of Masibumbane comes through. Then we hear what is happening at the grassroots. We try to ensure that we are visible despite our vast geographical spread (IDI, KR Staff*

Joint listeners events

The participants mentioned three primary listeners' events that were opportunities for face-to-face engagements with KR. These include the Annual General meetings, Women's day event and Christmas celebrations. The Women's Day and Christmas events take place in August and December, respectively, and are events to which all listeners of KR and other stakeholders working with the station, such as advertisers and content experts in the community, are invited. The AGM is a more exclusive event that hosts board members and selected listeners who are part of the *Inkanyezi Yokusa* Association. It is noteworthy that the MLC, as the primary entity with KR's active listeners, are central organizers of these events. The planning of these events entails expanding the reach of the occasions and taking part in the pre-organization, and being actively involved in the actual events themselves.

Whilst the data collected certainly suggests that KR maintains strong linkages with its listeners, some participants noted instances of limited engagements with the station. A case in point is a minority perspective from one listener who expressed the need for KR to increase its visibility in their community. She stated:

> *We don't see Khwezi much at Ntunjambili. They need to visit listeners more, which would help me connect with the station more (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntunjambili).*

Also worth noting is that listeners may not always be able to attend organized events even if they may want to. This was made apparent by one listener:

However, I have not been able to attend events as I am always busy(IDI, Masibumbane member, Darnall.

Resource constraints also hindered KR staff from being able to regularly go out to meet listeners. The expenses associated with community outreach programmes combined with maintaining the efficient running of the station at times proved too costly. As one KR Manager stated:

However, due to resource constraints, it's hard for us to keep the radio running and still go out (IDI, KR Staff).

7.4 Participation in Masibumbane listeners club's invented/claimed space: connecting the station to the community

The study found that the MLC created strong linkages that ensure interaction between the station and community members (listeners). The interactions between KR and the listeners support the notion of community which is used in this study. MLC represents a form of "invented/claimed" space within Khwezi radio where listeners subscribe to a code of conduct informed by KR's objectives, that has similar goals and interests as MLC members that unites them to claim their space as their own. The objective of this space is in part to collectively and actively engage with community development concerns. In this way, MLC functions as an active agent of KR's work in the communities. As Mhagama (2015) demonstrates, the setting up of RLCs (Radio Listeners Clubs) has allowed ordinary people to express their views and have their voices heard on issues concerning them and their environments.

The centrality of interaction in achieving a strong sense of community came out strongly among listeners' incentives in Masibumbane membership, which supports Brennan's (2007) assertion that "community" cannot exist outside interaction. It is important to note the existence of MLC as a claimed space within the auspice of KR, as one cannot be without the other. Strong ties, therefore, exist between MLC and KR as reflected in the statement from a KR Station manager:

What would Khwezi be without Masibumbane? Masibumbane helps to make Khwezi shine, the morning star called Khwezi (KR Station manager, Excerpt from an MLC event.)

Further evidence emerging from the data support the analysis of this intimate type of interactions between community members, mainly through the MLC and the radio station. One community leader explained the facilitatory role of MLC in KR listener communities:

> *They have their organization Masibumbane, and they attend people's events, community issues; even when people have lost a loved one, they don't take people as just things; they take them as human beings. Even if your event is so small, they make a plan to come and attend (KII, Community leader, uMzinyathi, KZN).*

In some instances, MLC provided leads and information on emerging news stories and events in their communities to Khwezi radio as mentioned by a KR staff member and a Masibumbane member:

> *… also, the listeners' clubs can help us get a story (IDI, KR Staff).*

> *I have also seen that when schools are opening, KR visits some schools, then assisting those who can't afford to get school uniforms. Masibumbane communicates with Khwezi because they are the ones that see what is happening in the communities then they report this Khwezi as the station is in Kranskop; they can't always see what is happening (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).*

Another KR staff member in management clarified the useful role of MLC in connecting the station to listenership communities:

> *The Masibumbane club branches are beneficial, they organize events with the listeners, and then we can attend. We also have valuable negotiations with shop owners etc. (IDI, KR Staff).*

7.4.1 A claimed space within an invites space: Masibumbane listeners club's autonomy in relation to KR

It is critical to also examine the level of autonomy of the interaction between KR and its listeners through the MLC and the extent of the organic and claimed nature of the participatory space (Masibumbane). MLC was formed as a claimed space, and KR's active listeners were part of its establishment in 1998. The idea was shared by KR staff, who

supported its establishment and continue to support its coordination to date. The active listeners who supported the formation of a listener's club (MLC) had the objectives of encouraging meetings between listeners and being a support system for fellow listeners.

While the establishment of MLC denotes the formation of a claimed space, it appears to have a particular resonance with some aspects of invited spaces. It partly exists as an invited space within KR, particularly given that its code of conduct is derived from Khwezi, which influences the members' operations in the listeners club. Hence, MLC members do not always have decision making power, as final decisions are bound to and by KR's code of conduct. Moroever, KR's ethos and values are closely influenced by its host and founder KwaSizabantu Mission which influences the preservation of the Christian focus of the station. These observations support Cornwall's (2004a) conception of the permeability and non-static nature of participatory spaces, where power dynamics constantly shift within spaces. While MLC members across the different 54 branches have some independence in structuring their activities, they abide by the code of conduct aligned to KR's objectives which closely aligns to KSB's values. Failure to abide by KR objectives can result in expulsion from the listeners' club. When asked to clarify the involvement of KR in MLC activities, the KR coordinator of the listeners club explained:

> *We are involved when they are launching, but when they want to do whatever they plan to do, which doesn't concern us, there is no problem they can do so. But the launching of a branch, they can sit down, discuss amongst themselves, e.g., Greytown wants to launch in September- so that concerns us, so we need to check our dates and see our availability (IDI, KR Staff).*

She further described the nature of the roles and responsibilities that KR held in the functioning of the listeners club:

> *Q; So which issues concern you/need your involvement as Khwezi? A: Branch launches, when there is a member who passed away, when there's a member who is sick – they need to let us know; generally, when a member is facing a challenge, we like to know so that we can support each other. For other things like when they have their celebrations like birthday parties, they*

can choose whether to tell us or not- it's up to them. They phone me, that's why my phone rings a lot. It's a family, people call me, and I try my best to be there for them (IDI, KR Staff).

Another key association of KR within MLC is the Sunday weekly Masibumbane show broadcast on KR. Here, KR is actively involved in organizing the production of the show even though the broadcast is a collaboration between KR and MLC branches on a rotational basis. This was articulated by the KR MLC coordinator as follows:

We organize the Sunday Masibumbane programs. We sit to look at how the program went, if there were any challenges, and fix the problems while still fresh. Sometimes a branch can visit us, and we can give them a chance to be live on air to talk about what they are doing as a branch. We also look at what may have been happening that week, e.g., if we were attending a funeral, we would also speak to that then we give the coordinators slots. So, the coordinators are free to come live on air (IDI, KR Staff).

Despite the evidence that MLC sets some opportunities for engagement, which are unique in different branches, there is a somewhat limited autonomy and independence of the listeners club from KR, which has implications for the nature of participation and decision-making power within the space. For example, its terms of engagement (code of conduct) and the membership registration process (including receiving a badge on sign up) are informed by KR. They remain, therefore, the central coordinator of the listeners club. As was asserted by KR staff coordinating MLC:

We have a form that we use that describes what Masibumbane is and what the objectives of Masibumbane are. So as a member of Masibumbane wearing that membership badge, you can't find me in the places where people are drinking alcohol, for instance. Some people take the badge with them everywhere so that even when they meet new people, they can be recognized that way that they are listeners of Khwezi. They say the badge is really helpful – you could never sleep by the mountains when you have it because Khwezi is known, Masibumbane is known! People generally want to be known and visible as Masibumbane members. You wouldn't expect a member to be in a robbery or some other crime wearing that badge! You see, those are the rules (IDI, KR Staff).

Thus, while formed as an organic space, MLC's reformation as a semi invited space under KR needs to be cogitated. However, MLC's characteristics of a claimed space remain evident, for example, through MLC branches independently carrying out several engagements in their relevant communities without knowledge or involvement of the station. This concurs with Cornwall's (2002) argument of the porous and ever-shifting forms of participation spaces. The implications of the nonlinearity of spaces of participation to social change are discussed in more detail in Chapter 10.

7.5 Interaction with community agents of change

One of the unique ways KR fosters community engagements between listeners and intra linkages between listeners and other community stakeholders is through the content offered by various community-based experts. These stakeholders include community activists, CSOs, the Private sector, agricultural experts, financial advisors, social workers and educational institutions. It is noteworthy that their content is mostly focused on agriculture, democratic rights, social welfare and financial expertise. The interaction between the listeners and these KR collaborators is primarily on-air, although this is sometimes accompanied by follow up telephonic and rarer instances through face-to-face interactions.

Popular engagements that KR facilitates between listeners and other community stakeholders are with Civil Society Organizations such as NGOs. These groups advocate for different forms of community development, even though many of these are indirectly such as participating in the developing drama stories. Such is the case with the Democracy Development Programme (DDP), a well-established partner of the radio station and has primarily engaged with the community by collaborating with KR on dramas supporting democratic and constitutional rights and promoting active citizenry. In addition, the organization facilitated training with KR on voter education and the identification of fake news. One KR staff elaborated on this:

> *We have done quite a few projects with DDP, from voter education to how we are supposed to treat immigrants. We have produced Dramas educating about fundamental rights from the Constitution like your right to education, housing, healthcare, etc. We had to talk about the right to Health, but breaking it into radio format was one project we did with them. Through*

them, there was also training we did for voter education—also, how to identify fake news and all of that. We have also done talk shows with them like issues around corruption, how to hold government officials accountable and all of those things. So, its issues around governance, rights, elections, democracy and all of that (IDI, KR Staff).

This illustrates the relevant association to contemporary issues that CRs facilitate in communities. The case of fake news also shows that rural communities are savvy to digital trends. Thus, CRs are not necessarily traditional platforms that only focus on meeting material needs but are also critical media in the engagement of communities with contemporary issues.

Another type of NGO that the station interacts with is the KwaZulu Natal Society for the Blind (KZN-SB) which supports radio programming focused on people with disabilities. These engagements have been beneficial in connecting KR's listeners experiencing disability in one form or the other. Reflecting on the engagements with the KZN-SB, a presenter responsible for the programme targeting people with disabilities on KR held that:

I also work closely with the Chairperson of the KwaZulu Natal Society for the Blind he is also blind. My contacts also inform me that when someone has become blind, I interview the person and put it on air (IDI, KR Staff).

A primary engagement from the private sector that KR has brought to its listeners is its engagement with PANNAR Seed.[27] While PANNAR's interaction with listeners is mostly agricultural dialogues on air, they have more hands-on, including face to face interaction with listeners, through, for instance, the sale of seeds and participating in KR off-air activities. These quotes from two KR staff can best capture the relationship between PANNAR and the listeners through the provision of agricultural technical assistance to community members:

We mostly work with PANNAR Seed for our Agriculture show. It must be over 12 years now since they started sponsoring these shows; it's been a long time. It's also a good opportunity for them because they get to sell their seeds; they inform the listeners on what is available at

[27] A detailed description of PANNAR centres the discussion on agricultural community development in Chapter 8.

a point in time and what listeners should do. They also do phone-ins so that listeners can communicate with them throughout the programme, and they can teach people. It's a mutual benefit, if I may put it that way, because as a station, it benefits us for people to stay equipped with the right information, and for them, it's an advertising opportunity. PANNAR Seed is hands-on. What is also nice about them, if there's a group of people requiring seeds from a particular area, they can deliver the seeds for free (IDI, KR Staff).

Another KR staff explained the interaction with PANNAR, which is included in KR's face to face activities such as the year-end Christmas meetings:

PANNAR have been a sponsor for the programme. Because they are in the agricultural sector, they plant and teach people how to plant and also do programmes sharing knowledge on the radio. Still, they are also selling seeds at an affordable rate. And whenever they have events, they also partner with us (IDI, KR Staff).

Describing his off-air engagements with KR listeners, the PANNAR representative illustrated that agricultural support can also involve home visits. In addition, he alluded to his efforts in ensuring accessibility, e.g., in the cost of seeds to farmers in the listenership communities.

They typically call me seeking more information following the agricultural information shared on the show. Some of them ask for home visits. I only do these on schedule, so I do not jump around upon people asking me to visit their homes; it depends on when I am scheduled to visit that particular area/community. Some people want handouts, and I don't have handouts; they must buy, are affordable, and make prices reasonable for them. I have a programme where I can give people the seed to start, but when they harvest, then they need to pay (KII, Representative from an organization working with KR).

He further articulated the challenges associated with vising listeners one on one outside of the radio broadcasts:

What we've found is we provide the information here through Khwezi, get it broadcast at large, but as we go and visit people, we can interact with them on a one-on-one basis, and

they adopt the information and continue to grow. We don't have a big team; we have fewer people on the ground than radio Khwezi reaches out to a bigger spectrum than we would have because it's costly to go visiting people door to door (KII, Representative from PANNAR).

Agriculture is a major theme in Khwezi's development programming. This caters to the occupation of a large majority of the station's listeners means of livelihood, which is largely agrarian driven. Thus, it is important for KR to connect listeners with experts in the agricultural field as it does. Organic farming is often highlighted because it is an environmentally friendly alternative that most farmers practice to some extent. One woman farmer has gained popularity with listeners through her engagements on KR to promote organic farming. As KR presenter working closely with her described here as follows:

There's a lady who works at William who also gives us information. We've been working on the issue of promoting organic farming, she provides excellent advice, and we get such good responses. Because when you practice organic farming, there's no need for you to keep applying different chemicals to crops. So, she promotes growing crops in a traditional way, and there's also a market for that like Woolworths and them (IDI, KR Staff).

The presenter further described how he got acquainted with the woman, moreover, commending her openness and willingness to share expertise with KR listeners:

Q: Where did you find her? A: (Big smile)- you know I found her in such an interesting way. Her mum listens to Khwezi. She advised her daughter to get hold of Khwezi to share information about the organic farming she has been practising as the information would be beneficial to others. Listeners like her a lot because she can speak about organic farming in a very relevant way, even the language she uses is good Zulu, we work very well with her (IDI, KR Staff).

Other interactions have involved financial advisors who work closely with KR presenters to explain to community members to make more informed decisions regarding their finance. The role of KR presenters in taking initiatives towards building relationships with people directly affecting community change must be recognised:

What's important is building relationships with people, don't just phone them when you are looking for content, also check on them every now and then. You see, like today I was speaking to one money expert – he wrote to me, and he was saying do you see the unemployment rate is now 29%, and we agreed we would make room for an opportunity next week to discuss what the implications of this are. So, I am now in a position where it's no longer just me looking for content! So, my contacts do input suggestions as well (IDI, KR Staff).

7.6 Empowerment: Community members (KR listeners) as change agents

Empowerment is a call to action to change the world around us in one way or another, as it allows people to participate with others in public work. Thus, empowerment enables people to join together to effect change (Schutz, 2019). According to Rogers and Singhal (2003), empowerment involves individuals' perceptions of their abilities to control situations. Additionally, as a call to action to change the status quo, empowerment is a prerequisite to attaining social change. It involves acquiring 'power within' and 'power to', which are characteristics of individual empowerment. Sadan (2004), Cornwall (2002), Cleaver (2001) and Schutz (2019) argue for the centrality of power in empowerment and take cognisance of the power dynamics and relations that agents face to manoeuvre in spaces of participation that seek to attain empowerment. Therefore, in understanding power in empowerment, Cornwall and Schutz refer to the power cube described by (Gaventa; 2006, 2019). In sum, individual empowerment assumes that individuals can obtain 'power to' and 'power within' to effect change to their circumstances, while collective empowerment centres on 'power with' and 'power to' in effecting social change.

Moreover, in taking on a spatial perspective, Schutz (2019) argues that many approaches to empowerment involve claiming aspects of spaces, namely, closed, open and invited spaces. Additionally, as Alinsky (1989) argues, gaining power or being empowered is about claiming or creating space in a closed space which is, in essence, capturing a place at the usually inaccessible table where the powerful negotiate decisions. Thus, claimed spaces are defined as creating or rather claiming spaces in any of the three continuums, open, invited and closed.

Moreover, as Schutz (2019) and Sadan (2004) argue, individual empowerment on its own is not sustainable. It cannot effect societal change, thus the need for a collaborative approach which is characterized by a stronger sense of community, which is more reflective of 'power with' (Gaventa, 2006). Schutz (2019) illustrates how forms of empowerment are dependent on each other. For instance, collaborative empowerment assumes that individuals have learned the practices that make the group's strategies possible; ultimately, these categories of empowerment have porous boundaries. The study found two categories of empowerment: individual and collective empowerment at play in KR's listenership communities.

7.6.1 Individual empowerment

A critical reflection into the individual motivating factors of listeners maintaining active listenership to KR and subsequently being members of MLC demonstrates the nature of empowerment at play at both the individual and community (collaborative) levels. According to Sadan (2004), individual empowerment is centred on personal development and can be understood as the abilities of individuals to define themselves and to act efficiently to benefit themselves. Therefore, through individual empowerment, people can gain a belief in their capabilities and have better control of their lives and how they can improve their environment (ibid). As was highlighted in some of the accounts from listeners on the motivating factors behind them becoming active listeners of KR, self-development was an essential factor that several listeners mentioned. The data revealed that individual empowerment came in three forms; the legitimacy obtained as a result of the association with KR and MLC; the spiritual upliftment received from listening to KR; and the educational and informative content from the station that nurtured listeners in various ways.

7.6.1.1 The legitimacy of association with KR and MLC

The research found that the legitimacy of belonging to KR and MLC, particularly being a coordinator, was one way in which some listeners felt they obtained a sense of personal growth and ultimately individually empowered. One coordinator of an MLC branch described how they welcomed and appreciated their close association with the listeners club. In describing MLC as bolstering his image, he said:

This position that I got from Masibumbane fulfils me because I can sell myself with it, and also, even if there's no payment, the way I work, one cannot forget me. It's not the first position I get in my area, and I was once in the School Governing Board, which helped me with training/ mentorship (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntembisweni)

Another Masibumbane member illustrating how their connection to KR presented them with strong linkages to the mayor's office stated:

I also contacted the mayor to inform him that the toilets are too far at one school in our area and requested them to construct others, and they are working on it. If it wasn't for Khwezi, I wouldn't have been known by the mayors like this because the station lifted me (IDI, Masibumbane member, eMatimatolo).

7.6.1.2 Spiritual growth as a contributor to individual empowerment

Spirituality is a critical aspect of one's personal development. The findings in this study demonstrated the relationship between spiritual welfare and individual self-development. One listener expressed the multifaceted nature of KR programming, which contributes to individual growth in various ways:

There's nothing you don't find on Khwezi. There's politics, church, etc., the church programming is so diverse (UI, Adhoc listener, eSwayimane).

Spiritual upliftment was a crucial characteristic in understanding the contributory factors to individual empowerment amongst participants. Spiritual upliftment refers to people strengthening their Christian beliefs, values and improving their ways of being as they seek to live better lives due to the influence of KR programming. Spiritual upliftment, in this case, was mainly through the preaching, prayers and gospel music that the radio station plays.

Spiritual programming on KR was found to contribute to building up listeners and affecting their closeness to God. Highlighting spiritual upliftment and the ability to grow

spiritually from KR as a significant motivator for them listening to the station, some participants remarked:

> *From hearing Khwezi on my radio, it built me, even through the music and the messaging about prayer and how to deal with problems, so I continue to listen. I also got help from the counselling phone numbers (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

> *I like radio Khwezi it blesses me a lot. I do not see anything that could ever separate me from the station. I like the preaching (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).*

> *I prefer radio Khwezi because I get a lot of spiritual upliftment (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntunjambili).*

Participants who alluded to spiritual growth felt that by being active listeners of KR and engaging with the station at various levels made them better individuals, who were able to demonstrate spiritual values such as love, forgiveness, empathy and selflessness.

The attribute of loving one another was emphasized by several listeners who felt that KR had fostered in them the ability to prioritize love as an imperative spiritual value. For example:

> *I learnt that Masibumbane is a place full of people with love who support one another. I used to be a person who wakes up goes to work then comes back home, then I noticed it's important to connect and interact with people, it relaxed my mind (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).*

Another listener stated:

> *I learnt from Khwezi – they spoke about love which made me see the need to love each and every one no matter how they look, don't look down on me (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).*

Additionally, some listeners accredited their self-development in the practice of forgiveness as a trait acquired from KR. Cases from two listeners illustrated this:

> *Khwezi taught me to stop holding grudges and to respect other people, everyone, even those that don't believe. I want people to know that I'm a person who doesn't speak badly (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

> *I have been helped a lot, especially in the area of forgiveness. I used to struggle a lot with forgiving; for instance, I used to see convicts as the same. I never thought there could be others who are arrested without any guilt. The programme looking at prisoners made me perceive things differently. I learnt to forgive a lot (FGD, Masibumbane member, PMB).*

Attaining these attributes that are grounded on Christian values gave participants a sense of individual empowerment. Over time they experienced improvements in their abilities to tackle life's situations, including the challenges they and their community members experience.

7.6.1.3 Personal enrichment from informative and educational KR programming

Other listeners acknowledged the educational and informative content on KR as being responsible for enriching their lives. KR provides educational and informative content by sharing critical information and raising awareness for its listeners, thus improving people's ways of being. This included informing day to day practice such as news, career-related guidance, life skills and motivation. One listener briefly captured the usefulness of KR's informative role:

> *I like that Khwezi provides me with knowledge of things I don't know (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntunjambili).*

A listener from KwaHaza highlighted the information that KR provided, which enriches individuals, such as educational and career insights:

So, you listen and can also get information on opportunities such as what to do when you want to work and study "x/y/z". They equip us; they don't just say because we are learned, let's hide the information. They support us so that we can also get enriched (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).

Another listener referred to the importance of on-time information being availed through the news:

The news is so important. They report what is happening in our surroundings, saying at place 'X' this has happened even while I am still in bed before I wake up to go to work (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).

The importance of being informed through the news is essential in stimulating action, particularly active citizenry that can activate good governance (Stapenhurst, 2000). Being better informed (i.e., moving from less knowing to having more knowledge) about the concerns of one's environment is likely to result in individuals being empowered to contribute to taking action. However, there is also the possibility that a person is not provoked to particular action even after being provided with certain knowledge.

7.6.2 Collaborative empowerment

Schutz (2019) cautions against individual empowerment being the focus to achieve societal structural change, as he sees the risk of individual empowerment recreating the status quo as individuals stand to gain 'power over' others. Thus, the rationale for collective empowerment resisting 'power over' because social change happens collectively. Many participants felt closely connected to KR and a greater extent MLC due to the forms of collective empowerment bourgeoning from the association. As asserted by Rogers and Singhal (2003, p. 82), dialogic communication, which is central to KR's development logic, is a primary feature of empowerment as individuals gain belief in their power to achieve their desired goals through exchange with others, particularly their peers. Dialogic communication involves radio listeners clubs acting as channels of communicative dialogue within and between different groups. For example, Banda (2007) asserts that RLCs can foster dialogic exchange between themselves and policymaking elites, enabling community members to

communicate from a position of collective power with those they would not otherwise meet in person (Banda, 2007, p. 145).

The distinctive forms of collective empowerment identified in the research speak to the sense of "community", which involves openness and a sense of belonging that listeners felt. KR also created, in a sense, a comfort zone and support system for listeners that are precursors to igniting social change. Furthermore, Schutz (2019) argues that collaboration can lead to change as it can enhance 'power to' and 'power within'.

7.6.2.1 Nurturing openness and a sense of belonging

'Openness and a sense of belonging' refer to the ability of KR to allow listeners to openly participate and have free contact with the space occupied by the station. The study found that listeners' membership in MLC further offered them a free space where they could connect and form strong ties in line with Cornwall's (2002) notion of agents forming 'claimed spaces'. In this case, MLC members created their claimed collective space as active listeners of KR. This space was formed from KR, which has characteristics of an invited space given the establishment of community media as spaces to encourage participation towards addressing various community development objectives. Thus, KR is not an organic space but has bolstered the formation of an organic space through MLC.

The study has highlighted the radio presenters as a distinct feature in the sustenance of an open environment at the station through the consistent reference made to the humility of Khwezi presenters by listeners. This illustrates the importance of the persona of the presenters as they operate as central representatives of community radios, which calls for their need to be community-centric. For instance, some listeners asserted:

> *The station programmers are so humble. They are open, and the programming is transparent (IDI, Masibumbane member, Vikindlala).*

> *All the Khwezi presenters have one heart, a good heart; they are always smiling when you talk to them. Also, at the station, it's not just older people working there. I was*

surprised even to hear young children as radio presenters. I was so happy! (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).

Thanks to the presenters, they present so well, they are all the same, none of them beats the other. They are all humble, and they present so nicely, they have so much love, and they love us, the listeners. The presenters are so patient. Even when you hear that a caller spoke something out of order/not making any sense, the presenters are always humble and calm (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).

Another listener further acknowledged the sense of belonging through familiarity and relatability facilitated by the station presenters:

I like the station because you also hear people you know talking (UI, Adhoc listener, eSwayimane).

The process leading to the inception of Masibumbane is worth underlining (i.e., understanding how MLC came to be in existence and the motivations behind its formation, particularly from the perspective of KR listeners). It is evident from the data collected that listeners desired a collaborative space that cultivates unity and social cohesion throughout KR listenership communities. Most of the active listeners who are part of MLC highlighted the support, sense of belonging, and community spirit that motivated them to be part of the listeners club. This is the essence of the formation of the listeners club driven by listeners needs. This provides the rationale for the organic nature of MLC as an initiative designed and started by a group of listeners through Khwezi's support. This is further elucidated in a quote from the MLC coordinator working with KR:

First, there was the start of on-air greetings. There was an idea of the listeners club to make sure people actually see each other so when they exchange greetings on the radio, they actually know. Also, so that when someone is facing an issue, we can support one another. So, there was a growing desire by listeners to know each other. It was mostly the listeners who drove this agenda. It was the joint idea of one active listener, and a former KR staff supported the idea for listeners meeting through forming a listeners' club. (IDI, KR Staff).

Moreover, the love received from KR, that listeners described, was a motivating factor to listeners' experience of a sense of belonging. The expressions from listeners demonstrate a sense of being part of the station and a community of listeners:

> *Khwezi changes our lives. It gives us love. When we have meetings, I receive so much love, and I also love to see other people happy. (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntunjambili)*

> *Khwezi is our radio station, Masibumbane is ours, you get help from Khwezi, you experience love even when you go there, even when you sleep there, and there is no discrimination. (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe)*

7.6.2.2 Representing a sense of community through comfort and support

Several listeners attested to appreciating the 'comfort and support' that the station presented them. The notion of comfort and support involves the ability of the station and MLC to create an encouraging space, particularly in times of challenges, grief and other life difficulties that people may encounter. Through this support, MLC members were encouraged by the collective empowerment accessible to them to tackle their challenges. Several participants demonstrated appreciation for the nature of comfort and support that they received from KR:

> *Khwezi helps and comforts a person, it's everything, and the members are believers (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

> *I like the messaging of the station. I saw that I would get support from this initiative (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

> *I usually listen in the mornings. I feel comforted when I listen. I also tell my passengers about radio Khwezi. When I play the station in the taxi, they ask which station it is. I tell them how to tune in (UI, Adhoc listener, eSwayimane).*

Some listeners referred to specific incidents when they had felt discouraged or in distress, often during times of grief from the loss of loved ones. Several listeners accounted for how KR's comfort had been beneficial to them during those times, often extended through MLC support. Several participants also expressed a sense of deep commitment to staying tuned into the station, which was brought about by the outstanding support received from KR. As some participants specifically highlighted:

> *KR also comforts; my husband passed away, I felt comforted I was able to stand because of Khwezi (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).*

> *In 2005, I lost a child, Masibumbane came to my home. I was still getting close to them; they came and supported me. I saw how helpful Khwezi was; it helps and comforts (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

> *Khwezi is comforting. I like Khwezi a lot; it helps me in my life. I listen from the morning. It helps my life, e.g., when my granny passed away, I told my coordinator that she helped me a lot and got me in touch with Khwezi. They were so supportive (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

> *Khwezi found me when I had lost my husband, and I was in deep sorrow and crying over and over. My makoti[28] introduced me to Khwezi. She tuned into the channel it has been useful in soothing my spirit. I liked the music too. It was comforting. I want to die in Khwezi and be buried by Khwezi. It helped me a lot when my husband died. (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

7.6.2.3 MLC as an organic claimed space stimulating collective empowerment

In detailing the nature of comfort and support from the radio station, several listeners made specific reference to the strong collaborative support received through MLC. When asked to clarify the objectives of MLC, a KR staff representative with the responsibility of coordinating the listeners club stipulated:

[28] Daughter in law

Masibumbane is meant to ensure that people can meet and support one another when you have a challenge; you can phone and mention it. Most members follow the Duduzanani show; they like it a lot because no matter how you woke up feeling, you can ask other listeners to pray with you with whatever pain. We can ask them to go and check on XYZ with those close by when they are not okay (IDI, KR Staff).

Even so, the nature of support offered through MLC was primarily noted as a motivating factor for listeners joining and staying committed to the listeners club. One listener articulated this:

I joined Masibumbane because of the support I receive from these women whenever I face a situation. Our branch coordinator is so supportive whenever I get in touch with her; she comes through for me. I have no parents, even when I'm hungry, she would help me (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).

Furthermore, some listeners alluded to the nature of MLC in building and fostering good discussions, spiritual building and providing opportunities for engagement between fellow women which can be recognized as contributing to collaborative empowerment. Similarly, several participants also highlighted the 'social relations and interaction' as providing them with a sense of belonging of being a part of KR and further motivating their active listenership. The feeling of belonging and close connection to KR was partly expressed through on-air greetings and exchanges between listeners from different geographical locations. The on-air greetings have gained popularity amongst listeners. They have been significant in connecting listeners, establishing closer ties and a sense of being part of a 'family' and feeling integrated into the community:

I heard the prayer from 4 am then the "sibizana emoyeni" (we greet each other on-air); I saw all the love, being called by people who don't know you, it was great! (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).

Khwezi helped me a lot to live with other people and see the importance of having love to live amongst other people. Through Khwezi, I now have many friends. Even in bringing families together, it's something that interests me. I feel welcomed; I don't

feel alone even as someone whose father passed on (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntembisweni).

7.6.2.4 Exploring the interplay between communityness and collective empowerment through Masibumbane listeners club

The interplay between communityness and collective empowerment is important to acknowledge in understanding CRs' developmental roles versus other media. The sense of community in CRs is closely linked to the ability to attain collective empowerment (beyond individual empowerment): This is fostered by the interactions in MLC. The importance of the spirit of Ubuntu and the sense of community in MLC was apparent throughout the research. The listeners club is built on foundations of support, unity and cohesion. One coordinator of a listeners club branch outlined:

We got more members for Masibumbane; we explained that Masibumbane doesn't mean that people should leave their churches; it's about getting together, e.g., Praying together, helping each other in time of need. We are a meeting of believers who help each other a lot (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).

Similarly, a member from a different MLC branch exemplified the collective approach to which the community was able to tackle different situations through MLC*;*

Masibumbane has given us good hearts to be able to share and be concerned with people's well-being. We contribute when people are experiencing challenges in the community, for instance, people's homes burning- we contributed, and we hired a car to carry the contributions. Masibumbane made us move from being selfish. Khwezi also uplifts us in the spirit, and you don't hold grudges (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).

Several listeners highlighted the factors motivating their membership in the listeners club, particularly the desire for supportive structures, a sense of community and even a sense of family that they gain from being a part of MLC. The fruits of this close association with MLC are elaborated:

I joined Masibumbane because of the support I receive from these women whenever I face a situation. Our branch coordinator is so supportive whenever I get in touch with her she comes through for me, I have no parents, even when I am hungry she would help me (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).

We live a good life here at Darnall because Khwezi teaches us about everything. We meet as members, support each other, and make contributions, e.g. if someone has passed away, we contribute and support them. We also have handwork, as you can see- farming and beadwork. We eat and sell produce from the garden; we also share with Masibumbane members when we have enough to share so that they can also meet their needs, we wouldn't eat all this produce and finish it alone (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).

Similarly, other listeners highlighted the 'family spirit' they felt through the support and closeness that they experienced from Masibumbane. This incited collective approaches to tackling personal and community agendas and challenges, which is the essence of communityness. This was expressed even by a KR staff representative coordinating MLC who also acknowledged benefiting from the communityness presented by MLC members:

Most of us were born alone at home, but I have even forgotten that because I have family in Masibumbane. Some people call just to check if I'm okay (KII, KR Staff).

Other listeners expressed the support and love that they cherished from fellow MLC members:

I like Masibumbane because it helps a lot; even when you're in trouble, you can receive comfort and support, e.g. when you have lost someone in your family (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

I like Masibumbane; those people really love each other; they love each other when they don't even know each other. Those people love each other! (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza

7.6.2.5 The informal leadership roles of Masibumbane coordinators

According to Schutz (2019), leadership is a critical consideration with regards to collaborative empowerment. This is because collective spaces strive to maintain an equal voice for participants, but this cannot exist without one form of leadership or another. In the case of MLC, the branch coordinators represent an important group of informal leadership worth exploring. This was partly expressed by the emphasis on acknowledging the role of the coordinators in MLC by members who gave accounts of their experiences in Masibumbane. For instance, one MLC member described how their branch coordinator kept members in check' and how the extreme love she has for people was admirable:

> *Our coordinator is so good when you start dodging/slacking. She even checks on you. She has a lot of love (others in the group join in to support the point). She has love, which most people lose. When people ask me about Masibumbane, I tell them that if you don't have love, you can't join it because it requires someone with love, patience and empathy with fellow humans (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

Several listeners also expressed how their branch coordinators provided guidance to members such as living a more fulfilled life and the values of marriage:

> *We also thank our coordinator a lot for all the guidance she provides us on how to live a fulfilled life and how to live as a person as a believer. Please visit us again; you may find us even better than you are finding now (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

> *The coordinator gets us together. She has taught us that we should learn to be self-sufficient and to push towards achieving our set goals (KwaKopi).*

> *When you are faced with a challenge, Masibumbane, through our coordinator, is supportive. I don't even know how she does it and where she gets the airtime. She phones to say in Home X there's problem Y. Let's go and visit them, perhaps there's something we can leave them with to help them. She is God-given! (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

Additionally, many listeners from KwaKopi appreciated the value added to their lives that their coordinator of the MLC provided to them:

We thank our coordinator, she mentors us, guides us around how to conduct each other in marriage, as believers. She always tells us that she doesn't like someone from Masibumbane being "above" their husband. The coordinator is always teaching us to respect our husbands. I don't know how to thank her. We thank Khwezi a lot, as well as Masibumbane (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

For me, without a mum, I see that through Masibumbane, I can get help/support given the way our coordinator has our back (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

Khwezi is comforting. I like Khwezi a lot, and it helps me in my life. I listen from the morning. It helps my life, e.g. when my granny passed away, I told my coordinator, who helped me a lot, got me in touch with Khwezi; they were so supportive (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

Similarly, another listener from the Mangethe area remarked how supportive their branch coordinator was in supporting MLC members:

I joined Masibumbane because of the support I receive from these women whenever I face a situation. Our coordinator is so supportive whenever I get in touch with her. She comes through for me; I have no parents, even when I'm hungry, she would help me (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).

MLC branch coordinators operate as central agents facilitating change in different ways in their communities. Through their facilitatory role, MLC coordinators acted as the centre of community activities. Coordinators have therefore been the heart of support to members of MLC. They do this through their facilitatory roles in maintaining a sense of unity and social cohesion in listenership communities:

At Masibumbane, we love each other and help each other with issues of concern if anything is not going well, we approach each other as believers and family to guide and resolve the issue at hand. We also approach the coordinator to discuss the problem and then take it forward (FGD, Masibumbane member, PMB).

Khwezi has helped me a lot, together with our coordinator, I support him, we support each other, and we get along (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).

While Schutz (2019) provides a useful perspective on the leadership crisis, which tends to affect collaborative empowerment, one needs to look more carefully into the different forms of leaders in collaborative empowerment spaces. This study found that the coordinators were very crucial to the listeners club's day-to-day functioning. To be sure, their leadership did not resemble “power over” but instead supported “power to” and “power with” alongside other members of the listeners club. Mainly, their coordination role did not appear to diminish the nature of the “free space” that listeners characterised MLC as.

7.7 Conclusion

The chapter has detailed the mechanisms facilitated by Khwezi radio through its dialogic nature and characteristics as an invited space that have contributed to effecting social change in communities. It described how KR listeners have benefited from access to development-related informative programming, which has informed their daily practice. It also illustrated the multifaceted and non-linearity of KR and MLC as spaces of participation. Furthermore, it unpacked the various forms of participation and interaction fostered by KR, particularly through MLC, representing a claimed space that is also the central interface between the radio station and the community. Lastly, the chapter delved into the facets of individual and collaborative empowerment, with collaborative efforts closely tied to the social change accounted for by the participants. The chapter highlights the crucial space KR provides to incite not only individual empowerment but also the emergence of MLC as a collaborative space. This is significant in people’s collective quest to shift the status quo and achieve social change in their communities.

CHAPTER 8: Khwezi radio's contributions to social change

8.1 Introduction

Following the findings presented in Chapter seven detailing the mechanisms through which KR fosters change in listener communities, this chapter presents evidence to show the perceived changes from listeners as a result of their engagements with Khwezi radio and Masibumbane Listeners Club. The chapter illuminates the stories of changes in listeners' livelihoods spanning across Khwezi and Masibumbane initiated activities in and out of the radio station. Most importantly, the change fostered by MLC in individual and community livelihoods is discussed. This chapter looks specifically at how KR meets individual and community social change needs from the perspective of the listeners and draws extensively on the experiences from Masibumbane Listeners Club (MLC).

The notion of social change applied in presenting the findings in this chapter draws on Lennie and Tacchi's (2013) idea that it is a non-linear, complex, interconnected and emergent concept that works through unpredictable relationships and processes. The understanding of development as social change further grounds itself in Sen (2014), who argues for the primary aim and means of development as a means of expanding people's freedom. For Sen (2014), development further entails the removal of unfreedoms such as poverty, poor economic conditions, systemic and social deprivation, neglect of public facilities and intolerance of repressive states. Sen (2014) emphasises "people" as active agents of change and also recognises the role of societal arrangements such as the media in contributing to the enhancements of people's freedoms and dealing with development challenges. Similarly, Hayward (1998, p. 12) defines freedom as ''the capacity to participate effectively in shaping the social limits that define what is possible.'' In light of this, this chapter illustrates the contributions of community radio as a space that enhances people's conscientization as active agents of change; consequently, amplifying different aspects of their freedoms.

In essence, the chapter presents empirical evidence of social change as relating to improvements to listeners' livelihoods – i.e., people's access to 'freedoms' that they enjoy. This discourse is located within the participatory development communication paradigm of development, which grounds this thesis. This paradigm argues for a contextual understanding

of local challenges, local cultural realities and the relationship between people, groups and institutions (Brennan & Israel, 2008; Cleaver, 2001; Lennie & Tacchi, 2013; Mano, 2012).

This chapter is presented in four main sections. It begins with looking at instances of individual-level change, then delves into cases illustrating how KR has contributed to meeting some community needs. The chapter then zooms into social change inspired by MLC. It illustrates the complexity and non-linearity of social change shown by the questionable change emerging from the data collection.

8.2 The "Individual" in social change

Cloete, Rabie, and De Coning (2014) assert that Individual change can either be experienced at the cognitive, ideological or emotional level. Several development communication scholars (Da Costa, 2012; Diedong & Naaikuur, 2014; Manda & Chapota, 2015; Milan, 2009; Soola, 2002) have accounted for community radios' developmental roles play primarily at the community level. However, there remains a limited focus in the discourse on the more micro, individual gains achieved at the community level. This research adds to this literature by suggesting that KR as a development communication medium also contributes to individual level change. When asked about the contributions of KR on their livelihoods, several participants alluded to the individual-centric benefits that the station has brought to their lives. The individual benefits that listeners recognised were spiritual upliftment; behavioural and attitude related changes; counsel received from KR; information exchange from the station which has informed listeners practice(s) and relief from distress. These factors were found to contribute to shaping the individuals' overall ways of being.

8.2.1 Spiritual upliftment

In arguing for the interconnectedness between individuals' social and spiritual realm, David (2000) asserts that societal transformation involves both material and spiritual changes. According to Chile & Simpson (2004, p. 320), spirituality relates to the values and beliefs that inform the meanings we make of the purpose of our existence. The link between community development and spirituality is the connection of the individual to the collective. Hence the well-being of the individual is influenced by the community's well-being (Chile and Simpson,

2004). Increasing one's spirituality increases their connection to community and social responsibility (Bhagwan, 2010). Spiritual models emphasize a dialogical and open relationship between individuals and their environment, viewing people as holistic, spiritual beings connected to a universal whole (Bullis, 1996; Canda & Furman, 1999; Crossman, 2003; Hodge, 2000; Schiele, 1994) (as cited in Damianakis, 2006). In this study, the association of Khwezi radio to KSB Mission grounded the strong Christian values and motivated the listeners' spiritual growth and them seeking to be better individuals.

The application of spirituality in this study related explicitly to spiritual changes in participants' Christian faith. Interviews with KR listeners revealed the appreciation that they gave to the station for uplifting them and creating an experience of spiritual growth for listeners. As some participants described, the spiritual growth that they experienced made them intrinsically "more fulfilled" people who lived spiritually rewarding lives;

> *Khwezi gives me spiritual growth (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntunjambili).*

> *Khwezi is a radio station [that] spirituality it brings us from bad things; it changed me and taught me to believe (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).*

> *Sometimes when you're down, it lifts you up, e.g., spiritually when you're not well (UI, Adhoc listener, eSwayimane).*

Spiritual upliftment was the most mentioned individual gain for KR listeners. Listeners made mention of the spiritual upliftment the teachings of the Christian faith on KR provided. They noted that different KR programming and interactions with fellow listeners off-air encouraged their spiritual growth immensely. Spiritual upliftment resulted from a series of religious devotions that listeners gained from listening and participating in KR spiritual programmes. The attributes that individuals benefited from through their engagements with the station comprised prayer, Christian values and principles; bible and scriptural encouragement; comfort; restoration; and hope and salvation.

Most participants who mentioned spiritual upliftment as the important change they experienced from listening to KR also referred to the characteristics of being loving and prayerful. Listeners recognised KR as a station that encourages Christian principles of prayer (which is engaging in conversational exercise with God as a way of life). Praying for one another (communal prayer) was also cited as important amongst participants who found spiritual upliftment benefiting them as individuals and members of the MLC;

> *Masibumbane doesn't mean that people should leave their churches; it's about getting together, e.g., Praying together, helping each other in time of need (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

Communal prayer involves listeners receiving support from their fellow community members when going through difficult times. For instance, during times of sickness, as was elucidated by some participants;

> *I spent quite some time in hospital last year; I couldn't listen to Khwezi while I was there. Khwezi was there for me, people prayed for me (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).*

Another participant stated;

> *My husband got sick, Khwezi helped me. When he was at the hospital, Khwezi helped with contributions. They came with one of the presenters, prayed and left a wonderful gift (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

Similarly, one participant mentioned receiving prayers when their child got an injury;

> *When my child got injured, Masibumbane came through; they came even before my church, they did everything; they prayed a lot. I loved that so much (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

Another means of spiritual upliftment was raised through the Bible readings of the word of God or preaching on KR. Participants who alluded to this mentioned developing spiritually as a result of hearing the preaching from the station. They also referred to their

lives changing as a result of adopting the spiritual values obtained from the preaching. These include loving one another, forgiveness and humility, keeping people from doing evil by living by and valuing good works instead. KR staff further alluded to the spiritual role of the station, with some listeners seeing KR as substituting for their regular "church life" or other church engagements.

> *The religious programme has changed many people's lives. Listeners say they are what they are because of what Khwezi has taught them. Some say they don't go to church; they just sit and listen to Khwezi (IDI, KR Staff).*

Likewise, other participants expressed changes in their lives as they increasingly applied the Christian values that they learnt from some of KR programming. One listener attributed the changes in her life to the spiritual programming. She listened to KR that made her increasingly demonstrate and live by the Christian values she learnt there;

> *I see many changes, particularly as a person individually, in the way I carry myself. When you listen to Khwezi, you can feel your spirit being uplifted; you feel changed as a woman even in how you live in the world (value system) (FGD, Masibumbane member, Pietermaritzburg).*

Other participants referred to the salvation they received through the messages of the Christian faith presented on KR. This was accompanied by a change of lifestyle as described by one participant from Kranskop;

> *They helped me to stop drinking. I used to be an alcoholic. I stopped drinking and doing drugs. I heard some preaching on the station; they prayed for me, I then left smoking. My heart changed, and I was led to God (*IDI, Masibumbane member, Kranskop).

When an individual's sense of spirituality increases, so too does their connection to the community, to moral and social responsibility and a belief in their ability to affect their environment (self-efficacy) toward social change (Finley, 1991; Ortiz & Smith, 1999) (as cited in Damianakis, 2006)

8.2.2 Upholding Christian values

Several participants referred to the Christian inspired values that they learnt through listening to KR. Some participants indicated that they learned the ability to respect others, forgive those who may have wronged against them and let go of holding onto grudges;

> *We talk and let things go and move on with life; we pray before we do so that God can guide us and help us to forgive. Believing taught me to be disciplined in this (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

Another listener, correspondingly detailed;

> *Through listening, I regained my faith. I also learnt to correct my anger. When you're in the word of God, you don't commit a crime and other bad things; it helps you a lot (IDI, Masibumbane member, Greytown).*

Furthermore, two other participants explained how they had learned the importance of forgiveness from the station;

> *Before listening to radio Khwezi, I was fast to be angry and irritable. However, from listening to Khwezi, I have learnt to let go and forgive people; even if people wrong me, I can be irritated for a while, but I learn to let go. There is no one, even a neighbour, that I stay angry with (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

> *I used to struggle a lot with forgiving; for instance, I used to see convicts as the same. I never thought there could be others arrested without any guilt. The show looking at prisoners made me see things differently. I learnt to forgive a lot (FGD, Masibumbane member, PMB).*

Similarly, some participants reported having experienced better control of their temperament, specifically anger. They now believe they have become slow to anger as a result of listening to KR, for example:

> *It has changed me a lot, especially as an MLC coordinator eeeeii. When something puts me off, I get worked up, then my husband reminds me that I'm a leader of the people then I reduce*

my temper. I used to be fast to anger, but Khwezi has helped (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).

Some pointed out that their KR listenership helped them to shift from gossip and dishonesty, As two listeners exclaimed:

Khwezi cures me in many ways; it keeps me out of lies, from gossiping about people knowing that when you talk about someone, you are killing them, you must approach the person and rather talk to them (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).

KR takes me away from talking about other people, and it has taken me out of lying; I learnt that talking about someone is wrong. I have learnt to stop talking about others, to worship your God (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).

As this section has elucidated, upholding Christian values such as selflessness is core to KR listeners' ethos. It is, therefore, important to acknowledge the spiritual association of KR in influencing the station's development impact. As Ver Beek (2000) argued, there is a close association between people's religion and spirituality and development-related decisions. In this study, individuals' spirituality contributed to them attaining individual empowerment, which incited collective empowerment with fellow listeners who shared similar values. In turn, this contributed to KR listeners' desires and actions towards contributing to making society a better place.

8.2.3 Behavioural and attitude change

Many participants referred to changes in behaviour and attitude as amongst other key benefits to their individual growth that they have experienced from listening to KR. As a result of KR programming, the values that listeners internalized due to KR programming included adhering to Christian values such as forgiveness, honesty, avoiding gossip and being slow to anger. Other individual attributes that listeners mentioned learning from KR are being respectful, patience, humility, self-awareness, discipline and resilience. The shift from individualistic ways such as selfishness to more community centredness' means of being selfless were also noteworthy gains from KR. These values incited community and collaborative empowerment, which are important for social change to occur.

8.3.3.1 Respect

Several participants indicated that KR influenced their decision to be more respectful in relating to people, especially respecting the elders in their lives.

> *I learnt to love my community and to know to respect my parents and elders as a child. Also, even if I am working and bringing food home, Khwezi taught me that no matter how old I think, I should still listen (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntembisweni).*

> *Khwezi taught me to stop holding grudges and to respect other people, everyone, even those that don't believe. I want people to know I'm a person who doesn't speak badly (FGD, Masibumbane member, Mangethe).*

> *Khwezi emphasizes respect and listening to elders when they discipline you. Listening is so important whether as a child or adult (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntembisweni).*

8.3.3.2 Discipline

Commenting on learning disciplinary measures from KR, participants mentioned learning how to conduct themselves within their communities and how to discipline children and guide them on an appropriate path to life. The importance of education in facilitating this discipline is also taught to listeners. This was clarified;

> *Khwezi changes lives. The station has given people lives; e.g., it shows people the importance of going to school (FGD, Masibumbane member, KSB).*

Moreover, referring to the lessons on better disciplining children, some participants commented as follows:

> *They also guide us on how to look after children, now I don't beat them up. I learnt how to discipline children without beating them up. I encourage them to put school first (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).*

We have a show called "focus on the family", which shows parents how to deal with their children and provides guidance on how to raise children rightfully; it brings families together (IDI, KR Staff).

In addition, an instance of peacekeeping came up as another way Khwezi fosters discipline among listener communities. One listener shared:

We had an issue where we asked radio Khwezi to help – it was a conflict-related issue, differences in opinion between some people. (I don't want to state it in its entirety because it's sensitive). Khwezi came up with a solution and said that since you are believers, you must deal with the issue because it was creating a lot of hate, so they advised the different groups on how to create peace (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).

It is worth noting from some of the excerpts the guidance offered by the station to its listeners which contributes to listeners value systems. Moreover, the suble imposition of KR values to listeners and confinement to those values could be seen as invisible form of power as abiding by these values makes listeners feel like part of the KR community. On the contrary going against the values would result in being seen as an outsider within that participatory space.

8.3.3.3 Humility

An additional behavioural change that some participants referred to as something that they gained through KR's influence is the trait of humility.

We thank God for Khwezi, it helps us to look after ourselves, and it gives us humility. Even in the community, the way I am and how I engage with the neighbours, Khwezi makes us humble (FGD, Masibumbane member, PMB).

Similarly, another listener said:

I have learnt to be humble, too; even when I may feel indifferent, I have learnt humility (FGD, Masibumbane member, PMB).

Thus, the humility expressed has been passed down from the station values to the listeners. Like discipline, respect, forgiveness, and loving, these values contribute to the shared values imbued by MLC members.

8.3.3.4 Resilience

Through its programming, KR also targeted special interest groups that are often neglected, such as people with disabilities, and this has also brought about individual change. Through KR programmes, the resilience people with disabilities use to deal with their circumstances is demonstrated. A case in point is one listener who shared his story of change:

> *At the age of 14/15, I had polio. When I became disabled, I started studying at home; I stopped going to school. This was from Grade 8. I became dependent on the disability grant. I listened to the "Makube khona ukukhanya" (let there be light) programme teaching me that I could still go back to school. I wrote to my teacher and asked to go back to school. I am not disabled in the mind; I passed so well. If I look at myself, Khwezi took me from nowhere. Now I have a house and cars. If it weren't for Khwezi, I wouldn't be who I am today. It's thanks to Khwezi. I also advise other women with children with disabilities not to keep the children locked up, they should get out and do something, and they should look beyond the stigma (IDI, Masibumbane member, eMatimatolo).*

Another story shared by a representative from KR staff emphasized the motivation and encouragement that the station gained by facilitating dialogue amongst people who faced stigma and other challenges or disability, such as being born blind*:*

> *Sometime ago, I shared a story of a person born blind. He was born of a mum who threw him in the toilet; she hated him so much. People heard him screaming from the toilet pit; that's how he was saved. Despite his disability, he went to school. One listener heard about this and got motivated that if a blind person can go to school and still go and do Matric, how can I stay home, she was advised on how she could also go to school as the story had motivated her. She is now in the tourism industry (IDI, KR Staff).*

8.2.5 Information exchange to inform personal practice

Listeners indicated some KR programming being beneficial for informing changes in their lifestyle practices. The multiplicity of information shared on the station helped inform listeners life practices, ranging from hygiene and fitness, career guidance, skills development and entrepreneurship more broadly. Some participants made reference to the agricultural information they received on KR[29] , which helped to better educate their farming practices, knowledge of farming seasons, and better increase farming yield. Two participants from Vikindlala and Howick shared their farming experiences, respectively;

> *I'm a farmer. I grow beans, amadumbe [30], sweet potatoes, vegetables, tomatoes, vegetables, cabbage, and potatoes. I have a lot of land! I get a lot of advice from the show., I started learning from my mum I sell the produce and also help/give to families that are not well off. There is a show in the evening with experts, it gives us good information for instance when planting beans, I learnt that when you are farming beans, and you harvest them, there are nutrients that remain when you harvest, which can help grow your next crop. So after harvesting beans, I grow cabbage., the experts from Khwezi have helped us a lot with crop rotation. I can harvest first-grade cabbage. I also use the manure from the cabbage to grow the next crop (IDI, Masibumbane member, Vikindlala).*

> *I grow spinach, potatoes and maize- I change seasonally. I see myself progressing. Radio Khwezi helps me a lot; I was sitting at home, Khwezi helped me with information to help me with farming. I listened to Khwezi while still working at a farm, and I saw that this skill would help me retire. I got motivated more to start farming from Khwezi programming (FGD, Masibumbane member, Howick*).

Importantly, the agricultural activities were critical contributions to the community-related changes noted, for example, in farming cooperatives within MLC.

[29] This information was exchanged on the agricultural show which forms part of the development programming discussed in chapter3, section 3.53

[30] A root vegetable most commonly known as *taro*

Similarly, another listener mentioned how the information on KR had been beneficial to her starting her poultry business. As she became more confident in her farming abilities, she took the necessary steps to get a loan to start up the entrepreneurship journey;

> *Khwezi taught us to learn to live by ourselves and not rely too much on the government, e.g. I learnt to keep chickens. I was scared of borrowing some "start-up capital", and I was able to because the station taught us business skills (FGD, Masibumbane member, KSB).*

Moreover, as one listener pointed out, the business networks and contacts they gained from a specific programme on KR linked her to someone who could support her fashion design portfolio. Such networks and associations are notable ingredients to social capital, which, according to Putman (1993) build a sense of solidarity and are key tenets to a communities' development;

> *We also have business people on the development show. There's a lady I want to meet; she's a fashion designer. I would like her to help me with design. She left her number on the show so I will call her back (IDI, Ntunjambili).*

Such networks and linkages are crucial forms of social capital that KR exposes listeners to and that have a lasting effect on listeners' livelihoods.

However, while some listeners acknowledged receiving the information on KR about agricultural practices, it was not always clear that the information was applied in practice. As one participant indicated;

> *I have heard on the station they were saying what we should do with the soil, and they spoke about manure. I don't know who was speaking. I haven't tried anything they spoke about, but yes, I have heard the information being passed on the radio (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

8.2.6 Relief from situations of distress

When asked what change they had experienced due to KR, several participants cited incidents when the station had assisted them in dealing with facing distressful situations. Some of the support they received helped them deal with illness, attain emergency relief and supporting them through bereavement. One woman detailed an account of how KR had provided for her and her family when she went through a difficult period of illness and distress;

> *I saw their impact mostly when I was in hospital. When I went to my first Masibumbane meeting, it was great to finally meet the people. I liked the atmosphere; there were lots of people, very free. As I don't have a mother, I went there and got mothers, and I felt warm and comforted knowing that if I ever have a problem, I have support even beyond my church. They covered the gap! They prayed with me and comforted me on the radio; even when I had no money to go to the doctor or clinic, they came through. They contributed. If they hadn't assisted me, I would have remained at home being sick; they would visit me in hospital, bringing love and fruits etc. They also looked after my children, whom I had left at home. They get close and become like friends and family. I have really received a lot of help from Khwezi and Masibumbane, and you can see that wow, people love me (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza).*

Similarly, another participant detailed how KR had supported her through the grief associated with the passing away of her husband;

> *My husband got sick; when he was at the hospital, Khwezi helped with contributions. On the 2nd of March, they came, and they prayed and left a wonderful gift (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

Moreover, one listener detailed how KR had met their individual need of rebuilding her house, which had been blown away in a violent storm;

> *When I lost my house, it was blown away. Khwezi spoke on my behalf about the incident on the radio station, following which the municipality assisted with building a house for me (IDI, Masibumbane member, Tugela Ferry).*

The same listener further expressed how KR had supported her in following up on the reasons her children were chased away from their school;

> *They followed up with my children going back to school after they had been chased away. The station followed up with the school (IDI, Masibumbane member, Tugela Ferry).*

Another female listener detailed the support and faciliatory role played by a KR presenter in dealing with homelessness and ensuring she received a new RDP home;

> *It was late in 2009. We had registered for our RDP home. Then when it was raining, the house we lived in fell. At that time, I was sick; I had gone to Maphumulo Hospital. I found the house shattered; we had no place to stay. A KR Presenter passed here and said he would try to get us our home. There were two main players involved;" X", who was managing the construction of RDP Housing and "Y", who was managing the tender. X was requested to be on Radio Khwezi to understand why my number for the RDP House had been removed. I listened to Radio Khwezi from home to follow the story. "X" was questioned on what had gone wrong with my RDP House registration. He said he would communicate with those in charge and find out what the issue was. About two days later, the people from RDP House construction came to my home to start the foundation! I was also invited for a meeting on Housing, and "Y" assured me that I would get my house and that I would not remain behind. Thanks to the presenter and Radio Khwezi, who facilitated the action of my housing issue being resolved very quickly. (IDI, KR listener)*

8.2.7 Selflessness and developing a community spirit

Moreover, some participants referred to moving from selfishness and learning selflessness as an attitudinal shift they experienced from being a part of KR. This speaks to the move from individual forms of empowerment towards more collective empowerment, which is community-centric. In demonstrating this shift, one participant provided an example of selflessness leaning towards community spirit;

> *Khwezi cares for people. It has made me selfless, move from being selfish; I now feel pain for other people. Once you care, then you can help. For instance, there was a sick child, they had left home, and the family did not want anything to do with her! I took care of him, helped her*

at the hospital, and looked after her until she died. Khwezi taught us to look after other people (IDI, Masibumbane member, Greytown).

8.3 Khwezi radio meeting community needs: social cohesion at work

The community needs that participants reported particularly focused on the role of the MLC in establishing close ties and a sense of community. Amongst these is the sense of social cohesion, which is at the core of community essence or 'communityness':

8.3.1 Social Cohesion

When asked about the development changes that they experienced at the community level as a result of KR, the majority of listeners made reference to characteristics of social cohesion. Participants typically recognised that the change they experienced was brought about by KR's efforts to bring listeners together by nurturing a sense of family and community spirit and ultimately creating social cohesion. This was done by building on values such as sharing, selflessness, empathy, love and caring and support for one another, the spirit of "ubuntu", building one another up through encouragement, promoting peacekeeping, and unity solidarity in culture. One participant noted in brief:

Khwezi looks after people. I can get my problems solved; it brings the community together (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

Many participants acknowledged KR playing an essential role in facilitating community togetherness and enabling people to support one another by practising the values of sharing and having empathy towards different life experiences and challenges;

Khwezi has love. We have been taught empathy; we can support children in need. We support each other to help different situations. We contribute and support different families. Khwezi has also taught us to share with the less fortunate- when I'm wealthy, those near me who are suffering should also receive some. When I'm warm, my neighbour should also be warm (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).

Likewise, one listener emphasized the value gained from KR keeping his community together:

Also, Khwezi has connected me to my community a lot a lot (emphasis) because I wouldn't even know people like these guys if It wasn't for Khwezi! Now when I'm KwaNambithi, I know who to phone (laughter). I know many people, and I now have "family" that are above my own family that I have. (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe)

Therefore, through KR, listeners became closely connected as a community of listeners. Moreover, as members of MLC, community members built close ties which fostered collective approaches to their communities' development. The collectiveness was also expressed through the cohesive value of ubuntu.

8.3.2 The value of 'Ubuntu'

The study found upholding *ubuntu* as primary to a sense of communityness .When asked about the individual changes they experienced as a result of KR, several participants alluded to the value of *ubuntu* that they have benefited from and learnt to practice as Khwezi listeners. Kamwangamalu (1999) defines ubuntu as a concept representative of the core values of African ontologies: respect for any human being, for human dignity and human life, collectiveness, obedience, humility, solidarity, caring, hospitality, interdependence and communalism. Ubuntu can thus be recognised as a value that is part of communityness. Illustrating the value of sharing and love for one another, one listener stated;

I learnt from Khwezi – they spoke about love which made me see the need to love everyone no matter how they look, don't look down on me. I can also share what I have and not go around telling others that I gave them, e.g., suit blazers, I give other people because I'm lucky to have them (FGD, Masibumbane member, KoMangethe).

Another female listener from the KwaKopi area illuminated the value of ubuntu and how KR and Masibumbane forge a sense of togetherness and empathy in the community;

Masibumbane has shown me that you cannot be a person alone; you become a person when you are around people. I also learnt that when I have something, my neighbour should also have some of it. My neighbour should not sleep without eating when I have eaten. I got this lesson from Radio Khwezi. Even at Masibumbane, they teach us that as people, we shouldn't

ignore the neighbour when they go to bed without eating (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

8.3.3 Agricultural community development

With agriculture being a central economic activity, particularly in rural areas, as is the case with most listeners of Khwezi radio, the importance of information to support farmers is highly valued. Several studies have demonstrated the positive effects of sharing farming information through radio dialogues. In a study conducted by Chapman, Blench, Kranjac-Berisavljevic, & Zakariah (2003), it was established that agricultural information on soil and water conservation, disseminated through radio programming in a community radio station in Ghana, led to behaviour change among farmers. The study found that understanding soil and water conservation practices, agroforestry and organic manuring improved after listening to the radio programme (Chapman et al, 2003).

In addition, the global changes in the structure of agricultural extension services have resulted in the increased emphasis on demand-driven, participatory and pluralistic mechanisms of information and technology transfer. A study by Olden, Nyareza and Dick (2012) also found that farmers in Zimbabwe appreciated radio as a useful tool to communicate agricultural information due to its ability to disseminate information promptly, and to elaborate on issues affecting farmers clearly with no discrimination, unlike agricultural extension agents who are at times unable to reach all households. In the case of Rwanda, climate change, climate risk and adaptation, and pest control related information, are primarily shared through the radio and agriculture extensionists. Here, listeners clubs are used as platforms to encourage farmers to adopt climate and agriculture-related information to mitigate, adapt and manage climate risks in agriculture (Munyangeri & Samuel, 2019).

The advantages offered by community radio's accessibility and relatability to communities has proved an advantage to enhancing agricultural skills. This is in contrast to the inadequacies expressed of agricultural extension officers' inability to reach a wide range of rural farmers (Chapman et al., 2003). Additionally, the participatory nature of CRs allows community members to share their farming experiences with agricultural experts on the radio platform that can result in improvements in agricultural practices.

Khwezi radio likewise has demonstrated participatory communication linkages between its listeners and community agricultural experts. Primary to these is the association with PANNAR seed, a seed company centred on research and development of crops such as maize, sunflower, soybeans, dry beans, wheat, and sorghum. In this study, agricultural community development was twofold: Firstly, through technical assistance and guidance provided particularly by PANNAR seed on KR programming. And secondly, as an access provider to attaining or buying seeds for growing various crops for farmers in the community;

> *Even with farming, we listen to content related to farming, which has helped us be hardworking and know how to farm. – I learnt about this from Khwezi "Ezolimo nomnotho" (concerning farming and the economy). I heard about growing maize. I tried it out and beans too. I saw the results because before that, we were people just farming but not well informed, but from what we heard at Khwezi, we are reaping the benefits as we have been encouraged to continue farming. They tell you on the show that you need to do X, Y, Z, and that helps (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

One KR presenter with a central role in the agricultural programme remarked at the positive feedback from listeners as a result of the information provided on air. The agricultural show assists people to improve their agricultural yields and gain access to market for their produce;

> *Also, there is very good feedback from people using PANNAR seed that even in times of drought, they are able to harvest. So, it's a good company to work with because of their yields and people do harvest from using their seeds. Some people have come up with a market for their yields as well. People typically grow maize and beans in KZN (IDI, KR Presenter).*

Some participants noted changes in their agricultural patterns, which in turn improved livelihoods in their communities. For instance, two farmers who are active listeners of KR gave accounts about how their yields had improved due to the technical assistance on the station's agricultural programming. One participant from the Vikindlala area detailed how the information that KR provides has helped community members improve their farming techniques, such as differentiating the type of soil which is best for planting different crops.

He further acknowledged the timing of the agricultural development programming as being ideal because it airs when most listeners are at home;

> *I am into farming. Radio Khwezi helps us with experts that they bring us closer to. They teach us what to plant and tell us what to plant at different seasons and how to ensure what we plant is successful; they also give us advice. There is a lady" X", she's an extension officer. She advises us a lot on farming issues. I listened to the information on growing mushrooms from Radio Khwezi, the experts come and see our farms and advise if our soil is good enough – they come and check and advise us which crops are good for the particular soil -for free. They leave their numbers after the show. The station has helped us a lot. Radio Zulu used to try with developmental shows of this nature, but they came on late when people were already asleep. At least the radio Khwezi slot is at 7 pm (IDI, Masibumbane member, Vikindlala).*

The farmer further explained how he had learnt crop rotational practice from Khwezi radio and remarked how the expertise provided on the shows was beneficial to his agricultural practices;

> *There is a show in the evening with experts, it gives us good information for instance when planting beans, I learnt that when you are farming beans, and you harvest them, there are soil nutrients that remains when you harvest it that can help grow your next crop. So after harvesting beans, I grow cabbage, the experts from Khwezi have helped us a lot. (crop rotation). I can harvest first-grade cabbage. I also use the manure from the cabbage to grow the next crop (IDI, Masibumbane member, Vikindlala).*

Similarly, another participant from the eMatimatolo area alluded to the benefits his community has gained through the agricultural programming that they now apply to their farming cooperatives;

> *There is also a show on weekdays at 7 pm – Ezolimo nomnotho, which guides people on farming and also how to sell their produce on the market. We organised cooperatives at eMatimatolo; now they are farming maize, beans and green pepper four market purposes. The soil is good and has good water. The show has helped us because the money the members make helps to build the community, "iyakwazi ukuxotsh' ikati eziko" (direct translation: it can*

chase the cat from sleeping on the fireplace-meaning it can solve people's hunger/poverty challenges) (IDI, Masibumbane member, eMatimatolo).

Another listener who occasionally tunes into the agricultural shows acknowledged the assistance that KR provided to her and fellow farmers. It was particularly useful in advising on which manure is best for good crops as well as how to eliminate crop pesticides;

Sometimes I have heard them on the radio talking about Agriculture. I hear them. If I'm at home at that time, they tell listeners what to plant in each season; there's a change in that we get expertise in the information we may not have initially had on how to look after our gardens. We need to get fertiliser then manure that makes crops grow nicely and makes the food good/nice. I mix it with water then add it to the crops. Since it's now the rainy season, we need to put pesticides to kill snails; they like to get into the cabbage and getting rid of millipedes-we receive such tips on Khwezi's agriculture show (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).

In addition, one presenter from the KR agricultural programme reported how mindsets were shifting because now the youth is getting more involved in agricultural activities even though the traditional stereotype is that farming is something practised by the elderly;

Agriculture has been perceived as an old people's thing, but now we are changing mindsets, and we have got youth involved in agriculture. We have had Agriculture and Forestry students calling into the programme saying we have helped them with their studies (IDI, KR Staff).

Khwezi agricultural programming encourages community members to practice organic environmentally friendly. This was a unique element of the programming that listeners appreciated. This is expressed in the response from the presenter who facilitates this programme;

Q: Does the lady who speaks on organic farming receive any feedback on her programme from listeners? A: Yaaah (strong emphasis), they even call her listeners can call asking her where she is because they really benefit, and listeners are learning a lot from her show (IDI, KR Staff).

8.3.3.1 Farming cooperatives

Farming cooperatives were formed between various community members, enabling them to support one another in agricultural projects. This was often done within the confines of the MLC membership, although in some instances also involves non-members. One member who was part of a community co-operative described how they wanted Masibumbane's work to become known even through the co-op initiative;

> *There are currently ten people who are part of the cooperative; it's not everyone who's part of the branch. Some of them are not sure if the project will be a success. What I want is that people even out there can see the work of Masibumbane. (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntembisweni).*

One KR staff explained one cooperative focused on growing mushrooms and how the station planned to visit the community to see the work that was being carried out there;

> *Q: So, the man I spoke to who was excited about growing mushrooms, where did he get the information? A: He got it from the agriculture show. They do it as part of a co-operative within their listeners' club. The listeners told me about this on-air and asked me to come and have a look, but I haven't yet got the chance to do so. So, we suggested they should have some event that they can invite Khwezi to in their area; then we can see the mushrooms then. We need to find a good time when the community is available, and we are also available so we can do a site visit (IDI, KR Staff).*

Similarly, another listener from a different community mentioned his intentions of starting a mushroom farming cooperative among the unemployed youth in his community. Khwezi's programming informed the expertise on growing mushrooms;

> *Now I am busy with a Cooperative to plant mushrooms. The show brought an expert talking about growing mushrooms, so I want to start a project to plant this, bringing together young people who are completing grade 12, those with degrees and diplomas struggling to find work (IDI, Masibumbane member, Vikindlala).*

He further expressed how he had benefited from the engagements offered through KR's agricultural expertise, which he said went beyond providing information on air but also visit community members' farms to provide the required technical expertise;

I listen to the information on growing mushrooms from Radio Khwezi. The experts from the show can come and see our farms and advise if the soil is good enough – they come and check and advise us which crops are good for the particular soil -for free (IDI, Masibumbane member, Vikindlala).

Women are also encouraged to get together to farm, which is difficult in a culture where men are traditionally the heads of households. Thus it must be recognized that by entering this space, women are taking charge and even becoming owners of land. This supports Oberhauser and Pratt's (2004) notion of the increased availability of economic and political spaces of participation for rural black women. However, women still have to negotiate the complexities of a neoliberal capitalist economy, the legacies of apartheid, and customary practices that have historically been marginalising to women to enter these spaces (Oberhauser and Pratt, 2004).

A more typical phenomenon in rural areas is women heading their households when men leave home to work in towns and farms as migrant labourers, increasing women's involvement in economic issues. Women's participation in economic livelihoods is especially taking place within the listeners' club branches, where community members typically share a piece of land and use it to grow different crops, using the technical expertise from Khwezi radio. A case in point is the women farming together in the Darnall area, as shown in figure 8.1.



Figure 8. 1: Women cooperative farming in Darnall (Picture taken by the researcher)

One of the women in the group described their farming activity as a source of livelihood;

> *I started working in the garden in the past year, we plant crops/vegetables and sell. We also give to other community members. I don't have any formal employment. The garden produce is the way I sustain myself (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).*

Additionally, one KR staff representative, coordinating MLC, remarked at the success that the agricultural activities had on improving listeners' livelihoods:

> *At Darnall, there is a woman who wakes up and goes to Stanger every day to go and sell. She is part of a cooperative farming spinach, cabbage, lettuce. So, their community is developed because they can never go hungry; they have food in their gardens. It's Masibumbane that opened their minds (IDI, KR Staff).*

Women continue to make essential contributions to agriculture and rural enterprises across the developing world, with estimations showing women making up about 43 percent of the agricultural labour force globally and in developing countries (Doss et al., 2011). One MLC member stated that KR was instrumental in teaching women to be active contributors in their families:

From radio Khwezi, they also teach us that as women we mustn't just sit. There should be something we are doing to contribute to our families (FGG, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

Women make crucial contributions to agricultural activities, as noted by the considerable numbers of female participants in this study who are undertaking agricultural activities. For example, in most cases, they plant crops on a rotational basis and sell them as a form of livelihood.

8.3.4 Social protection and welfare

Social protection and welfare emerged as a recurring theme from listeners when detailing the communal changes they experienced due to KR. Social protection and welfare, in this case, was in reference to the social assistance programs and projects that were facilitated by KR or that the station connected listeners to in order to ensure the well-being of community members. Primary initiatives worth noting in this category are the programming and activities aimed at supporting people with disabilities in the community, living a fulfilled life while HIV positive, supporting grant recipient payments, and providing food to those in need. One KR presenter responsible for the "*Makubekhona ukukhanya"* (let there be light) programme detailed how the programming reaches out to community members affected by different forms of disability. He expressed the usefulness of the programming in keeping people, particularly in the rural areas informed.This programme raises awareness about how people with disabilities live and what contributes to their discomfort and comfort. This helps community members understand how to treat people with disabilities, integrate better with them into society, and fight against negative stigmas. The KR presenter for the programme summarised;

Khwezi listeners say the program is helpful because it helps non-disabled people know what people living with disabilities like and don't like (IDI, KR Staff).

Furthermore, a representative from KR staff also alluded to the importance of people living with disabilities sharing their success stories on-air as a means to encourage other listeners of KR in the various situations they may also be facing;

Another person called Oscar[31] , who also became blind, but fortunately listened to Khwezi and can now be in the society and keeps himself busy. He went to the social worker who assisted him to get a bursary. I have the story here. I recorded his story and put it on air, which enables the success of the story in reaching other people in KZN (IDI, KR Staff).

These excerpts illustrate the significance of the programme targeted at people with disabilities in transforming community attitudes and inspiring people with disabilities to lead fulfilling lives. However, the specific contributions of MLC to social change must be still addressed.

8.4 Masibumbane isteners club contributions

Mhagama (2015) argues for the importance of Radio Listening Clubs (RLC's) in providing opportunities for mediated participation in public debates and the provision of self-representation. RLC's are a growing trend in various parts of the continent, such as Ghana (Mhagama, 2015), Malawi (Manyozo, 2005; Mhagama, 2015), Rwanda (Fisher, 2004), Zambia (Banda, 2007) and are largely recognised as spaces that promote participatory communication. Mhagama (2015) argues for RLC's as alternative public spaces that allow ordinary people the opportunity to participate in decision making. In these spaces, people can express their knowledge about how they view the world and processes of development that affect them. This imparts a sense of importance to them rather than seeing themselves as deficient in their ability to effect social change. A RLC is "a small listening and discussion group that meets regularly to receive a special radio programme, which members then discuss" (Rogers et al., 1977 cited in Manyozo, 2012; 29). RLC's primary objective is, therefore, to meet with members to listen to them discuss radio programming. While MLC members coexist with active listeners of KR, their objectives are more thoroughly centred around applying the station's values and practice informed by programming. A more nuanced perspective of a Radio Listeners Club as an organic space within a community radio station is provided in this section.

Social change is evidenced in people's life stories about how the radio station, in some cases, fostered by the Masibumbane Listeners Club (MLC), has changed their lives and

[31] Pseudonym

improved their overall livelihoods. Mhagama (2015) asserts that people can become each other's development agents through exchange and shared understanding, which is inherent in the community centredness of RLC's. MLC's innovative way of extending its arms into communities, which is the essence of CRs, is through the MLC acting as a host to the radio station's active listeners, which has been occurring ever since the station's inception. Community radios cannot effectively be defined without mention of their communityness; thus, the approach of listeners clubs is critical in this role. One KR staff member illuminated;

> *The MLC records have demonstrated that there are branches that have been able to pull up their socks, those that were struggling before, I am not going to mention them. Should I mention them? (Crowd yells- yeeee) (then laughter), no, I'm not going to mention them, but we see that people have really worked hard. Branches that were said to be in ICU (Intensive Care Unit) that we kept saying wake up from the ICU. We have seen you rise and pull up your socks, and we are so thankful. The evidence at the office is showing the growth. (KR Staff, Masibumbane annual celebration).*

This excerpt from the Masibumbane Listeners Club's annual Christmas event in December 2019 provides a snapshot of the listeners' club performance for the year. It illustrates the interconnectedness between KR and MLC and the primary function of the MLC as a key implementer of KR's objectives in listener communities. The reference to some branches being in 'Intensive Care Unit's and slowly improving upon their community activities indicates the disparity in the activities and success stories amongst the different MLC branches over time. The 'ICU' phase is noted as accompanied by encouragement from MLC coordinators and from the station itself. Additionally, success from MLC branches demonstrating activity and improvement is always celebrated. This further alludes to the nature of accountability that Khwezi expects of MLC branches as their listenership community. Expressing the significance of MLC in strengthening relations and building communities, one listener from the Mbona area remarked;

> *In my area in Mbona, I sometimes hear people saying. We heard you on the radio passing greetings, "you should pass greetings/words to us too!" Khwezi is connecting people in*

different communities. Masibumbane gives you a new family. I like that we build each other up on radio Khwezi; this thing is really alive (FGD, Masibumbane member, PMB).

Another participant recognised the importance of the listeners club in bringing people together;

Khwezi is doing a great job through Masibumbane. It brings people from different walks of life and congregations together in solving problems- unity (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).

Yet, another MLC member describes the fulfilling support that members provide to each other;

We meet our "sisters" at Masibumbane; we can help each other. We know that as members of Masibumbane, when there is one who is in need, we are able to ensure that they get help. This is where I saw that Masibumbane is like a mother and a father. For me, without a mum, I see that through Masibumbane, I can get help/support given the way our coordinator has our back. We have instances/examples where our branch has been able to support those in need. We have contributions as branch members that help to meet people's needs. This helps a lot. We help each other as members of Masibumbane who have joined (FGD, Masibumbane member KwaKopi).

The research also found the communityness of KR mostly expressed through MLC interactions with MLC coordinators recognised as a central anchor of KR's community values. One KR staff member who supports the coordination of MLC branches accredited the existence of KR to MLC, remarked;

Khwezi without Masibumbane doesn't exist because everything is Masibumbane. Everything. Everything (IDI, KR Staff).

Showing appreciation of the critical role that Masibumbane plays as the community of listeners of KR, and in highlighting the connectedness of members, one station manager added;

As Khwezi, we cannot thank God enough for your commitment because whatever people ask for, you are so supportive. If it's to happen that your neighbour gets a visitor and they don't get to you, tell them that the one who has seen him has done it on your behalf too because we are Khwezi listeners. We should be able to say that if someone wants to see how Khwezi works, we can go to whoever from Masibumbane. I ask that in our hearts, we take that person as representing us all as when I'm in Masibumbane meetings, I am representing all the Board members (KR Staff, Masibumbane annual Christmas celebration, 2019).

Another KR staff responsible for coordinating Masibumbane marvelled at how the listeners club was expanding and having significance in Khwezi's listener communities;

Masibumbane is working indeed (emphasis on indeed), and it's growing a lot; even those watching from a distance want to join because of the effects that the listeners club is having. We have a branch, KwaHaza. There is a Member of Parliament. Yes, we even have a Councillor at the Ntunjambili branch who is also a member of Masibumbane (Me: wow, and they didn't mention this when I spoke to them!) (IDI, KR Staff).

8.4.1 The role of Masibumbane listeners club coordinators in supporting community needs

The coordinators of the MLC were often accredited by members interviewed for carrying out good work in the communities. During the research, the crucial role of MLC coordinators in driving the work of Khwezi and upholding the station's values in the community and contributing to programming was made evident. MLC coordinators ensured positive interrelations between the listeners and KR. Coordinators were appreciated for the guidance and support they provided members. For example, an MLC member from KwaKopi accredited the coordinator for getting them together and providing them guidance towards self-sufficiency.:

Through my listening to Khwezi and Masibumbane, the coordinator gets us together. She has taught us that we should learn to be self-sufficient and to push towards achieving our set goals (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

Another listener recognised their coordinator's efforts in the work the listeners club was able to accomplish in the community;

Masibumbane at eShowe has worked hard, helping those in poverty and the sick. Their coordinator helps a lot; we keep track of those in need in our communities to help them.

Coordinators have been the active extension of Khwezi in the communities, which clearly demonstrates the intimate relationship that CRs have with their community of listeners. This sets CRs apart from mainstream media. One MLC coordinator further expressed how she benefited from the coordinating experience, for example, through attaining closer ties to the community;

I thank these women and men in my branch because they have helped me grow also; they even report back when a home is in need, e.g., no parents and they tell me to say, let's do something. We don't have money, but we try to assist. It makes us happy to see the help that we can provide. Thanks to Khwezi and Masibumbane; otherwise, I wouldn't know all these people; maybe I would just be bumping into them (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).

There are also branch-specific contributions of MLC to social change in various communities.

8.4.2 Listeners club branch projects contributing to community development

Masibumbane listeners club branch contributions to social change were primarily aimed at improving livelihoods. The data revealed two ways that MLC branch led initiatives: through community outreach-related projects and projects targeted at individuals' households. For example, one MLC member from eShowe detailed how her branch had been able to support orphaned and vulnerable children, for instance, through education that connected them with councillors in the community;

Between 2005-2011 when I was a volunteer caregiver, we noticed children who were orphans and couldn't support themselves. We tried to get help around but failed. I went to Masibumbane spoke to the coordinator about them, who was able to assist them to receive food, pots and a stove to cook. Then the coordinator went to the councillor for our place who knew the children; the coordinator saw that our councillor was failing, so he went to his councillor for help. Then these councillors came together, and they were able to assist these children. They agreed to give them a R1000 Voucher a month. Thanks to Masibumbane, they

got food to eat, they got this voucher till they finished school. They are so thankful to Masibumbane and Khwezi; if it weren't for Khwezi that teaches love, they wouldn't have received love (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).

It was further noted about the same MLC branch that;

We were able to help the children who were no longer at school; the mother was sick. Masibumbane contributed blankets and food (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).

Further credit was attributed to the MLC branch to uplift the community in helping schoolchildren with school uniforms and contributing to those in need or unwell. As one MLC member described;

At Eshowe we are united; we support each other, we help children in need, e.g. giving school shoes we contribute through the coordinator, even school uniforms. At Samumu, people lost their houses- they got burned; we came together as the Eshowe Branch we contributed what we had, e.g. pots and clothes (FGD, Masibumbane member, eShowe).

It is worth noting that the drive to assist less fortunate learners with school uniforms and food was also supported by the internal MLC team at Khwezi radio. This is a drive that welcomes donations to support learners that require support across KR's listenership communities. The overall coordinator of the listener's club, who works at KR, noted;

We want Masibumbane to continue growing, so we had an idea. Since we started MLC in 1998, some parents passed away and left their children, so the children may want to be educated. However, they don't have school uniforms, so we proposed a programme to support these children through collecting donations and then buying these children uniforms, then we go and give them (IDI, KR Staff).

Addressing social anomalies and other social ills, such as the prominent issue to fight the high rate of women abuse, was identified as an area that required the intervention of the MLC in other communities. This was described by a representative from the Vikindlala branch

who found that referrals by community members that challenged the councillor were indeed beneficial;

> *When we get close to our communities, we are able to understand the issues our community deals with better, e.g., cases where women being abused by their men; we can meet the men and talk to them as men about these issues and speak against issues of women abuse. We encourage how to be as a father in a household. Some people experience difficulty in their lives. We are able to go as Masibumbane to find out what problems they have; we help with emotional support. We are also able to refer people's challenges to the councillor and the council (IDI, Masibumbane member, Vikindlala).*

8.4.3 MLC Projects targeted at members household livelihoods' improvement

The interviewed members of the MLC indicated that they supported one another with various activities to improve their livelihoods and socioeconomic statuses. These activities are driven through their MLC branches. They include handwork such as designing and sewing mats and décor accessories, initiating and participating in community stokvels that have enabled improvements in their households, and MLC coordinated community farming cooperatives. An example of the handwork activities that some members of MLC in eShowe and KwaKopi were engaged in were showed to the researcher during the focus groups. Figures 8.2 and 8.3 are some samples of the handwork photographed by the researcher during the data collection process.



Figure 8. 2: Beadwork made by women at KwaKopi listeners club branch (Picture taken by the researcher)



Figure 8. 3: House mats made by women at Mangethe listeners club branch (Picture taken by the researcher)

People also participated in '*Stokvels'* to support each other, which enabled them to save and invest money as part of a group and receive pay-outs to carry out projects. The role of community-saving schemes such as '*stokvels'* has been well documented by James (2015). For James (2015), saving clubs (including '*stokvels*') are not only about economic gain but also provide social means such as bringing people together. Saving clubs play a role in fostering communality, solidarity and reciprocal support in communities. Even though saving clubs

started predominantly amongst women, males have increasingly become a part of these saving clubs (James, 2015).

Through '*stokvels*' KR listeners have learned saving savviness and several MLC branches have initiated 'stokvels' as investment schemes that have also served to maintain collaborative empowerment among listeners. For example, in the KwaKopi, Mangethe and Pietermaritzburg areas, '*stokvels*' were a common approach used by Masibumbane members to carry out investment projects to improve their household and personal circumstances. Participants reported learning saving tips from Khwezi radio. One listener from KwaKopi described learning being saving savvy in more detail;

> *We learn about saving from Radio Khwezi, there's a show that comes on that advises us to avoid getting into debt with loan sharks, advises us to try to find our means of self-sustenance. So, we come together as women and we contribute through these Stokvels and from that pay one we can save so that we don't remain empty (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

'*Stokvels*' appeared to be most common in the KwaKopi MLC branch, the largest MLC branch. In this branch, several listeners reported household upliftment projects that they had been able to carry out as a result of the '*stokvel*' memberships. Moreover, women in different listeners' club branches seem to be challenging traditional gender roles in their households through these organic initiatives that they practice as part of MLC. As was explicate by the same woman when she described the gains from the '*stokvel*' membership in her listener club branch;

> *We are progressing as women. We can see change, even in our homes we see change; we help our husbands instead of waiting for them to always give us money. We are also getting more involved and contributing to our families' livelihoods. For instance, when my husband built a house, I thought this house is empty; it's like a hall, so I decided to use the money from these contributions to furnish our home. This has shown my husband that I am also trying to be supportive and not just looking at him as the man of the house. These actions are inspired by lessons from Radio Khwezi and Masibumbane (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

Similarly, another woman from the KwaKopi branch has been able to make use of the cash pay-outs from her '*stokvel*' for her goat rearing project. She credited the role played by

the listener's club coordinator in providing guidance to members and promoting togetherness in the group;

> *Our coordinator comforts and builds us, so we are also able to come together and support each other with monthly contributions (ukuholisana); we meet and contribute R300 monthly (about 12 of us), which means I have been able to buy goats with my money and now they are reproducing. We do this not just as Masibumbane members but also with non-members so that the project grows. The value of building oneself and one another is from Masibumbane (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

Another listener remarked on her success in building a house and also furnishing it with the funds raised through the '*stokvel*' initiated by the listeners club;

> *The change that I have experienced from Masibumbane is through paying each other out through monthly contributions. This has played a significant role in my well-being as I have built a house from this. I even bought furniture for the interior. (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

Likewise, another MLC member in KwaKopi expressed how she planned to use her '*stokvel*' payout money to buy cattle, referring to achievements to date in her household as a result of the saving club;

> *Our coordinator helped us to start the stokvel, we are 11, and we contribute R300; it's been ten years. (We started with R100). We've been contributing, and now I have bought goats. They are reproducing. I have also managed to fill up my house. Now we started one for R1300. We want to be able to buy what we would like, e.g., cattle for those that want to buy cattle. I'm also almost done with my project at home because of these contributions. You know when you will be paid out, and you plan and prepare in advance how best to invest the pay-out. You can also save money when you get it (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

8.4.4 MLC Branches with limited activity in their communities

While most MLC branches in the study reported changes to their households and, to some extent, communities, a few branches struggled to get off the ground and reported limited work being done in their communities. In one case, the challenge arose with members misunderstanding the role of Masibumbane and facing disappointments when their expectations remained unmet. As a result, the lack of commitment and negativity in the branch resulted in other members feeling excluded from contributions and discussions;

Our branch has declined, I can't say how many we are. People don't know the difference between Masibumbane and funeral parlours. Some people join for their death and to help to bury loved ones. They don't understand that through joining Masibumbane, you can find a brother, sister, a mother, a gran, etc. Other people give up when they see that they don't get direct benefit from the club. They don't see that Masibumbane gives you someone who can pray for you and help you grow. Masibumbane members that are older don't take the views of younger people. You have to be old before you can be heard- that's the problem despite that young people have valid points to contribute. There hasn't been any difference that has been made in our branch, we just meet and talk talk, e.g. when someone is sick, we go and visit them, even a place to meet we struggle to get it because people don't want to contribute (very negative tone). On the 31st (women's day), many of them will come, but they will be there for negativity, e.g., gossip. The members come and attend group events where other branches meet, e.g. women's day – it seems they attend to gossip about what others are doing (FGD, Masibumbane member, Greytown).

In another instance, the lack of activities was a result of a branches' recent launching, hence at the time of the interview, the planning for activities was still in process;

We haven't done much in the community because we launched our branch last year, we are over 30 members (it's just that we don't have the book), but we have not organised ourselves well. We have to raise a few cents. We also meet to celebrate birthdays and other events – we buy a cake and celebrate. Despite that our branch is new, we got an award at the Year-End Event last year, we got number 3 for the branches with the most people and got a certificate (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).

8.5 Complexities surrounding participatory development's role in social change

Having presented the different contributions to change facilitated by KR described by listeners, , it is pertinent to detail the instances of complexity surrounding these changes. For example, one listener expressed that while Khwezi played a crucial role in raising awareness about community matters, it was beyond Khwezi's capabilities to help alleviate community development challenges such as crime;

How can Khwezi help? When there is a crime, we talk to the police; how can Khwezi help – they help with raising awareness through announcements I once heard them talking about the

> policeman who was shot and killed in town (the police officer was doing a good job), I heard the story on radio Khwezi *(IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntunjambili).*

This illustrates that Khwezi alone cannot do all the work and cannot replace officials whose onus ensures service delivery in communities. The same participant pointed out importantly that without the community being interested in development programmes, there is not much that the station can do to change things. Thus these members wished Khwezi could be more involved, perhaps through attending community meetings and shifting mindsets;

> *I wish to invite the radio station to come to community meetings, but I haven't seen how. I haven't followed to see which change happens. Development is good, but my community doesn't like to be involved in development programs – there is nothing Khwezi can do about this. It's like people fear, they are suffering, but they don't take action. It's hard for people to get involved; it seems people are stubborn. It's so hard to want to get people to change their situations. Some people don't want to be involved in associations (IDI, Masibumbane member, Ntunjambili).*

One listener was even hesitant to speak of any change she has experienced as a result of Khwezi radio;

> *(took very long to respond) … I listen to Khwezi, but there hasn't been any change. I have learnt the importance of sending children to school and how to look after them (in a very low voice) (FGD, Masibumbane member, Darnall).*

Thus, this study is cognisant that listeners experienced changes to various depths and that the social change mentioned cannot be fully attributed to KR and MLC as they have played facilitatory roles along other community agents of change. Thus it is crucial to acknowledge the non-linearity of social change. It is also critical to understand the challenges that CRs face, which impact their abilities to effect desired change in communities.

8.5.1 Challenges faced by community radios: Implications for social change contributions

Key challenges that are faced by community radio affect the ability of Khwezi radio to contribute to social change. First and central amongst these is the challenge with the sustainability of CRs (including challenges with financial and human resources) more broadly. Secondly is the need for comprehensive audience research. Third are the limitations imposed by KR's rural and remote location (including the poor signal in some areas). Fourth relates to participation in KR's programming. And lastly are the challenges around maintaining the independence of the station. A discussion of these challenges brings to the fore the limitations affecting CR's ability to meet their set objectives. This study needs to take cognisance of these in examining KR's contributions to social change.

8.5.1.1 Sustainability of community radios

Several scholars (Da Costa, 2012; Dagron, 2001; Jallov, 2012; Kumbhare, Padaria, Singh, Kumar, & Sarkar, 2015) have highlighted the constraints of community radios' sustainability. In conceptualising community radio sustainability beyond the common but limited view of financial sustainability, Dagron (2001) provides a useful categorisation into three interrelated forms of sustainability. These are social sustainability, institutional sustainability and financial sustainability. Social sustainability involves communities taking ownership and participating in the station's production and programming at both decision making and operational level. Institutional sustainability refers to the governance of the CR, including its policies, internal and democratic processes, management styles, partnerships and relationships with other stakeholders. Finally, financial sustainability involves how the station generates revenue and how it funds and accounts for expenditures (Da Costa, 2012).

In this study, the sustainability of community radios was found lacking in regards to its financial and, to some extent, social sustainability needs. The financial constraints include limitations to advertising opportunities and other partners needed to ensure KR's financial sustainability. A KR manager mentioned the expense associated with the broadcasting towers, amongst other expenses, and the centrality of advertising and building relationships with advertisers in raising revenue for the station;

Advertising is our main source of revenue; with many community radios, this is a challenge. As a radio station, we also need to pay Broadcasting Towers, which is R20 000 per month, we have to pay for telephones. There is always the question of how a radio station sustains itself(IDI, KR Staff).

One representative from KR management further articulated the challenges with rural community stations attracting adequate advertising;

Funding is very hard, especially if you are rural-based. Advertising is very little, and big advertising agencies believe people have no money to spend in rural areas, they believe people will only buy certain products even if you advertise. We need programme sponsorship, where a company would own maybe a half-hour program and own the content. Advertising and income generation is difficult (IDI, KR Management).

He further alluded to the nature of the competitiveness in media advertising, with major corporations and retailers generally preferring to advertise with bigger media groups. Smaller and local businesses to which community radios actually broadcast to are often marginalized in this process of attracting revenues from advertising;

Local businesses don't have a budget for radio advertising. If you go to a PEP store, they can give you a small amount, e.g., R2000 (Because PEP national already advertises). Big corporates don't see the relevance of community radios, they go to advertising agencies for their advertising, so it ends up being with the top media groups. You could get some cases, e.g. JET stores opened a branch for Kranskop, they look for local media to advertise this but for a short, while then it's done (IDI, KR Management).

Limited staff capacity in ensuring financial support, for example, through writing funding proposals, was also mentioned. Furthermore, the challenge associated with building the capacity of CR staff, in a profession where the staff turnover is quite high, also affected retaining skills within community radios. Explaining the challenges of staff turnover, one KR Manager explicated;

We have high staff turnover mainly because we can't pay our staff a market-related salary- once they have a few years experience, you can't hold them back. They get an allowance and not really a salary, but they get accommodation and meals, we see it as a stepping stone in developing local talent (IDI, KR Staff).

This was similarly noted as a major challenge by another manager;

The main challenge is when you train someone, then they are top class and have to leave again. (staff turnover)- we can't say no because we understand the situation (IDI, KR Management).

Moreover, the intermittent shortage of resources such as finances was found to affect programming and other activities that are important to the station's daily operations. Programming, increased community outreach, comprehensive research and monitoring and evaluation of their activities were directly affected by these shortages. However, Khwezi's location within KwaSizabantu Mission was appreciated as providing the much-needed support in assisting the station with resources such as vehicles, lighting and water for the staff premises. However, it is clear that even with this support, the station regards advertising as a sustainable solution to increasing its revenue, and ultimately its prospects towards achieving sustainability. One KR manager described this;

Being at the Mission is advantageous to the station because it helps us with sustainability, e.g., including the supply of water and electricity. They also support us with vehicles to travel; we also have access to preachers. We are managing with the little that we have, but we have plans to improve, e.g., reaching new advertising. We are busy with community mapping- trying to understand the communities and businesses around the area (IDI, KR Management).

The support from the Mission is thus a central anchor in ensuring the sustainability of KR.

A representative from the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) reiterated that the sustainability challenges that many community radios face is their reliance on the MDDA for funding and their inability to stand independently of such funding. She further highlighted the importance of finding innovative solutions to create self-sustenance

among CRs. She nonetheless recognized that community stations were not all at the same level of development. Thus there were varying levels of development at CR's quest to attain sustainability;

> *Some community radios are able to bring revenue of 1million rand annually – it mostly depends on the location of the station; in more Peri-urban communities, the communities support the stations, and the advertising trends are more effective. In more rural areas, it's difficult to get community members to support stations; e.g., many individuals rely on the grant for survival; hence the support may be minimal (KII, MDDA representative, 2/09/19).*

8.5.1.2 Khwezi radio's rural and remote location

Khwezi's broadcasting area, which is remote and rural, was another factor limiting its financial and social sustainability. This particularly constrained the possibility of increasing advertising revenues. Additionally, the limited signal in some areas constrains the effective participation of communities in the station and hence its social sustainability. This further affects its financial sustainability, as was described by a KR manager;

> *The challenge with radio Khwezi is that it is a rural-based station; therefore, we don't have many towns with many businesses, so we have to drive around to find businesses. We are confined to your areas of coverage. It's a challenge (IDI, KR Management).*

Furthermore, because of the remoteness of KR, there often is a lack of communication signal in some communities that constrains these listeners' ability to 'own' and become actively involved in the programming and activities, which somewhat affects the social sustainability of the station. The lack of communication signal affects communities' abilities to participate in the station, which conflicts with the essence of community radios built on the values of openness and accessibility. To the detriment of KR's accessibility, listeners from eSwayimane, Estcourt and Ntunjambili complained of the signal challenges. This, however, did not deter listeners with signal challenges from participation in MLC activities as they remained connected to the communityness.

8.5.1.3 The questionable accuracy of community radio audience research

The research found a lack of clarity and certainty in radio Khwezi's awareness of its listener-based audience. The observations conducted in the research confirmed this, as many staff were unable to articulate their listener numbers. Moreover, many staff cautioned that the marketing materials and the KR website did not present accurate figures regarding their listeners. The inability to accurately determine these statistics was blamed on the ineffective approaches used by service providers appointed to conduct audience research. It was generally felt that the approaches used were not favourable to rural locations as the surveys used to determine listenership did not reach deep into rural areas where the community of listeners lived. One KR manager mentioned that this was a very real challenge.

> *We still have a challenge in ensuring that we regularly get the statistics of our listeners and get correct information (IDI, KR Staff).*

This calls for the need for CRs to partner with other research institutions for more rigorous research on CRs listenership as an investment in the sector's sustainability.

8.5.1.4 Constraints to participatory communication in KR's programming

Amongst the challenges affecting participatory communication in KRs programming is the small number of youth participating in its development activities. More needs to be done to attract your participation as the station remains dominated by older people and women. One KR staff member explained;

> *Youth participation is still limited; the young audience is still limited, we are trying to attract youth programmes. How does one increase/reach young audiences because the current audience is mostly older and mostly women. We need to be able to reach men as well (IDI, KR Staff).*

In addition, concern was raised on the noted exclusion of some listeners by radio presenters who fail to read out certain SMS-based contributions. With the station opening up multi-platforms of engagement, some listeners have been left out in the process, thereby limiting participation. One concerned listener stated;

SMSs are not being read much; it's like they are not going through. Some of us have no Facebook, no WhatsApp, so when we have little airtime, we are not able to contribute. You SMS, then you listen until the show ends without your SMS being read. The new SMS platform is problematic; the previous one was better (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

Selected participation, for example, was biased towards greetings more than content related contributions was another noted challenge. This is particularly so with MLC members who tend to be the most active callers during greetings shows and slots but then not so active during other important discussions. This was explicated by a key representative from the programming department who discussed the need to improve on the content related participation and limit the greeting sessions;

The problem is like you get those that only save 1 Rand for greetings. You take a call, and the caller comes in and just shoots for greetings; you can't stop the person. But we need more content (IDI, KR Staff).

8.5.1.5 Maintaining the independence of the station

Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002) and Da Costa (2012) point out that the challenge community radios may face in maintaining their independence, particularly from external actors such as NGOs responsible for funding them. This is worth examining because the importance of what makes community radios is their community centeredness. Thus, any threats to the maintenance of their independence from external actors can jeopardise the community centeredness of community radios. One representative from a partner organisation described this challenge for independence as being closely linked to the battle for sustainability which may, in the long run, affect the authenticity of community radios;

I like Khwezi because they listen to their listeners about where their programming should be. Many community radios struggle with this and are not able to focus primarily on their communities; they are becoming like mainstream radio. There needs to be an institutional shift because community radio is already under threat, e.g., sustainability is threatening CRs focus. Because of lack of funding for CRs, they lose their focus because they could get money for a slot (IDI, representative from an organisation working with KR).

CRs independence is worth examining in the case of KR. KwaSizabantu Mission(KSB) has played a central role in the formation of the station and further calls to question the decision making power of KSB on KR i.e how much control the mission has on the station. A symbiotic relationship exists between KR and KSB. For example, the legitimacy that KSB boasts around the community benefits KR as there tends to be a close association between the two, with some listeners being unable to differentiate KR from the Mission: For some, they are intertwined. To understand this relationship, it is important to recognize the role of ICASA as the regulator of community radio stations in South Africa.

Khwezi radio abides by ICASA's regulations to earn its reputation as a community radio. However, instances of interference or influence from the mission were observed during the data collection phase and cannot be ignored. These include the fact that the music played on the station is exclusively gospel music, the broadcast of the Mission services every Sunday, the counselling numbers provided on the station which are tied to KSB Mission counsellors, and the general tone of spiritual programming on the station. One KR Manager, in part, explains this relationship;

> *The idea of starting a radio station is from the mission, the director of the mission. But, the station is a community radio station. That's why it works with the community doing things with the community. The truth is that it originated at the mission; it is based at the mission; the mission has an influence on it. But they don't control in such a way (IDI, KR Management).*

Thus, the station's independence and its effects on the ability to achieve a sense of community to reach its development objectives remains inconclusive. This accords with independence versus sustainability challenges that the sector faces. This is something that needs to be explored further.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated Khwezi radio's contributions to social change, starting from the individual to community-level. It presents a myriad of evidence from listeners and some KR staff, in particular members of MLC. The conception of community in action is highlighted

through MLC fostering social cohesion and the ability for communities to see themselves collectively as change agents. Innovative practices in the different MLC branches have also been described demonstrating the organic nature of MLC as spaces of participation for listeners. The chapter ends off on a reflective note on the complexity of change and the need to bear in mind that KR exists within a system with other role-players. All these actors are critical to understanding and engaging in a discussion on social change. Through illustrating some of the challenges faced by the CR sector this chapter was able to highlight some of these complexities. This moves the thesis swiftly into the discussion about power dynamics and gatekeepers and how these interact with KR in effecting social change.

CHAPTER 9: Khwezi radios' facilitatory role between communities and gatekeepers- implications for social change

9.1 Introduction

The story of social change from the listeners' perspective must be enhanced by an analysis of some of the consequences of the changes experienced by listeners and the implications these have on social change. This Chapter presents Khwezi Radio's (KR) interaction with community structures and community leaders and their role as essential actors for attaining social change in communities. This chapter will discuss how the interaction of community members with various "gatekeepers"[32] or community structures occurs.

The chapter contributes to addressing the criticism levelled against participatory development approaches that ignore different power interrelations that individuals face, affecting participatory spaces. This drawback limits the ability of individuals and communities to attain transformative power that results in social change. As has been highlighted, this research examines transformative power and how it plays out in practice. Studies on power have typically looked at "power over" and only offered limited perspectives on understanding power as something constructive, particularly at the micro-level. Transformative power is grounded in the ability of agents to use power constructively through exercising 'power within' and 'power to' (individual empowerment), as well as 'power with' (collaborative empowerment) to confront the challenges that might be hindering development in their communities. When community members attain transformative power, they can better confront forms of oppressive power – 'power with' as agents of change (Bradley, 2019; VeneKlasen et al., 2002).

The chapter is structured into four main sections. It firstly delves into an understanding of transformative power in community radio. Secondly, the chapter describes Khwezi radio's engagement with community leaders reported in the research. Thirdly, the chapter looks at

[32] Gatekeepers in this study represent the elite in the form of community leaders who hold decision-making powers/authority in the community. They are referred to as gatekeepers as they have control over access to development services

how KR facilitates accountability and transparency between community leaders and citizens. Lastly, the chapter looks at how community members engage community leaders and the results of these engagements to their livelihoods.

9.2 Transformative power discourse in community radio

Transformative power is the goal of fundamental change in power dynamics at all levels (Bradley, 2019). On the other hand, collaborative empowerment is an integrant of transformative power, which can be expressed through challenging the dominant everyday narratives and shifting discursive spaces depicting the world around us (Bradley, 2019; VeneKlasen et al., 2002). Pitsoe and Letseka (2013) define discourse as a social construct that relates to the speech patterns and usage of language, dialects, and acceptable statements within a community, hence that which we accept as true in a community. How certain information becomes part of a community's discourse is an important consideration when looking at community radio as a participatory community platform. The extent to which those in power in the community make decisions on behalf of the community regarding what counts as truth, therefore, requires examination. Within this lies the power of community radio as a platform grounded on the community's voices.

Consequently, in theory, community members with a fair chance of participation can freely determine the content and discussions on the radio station. However, although listeners have some influence over KR programming, what can be spoken about, and what they are able to influence has to be within the values of engagement that the radio station abides by. Nevertheless, this is unique to community media. They are grounded in ensuring participation from communities, which is not the case with dominant media, which is mostly commercial and whose "truth" is closely linked to ownership interests and agendas (Meier, 2002).

Foucault saw discourses as instruments, effects, or points of resistance and starting points for opposing strategies (Foucault, 1972, as cited in Pitsoe & Letseka, 2013). Foucault argued that each society has what it considers and accepts as truth. This results in a constant struggle to establish acceptable truth to create procedures that transmit cultural values that

are accounted for as reality. Accompanying this is a societal discourse mediating power and control through institutions and elites who have authority in saying what counts as true.

It is noteworthy that community radios are in their nature regarded as alternative media (Guo, 2017; Mhiripiri, 2011) designed to serve community needs that seek alternative spaces of engagement to express themselves (Mhagama, 2015). They, therefore, encourage alternative discourses that promote diverse 'truths' in contrast to the populist narrative dominant media uses that is typically commercial and tends to exclude 'less advantaged' individuals. This is especially the case with CR listeners clubs which have been termed counter-public spheres (Kidd, Barker-Plummer, and Rodriguez, 2005) because they are more organic spaces in which communities can participate to change their circumstances and shift the development status quo. By understanding that community members possess transformative power through collaborative empowerment, this research contributes to the analysis of how power can be understood and used better. It centralises the idea of 'communityness' to people attaining 'power with' that leads them to act together towards attaining social change.

One of the critical questions this chapter attempts to answer is what transformative power communities have over gatekeepers in their communities and how community radio facilitates this interaction for social change? An added complexity is trying to understand how communities confront hierarchical structures often associated with power, both at the decision making and non-decision making levels (Bachrach & Baratz, 1963; Dowding, 2006; Lukes, 2004). When communities confront gatekeepers, as some of the data from the study illustrates, they exercise their transformative power by interacting with and holding leaders accountable for development outcomes in their communities. Although, to some extent, community members recited some positive social change 'stories' arising from their engagements with community leaders. Nonetheless, it was apparent that community members have 'lost hope' in community leaders facilitating any development in their communities in many instances. This points to the evidence thus far presented, showing how communities have used their collective empowerment to exercise transformative power in their lives and their communities. The question then arises: Is transformative power sufficient

to result in social change or, do communities constantly have to manoeuvre hierarchical structures of power (i.e., constantly fighting 'power over') in their communities?

The data in this chapter presents evidence to justify the hypothesis that transformative power is often not sufficient enough to bring about social change, especially when gatekeepers are not forthcoming. It further demonstrates that different types of power holders, often confronted by communities when seeking to improve their livelihoods, are not only embodied in power holders (i.e., gatekeepers). They can also be embodied in more hidden, invisible and ideological forms of power (Dowding, 2006), which are complex and highly problematic forms of power to identify.

The community leadership structures for the local communities represented in this study involve administrative and political leadership edifices. These can be broadly grouped into four: The municipal council, ward councillors, traditional leaders as well the municipal administration, as shown in figure 9.1.



Figure 9.1: Leadership structure in local communities

Source: The researcher's illustration

It is worth noting that within these various leadership structures exist multi-source sources that may have different agendas that might be detrimental to service delivery. For

example, political party interests may take precedence over general community interests. Also, traditional leaders may not always share common interests with municipal officials, which may be detrimental to a shared vision in communities. Further challenges have been noted with integration between Ward committees and local government officials, which affects the implementation of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP). For example, practice sector departments hardly consult or involve ward councillors in plans and projects (COGTA, 2009).

The study's interest is in examining how KR facilitates interaction between listeners and the various power structures to increase community knowledge and awareness on pertinent matters to community members. Arguably, this contributes to individuals being more empowered in their interactions with community leadership structures which stands to decrease authoritarian top-down processes of development and facilitate democratic accountability. Empirical evidence will further illustrate which of these structures Khwezi engaged with and how they interacted with communities in effecting social change.

9.3 Khwezi radio's engagement with community gatekeepers

Khwezi radio has various interventions both within the station programming and the community-based activities of the station. One Khwezi manager described the station as being in demand given the widespread interest in engagements with KR from various community leaders across the board;

> *In IsiZulu, we say, "uyinyama" direct translation- "You are meat"-meaning we are in demand. The community leaders call us all over. We ask them to tell us in advance. They say we know Khwezi will give the story as it is – because the radio helps them to communicate with their people, e.g., even when they want to call a meeting (IDI, KR Staff).*

On the programming, one major platform that actively involved community leaders was the monthly mayoral slots which form part of Khwezi's development programming. This programme consists of mayors, sometimes represented by Deputy Mayors from two districts

and two local municipalities[33] within Khwezi's geographical reach, using the radio station to communicate development progress with the listening community. It is a highly interactive spot as listeners are given the opportunity to call into the programme and directly engage with Mayors of the municipality represented. One KR manager briefly described the mayoral programme;

> *Four municipalities have bought talk time which they use for programmes around service delivery where people can call in and ask questions- these monthly slots are on Mondays at 7 pm. The mayor slot offers a chance for leaders to participate in programmes (IDI, KR Staff).*

Another staff member further explained the mayoral programme;

> *We have programmes with the mayors, especially with this time of elections, and the community members tell the mayors if they are happy and even if they are not happy (IDI, KR Staff).*

Another KR staff explained the ability for listeners to ask community leaders difficult questions through the mayoral programmes;

> *During the mayoral show, listeners can call in and ask difficult questions (IDI, KR Staff).*

Further interaction between KR and municipal mayors was during community events, where the mayors' office invites radio stations around the community to witness and broadcast community events. One Deputy mayor explained this;

> *They come to our events, e.g. when we have imbizo[34], they come to see for themselves what is happening. This is women's month, so we are having a celebration on the 14th, all the women will be performing Zulu Dance. Radio stations will be there, sure sure iKhwezi will be there. I've just invited all of them to come to that event. That's how our relationship with*

[33] This was the number of municipalities signed up to the mayoral slot at the time of the interview. These included, uMzinyathi District Municipality; King Cetshwayo District Municipality; UMsinga Local Municipality; UMvoti Local Municipality.

[34] A traditional community meeting often called by a traditional leader.

Khwezi goes; it goes that far. So, our relationship goes beyond the monthly slot. Even when we have sports activities, they come (KII, KZN Deputy Mayor).

In addition to engaging with Mayors in listenership communities, Khwezi management further described their engagements with *Izinduna* (chiefs). One representative from Khwezi elaborated this;

We sometimes invite an Induna, for instance, for Democracy Education – They have respect for the community radio. We also offer free community announcements, e.g. the Rabies epidemic, when there's a fire, time to dip cattle etc. – so the local authorities would initiate this, such as izinduna(IDI, KR Staff).

The current affairs show hosted by the radio station's news department is another platform that promotes interaction of the radio station with community leaders and government officials. The research found that this is usually in political party leaders, MECs, *Izinduna*(chiefs) and Ward Councillors. For example, on explaining the engagement with political parties and MECs, one KR manager held that;

Then there is "Iso Lekhwezi" (Directly translated to "the eye of the morning star" referring to the Current affairs show) on Saturdays from 6-7 pm, which addresses two areas: politics and relevant community issues. Right now, we are inviting political parties since it's close to elections. We get to ask questions which are specific to that community, e.g. water issues. We also invite MECs(IDI, KR Staff)

In addition, while the radio station only has monthly slots with the mayors, they interact regularly and at length with Ward Councillors. The latter are a direct link between the community members and the communities. This is in part resultant from the hierarchy in municipal leadership positions. As such, the mayor is 'more powerful' and can make decisions and hence has more access to other means of broadcasting, so it is not limited to KR. This is explained in more detail by one KR manager;

The Mayors are paying for these on-air slots, but with the Ward Councillors, we interview them all the time, but for the News, when there's an issue concerning them, there's no water, people

are striking etc., so we call the particular councillor for details. Because these councillors are serving under these mayors and the councillor do not have the financial power to buy the radio slots and all of that, but the mayors can, that's why we are working with the mayors (IDI, KR Staff).

Several participants highlighted that they worked with traditional leaders such as local chiefs in the community. Participants also noted that traditional and political leaders were willing to work with Khwezi radio. This openness was related and connected to the KwaSizabantu Mission's service to the community. The association to KSB improved the station's legitimacy hence facilitating Khwezi's closeness to traditional leaders and local chiefs.[35] As was expressed by a KR manager;

The station engages with the chiefs as well. Moreover, the traditional and political leaders are very open to the station. The advantage is that the mission offers many services to the community. The station maintains good relations with community authorities. They work with us and invite us to occasions, e.g., a wedding (IDI, KR Staff).

Khwezi staff referred to instances of *Induna* (chiefs) working on behalf of *Inkosi* (king);

We work with Induna at the level of the mayors because there could be issues; you know most of the areas we cover are under tribal leadership, and then you always get Izinduna. So, you get Inkosi, and you get I councillor, you get Induna. Even when Inkosi is planning a meeting and wants his people to come for the meeting, we make announcements. But normally, it won't be Inkosi himself approaching us; it will be Induna or someone else. You get people called "Onobhala benkosi". It's like a secretary for the King (IDI, KR Staff).

The station's engagements with community leaders, including traditional leaders, the mayors and councillors, were also attested to by listeners. One listener, for instance, from KwaSizabantu, mentioned KR's interaction with a community chief as well as the Mayor;

The chief from a particular community (can't recall if it's Chief Thuli/Shange) connected with the radio station. The station also collaborated with the Mayor to donate desks to schools (FGD, Masibumbane member, Kranskop).

Additionally, a listener from Tugela Ferry illustrated the multifaceted and dynamic interactions between KR, the community and different community leaders;

The Mayor works with Khwezi a lot to communicate. We call our iNduna when we have meetings, and he listens to Khwezi. The Nduna doesn't announce on Khwezi; it's the Mayor and the councillors who do that(IDI, Masibumbane member, Tugela Ferry).

9.3.1 Political party vs community interests

Several participants made mention of the involvement of representatives from political parties at the radio station. This might be attributed to the fact that the data collection period coincided with election season in 2019. Consequently, there was more interest from politicians to communicate with citizens, particularly in local communities. One KR manager explained the involvement of political parties;

Political leaders are also involved- every Tuesday between 5 and 6 pm, political parties (2 every week) come and talk more /explain their political manifestos to communities given that the elections are drawing near. This is part of the current affairs slot, which allows listeners to call in (IDI, KR Staff).

However, the challenge of conflicting interests between political party and community interests sometimes emerged and became a difficult task for community leaders to balance. An example of these conflicting interests is the association of mayors to particular political parties with specific agendas that might differ from those of the municipality they are assigned to serve. Such instances sometimes lead to community leaders wanting to take advantage of the platform offered by Khwezi radio to communicate political party agendas. The radio station has responded by challenging and objecting to such attempts to maintain its broadcasting independence. Political party affiliation and community leadership are exemplified by the mayors who serve their district and local municipalities and are affiliated

with particular political parties with different party agendas. One KR manager detailed how they attempt to ensure the station does not serve any particular political interests and remain non-partisanship throughout interactions with community leaders on the station;

> *The challenge has been the influence of politics, e.g. the mayor is from a political party, even the Nduna is affiliated with a political party. Especially during this election period, some think the station is campaigning for political party "x" when they hear people of political party "x" contributing more than others. As a programmes manager, that's an area I need to control. I work with four mayors; Mzinyathi is currently ruled by the IFP and Msinga. The ANC currently rules Mvoti and Mapumulo. At least it's not just one political party. We started with small political parties; we've been inviting the parties (IDI, KR Staff).*

There have even been attempts by political parties wanting to manipulate airtime on radio as a campaigning tactic. While they may have positive intentions to show citizens that they are meeting their needs, they are nonetheless abusing the set objectives of the radio programme and the station as a whole. A specific example that came up from KR's engagement with one Mayor is described;

> *One Mayor from the ANC was at the station, and I got a call from an ANC person saying I should call them during the show to say how good the ANC is – I said NO! In some cases, you find a councillor is one party, and induna is another party, and the community then suffers from divided interests. We work with all the Indunas, Makhosi's, e.g., informing communities about meetings. We try to be non-partial (IDI, KR Staff).*

What is of interest to this study is how the radio station manoeuvres these power dynamics that community leaders, particularly political parties, can impose. Community radios may be susceptible to challenges in maintaining their independence, particularly because politicians often contribute to the financial sustenance of the radio stations. KR staff argued that they strived to maintain their independence and avoided infiltration from particular political agendas. This was explicated by an excerpt from a representative from KR management when describing the conflicting interests that mayors have between party interests and serving communities on non-partisan lines;

The mayor is here to speak about development with the mayor slots, not politics, but you know politicians always want to try to push the party agenda. Like there is one, he speaks about development, but when he greets, he mentions his party. We always say bring us some kind of a script. What you will be speaking about and what questions you expect, they email it in advance. The slot is for the municipality, and it's not for the party. We face that challenge, especially when it's towards elections because they confuse things. They want to use the slot for campaigning. I once had a big challenge with ANC. Before the Mayor came for their slot, they asked us to phone some of their members around Maphumulo so that they will come in and support the Mayor on air. Like "it's elections time, this is the good Mayor, we must vote, vote her again, she's doing a good job," but I said, in the contract we signed that is not allowed. I said to them you can phone using your phone and airtime during the show, but don't expect me to phone. Then they said, we paid for the slot, you must listen, we are telling you, and I still said no, we can't do that. These were the spokespersons of the Mayor. And then when the Mayor came to the station, we spoke about it. She apologised profusely and said she would speak to her spokesperson, and she did well because after that the lady phoned and apologised (IDI, KR Staff).

He further emphasized the importance of the neutrality of community radios;

Remember the challenge is we must always be seen as neutral; we must be neutral.

Therefore, the challenges of maintaining neutrality can potentially influence the independence of CRs and their genuine representation of communities. While community leaders have political party affiliations it is important for KR to toe the line in these engagements and to remain focused on broader service delivery.

Khwezi nonetheless benefits from the interaction with community leaders. While holding leaders accountable for service delivery connects listeners across all levels to their leaders in a participatory platform. The community leaders also find this relationship to be critical to their community development objectives. Even still, the important role of the station in facilitating accountability between leaders and their communities needs to be further evaluated.

9.4 Facilitating accountability between leaders and communities

The engagement between Mayors and communities represents one important mechanism used by Khwezi radio to facilitate accountability to ensure social change. The engagement is primarily fostered through the monthly mayoral programmes. During these broadcasts, KR presenters facilitate a dialogue with mayors of various municipalities and invite community members to engage the mayors. The mayors present the status of development efforts within their municipality, programmes in process, programmes pending and upcoming development initiatives. The community members call-in or contribute through social media about the extent of the visibility of service delivery in their communities, pending issues, comments, and recommendations on tackling development in their communities. It is often the case that listeners call in and report on their household challenges related to water, electricity, and crime. On the other hand, some listeners commend the municipal team for the service delivery progress and projects underway they may have witnessed in their specific communities.

One district Mayor described how interacting with communities through the radio station was vital to getting community members to ask him questions affecting their livelihoods and ensure that they are always kept informed on development in their local municipalities. The Mayor further articulated how the communication with citizens in the municipality was guided by legislation that stipulates the need for citizens to be kept informed about development related to their communities to strengthen community participation. Thus, community radio proved to be more accessible and easily understood even by those that may be illiterate. As he indicated;

> *Interaction with the station is benefiting the community in terms of service delivery, in terms of community participation, we are guided by the legislation that we have to inform the citizens of the areas as the local government about the development that is going to take place. For instance, you have noticed that in this community newspaper, there are things we advertise like the developmental projects that will be there, I was talking about it, but it's on paper also so that you can see the planned projects of the municipality. However, I also come here to present them because some people don't read. I tell the people to read newspapers,*

get the information and apply; otherwise, we will get people from all over, and the local people won't have access to these opportunities (IDI, District Mayor, KZN).

He also asserted that the interactions with the community through KR had improved the relationships and built trust between citizens and their municipal leaders;

The engagements are building good relations between the municipality and citizens of the district, building trust and creating a stable community and alleviating and fighting issues of ignorance. We also educate about the municipality events and issues that are taking place that simplify for the people on the ground to understand. You know people have got time to listen to the radio, but they don't have time to read newspapers etc., some may not have access to such things. The interaction that the radio allows opening up for people to ask questions and raise issues. Some of them are complaining about water, we are happy that we are going to add our own trucks, that's going to be a good idea if they appreciate (IDI, District Mayor, KZN).

It is important to note that radio Khwezi uses follow-up mechanisms for these mayoral conversations to ensure that discussions do not end on-air. The presenter responsible for these programmes ensures that the mayors follow up on progress with previous activities outlined and any pending deliverables from the previous engagement. The presenter assigned to development-related programming specified;

I see the show as making a lot of difference because the mayors come once every month to report what they have done. When they come, they have their write-ups ready, but I also ask them to follow up questions, and also when they return the following month, they have to start by addressing pending issues from the previous month, e.g. if x,y,z has been done (IDI, KR Staff).

The approach of the on-air engagements with mayors facilitates the ability of community members to hold their leaders accountable for development outcomes in their particular communities (Thornborrow & Fitzgerald, 2013). Thornborrow and Fitzgerald (2013) regard radio phone-in's as a means of providing a rare context for direct interaction between citizens and their political representatives, which enables voters to hold politicians to account

for their policies through asking them questions and engaging with their responses through follow-ups. The importance of fostering accountability through keeping communities informed on service delivery progress in their areas by using community media platforms was further highlighted in an interview with a Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) senior representative;

> *We need municipalities/local leaders to talk more about their development programmes using these community media platforms, i.e., to communicate service delivery for instance when an individual in a community has no running water from their tap it is crucial for them to understand what is happening e.g., whether there are any ongoing/upcoming programmes aimed at addressing these shortcomings (IDI, MDDA representative).*

9.4.1 Transparency and accountability in action? An overview of the Khwezi radio mayoral programme

Two vignettes from the mayoral programme (one in April just before the elections period and another in July after elections) illustrates the nature of engagement between the mayor(s) and community leaders. They also demonstrate how community members hold their leaders accountable for service delivery in their community.

Vignette one: UMsinga Mayor live on Khwezi Radio's Sakhisizwe Programme_ 01 April 2019, 7 pm

The Mayor of uMsinga local municipality provided an update to listeners on the events in the community as part of the mayoral slot. She also reported on progress towards development in the municipality. The vignette provides a synthesis of the nature of the discussions and engagement from listeners on the programme.

- The Mayor reflected on the difficulty the political party faced this month because of the passing of a Ward councillor; *"March was a tough month for the IFP. On 10 March, we lost Councilor Madlanduna from Ward 2. We are sending our condolences."*
- She thanked the community for working together with the municipality and acknowledged all the progress that had been made; *"On 07 March at Ward 12, we were at Alva, and we provided two houses and opened a creche, Winnie Mabaso Creche. There has been approval on a project for constructing two roads, also for Ntombikayise crèche. On 21 March in Ward 13 at Mbuyakwezwe school, we provided two community halls and a road construction."*

- The Mayor further reported the services provided in Ward 14, i.e., building a creche and two community halls. She applauded the community, particularly the councillors, *izinduna* and ward committees for looking after the facilities, referring to the excellent maintenance of community halls in the area, to date.

- She continued to discuss the progress made towards development in the community; *"We approved a project for constructing three roads, these projects are nearing the end, there is work on the ground. Development is on the rise in the community; we are doing all that we can to enable the community."*

- The Mayor then reported on upcoming projects planned within that month. These included constructing roads, community halls, intervention in building homes for community members, installing sanitation facilities, as was described; *"On 04 April we will be in Ward 15 in Mafuso Hall to provide two roads and a hall, we will intervene in building houses for people, although we recognize it is not our responsibility to do so. Councilor Myeza will build two families' houses. On 11 April, we will be in Ward 16, in Bunyobethu school; we won't disturb the children, we will just have a side meeting, we will be installing toilet facilities for the halls we've built."*

- The Mayor then discussed the fencing of farming fields and officially opening two community halls, constructing roads and buildings for learners. She emphasized that while it is not the municipality's responsibility to build people homes, there was a dire need to intervene; *"we note that it is not the responsibility of the councillor to build people's homes. However, there is an important need to intervene."*

- The Mayor also reported on entertainment-related performances happening in the municipality; *"At the ward, we also got visited by a Masikhandi artist –Thokozani Langa, who visited Ward 13, which was very entertaining."*

- She ended her report by highlighting that the outlined projects were being put in place in response to the councillor's recognition that people were not living well, thus calling for the need to intervene.

The presenter then opened the lines for engagement with listeners, and these were the reactions/contributions from the community members:

Caller 1: Thank you, Mayor, for the work you're doing. I am familiar with all this work that you are referring to. I know these projects, even the roads you are talking about.

Caller 2: I wish I could talk to the Mayor in private. (The Mayor immediately shared her number)

Caller 3: We have toilet issues, we still have open-pit latrines, children can drown in them.

Caller 4: We have electricity issues in my area. We have water we just don't have lights.

Caller 5: I'm from Ward 1; we have electricity issues there.

The presenter then requested the Mayor to respond to the issues raised by listeners:

- To the one from Ward 16, on the issue of toilets, toilets are in the pipeline for uMzinyathi. We are at the stage of getting the contractor to continue with the construction of the toilets.

- In Ward 2, the issue of electricity (I thought I addressed it last time), since there is electricity at Mumbe and Madudume, we are hoping to talk to Eskom, which works according to the area, not Wards to include the area in Ward 1 supply. Msinga is getting in a contractor to fit in electricity in Ward 1, and we have an electricity program in place for Ward 1. We must just ensure their housing is accommodated there.

Caller 6: I am happy about the crèche coming up very grateful, please also thank the councillors.

- The Mayor then progressed to detail the upcoming community activities, appealing to community members to pay close attention.

- The Mayor shared registration details of an upcoming marathon in the municipality. She then appealed to community members to attend the future municipal development planning and budget speech; *"On 2 May we will have the Msinga community and the whole of SA to explain whether we delivered on what we said we would and then we will provide a detailed plan for 2019-2020 at Fabeni Community Hall, we will also have a budget speech. We are calling on all to attend."*

On 4 May, we have Msinga *Maskandi* Festival at Pomeroy Stadium, and it's the first of its kind. Msinga has lots of talent; entrance is free

The current R33 traffic chaos at Tugela Ferry is caused by the extended construction time of the new block. May people bear with us

Caller 7: I am asking how people who are raising children are not allowed to go in with the children in the upcoming community planning session?

Caller 8: (Struggling with the network). Mayor, we are trying here.

In closing, the Mayor appealed to people to vote in the upcoming elections.

Vignette Two: uMzinyathi District Mayor live on "Sakhisizwe", 29 July 7 pm

The Mayor began by apologizing for being late while complimenting the station for the music that he enjoyed en route to the radio station.

- He went on to detail the community events that had taken place in July following planned development related activities for the subsequent month; "*As the IFP, we will be at uMsinga for a Water Installation project. Phase 4 Msinga, a pipe for 16km and standpipe for 294 houses, 40 standpipes, 29 Houses."*
- The Mayor announced an upcoming sod-turning formality for a water project that would ensure increased water access;" *we will be building a water reservoir. 559homes will get water."* The Mayor proceeded to provide a breakdown of all the water projects going on in the uMzinyathi District.
- He then spoke about the upcoming Golden games targeted at the elderly in uMsinga municipality and the upcoming Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi marathon.
- The presenter interjected to support the Mayor's focus on the much-needed water issue: "I *am thankful that you are giving the water issue much focus."*
- The Mayor explicated the importance of service delivery in the district and the installation of water being a major priority; *"Our dream is to ensure service delivery. We need water to be installed in all houses. People should see that uMzinyathi is focused on service delivery. The water tanks will help. We have 20 trucks delivering around uMzinyathi. The drivers we appointed are local- from the district."*
- He also cautioned against any corruption with the water tanks; "*If the drivers happen not to deliver, even people know that they are part of the community. They can be exposed."*
- He then spoke about the initiation of the uMzinyathi Development Agency and encouraged the participation of community members in the initiative; "We *are also busy establishing uMzinyathi Development Agency. We need people from around to be involved, to look out for opportunities in the papers, on the internet. Local community members should take charge."* The Mayor also mentioned working with the kingship and the objectives of the mayors across uMzinyathi to represent people and their issues.

The presenter opened the lines for engagement with listeners, and these were the contributions from the community members who were able to dial into the live broadcast:

Caller 1: Where are the water tanks at eMatimatolo? We are dying of hunger.

Caller 2: We are still experiencing Water issues at eBonjeni, eMseni.

Caller 3: There is no water.

Caller 4: Greetings and Thanks to the Mayor for the development programmes on the ground.

The presenter then provided the Mayor and opportunity to respond to the callers' requests, highlighting the plans in place to ensure that communities have access to water:

- "*We had a meeting with councillors and the Indunas with the community. We received water tanks and noticed two was not enough. We assured the community we would send more. We are communicating with the community to ensure that they are informed about the progress. We are trying to be as transparent as possible. I do my duties to bring people water. Msinga should be prioritized with receiving water. I want to be hands-on. I will go with the workers myself to deliver water.*"
- The Mayor ended off by reprimanding the acts of stealing borehole pipes and equipment and not delivering water accordingly that has been taking place in the community and warned against making water service delivery to community members a political issue.

9.4.2 Discussion: Accountability through on-air interaction

Given the geographical vastness of KR's listenership, the mayors' show is an incredible platform for mayors to reach communities. While community radios cannot replace the face-to-face engagements that community leaders need to participate in, having programmes such as the mayoral slot is an efficient way of reaching a larger mass of individuals. The programme is also beneficial given CRs dialogic and participatory nature and ability to provide listeners with an open platform to have a say in development projects specific to their communities (Mtimde et al, 1998; Myers, 2011; Naaikuur & Diedong, 2014). Community radios provide critical forums of engagement in facilitating participatory, public dialogue, which is essential for social change (Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002).

Moreover, the use of the indigenous language IsiZulu, which is the predominant language of communication in the listenership communities, opens up room for more engagement as listeners are able to understand and make sense of matters concerning their

households and communities' wellbeing (Soola, 2002). The openness of CRs further serves a critical role as spaces that enhance citizens' engagement in democratic processes. Through these spaces, citizens are likely to become more aware of the importance of active citizenship through actual involvement in their communities' service delivery. Once citizens become aware of their power that can hold leaders to account and that leaders actually have a responsibility to provide effective service delivery, they are likely to be empowered towards playing a role as active change agents. This is the power that community radios' have in their engagements with community members. Realizing their transformative power and being able to manoeuvre spaces where power holders may restrain certain services owed to individuals, such as access to water, decent housing, electricity supplies, citizens recognize their capabilities as empowered agents of change.

However, the authenticity of such participation has been questioned; is it genuine participation, what are the incentives for participation, and who benefits needs to be examined (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Cornwall, 2002). By noting the form of participation that the mayoral show facilitates, we can specifically interrogate Arnstein's (1969) ladder of eight levels of participation. The structure of the programme arguable boarders on tokenistic forms of participation which involves informing consultation and placation. In these levels of participation, 'have nots' may hear and be heard by power holders but they may lack the power that ensures that their views are heeded. This may result in no real assurance that their abilities shape the status quo. Through placation, the less powerful are supported by norms and laws to advise and contribute to having a voice, as is the case with communities contributing through community radio. The questions, however, remain: to what extent they can shape decision making, and is it to the point of being able to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with power holders; ultimately, do they have 'citizen power and control' of higher forms of participation in Arnstein's conception?

The vignettes illustrated that the Mayor's show has very limited time to allow a substantial number of community members to call in, which constrains fair participation. While this is a useful platform to allow the engagement of any listener, the data from the study still illustrated limitations in participation in the mayoral programmes. As the vignettes have illustrated, only a handful of listeners can contribute to the discussion, leaving aside a

lot of other listeners who may wish to do so but could not get through the lines. Also, time is so pressured that the presenter doesn't have enough time to engage the Mayor and bring in other contributions from social media, WhatsApp voice notes (which seem to be one of the most predominant means of interaction used by KR listeners). Cooke and Kothari (2001) caution against processes that resemble genuine participation but, in essence, serve the agendas of the more powerful.

Consequently, the programming on KR may be highly beneficial to the mayors in maintaining their reputation of ensuring service delivery to communities and being seen to be transparent and communicating with communities through KR. Although listeners experience some achievements through interaction with their leaders through KR, the reality of the situation on the ground is that several listeners still live without basic services. Thus, their lived experiences speak a different yet true message about service delivery. For example, some listeners mentioned not even knowing whom their councillor looks like, and others mentioned their councillors' disappearance after the elections.

It is also worth examining the nature of the decision making or non-decision making at play through the mayors programming. The programme largely takes on the form of community leaders informing communities of particular development plans. Yet, the Municipal Systems Act fosters the participation of communities in the Integrated Development Plan (IDP). Citizens' power which is a higher level of participation, entails citizens have decision making power and deciding on what the priorities are (Arnstein, 1969). The evidence in this study has not seen communities engaged at the level of influencing the agenda.

Moreover, KR plays a critical role in facilitating the engagement with community leaders at the higher level, particularly with the mayors who hold more power in the municipal council. However, the community leaders closest to the people in their wards are the Ward councillors, who are consequently legislated to enhance participation in local government. Thus, if ways to connect communities closer to their Ward councillors were implemented, they could strengthen communities' transformative power to effect change in their local communities. At present, several communities in the study appear disengaged and

disconnected from the Ward councillors. Yet, it is only through these structures that they can become more actively involved in local development. The Mayor occupies a higher level to oversee what happens at the different Wards which make up municipalities. While there is evidence of KR facilitating interaction between communities and their Ward councillors, they are usually called upon to address a problem or crisis on air, typically during current affairs or news hours. Thus, there is a need for increased efforts to connect communities at a more micro level to ensure social change occurs.

9.5 Communities engaging "power"? Khwezi's facilitatory role between communities and leaders

This section examines how Khwezi listener's/community members have engaged with leaders in their various communities. It also analyses how these interactions have been facilitated by Khwezi radio and how these relations are affecting social change. In other words, it answers if KR has the potential to bypass gatekeepers and if the station influenced communities' abilities to manoeuvre restrictions to social change that may be set by various community leadership decision making structures or power holders.

Several community members mentioned how Khwezi had brought them closer to their municipal leaders. One community member appreciated how the station connected listeners to the appropriate leaders and avenues to solve their problems. She said;

> *Khwezi is like a man and a father. They want to leave you changed – they find you the right door to solve problems – they connect us to the relevant leadership. I find the station so relevant; they talk about my community, and then I know that yes, this is about me (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).*

Further, a listener from Tugela Ferry attested to how their municipality worked with KR, including through communicating local development plans and the provision of services to community members;

> *We call Khwezi when we have issues then they follow. Our municipality works together with Khwezi, they communicate development plans on the station. This community listens to*

Khwezi a lot. The municipality helps a lot. They communicate through Khwezi especially if they are bringing water(IDI, Masibumbane member, Tugela Ferry).

Some listeners referred to individual stories of change as a result of Khwezi radio connecting them with community leaders to solve an issue. This was the case with one listener whose sister had experienced Identity theft which was solved through KR's intervention with the relevant authorities;

My sister has just been thanking radio Khwezi because she reached out to them – the presenters connected her to the respective offices who helped her sort out the challenge with Identity theft she experienced. We thank radio Khwezi; my sister had had enough. She wanted to end her life because of this issue (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaHaza!).

Another case involves a woman whose RDP house listing was tempered with, but later got restored following the exposure of the story on Khwezi radio who reached out to the Department of Human settlements to intervene;

It was late in 2009. It was raining, the house we lived in fell. At that time, I was sick; I had gone to Maphumulo Hospital. I found the house shattered; we had no place to stay. We had registered for our RDP home but experienced an issue with the registration. A KR Presenter passed here and said he would try to get us our home. There were two main players involved;" X", who was managing the construction of RDP Housing and "Y", who was managing the tender. X was requested to be on Radio Khwezi to understand why my number for the RDP House had been removed. I listened to Radio Khwezi from home to follow the story. "X" was questioned on what had gone wrong with my RDP House registration. He said he would communicate with those in charge and find out what the issue was. Then about two days later, the people from RDP House construction came to my home to start the foundation! I was also invited for a meeting on Housing, and "Y" assured me that I would get my house and that I would not remain behind (IDI, KR listener).

Another reported incident concerned one listener who received help from the MEC for Social Development through the station. A KR staff described the incident;

Another listener who lives not far from here listened to a programme when there was the MEC for Social Development through Khwezi; the MEC committed himself to give the man a wheelchair as he had promised. The News editor made follow-ups to ensure that what was committed was fulfilled (IDI, KR Staff).

In essence, the critical role of KR was expressed in its ability to connect listeners to the relevant people such as Heads of Departments that tackle various community issues;

We are able to talk to KR presenters and talk about our problems. They can call on the leadership to ensure that we can chat with them on the radio. They can follow up with Heads of Departments and bring them on air to engage with the community (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

Community engagements with community leaders were also witnessed through various forms of community leadership structures that are part of Masibumbane listeners club membership. This further illustrates the deep sense of connection between the station, the listeners and community leaders. The interconnectedness with various community leaders in MLC was explained in an interview with one KR staff working on MLC's coordination when asked about the involvement of some community leaders in MLC;

Q: Why do you think these leaders want to be part of Masibumbane? A: They see the work of Masibumbane, so they like to also meet with people. They don't see themselves as better (they are humble). We also have Ondlunkulu (the wives to "amakhosi") who are also members, e.g. OBanjeni there is uNdlunkulu, then KwaHaza there's another one.

However, despite the noted opportunities for engagement with community leaders through KR, attaining an opportunity to interact with community leaders through the radios platforms was not shared by some listeners. One listener expressed how she had heard how Khwezi brings various community leaders onto the current affairs shows and was going to ask the station to connect them to their Mayor, who has had limited visibility in the community. This community member essentially felt her area was neglected in receiving service delivery. Unfortunately, she had been unable to contribute to the mayoral programme, which may have provided an opportunity for engagement;

The station has the current Affairs show; the presenter calls the leaders, e.g., mayors, and we can talk to them. But we will ask him to connect us with our Mayor from New Hanover. We have never seen our Mayor. I have heard him talking on the radio about Mshwathi. We wish he could get to our side at Mbona by the farm side and see how we are living. I have not been able to call in during the Mayoral slot on Khwezi as I am at work during that time. I hear him saying – the people of uMshwathi will witness development with their own eyes. (FGD, Masibumbane member, PMB).

Similarly, a community member from a neighbouring area in PMB shared these sentiments and wished for an opportunity to speak to community leaders concerning the limited-service delivery. She, however, alluded to the high call volumes as a limiting factor to air her concerns;

Even us at Hlathi, we don't know development, the roads are bad, the pipes are burst, the water is leaking, so the roads are full of water. The pipes that they said they would install are still not there. Some are broken. I wish I could get a chance to speak to the leaders. When the Mayor is live, I don't get a chance to connect. There are many people who will be connecting at that time (high call volumes) (IDI, Masibumbane member, PMB).

On the other hand, other listeners have seen an opportunity in requesting KRs facilitatory role with leaders in their communities to meet various needs, such as the provision of healthcare. This opportunity is still to be explored. As one listener from KwaKopi stated;

We also have challenges with our health systems, we can queue all day, and we have very few doctors. At the hospital that I was at, there was only one doctor. Khwezi can maybe connect us with the Health provincial leaders (FGD, Masibumbane member, KwaKopi).

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the facilitatory role that Khwezi radio plays in connecting community members to various community leaders to ensure social change occurs in communities. It began by illustrating the complexities surrounding understanding the transformative nature of power in practice by outlining the critical role of community

radios in shaping alternative discourse and challenging dominant truths in society. The chapter recognised the role of gatekeepers who represented but embodied a nature of power that can hinder or advance social change in communities. Thus it is important to engage with these gatekeepers who are key decision-makers in fostering service delivery. The chapter then presented empirical evidence of the nature of engagements that the radio station has with community leaders in advancing the community. The chapter further demonstrated the interactive nature between communities and community leaders facilitated by KR. It then engaged with the notion of accountability as a prerequisite of good governance and reflected on KR's mayoral programme, particularly the extent to which it fosters accountability. It ends off by drawing on community members' experiences that illustrate how they have, using their transformative power, seen themselves as change agents engaged with community leaders in effecting social change.

Chapter 10: Discussion, Implications and Conclusion

The chapter provides a summative overview of the findings (Chapters 7-9) in relation to the research questions. The chapter discusses these findings in relation to the literature in the field and provides a critical analysis within the theoretical framework guiding the research. Furthermore, the chapter presents the significance of the findings, including the gaps that the study has addressed methodologically, in literature and theoretically.

I begin by summarising the research's key findings, structured according to the study's research questions. This is accompanied by critical analysis and discussion into how the findings relate to previous literature, including the gaps that have been identified in the literature. Additionally, the relation of the findings to the theoretical framework detailed in chapter four is analysed. The chapter proceeds to discuss the research's knowledge contributions, followed by the study's implications and limitations. The recommendations for future research are then presented, followed by a final thesis statement to conclude this study.

How does community radio as a participatory medium of development communication contribute to social change?

The study found that CR does contribute to social change in various ways. However, there are noted limitations and some intricacies to CRs ability to effect change which must be highlighted. One way CRs contribute to social change is through community radios' raising the awareness of crucial development-related information, mainly through what the study has described as their open access and dialogic nature. The case study of KR and its various components demonstrated that CRs as development communication media facilitate participatory spaces at different levels. These spaces bring communities into being a part of the issues that affect them and enables them to actively participate as drivers of their own change. These participatory spaces exist at different levels. Organic spaces, for example, operate and are represented through communities "claiming" access to decision making spaces beyond those in which they are invited to participate. However, the data

demonstrated the non-static, ever-shifting power dynamics within these spaces of participation (Cornwall, 2002). Moreover, the findings revealed that spaces of participation also possess impermeable elements, such as in the arena of decision making.

In addition, through information access and different forms of participation in KR activities on air and off air and through activities within communities' claimed spaces, the study found individual and collaborative forms of empowerment taking effect. Through individual empowerment, community members were found to have gained 'power within' and 'power to' and perceived themselves as capable individuals with a responsibility to change their environments (Batliwala, 2007; Bradley, 2019). In addition, through attaining 'power with', community members developed collaborative empowerment, meaning they felt the value of being united towards achieving common objectives. To be sure, the spirit of communityness was therefore apparent amongst many community members. This was expressed through MLC membership, where communities demonstrated a strong sense of cohesion and, using the spirit of "ubuntu", tackled issues collaboratively. As was made apparent in chapters two and four, CRs cannot exist outside the community, which cannot, in turn, exist outside interaction. This sense of community that community radios have notably set them apart from other media (Lewis, 1989; Tucker, 2013). The study understood communities as not geographically bound but as spaces centred on social interaction where people share common interests (Bosch, 2003; Brennan & Israel, 2008; Kempers, 2001).

The study found that different forms of social change exist as communities expressed change or what they believed to improve their livelihoods in different ways. This was both at the household and collective community level. Change at the collective level was mainly expressed through MLC branches across various communities taking charge of effecting change through innovative approaches. However, it must be noted that the "individual" had a prominent role to play in social change. It became apparent in the study that at the individual level, people adopted more constructive values, particularly Christian values and shifted their behaviours one way or the other due to KR. that was imperative towards attaining social change.

However, the study found several challenges that have constrained CRs in delivering their community development agendas. Central amongst these is the sustainability threats that the sector faces. In the case of KR, its rural and remote base offers limited opportunities for expanding the advertising base to attain self-sustenance. These challenges need to be considered in examining the contributions of CR in achieving social change.

The study shows how participatory spaces are themselves power-laden. Thus, in as much as communities may empower themselves and attain transformative power as a result of their attained collaborative empowerment, the findings illustrated that the role of power structures could be potential enhancers or barriers to the attainment of social change. There were, for example, instances of KR facilitating interaction between communities and various "power holders" that has affected processes of social change. Hence, community members sometimes need to be able to manoeuvre power dynamics in the form of community gatekeepers to attain transformative power that seeks to achieve social change. While KR has sometimes aided in this facilitatory role, the findings illustrate some complexities in breaking through these 'spaces', which is the overall discussion of this chapter. To make sense of this overview and as a response to the research question, "*how does CR's as a participatory medium of development communication contribute to social change*" I will delve into the sub research questions. These questions are now addressed individually in relation to the literature and the conceptual and theoretical framework.

10.1 Khwezi radio's contribution to awareness of development information

SRQ1 How has Khwezi community radio contributed to increasing the awareness of development information? Participants largely found the information exchanged on KR as beneficial to improving people's livelihoods. Development communication theory is anchored on information exchange to effect positive change in people's living conditions (Choudhury, 2011; Okunna, 2002). The study found an overwhelming appreciation of the usefulness of the development-related information shared on KR. Moreover, the findings highlighted the benefit of the development information exchanged on Khwezi radio as a contributor to facilitating change in listener communities. This finding accords with those of several other scholars, who recognise CRs role in information exchange as a key ingredient in development (Chapman, Blench, Kranjac-Berisavljevic, & Zakariah, 2003; Choudhury, 2011; Dagron, 2001;

Megwa, 2007; Schramm, 1964; Soola, 2002; Tucker, 2013). Choudhury (2011) further argues that the significance of information exchange through CRs is that they are transformative and characterised by communication triggering social change attainment by inspiring people to aim for a higher quality of life. The characteristics of the station, particularly its ease of access to communities (mostly in rural, remote areas), KR's programming approach, which stimulates dialogue, and the predominant interaction in the indigenous language of isiZulu, were notable factors found to contribute to increasing the awareness of development-related information. According to Sharma and Uniyal (2016), one of the limitations of development communication is the information's inability to reach the target populations; thus, open access is an important prerequisite to development-related information.

Furthermore, an account describing development communication Dagron (2001) cautions against community radios being merely about transferring information to people, as this one-way communication is not developmental. There is a tendency to confuse this one-way form of communication with dialogue. Dagron (2001) further argues for the importance of communication, in development, through dialogue. Similarly, Milan (2009) argues that the two-way dialogue and interactive nature of CRs are central to transforming individual ideas towards collective approaches in attaining better realities. The study's findings confirm the dialogic and interactive nature of communication that community radio presents to communities information exchange and sharing ideas on the station. In this sense, communities engage in shaping their meaning as agents of change in their environments.

The study's participants broadly acknowledged the development information of various facets shared through KR as stimulating empowerment at the individual and community level. These included information about healthy living, including being environmentally conscious, agricultural technical assistance, and guidance on financial savviness. Through the impartation of different skills and knowledge and enabling shared engagement, fostered shared meaning across community members to address issues that are central to their wellbeing. Innovative approaches to communication of development-related information referred to as 'edutainment' was also noted in the study. These methods have been used and proven successful, particularly in communicating health awareness information, such as the television series Soul City in South Africa (McPhail, 2009).

The study in part addressed the gap identified by some development communication scholars such as Chiumbu and Ligaga (2013) on the dearth of evidence available to ascertain the popular and everyday uses of radio by all groups of people. This study has contributed to an understanding of this, with significant input made about the use of community radio by vulnerable populations such as persons with disability and the elderly. The study illustrated the strides taken by KR's to ensure the accessibility of community radio programmes and activities directly relevant to people living with disabilities. This includes a daily programme aimed at people with disabilities focusing on issues such as, shared motivation on leading fulfilling lives and tackling common challenges towards improving people's realities.

The study further illustrates that exchanging development-related information on CR cannot be an isolated approach to effecting social change in communities. As the subsequent sections will illustrate, social change is a more complex process. Thus, while interaction, dialogue, and the exchange of development information are important, other factors need to be recognised. These include the extent of the development efforts in place, gatekeepers who play central roles in facilitating change in communities, and other change agents who work hand in hand with community members beyond the radio station programming to support community activities.

10.2 Participatory mechanisms used by Khwezi radio to facilitate social change

SRQ2 What are the participatory mechanisms used by Khwezi community radio to facilitate social change? As channels set up to promote bottom-up, people-centric development, community radios are designed as participatory spaces seeking to involve all, particularly those previously excluded in decision making spaces and processes (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Myers, 2011). The two forms of participation in media conceptualised by Carpentier (2007), 'participation in the media' and 'participation through the media', were evident in different forms in the research findings. Regarding the former, listeners generally reported appreciating the openness in participating in KR programming, for example, through on-air contributions. Listeners felt a sense of 'ownership and belonging to the station and could have a say in programming. Khwezi radio enhances communities' participation by using multimedia

platforms to encourage diversity of contributions to its programming. The platforms that KR uses include WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter and SMS Platforms. This has resulted in what Carpentier (2007) and Nassanga, Manyozo, and Lopes (2013) argue is the notion of 'community' being representative of not just geographical but also trans-local and diasporic spaces; hence an expansion of the understanding of community is necessary (Brennan, Birdger, & Alter, 2013).

Moreover, as Chiumbu and Ligaga (2013) argue, ICTs have played a crucial role in expanding communicative radio spaces, transforming the nature of audience engagement and expanding South Africa's radio public sphere. However, despite the expansion of spaces of engagement through KR, participation remained limited where decision making was involved. For example, decisions on content-related changes, as final decisions to incorporate listeners feedback, sometimes lay with the station's management.

On the other hand, 'participation through the media' played itself out in various forms and involved KR providing opportunities for mediated participation in public debate and representation in other public spaces. In addition to community members participating in community outreach projects, in partnership with KR, a noteworthy intervention is KR's facilitatory role in connecting communities with their leaders to foster accountability and service delivery in communities. Likewise, through information exchange dialogues on KR, several listeners demonstrated active citizenship in understanding their roles as citizens who can influence their environments. This was expressed through 'demanding' service delivery in their communities and contributing to finding solutions to community members' issues instead of living as external actors to their own realities.

However, a trend towards passive citizenry was also found. Some community members had merely given up on participating in political and governance spaces due to feelings of helplessness due to poor service delivery in some communities. This has triggered citizens to be active participants in alternative spaces where they can have some control and contribute directly to effecting some change in their communities (Cornwall, 2002). Herein lay the role of CRs as alternative spaces of dialogue and engagement in communities (Myers, 2011). The study classifies them as 'invited spaces' of participation, given their formation and

regulation through ICASA, with the objectives to ensure participation and diversity of voices in communities. Gaventa (2020), however, cautions that 'invited spaces' can become spaces of co-optation if they are not strengthened by forms of citizen action that can be found in 'claimed spaces' such as social movements. This became apparent in the study, with instances of limited participation, particularly in agenda-setting for the listener community.

On the other hand, the research showed how KR resembles openness, solitude and a space of hope that communities need to improve their livelihoods. Furthermore, MLC brings communities together in their similarities and provides platforms of engagement for listeners to participate in effecting desired social change. Participation in KR further resembled enabled a sense of 'intimacy' anchored in the relations between KR listeners, – not limited by geographical location but a sense of community spanning across different areas with shared objectives – jointly seeking to improve their individual, households and community circumstances. The strong ties were partly expressed through the interactive call-ins and on-air greetings exchanged between listeners as forms of participation in the station. Listeners also expressed how they got to know people through the station with whom they developed a strong connection. Other spaces of participation by listeners were provided through the face-to-face activities, particularly the annual Christmas celebration, which were noteworthy events where listeners got the chance to exchange gifts amongst each other. Such gift exchanges were possible because radio greetings and on-air interactions got people closely acquainted with one another. Sometimes, before the exchange, listeners may have never met one another face to face. Therefore, the station brought communities together, and it became an intimate space where people formed close relations with fellow listeners whom they went on to recognize as part of their family.

Furthermore, the study found active listeners of KR 'claiming' more organic spaces of participation within their communities. These organically 'claimed' spaces such that *Masibumbane Listeners Club* is, has branches spread across KR's vast geographical reach. Participating in KR activities provided community members forms of 'power within' and 'power to'. Moreover, through community engagements primarily centred around MLC, community members obtained 'power with' to take charge of shifting their status quo and

tackle the related development challenges within their households, and where possible, communities at large.

The organic space of participation, through the various MLC branches, provided more resonant spaces of engagement. They were characterised by branch members taking charge of defining how they organically participate (as opposed to induced forms of participation typically led by external actors). Through these organic spaces, such as MLC, individuals come together as active change agents to tackle common issues as community members are united towards a shared vision of expanding their freedoms, personal and community circumstances. The in-person KR events further provided listeners opportunities to meet and engage with the broader community of KR listeners outside their MLC branches. Additionally, strong ties between the radio presenters and their listeners were highlighted in the study. The closeness at both levels has been described as 'a sense of family' and an intimacy contributing greatly to communityness.

MLC's establishment mimicked a 'claimed space', formed by a group of active KR listeners who felt the need for face-to-face engagements between listeners beyond and outside of KR. However, the organic nature of this being a space for active listeners illustrates interesting linkages to KR, resulting in MLC branches sometimes resembling an 'invited space' anchored around KR, which determines some of its functioning. MLC's value system is founded in the KR informed code of conduct. The membership records are centralised within the radio station, which affects its autonomy and "organicness" of the space. However, the researcher observed that this way of being was comfortable for MLC members as they expressed gratitude to KR for keeping the listeners club functional. Even so, Schutz (2019) reminds us that whilst collaborative spaces seek equal decision making and no formal leadership, in reality, they have forms of coordination that resemble informal leaders and could shift power balances within these spaces. Hence the 'organicness' of collaborative spaces needs to be looked at critically.

On the other hand, one could see how MLC maintains some level of autonomy and characteristics of 'claimed spaces'. For example, through their unique innovations, MLC branches transcend beyond spaces where communities are invited to participate as

individuals forming their own opportunities within their terms of engagement (Cornwall, 2002). This confirms Cornwall's (2002) assertion that the nature of the power dynamics within participation spaces is porous and ever-shifting, resulting in constraints to genuine participation. This affects the equal decision making that would theoretically be expected from an 'organic space'. In addition, Lefebvre's (1991) conception of the inseparability of spaces (i.e. what happens in one space impinges on another) becomes a vital reference point in examining the dynamics between spaces of participation.

Consequently, Khwezi, as a medium of participatory development communication, grounds itself in the value of participation, as this is the essence of CRs. However, it being an 'invited space' brings with it elements of closedness. For example, despite the open on-air survey initiated by KR annually, inviting listeners to input on programming (including content) on the station, it is evident that adoption of changes is at the station's discretion that follows its values and principles. Some decisions such as increasing youth-friendly and spiritual programming and other content adjustments are taken by station management that are not necessarily in consultation with the listeners' community. Nonetheless, listeners did not feel as though they were unfairly excluded from freely participating in KR, particularly it's programming. Limited participation was rather expressed because there was limited signal in some areas and limited time to call in and contribute to shows. This excluded some Khwezi listeners from hearing the programmes.

According to Arnstein (1969), participation in its genuine form requires a distribution of power from the more powerful to the less powerful. Hence participation is intrinsically linked to power (Carpentier, 2011). Accordingly, it is useful to relate the forms of participation identified in the study to Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation to ascertain citizens' inherent levels of power. In applying the typology of participation 'in the media' and 'through the media' to the research findings, one can describe the level of participation in both as 'placation'. Although this participation also resembled some elements of 'partnership'. The partnership can be arguably present in instances where KR listeners have negotiated decision making and successfully contributed to programming changes. However, while listeners participate in presenting programming ideas, they appear to have limited influence in

organisational decision-making, which largely rests on the onus of the station management, which borders around placation.

In the case of placation, citizens may be permitted to advise or take part in planning. However, power-holders retain the power to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the priorities and ideas presented (Arnstein, 1969). In the study, this has been more evident in participation through the media. For example, community members engage district and local municipality mayors on development outcomes and specific service delivery outcries in their communities through KR. However, whether or not their perspectives are taken into consideration lies with the municipal mayors and council and other governmental bodies. Fundamentally then, decision making is not shared. Thus, participation at this level retains its tokenism (Arnstein, 1969). This highlights the interaction between participation, power and decision making and reinforces the need for a power lens in interrogating participation processes (Carpentier, 2011).

But, as has been asserted, communities' involvement in agenda-setting is a prerequisite for genuine participation (Gaventa, 2006). At KR, community leaders interact with communities through the station, and while communities had influence over programming on KR, there was no evidence of their involvement in influencing agenda setting in their communities. It is one thing to be able to participate in programming, but it is a different level of participation to inform the service delivery in communities. The CR played a role in facilitating this link, notwithstanding the noted limited participation of communities influencing decision making and agenda-setting in their communities. Subsequently, Cooke & Kothari (2001) argue for a critical analysis of participation to understand the incentives for participation and why some people don't participate. This study found that some individuals don't participate in public fora in their communities because such platforms seldom result in meaningful change. Some alluded to the invitation to participate in community fora as being largely tokenistic, tick the box exercises, as patronage tends to be the deciding factor for service delivery in communities. As a result, people felt they receive better rewards from participating in alternative spaces, in this case, KR and, more so MLC, where they feel they have better control of the results attained.

In line with the participatory development paradigm, the research has contributed to understanding what participation involves in Devcom. Through a multiple embedded case study, the data has specifically shown KR interacting with key role players in communities embedded in people-centric development that enables communities to have a say on development issues affecting them. Through this, community radios are a counter-narrative to the traditional development theories, which were more top-down, while communication was vertical and a one-way flow of information that was quite instructive as opposed to an open dialogue. This was in contrast to the more multifaceted people-centric focused development narrative, in which a two-way flow of communication, through dialogue, such as through CRs, is upheld. The participation of all groups in communities is further enhanced through the use of indigenous languages and taking heed of people's cultures and epistemologies through relevant programming.

In light of the critiques levelled against participatory development communication for its failure to critically evaluate participation and its possibility in transforming power relations (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Cornwall, 2002; Hickey & Mohan, 2004; Neef, 2003), this study interweaved the participatory Devcom framework with a power lens to its analytical framework. As the findings illustrate, power relations at different levels – some visible; for example, power holders in the community, and some invisible; for example, ideological forms of power (Lukes, 2004) – can hinder the attainment of social change. Thus, community members need to manoeuvre these spaces by accumulating various skills and knowledge through participation in CR. This can be through individual empowerment or collectively through social cohesion and communityness. In so doing, attain collaborative empowerment (for example, through the platform of MLC) towards achieving transformative power to confront their challenges as change agents. The findings thus present a more nuanced, critical understanding of participatory Devcom contribution to social change. They further consider how these power dynamics play out and may affect participatory Devcom processes, in this case through KR, in attaining social change.

10.3 Khwezi radio's contribution to empowerment

SRQ3 ***How is Khwezi community radio empowering communities to become agents of change?*** In line with the consistent agreement amongst development communication scholars (Manda, 2015; Manyozo, 2009; Milan, 2009; Naaikuur & Diedong, 2014), this research also found empowerment to be one of the outcomes resulting from community radios interventions that foster change within listeners and in communities. As ascertained by Cooke (2001), empowerment is a direct result of participation, and it involves people gaining control over development processes from which they may previously have been excluded. However, Cooke and Kothari (2001) critique the lack of clarity on what empowerment of local communities actually constitutes and what participation results in the empowerment of. The study's results contribute to understanding what empowerment at a local level comprises by presenting a two-pronged characterisation (individual and collaborative empowerment) guided by Schutz' (2019) conceptualisation.

Even so, as Freire's (1997) classic "pedagogy of the oppressed" depicts, dialogue, or two-way communication through platforms like community radio, as direct contributors to enabling people to take part in solving their challenges. Dialogue contributes to building the capacity of the poor to engage in knowledge exchange and decision-making processes. Moreover, prioritising the voices of those who have been excluded through participatory platforms like CR plays a role in reversing power imbalances by addressing poverty and social exclusion. Sen (2001) further acknowledges the role of social arrangements such as media in enhancing people's freedoms as active agents of change.

Development communication in this study was analysed with the intention of understanding if it seeks to expand people's capabilities and freedoms. The study found individual and collaborative empowerment operating through the various KR interventions. Communities also reported being more aware of their capabilities and positions in taking charge of their needs at the individual and community level. The characterisation of KR as an open station encouraging free engagements between listeners towards common goals and a sense of belonging amongst the community of listeners was also found to be a stimulant of social cohesion and a notable precursor to a sense of communityness. Moreover, as

Bresnahan (2007) argues, ordinary people's participation in programming can be viewed as the most empowering aspect of community radio, as people gain a sense of empowerment as active producers and not passive recipients of information and opinion.

The study further contributes a nuanced understanding of individual empowerment in addition to that relating to skills development (Banda, 2007). The educational benefits of CRs to individuals' self-development highlighted the role of spiritual growth in people's self-development through KR. This contributes to an understanding of spirituality as an essential ingredient to a more comprehensive understanding of empowerment, recognised by Hennink, Kiiti, Pillinger, and Jayakaran (2012). Hennink et al. (2012) incorporate spirituality in their fivefold categorisation of empowerment domains, the others being: health, economic, political and resource.

Empowerment in the spiritual domain involves the development and strengthening of faith and a transformation of values both within an individual and a community (Hennink et al., 2012, p. 211). Thus, spiritual empowerment has the potential to foster the transformation of values within individuals (ibid), for example, by inspiring individuals to take up some community outreach efforts as part of their Christian ethos. In the case of KR listeners, many argued they had been rewarded with spiritual growth through the station in various ways. Such spiritual growth was made possible through the spiritually motivating programming that were intrinsically linked to their self-development and in contributing to the collective betterment of their communities and life circumstances. On the other hand, the prominence of spirituality in individual empowerment can also be attributed to the values of the CR that are aligned with the Christian Mission where KR is housed. This association could influence the Christian programming or even guide the principles of living a fulfilled Christian life that KR promotes. Relating well to others, being loving, and exhibiting other Christian values such as kindness and forgiveness are some of the messages KR promotes.

Even though forms of empowerment are interconnected and have porous boundaries, individual empowerment is a recognisable requisite to collaborative empowerment because individuals, through self-development, learn the strategies required to collaborate. However, Schutz (2019) and McGee and Pettit (2019) caution against an overemphasis on individual

empowerment as obtaining individual empowerment through developing oneself, one way or the other, seldom shifts the status quo but stands to equip individuals with the 'power to'. Moreover, individuals could gain 'power over' and stand to reproduce the same status quo (Schutz, 2019).

Nevertheless, similar to McGee and Pettit (2019) conception of empowerment as collective and emancipatory, this study indicates that collaborative empowerment is fundamental for social change to happen; the study presents a unique understanding of collaborative empowerment mainly through MLC as a central space for fostering a sense of communityness through community members working together to achieve common goals. Thus, the study offers into this emerging discourse about communicative development an understanding of RLCs as enhancers of collaborative empowerment, through which community members gain 'power to' and 'power with'. Through these forms of power, individuals can see themselves playing roles and actively finding ways to foster social change in their communities.

From an analysis of the findings, it is apparent that a conceptualisation of empowerment and its existence and application in practice takes place within a web of power relations. Even while community members may empower themselves individually and collectively in an effort to take charge of improving their circumstances, this is mediated by various power structures (for example, local leadership structures) that may limit service delivery in communities. For example, the lack of access to water highlighted in several communities that rely on an agricultural economy to sustain their livelihoods is a basic service that is at the mercy of various power structures to effect. Without water, the chance of communities achieving their goals is constrained. Therefore, the analysis confirms the assertion by Alinksy (1989) (cited in Schutz,2019) that being empowered (i.e., gaining power*)* is about claiming space within a 'closed space'. In essence, community members who may have felt excluded from decision making spaces begin to find a 'voice' in such spaces. Through the dialogue community radios engage in, accessibility and participatory approach become avenues to ensuring this form of empowerment is created.

10.4 Experiences of social change from Khwezi radio listeners

SRQ4 What is the nature of social change experienced by communities through Khwezi community radio interventions? The understanding of development as social change is anchored in the paradigm of participatory development as asserted by Servaes (1996, 2007), Olorunnisola (2002) and Lennie and Tacchi (2013), who highlight the need for people-centred development as a critical prerequisite to a transformative society. The nature of social change that communities experienced through KR demonstrates the interconnected multifaceted, dynamic, and complex social change process. For this study, these were broadly categorised into individually directed change and community change. Furthermore, the study uses an understanding of social change that is associated with bottom-up, people-centric development where individuals are active agents of change in their communities and the expansion of their freedoms through improving their livelihoods and social cohesion by adopting collective approaches to effective change. Through channels such as community radio, development communication, in this study, is viewed as a mode of engagement that uses participatory communication mechanisms to ensure positive social change in communities (McPhail, 2009; S. Melkote & H. L. Steeves, 2015).

10.4.1 The "individual" in social change

The reported changes at the individual level due to KR's interventions provided an understanding of the significance of the 'individual' in social change. In contrast, community change was grounded principally in social cohesion and a sense of communityness. The data demonstrated individual levelled changes that KR listeners gained through three primary means; spiritual upliftment (including adherence to Christian values), behavioural and attitude change (including changes in personal practices); and counsel and guidance on how to tackle difficult situations such as bereavements. These individual changes proved to be essential ingredients to enhance people's abilities to become better individuals spiritually, behaviorally, emotionally and psychologically. The importance of the development of the 'individual', in this holistic form, illustrates the relationship between the individual and the collective. Individual gains, therefore, are essential ingredients to change at the collective level. Consequently, KR's role in facilitating the exchange of information that transformed individual practice was paramount. This ranged from developing agricultural skills,

entrepreneurial guidance, as well as sharpening parental skills. These attributes became useful in individuals and contributed to addressing community needs. For instance, through gaining an appreciation and understanding of entrepreneurial and agricultural skills, some community members were able to take leadership positions in their Masibumbane listeners' clubs branches. This resulted in some forming farming cooperatives, supporting one another with handwork projects, which are significant methods of transforming livelihoods in rural communities.

Spiritual growth and receiving hope and comfort to support individuals through times of distress were highlighted as a key characteristic of KR's benefits to listeners.

10.4.1.1 The relationship between spiritual upliftment and KR's contribution to social change

This study contributes to the discourse by providing empirical data on the role of the 'spiritual being' in social change and the contribution of development communication to the spiritual development of the self as a contributor to social change. The role of community radios in people's development is asserted by several scholars (Diedong & Naaikuur, 2012; Megwa, 2007; Milan, 2009; Myers, 2011; Olorunnisola, 2002; Tucker, 2013), even more so Hennink et al. (2012). However, affirming the role of spiritual upliftment as a form of individual empowerment in development and the specificities on the relationship between the 'individual' and the spiritual in social change still needs to be better understood. This is a lacuna in the development communication literature to which this research makes some contribution.

It was evident from the study that gaining a sense of comfort was one of the primary gains that community members appreciated from Khwezi. Through programmes like *Duduzanani* (be comforted), many listeners found hope during difficult times, with some reporting how the messages of hope and comfort were significant, even life-changing for some—for example, positively transforming peoples mindsets from being suicidal to having a sense of purpose and the ability to face life's challenges. This expressed and dire need for a sense of comfort and hope by community members can be accredited to the difficult circumstances that many found themselves and their communities in. These difficulties arose

from the low socio-economic status, limited service delivery, dealing with distresses such as illnesses and bereavements.

Consequently, Khwezi provided for many a sense of hope harnessed together by the social cohesion and sense of communityness that listeners experienced from being part of a collective that could tackle the different circumstances that challenged them. It is noteworthy that the argument on social cohesion and communityness developed in this thesis has some interesting similarities with Robert Putman's (1993) work on social capital. Putman (1993) saw a close relationship between collective, socially cohesive societies and being better developed, contrary to those with more characteristics of individualism and less solidarity.

These findings show that the listeners attaining more spiritual growth is a critical characteristic of their empowerment. Moreover, in agreement with Ver Beek (2000) and Selinger (2004), religion and spirituality play a significant role in people's decisions about their communities development. Therefore the religious ethos of the station affects its development role. Consequently, listeners embodying more Christian values such as selflessness, being loving and caring for one another translated to them contributing to positive change in their societies, for example, supporting the less fortunate. Furthermore, KR listeners typically shared Christian moral values that positively shaped their behavioural attributes, such as loving and selflessness. Therefore, listeners' spiritual upliftment influenced individual and collective empowerment and their desire to contribute to social change in their communities.

10.4.2 "Organic participation" and Communityness: From Khwezi to Masibumbane listeners club

The nexus between community and interaction highlighted by Brennan and Israel (2008) and (Wilkins, 2000) is evident in this research where listeners have formed a strong sense of communityness between KR listeners, particularly in the MLC. The study found social cohesion, which is central to communityness, to be at the heart of effecting social change in communities. As guided by Berger-Schmitt's (2002) understanding of social cohesion, the study found MLC as an informal network anchored in strong social interactions and social ties

between people marked by cooperation amongst community members. Grounded in the axiology of communityness and collaborative empowerment, these community members are united by the common goal of seeking to achieve social inclusion and challenge the current status quo, which continues to exclude them in one way or the other. Similar to Berger-Schmitt's (2002) assertion, the solidarity and cooperation expressed through MLC were evident in improving communities' wellbeing. As 'organic' spaces of participation, RLCs were found as notable contributors to social change. Through the MLC, active listeners of Khwezi formed collaborative spaces where they connected as listeners with shared interests and goals in the spirit of communityness, which fostered desired change in their communities. MLC was viewed as an expression of the aims of KR in communities. This supports the notion of community radios centrality in communities (Africa & Africa, 1998; C. Fraser & Restrepo-Estrada, 2002). Importantly then, it is communities that make community radios and not the other way around.

Through MLC, the social change identified in the study included joint investment schemes, agricultural projects, and other handwork activities that boosted people's livelihoods. Communityness was further expressed through values associated with social cohesion, such as sharing, selflessness, empathy, love and caring for one another, amongst others. Moreover, the study found the African value of *ubuntu* and collaborative empowerment as closely connected to the sense of communityness, which previous studies have not directly inferred (see Akpojivi, 2012; Chapman et al., 2003; Milan, 2009) on the meaning of community in community radio. The value of *ubuntu* anchored the idea that people brought together by KR are collective agents of change in addressing challenges facing their communities. MLC members actively shared the capabilities to take charge in making a difference in their communities' status quo. This was substantiated by the hands-on approach adopted in dealing with forms of distress faced by fellow community members, such as supporting the bereaved, the sick and needy even outside of MLC membership. This helped to form and strengthen the close ties between MLC members across and within branches.

Interestingly, the on-air greetings were used as forms of expressing and celebrating these connections between listeners. A sense of unity and support to one another is observed through the airwaves as listeners refer to one another with familiarity, using nicknames and

wittiness, which demonstrates the free-ness and 'family hood' within these connections. A sense of social cohesion and even more communityness has emerged and is strengthened through MLC. The on-air greetings are symbolic of the communityness formed through Khwezi.

10.4.3 Development communication in agricultural development

The study also found community radio to be a critical contributor to agricultural development in communities. This nature of support relates to the findings of several development communication scholars who have provided empirical evidence on the benefit of agricultural programming on CR for the African continent. For example, through a comprehensive qualitative case study consisting of 6 RLCs case studies, Mhagama (2015) found the use of RLCs as platforms to communicate and discuss farming expertise highly beneficial. Interestingly enough, when RLCs started, they were referred to as farmers forum listening groups (Mhagama, 2015). Chapman et al. (2003) followed baseline and follow-up studies comprising mixed-method approaches to ascertain how farmers applied knowledge from soil and water conservation (SWC) related programming. The findings illustrated how agricultural programming on CR improved farmer's expertise and practices on soil and water conservation and organic manuring.

Given the noted decline in the agricultural extension services in rural communities, Olden et al (2012) study conducted through interviews with farmers, agricultural extension workers, and radio services also demonstrated the prevalent use of radio in communicating agricultural information to farmers in Zimbabwe. Mhagama (2015) and Olden et al (2012) methodological approaches may present a limited perspective for not considering the community structures such as leaders who influence service delivery and, therefore, the extent of community development. Whereas, in this study, the findings demonstrate how KR provided agricultural support through participatory agricultural programming, comprising practical guidance and discussions with agricultural specialists on seasonal farming expertise such as crop rotation, handling crop pesticides, and improving farming yields. Although baseline and follow up studies, as was the case with Chapman et al. (2003) study, may have provided more certainty to the agrarian change occurring as a result of the programming, this

can also be deduced in this thesis as the participants attributed the benefits they received to specific agricultural practices discussed on KR.

Community members further benefited from technical assistance and hands-on support in the form of field visits, buying seeds in bulk at lower costs from the radio station's key agricultural partner. Mathenge, Smale, and Olwande (2014) illustrate a positive contribution between the availability of hybrid seeds to increased yields and households' income, resulting in reduced poverty in communities. However, the concept of producing and availing seed varieties to local farmers to improve farming yields is a controversial one, worth further examination beyond this research. It is a recommended area for future studies interested in understanding the controversies of seed production and use. (Grieb, 2016; Kloppenburg, 2014 Shiva, 2012; Và, 2012) have all demonstrated the dependency that can arise from modern seed varieties leaving communities dependent on the seed companies because their yields depend on them getting the seeds from them, which further enriches the seed companies. As Shiva (2012) argues, communities maintain no seed sovereignty and thus, no food sovereignty. Organic farming has been argued as a more sustainable alternative as it ensures soil fertility, preserves biodiversity and has less vulnerability to climate change. In addition, farmers are not dependent on external inputs (Grieb, 2016). Và (2012) further highlights the need to formulate agroecological alternatives that enhance food sovereignty and environmental sustainability to ensure that farming meets local needs in a sustainable and participatory manner).

Thus, even while community members may be improving some of their 'freedoms' (Sen, 2001), such as enhanced household income through increased farming yields, they may be developing other 'unfreedoms'. Dependency in this market relationship may be challenging to break away from and even unsustainable and economically unviable for farmers. Therefore, the struggle for seed sovereignty, which affects food sovereignty, may affect agricultural development as a contributor to social change in the long run.

The research noted alternatives to such dependence on seed companies that listeners have learnt from the diverse agricultural programming offered by KR, which is an expansion of people's freedoms as a principal means of development. The station has agricultural

features that mainly focus on organic farming and its importance in soil preservation and biodiversity. Through this programming, listeners also receive information pertaining to entering markets for organic produce, such as Woolworths[36]. While markets tend to be closed spaces with access barriers (Singh-Peterson & Iranacolaivalu, 2018), and limited opportunity for new contributors, the freedom to enter markets can significantly contribute to development (Sen, 2001). Thus, exposing communities to these discussions and exploring possibilities outside their comfort could be significant to their agrarian sustainability, a significant contributor to social change.

Overall, KR agricultural interventions have enabled subsistence farming as well as the growth of farming cooperatives. For example, the innovative cooperative to grow mushrooms in one MLC branch even though it is a food not frequently grown in the community. This shows that the exchanges through KR significantly encouraged community members to explore new practices and think outside the norm to contribute to livelihood improvements in their communities. Central to this is the idea that communities take charge in defining development solutions for themselves and their communities by using the information exchange on the station and acting collectively to empower themselves accordingly. As participatory development communication warrants, communication processes are owned by communities, who should have equal access to them (Bessette, 2004; De Campos Guimarães, 2009; Diedong & Naaikuur, 2012; Melkote & Steeves, 2015; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Melkote & Steeves, 2015).

10.4.4 Women as active agents of social change through RLCs

The study especially recognised women's active engagement in economic, particularly entrepreneurial activities in their communities, expressed through Masibumbane listeners club branches. In addition to women being dominant and actively involved in agricultural activities (Acharya & Bennett; Ogunlela & Mukhtar, 2009), the study observed women actively taking charge of their household incomes. This challenges traditional beliefs and norms that have typically classified men as providers and the only active household members that sustain economic livelihoods. Women typically have been perceived as more passive, which has, in some contexts, affected their free participation in democratic and development

processes, for example, their ability to question the status quo (Dahal, 2013). Mhagama (2015) asserts that community radios, mainly RLCs, have played significant roles in enabling access of information to women and as spaces of dialogic engagement, particularly in rural areas.

RLCs have emerged as platforms that tend to be dominated by women, and through them, women have free spaces to actively engage in tackling their development-related challenges (Mhagama, 2015). Moreover, through MLC memberships, principally dominated and coordinated by women, they take interest and responsibility for addressing their communities' status quo. Women mostly believed they had a role to play and could not depend on community leaders to change their situations or reshape their communities. Some collaborative practices noted by women, mainly through the MLC's spaces of engagement, included farming cooperatives, stokvels (informal financial investment schemes), hand/beadwork activities, and supporting school kids with essential school apparel. Through the MLC, community members have a platform where they interact over common issues of importance, contributing to community-wide efforts to addressing their challenges, thus stimulating community agency (Brennan & Israel, 2008). Through these various activities, women have contributed to the sustenance of their livelihoods seeking to attain social change.

CR's and RLC are participatory spaces inciting alternative discourses and alternative practices in communities with people involved in defining their approaches through participatory communication. They have consequently been recognised as counter-public discourses (Mhagama, 2015) and counter-hegemonic platforms that are alternatives to dominant media. Even if these are inclusive spaces that permit the previously disadvantaged or those excluded from public discourse, such as women, to reshape the status quo (Dahal, 2013; Nirmala, 2015), CR's and RLC have enabled a diversity of voices to be heard. As Mhagama (2015) attests, RLCs are alternative public spheres as they enable people's shared understanding of development discourses. Through RLC spaces of participation, people become each other's development agents through exchange and shared understanding.

Additionally, through re-articulating social discourses typically neglected by mainstream media, community radio act as counter-public spheres (Dahal, 2013). As Morris (2008) asserts, community radios play significant roles in re-establishing the identities of marginalised communities and maintaining collective identities through the everyday messaging shared on the CR through the promotion of endangered languages and cultures. Oyero (2010) further asserted the significance of using indigenous language on the radio in communicating development as the message delivery is more likely to result in people's mobilisation and vision to change for the better.

10.4.5 Community radios effectiveness as drivers of social change: Opportunities and challenges

Other facets of social change contributed by the study scant in the literature on CRs development role, related to social security, protection and welfare, aimed primarily at more vulnerable and marginalised groups in society. Khwezi connected communities to social welfare-related programmes and activities, particularly people living with disabilities, social grant recipients, those affected by HIV and AIDS, and the needy more generally. It is worth highlighting the exceptional programming centred on people living with disabilities which motivated for leading fulfilled lives while also raising awareness for the non-disabled on how to ensure better integration of people living with disabilities into society without stigma. This heightened the applicability of participatory development communication as inciting dialogic communication across all groups of people and using the information to break barriers of access to information. In this manner, people from all groups can be in control of communication processes (i.e., horizontal communication) (Bessette, 2004; Dagron, 2001).

Furthermore, while the study highlighted the various facets of societal change through KR interventions, it is paramount to acknowledge the challenges that Khwezi faces and community radios more broadly in trying to meet development objectives. The findings identified similar challenges that development communication scholars have highlighted as constraining CR effectiveness. Prominent among these is the sustainability threats faced by CRs in general (Kumbhare, Padaria, Singh, Kumar, & Sarkar, 2015; Olorunnisola, 2002). The sector struggles to maintain financial security, sometimes impacting the independence of CRs as they continue to seek advertising opportunities that may have agendas compromising their

community and developmental values (Eyiah, 2004; Myers, 2011). This relates to the challenge of CRs maintaining their independence, as was identified in the study, as KR has to inhibit political interference from community leaders who have political affiliations to maintain the stations' political neutrality to focus on development objectives earnestly.

There remains a dearth of literature looking beyond financial sustainability and illustrating other forms of sustainability defined by Dagron (2001) (i.e., social and institutional sustainability in practice). This study contributes to some of this, empirically in KRs case, illustrating social and institutional sustainability elements that to some extent are under threat at the station. With regards to social sustainability, some instances of limited participation in the station were highlighted. Even so, while communities mainly felt involved in contributing to programming and providing feedback loops to KR, participation at the decision-making level remained the onus of the station's management and governance. Hence participation remains at an invited level, while MLC branches having a level of organic participation. However, KRs upper hand in the listeners' clubs governance also subjects MLC to elements of invited spaces of participation and speaks to decision making and ideological forms of power (Dowding, 2006; Lukes, 2004). KR shapes the norms and the values governing the listeners club and makes some decisions on behalf of communities.

Further, as Hickey and Mohan (2004) cautioned, participatory discourse tends to favour the elite and gatekeepers who speak on behalf of the community with limited genuine participation being achieved. This is also the case with the radio station management and governance that makes some decisions on behalf of the community. This shows the importance of understanding the nature and level of participation, which impacts communities' ability to contribute to effecting change.

On the other hand, institution sustainability is demonstrated through KR abiding by ICASA's regulations in its governance processes. As the national regulator, ICASA holds CRs accountable for delivering radio as prescribed by them even if this is against CR's set mandate. Therefore, more needs to be done in terms of support to the community media sector more broadly. While MDDA plays a significant role in supporting community media with resources and other technical aids, many community radios in the country battle with sustaining

themselves beyond the MDDA funding. This has resulted in non-compliance with the regulations and closures for other less fortunate CR's (KII, MDDA representative, 2019). This disconnect is problematic because CR's are noteworthy contributors and facilitators of social change that connect community members to information sources and other networks. As enablers of empowerment, community radios cannot work in isolation; they cannot be the panacea for communities attaining social change. Multi-stakeholder support is thus critical to bring needed change to communities and ensure joint forces meet the development challenges faced by communities.

10.5 Khwezi radio facilitating communities' manoeuvring power dynamics

SRQ5 How does Khwezi radio assist communities to manoeuvre power dynamics between various gatekeepers in achieving transformative power and social change? This study found that KR played a facilitatory role in communities manoeuvring power dynamic in various ways. For example, through creating platforms, on-air, for communities to engage with local and district municipal Mayors, hence holding leaders accountable for service delivery in their communities. The station also contributed to promoting active citizenship and bridging the gap between the state and its citizens (Cornwall & Gaventa, 2001). The findings illustrated that as much as CR's could contribute to ensuring participatory exchanges on development-related information and empower communities to be active agents of change in their communities, in practice, individuals are always confronted with power dynamics that could hinder or facilitate the ability to attain social change (Cooke, 2001; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Hickey & Mohan, 2004). As the thesis has highlighted, spaces of participation and empowerment are embedded in power relations. Thus, individuals constantly have to manoeuvre different forms, types and levels of power to achieve transformative power (Gaventa, 2004, 2006).

The study recognises power dynamics beyond the more visible external decision making power in the form of community gatekeepers such as leaders discussed in chapter 9 that have direct responsibility for change in listenership communities. The findings elucidate more subtle forms of power that are internal or in closer association to Khwezi radio. However, the researcher acknowledges that these forms of power are not easy to depict as

they are typically ideological and invisible in nature. While in theory, the community make up community radios, in practice, the study found the listeners have limited decision making power to influence programming and social change in their communities more broadly. Even though community members can execute innovative projects, such as stokvels and co-ops, to improve their livelihoods and support other community members, these remain within their spheres of influence and often at a small scale. The station management is worth highlighting as a form of internal *power over* as they play a crucial role in influencing the direction of programming and radio activities, budget prioritisation and the strategic direction of KR. Notably, the station's management is part of the KSB Mission; therefore, the key anchor of internal decision making power remains KSB.

Moreover, as discussed in chapter 8, the MLC coordinators resembled informal leaders in their branches and could be argued as having decision making power given their influence over the agendas and activities within their clubs. However, as asserted in their code of conduct, all MLC operations were guided by the station's ethics and values which means their decision making power remains limited. Therefore, the leaders of KSB and the station management are notable forms of ideological power influencing agenda setting vis-à-vis the external forms of gatekeepers such as community leaders who inevitably influence social change.

10.5.1 "Embodied" power expressed through community gatekeepers?

In understanding KR's facilitatory role in communities manoeuvring power dynamics, the research found that the analysis of power in the CR and MLC spaces of participation and community members' power dynamics may hinder or enhance social change critical. In doing so, a reference to the challenges of witnessing power in action, as it can be hidden or invisible, was essential in the theoretical conceptualization of the study (Bradley, 2019; Dowding, 2006; Gaventa, 2006; Lukes, 2004). The research is cognisant of the limitation of not ascertaining all forms of power amidst the inference of the influence of decision making and ideological forms of power in some instances. However, Lukes (2014) demonstrated that subtle ideological forms of power could exist without conflict. Nonetheless, in KR, this subtle form of 'power over' can be inferred from the relationship between the Mission as the founder of KR, which

gives it superiority over the station and influences the station's values. This affects what is communicable on the station and how it's done, that tends to abide by Christian values and ethos. This has, in turn, shaped the code of conduct adopted by MLC. This can be seen as a form of subtle control within these spaces of participation.

However, what was more apparent was power expressed through power holders or gatekeepers in communities that enhanced or hindered social change in communities. By confronting some embodied forms of power (i.e., the community leaders), communities made attempts to exercise their transformative power in ensuring service delivery. For example, actively 'expressing' the demand for water, which was a considerable challenge in most communities. The radio station played a notable role in facilitating these interactions. The findings also highlighted the role between communities and gatekeepers, which incited change in some cases. A case in point illustrating this was KRs intervention with a particular listener whose registration for an RDP house had been tampered with, leaving her without a home. The woman received her RDP home through the station's role in seeking accountability from the key stakeholders responsible and questioning them on air. Such a case demonstrates the potential of CRs as spaces that manoeuvre power dynamics that may hinder effective social change.

Although it must still be noted that communities do not always obtain the assistance they seek. A prominent case is the endless outcries for water in communities, which remains a challenge despite it being a key discussion point with community leaders on KR. This illustrates the need for a multifaceted approach, as KR alone cannot ensure that service delivery is achieved in communities. What it can do, however is reinforce the voices of the communities and their needs. However, participatory governance processes have to be in place to ensure that citizens participation translates to action. As Gaventa (2004) highlight, through the concept of citizenship as participation, illustrates participation as a right that enables people to act in fostering change. Thus, participatory processes should strengthen institutions' responsiveness and accountability through changes in institutional design and suitable governance structures (Gaventa, 2004).

On the other hand, the expressed disconnect felt by several community members to their local governance processes was evident in the study. It appears there was a gap in the interaction facilitated by KR with community leaders, as this was predominantly at the Mayoral level. Yet, Ward councillors are, according to the Municipal Structures Act, supposed to be closest to the people. However, the interaction at this level (i.e., with Ward councillors) was only when something unusual was occurring in a particular community (e.g. protest action) and not during fixed monthly slots like that of the Mayors. An analysis of power holders having the ability to set the agenda is also useful here: In terms of hierarchy, mayors have more decision-making power in the municipal council and through their 'buying power' can take charge of the ability to communicate with communities through CR platforms such as KR. While at the same time, councillors mostly have these interactions with communities when the station calls on them to answer specific service delivery questions. It remains evident that the disconnect between Ward councillors and communities (COGTA, 2009) has left community members frustrated and feeling excluded from their local governance processes, which has affected service delivery.

Moreover, the findings noted the challenges of community gatekeepers' roles as politicians with political party interests. These political interests were at times inconsistent with their developmental mandate in communities. The politicisation of service delivery has hampered the prioritisation of the communities' needs (Nyalunga, 2006). As the data illustrated, the politicisation of service delivery also hinders social change, especially when patronage is sometimes a determinant of who gets access to essential services. Traditional leaders were also expressed as key gatekeepers in communities, whose primary role is in maintaining social cohesion and cultural preservation. Khwezi radio station ensured constant engagement with traditional leaders and their structures.

By depicting the various gatekeepers and decision-making spaces in the communities, the study illustrates the polycentric sources, spaces and levels of power that communities need to manoeuvre to ensure positive change in their communities. While these may not be exhaustive, they present a useful framing to understanding what shapes decision making in communities and how CRs facilitate engagements between these structures and communities. Although the scope of this research did not allow the researcher to understand

their level of integration and disintegration and how that may affect social change, this is an important area for future research.

However, the concern remains whether the participatory spaces of engagement facilitated by KR between listeners and leaders translated to communities shaping agendas in their communities. According to Hickey and Mohan (2004), participation becomes transformative when communities share decision-making spaces and agendas because genuine participation involves communities participating in agenda setting (Willis, 2011).

10.5.2 Choice and consequences of community power: Towards attaining transformative power?

Brennan and Israel's (2008) dual categorisation of power into pluralism and elitism, wherein pluralism consists of coordinated efforts in the community, while elitism constitutes hierarchical distributions of power, is a useful reference point for an examination of 'power' attained through collective strategies in communities. This relates to the study's understanding of the relationship between realising transformative power through collaborative empowerment. Brennan and Israel (2008) see collective strategies as being central to pluralism and anchored on interaction. Interaction makes 'community' which in turn breeds collaborative strategies that can promote local power. To better understand the relationship between power, local capacity and community action, Brennan and Israel (2008) present a model illustrating choice and consequences of power. The model adds to the limited scholarship understanding power in micro-communities through looking at the choices and consequences of power. The model further illustrates the complexities of achieving collective action and strategies that promote local power. This is a useful framework for this study in examining CR's role as an interactive medium in contributing to community agency, which sparks community action that results in social change. Interventions from KR and its contribution to social change cannot be understood in isolation from the contextual power dynamics and the agency that the communities have.

The findings on the role of KR in community social change are more aligned to the 'choice, negative consequence, (i.e., incomplete agency scenario)' of the model. This

describes the community as having agency (i.e., the capacity for local action and resilience), however with limited ability to achieve desired goals and broaden community wellbeing (Brennan & Israel, 2008). Moreover, while the scenario shows the interaction between social fields, the fields are not fully connected, so there remains a narrow focus on community needs. Action is focused on select segments of the community and is not community-wide. Accordingly, in this study, communities have established collective capacity and have some choice to act within their social fields, for example, in MLC activities. However, collective action towards addressing their situations is limited.

Through CR, there is enhanced interaction between different social fields in the communities, bringing people together into collective capacity through MLC. However, the scope is within KR listenership and not community-wide interaction. So, while interaction happens successfully at that level, CR can only bring change to those who form part of the listeners' community, which remains a choice for community members to make. Nonetheless, individual social fields within KR's community such as agriculture, education, drama, community outreach through MLC are well connected, with similar goals, forming community social fields. These fields, however, may not be well connected to other aspects of the community outside the KR community, which leaves a disconnect and an outcome that is action-focused that only selected segments of the community can benefit from and interact with. For example, non-listeners of KR may not share the same vision MLC members have of turning the community around, which may lead to limited change at the community level, so that the change they do see remains only at their households' level. As made apparent by some participants, some members of their communities are not interested in development progress. They are passive and are okay with the status quo, or, have perhaps built some resilience around it so may not share interests in thriving for social change. The diversity of residents also remains a limiting factor to community-wide efforts.

It remains evident that CR's play a role in communities negotiating agency by mobilizing collectively. This is possible because CR's connect different social fields in that community to create an interaction that can challenge the status quo (Dagron, 2009). This strengthens the notion of understanding power transformatively, that demonstrates people's abilities to reconstruct a more positive logic and, through their capabilities, demonstrate their

human capacity to act and change the world (Bradley, 2019; VeneKlasen, Miller, Budlender, & Clark, 2002). As has been illustrated, collaborative empowerment is essential to bringing forth collective action and social change. Collaborative empowerment incites transformative power, as individuals move beyond the more individual forms of empowerment that incite 'power within' to attain 'power to' collaborative 'power with' and 'power for'. As the study illustrates, the fundamental goal of change in communities manoeuvring the different power-laden spaces of participation is to attain transformative power, which results in social change (Bradley, 2019). Through KR's interventions at attaining empowerment at the individual, but more importantly at the collective level, such transformative power has been noted. Community radios, especially through RLCs, contribute to nurturing transformative power for individuals to manoeuvre power dynamics and contribute to changing the status quo in their communities. RLC's, therefore, play recognisable roles in inciting collective action as they provide ordinary people opportunities to express their knowledge on their views of the world and development, rather than seeing themselves as deficient in their abilities to effect social change (Mhagama, 2015).

MLC is a space through which communities' nurture collaborative strategies to shift livelihoods. Even though the interventions may not have been community-wide, their efforts have demonstrated that the community associated with MLC has improved their households and those around them. While the evidence shows that communities can remain constrained by forms of power, such as more visible forms (gatekeepers, for example) who may inhibit progress to service delivery in their communities, the ability of communities to see capabilities in themselves to offer original solutions even despite these limitations is worth highlighting. Several participants expressed feeling liberated and felt they had a sense of direction. Together, as the MLC community, people felt they could face the challenges they may encounter, closely tied to Sen's (2001) capability approach. Communities developed a sense of freedom in their communityness and pursuit for transformative power, notably a continuous process.

By attempting to bridge the gap between citizens and the state and ensuring accountability mechanisms, CRs contribute to challenging hidden power whereby formal decision-makers may seek to control the political agenda and resources, leaving affected

communities outside the space (Bradley, 2019; Dowding, 2006). Moreover, the study found community radios acting as counter-public spheres, more so through RLCs (Fraser, 1990; Kidd, Barker-Plummer, & Rodriguez, 2005; Saeed, 2009). CRs were found to promote alternative discourse and challenge dominant narratives, such as a bottom-up community-centric understanding of development, particularly social change, through the lens of those in question. According to Fraser (1990 as cited in Kidd et al., 2005, p. 1), counter-public spheres are social spaces where emerging or marginalised groups gather and work towards forming collective identities, mobilising into constituencies and articulating problems for redress. Consequently, counter-public spheres are recognised as social change engines and are critical for healthy democracy (Kidd et al., 2005; Saeed, 2009).

Community radios are in their nature seen as alternative media (Guo, 2017; Mhiripiri, 2011) that serve community needs and are an expression of seeking alternative spaces of engagement (Mhagama, 2015). They are seen as encouraging alternative discourses, promoting diverse meanings. This is in contrast to populist narratives of more dominant media, typically commercial types that tend to exclude 'less advantaged' individuals. This is especially the case with CR listener's clubs termed counter-public spheres as they are more organic spaces in which communities can participate to change their circumstances and shift the development status quo. Understanding community members as possessing transformative power through collaborative empowerment this research contributes to how power can be used and understood more transformatively. It consolidates the idea of communityness to people attaining 'power with' that leads them to act together towards attaining social change.

While transformative power is the goal of attaining social change, social actors have to interact with forms of 'power over', such as visible, invisible and hidden forms of power (Gaventa, 2006) in order to manoeuvre these dynamics and get to transformative power. For example, in challenging invisible power, it is important to note the role of CRs in presenting opportunities for actors to amplify non-dominant voices, ideas and beliefs (Bradley, 2019). Through its information exchange CR can cultivate alternative ideas and practices. However, in the case of KR, the openness of the ideas that could be cultivated was confined within the Mission's rules, and acceptable only within that space. These were the rules of the game

within that space, hence limiting the ability to cultivate alternative ideas and practices freely. This can be argued as a form of ideological power hindering the amplification of alternative ideas to the table. The norms adhered to may shape listeners' worldviews and how they understand development, which in this study is closely linked to spiritual growth.

On the other hand, invisible power may be in the form of ICASA regulations, which regulates KR's operations as an 'invited space' and sets the standards for its acceptability operating as a CR. Thus, while the mission may exercise some form of ideological power, this is prone to clashes with the visible power in the form of ICASA, to which the radio station has to also manoeuvre to remain compliant and recognised as a community radio. The notions discussed here illustrate the nonlinearity of attaining transformative power for social change.

10.6 Knowledge contributions

The findings contribute to the advancement of knowledge empirically, theoretically and methodologically. First, empirically, the evidence from this study contributed to addressing Dagron (2001)'s critique on the sparseness of concrete knowledge and experiences that demonstrate communication's centrality to social change. Through a unique case study of Khwezi community, this study contributes to illustrating how CRs are critical to fostering individual and collaborative empowerment which cultivates transformative power to incite social change efforts in communities. The study has shown the facilitatory role of community radios in contributing to individual level and community social change efforts in listener communities to varying extents. The study shows that CRs alone cannot bear the community development objectives of their listeners and hence the need for a multifaceted approach to achieving community social change.

This research presents an empirical contribution to the literature through the multi embedded case study, demonstrating how community radios interact with their communities in practice and how they interact with community leaders and other community development organisations and stakeholders central to the CR's operations. The reseach has shown the specific mechanisms i.e facilitating interaction and participation, empowerment and information exchange to effect change in communiies . The study further highlights the

importance of the individual in social change and the role of spirituality in individual empowerment, which remains under-examined.

Second, the study addressed a gap in the literature that had limited research i.e. how CRs help facilite development outcomes between communities and their leaders. The study has modestly addressed this gap through an analysis of the facilitatory role of KR and the ability of communities' to manoeuvre spaces of change in their communities. Above that, the empirical evidence on individual changes gained from CR's is a noteworthy contribution, given that CR literature has tended to highlight changes at the community level, with little emphasis on the micro individual gains. This research adds to this literature by suggesting that KR as a development communication medium also contributes to individual change through for example, spirituality and behavioural change. In addition, the study shows that the "individual" has a critical role to play as a change agent towards the attainment of social change, i.e as much as CRs can raise the awareness of development related information, being individually and collectively empowered to transformatively change one's practices and their environment lies with individuals and communities.

Third, the findings add to the limited scholarship on radio listeners' clubs as organic participation spaces centred on interaction across individuals with shared values. An understanding of the intrinsic communityness obtained through the KR and, more so, MLC participatory spaces and how they facilitate social change is elucidated. The findings have further demonstrated the attainment of transformative power resulting from the individual and collaborative forms of empowerment obtained through CR and RLCs interactions and how this facilitates social change in communities.

10.6.1 Theoretical contributions

Theoretically, the study combines participatory development theory with development communication, altogether conceptualised as participatory development communication. The research validated this theory and illuminated the participatory nature of community radio that is intrinsically linked to participatory development, which is inherently a people-centric, bottom-up discourse of development. The application of this theory highlighted

development communication in its participatory, dialogic nature and challenged the imposed, dominant approaches to addressing people's development.

The study's unique contribution is in applying a micropower theoretical lens to participatory development communication theory in an effort to contribute to addressing the critiques labelled against participatory approaches (Melkote and Steeves, 2001; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Bradley, 2019). It does so through theorising what power means in local communities. Illustrating the power-laden nature of participation through a transformative power lens , the study shows how collective action can result in social change. The study also contributes to the development of Schutz' (2019) theory on empowerment through an analysis of the interconnectedness between individual and collaborative empowerment and how this relationship contributes to social change.

10.6.2 Methodological contributions

While several scholars have contributed empirically to an understanding of community radio's developmental roles, particularly on the African continent (Al-hassan, Andani, & Abdul-Malik, 2011; Banda, 2007; Diedong & Naaikuur, 2012; Manda, 2015; Mano, 2012; Megwa, 2007; Olden et al, 2012; Ojwang, 2017), the studies that present primary data to this effect remain limited. Some studies (e.g. Manyozo, 2009; Myers, 2008, 2011; Naaikuur & Diedong, 2014) on the subject are based on theoretical debates and rely on secondary data in arguing for CRs development roles with limited empirical evidence. Moreover, most empirical literature centred their methodology on qualitative designs within the radio station and the community of listeners, but not as widely within the broader environment that affects the functioning of CRs. An exception to this is Mhagama (2015), whose methodological approach is as similarly comprehensive as this study. His study design included a case study of 6 RLCs with qualitative data collected across listeners, radio practitioners, and community informants and some NGOs in the community. In addition, Manda (2015)'s unique methodological design included key informant interviews with two local chiefs, in addition to the RLCs and CR management. The chiefs interviewed spoke to the change they had experienced in their communities as a result of RLCs. Similarly, this study notes the importance of the perspectives of community

leaders in the developmental role of CRs. It presents these from a different angle that shows these leaders partnering with CR's to effect change in communities.

Consequently, this study's unique contribution is its multi embedded case study approach. It specifically focused on KR as the primary unit of analysis and recognised the MLC as important subunits of analysis that are representative of the community within that context. In addition, organisations that support CRs, specifically KR and community leaders who work with KR, were subunits of the embedded case study. This approach ensured data triangulation while presenting a detailed analysis of KR's contribution to social change.

10.7 Implications of the findings for the discipline and existing understanding

The research findings demonstrate that the tendency to escalate participatory interventions as the panacea of people-centric development needs to be looked at much more critically. The nature of participation and the extent to which it influences any agenda setting is a critical yet neglected perspective to participatory interventions being genuine. With CRs being participatory mediums thriving on authenticity and communityness as their uniqueness to dominant media, they need to be critically reflective of their participatory mechanisms' genuineness. As such, the study calls for community radios' need to continually evaluate themselves against their set objectives centred on achieving development in communities in South Africa. While scattered studies have been conducted discussing such evaluations, a coordinated approach would assist in revising the terms of CRs and the support they may need to be self-sustaining and achieve their important development objectives.

Similarly, the study highlights the need for cognizance of power dynamics inherent in change processes and not be naïve that people can change their circumstances simply because they have been empowered through platforms such as CR. As is learned, spaces of participation are permeated by power dynamics which can be an evident barrier to attaining social change.

A more systemic interaction of CRs with other community development structures is also called upon to facilitate social change as the study has reinforced how communities

strongly rely on CRs for service delivery and improving their status quos. Community radios are one part of the bigger puzzle of enhancing community development, and while they obtain a close connection with communities, too much is expected from them. Thus, their increased interaction with other developmental structures, including the reinforced interaction with local government structures, Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and other CRs in the area, may be invaluable.

10.8 Limitations of the study

A study of this nature is not without limitations. The study is cognizant that KR and MLC's roles have been contributory factors. It does not deny that other unaccounted-for events could have been taking place in the listener communities during the study. It is impossible to isolate or to the determine the independent efficacy of any single factor. As such, KR is stated as a contributor to social change. It is important not to oversimplify the complexity of social change in communities. The researcher is also aware of the limited scope of the study in obtaining an even more in-depth understanding of the contributions of KR. For example, a comparative study of several communities, with control sites without any community radio may have shed light on some of the broader factors affecting social change over time, but it would have been conducted at the expense of an in-depth inquiry into community dynamics and social attitids. in the same community or a comparative study may have produced a deeper understanding or evidence of social change over time. However, it was outside the confines of this study to go into this as the researcher sought to obtain an in-depth understanding using a multi embedded case study. Possible follow up studies may be conducted by future researchers interested in the subject.

10.9 Recommendations for future research

Despite the attempts in citizen engagements to ensure social change, there is limited evidence in this research demonstrating how citizen's participation translated to agenda-setting in their communities. The level of participation with the power holders remained at the placation level, and the question remains if the platform of CR is enough to reach the level of citizen power, where citizens begin to share the decision-making space with power holders

(Arnstein, 1969). Cooke and Kothari (2001) further assert that power holders would not simply give away their power to the 'powerless'. Thus, the study contends that the contested nature of participation spaces need to evaluate their transformative abilities more critically. This is a highly recommended area for future research.

Scholars recognise the power-laden nature of spaces of participation; however, it is also evident that power is not always visible and can also be found in invisible and hidden forms. There is, as yet, limited research showing the nature of power in participation spaces such as community radios, and how this can be examined empirically and how it can be challenged transformatively. This could be another area requiring further study. Moreover, enquiry into CRs role as facilitating communities in manoeuvring power dynamics to achieve social change is an area that would benefit from further examination.

10.10 Thesis conclusion

In conclusion, the research answered the primary question: *How does community radio as a participatory medium of development communication contribute to social change?* Communities reported the significance of the station in making a meaningful difference in their lives. The findings chapters highlighted the attainment of individual empowerment through listening to the radio, in particular exchanging relevant development-related information. However, individual forms of empowerment were, on their own, insufficient to shift the status quo towards the attainment of social change. Importantly, individual empowerment reinforced collaborative empowerment, which was expressed through attaining 'power to' and 'power with' forms of transformative power as critical tenets of social change. Consequently, the importance of the sense of community obtained from the interaction with KR and MLC in fostering collaborative empowerment in communities stood out. MLC as an organic participatory space of engagement was characterized by interaction and close ties, which incited social cohesion and common interests towards achieving development outcomes.

The empowerment obtained as a result of KR and MLC interventions was significant towards communities attaining transformative power and seeing themselves as change

agents to their communities' social change. However, the study was cognizant of the embeddedness of power relations in participation and empowerment and, therefore, the non-linearity of CRs contributions to social change. Henceforth, the process of attaining transformative power to achieve social change was understood within broader power relations that communities interact with. As such, the role of community leaders, as external gatekeepers representing embodied forms of power that could hinder or progress social change, was recognized. The importance of engaging with community leaders facilitated by KR's programming was highlighted as a central feature of facilitating accountability mechanisms between leaders and civilians and therefore inciting change in communities. Engagements with community structures enhanced community members' transformative power, for example, by inciting active citizenship and the collective action to shift their status quo through demanding service delivery.

The study has clearly illustrated the importance of CRs in improving listeners' livelihoods, which has implications on practice. For one, there is a tension between CRs needing to maintain communityness – a sense of ownership by communities – yet also maintain sustainability, which creates a quandary. The question of what this means for CRs future as they continue to invest in more thriving advertising departments is pertinent. How will this affect their independence and primary focus on development objectives and avoid drawing closer to commercial media and risk losing their sense of communityness? Furthermore, the noted challenge of constrained participation, especially decision making of the station, could threaten the communityness of the station. Ultimately, the ownership of CRs by their communities, while not a simple practice, is instrumental to their legitimacy.

Given the critical roles that CRs play in fostering empowerment and as change agents more broadly, the point of consideration remains how the sector can be better supported as a significant contributor to development in impoverished areas such as rural communities. CRs uniqueness will remain in their abilities to nurture the sense of community and collectiveness that they bring to listeners as transformative agents of change.

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Appendices

Appendix one: Request for the participation of Khwezi radio station in research interviews



UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

school of SOCIAL SCIENCES

Attention: Radio Khwezi Management
Kwasizabantu Mission
Kranskop 3268, KwaZulu Natal

12 October 2018

RE: Participation of Khwezi radio station in research interviews

I am a Ph.D. student in Development Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. My research topic focuses on the role of community radio as an agent of social change in rural communities. I am interested in conducting this research with Khwezi radio as my case study of interest in the rural community of Othulini. I am particularly passionate about ensuring access of information to marginalized communities and I believe community radios play a significant role in empowering communities to take ownership of their development. I have selected Khwezi radio given its mass coverage as well as its recognition in development communication in South Africa. I believe that radio Khwezi offers a good case study for my research given its recognition as the best community development media in the country. My research proposal which further details the study is available upon request.

I believe that the findings of the research will also be useful to the radio station in further advocating for its developmental mandate in South Africa. I will be happy to share the findings with the radio station upon completion of the research.

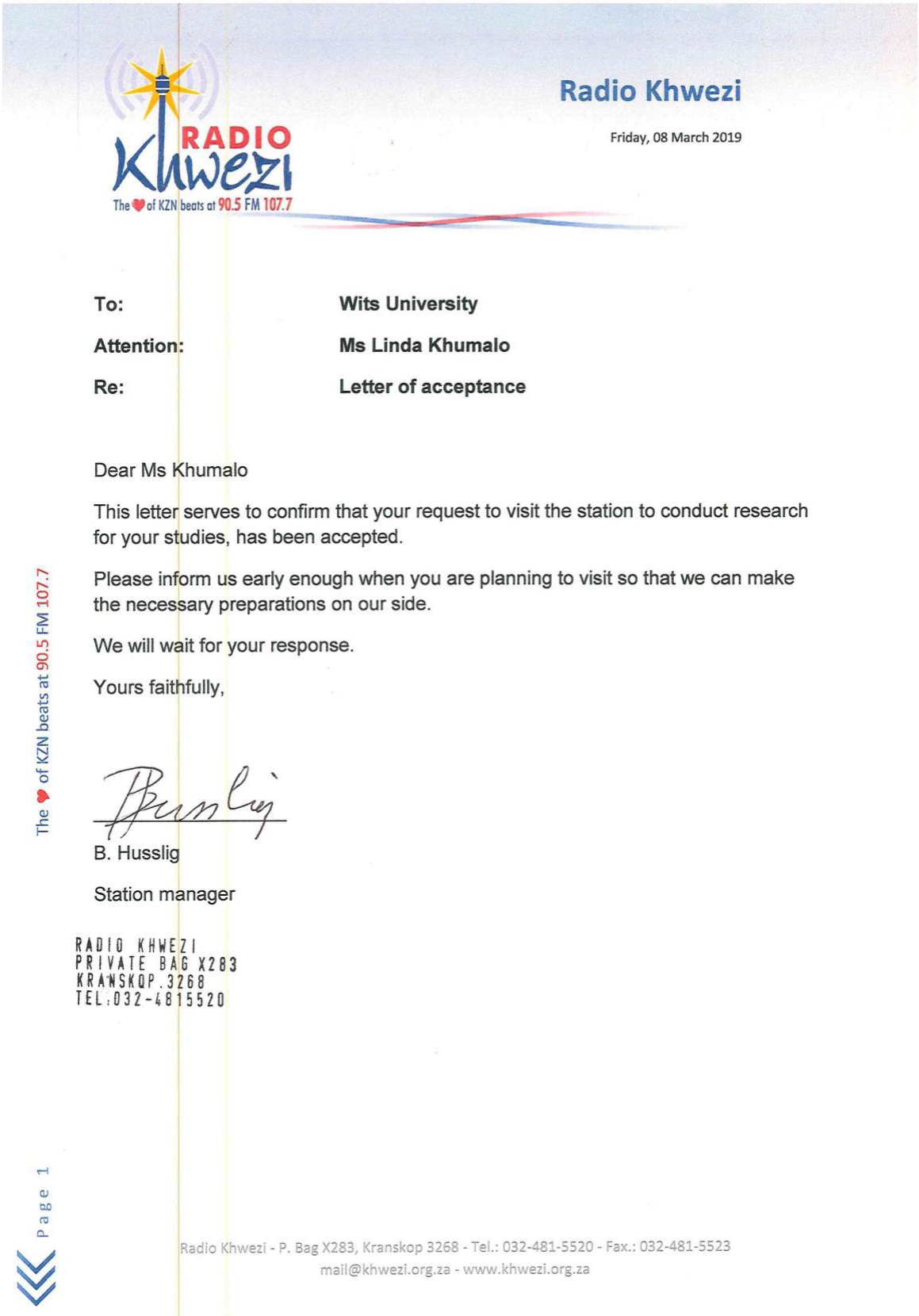
It is against this backdrop that I am seeking the support and cooperation of Khwezi radio station to enable me to conduct interviews with key informants at the radio station as well as Othulini community members as an area of the station's coverage. The support and participation of the radio station will contribute to the advancement of community radio's developmental role as well as advocating for increased empowerment of communities in accessing information that is essential to enhancing social change. Furthermore, as part of the ethical requirements of the University for conducting research, I am requested to submit permission through a formal letter from the station manager to enable me to proceed with the data collection.

Please contact me on the details below for any further clarificatory information with regards to the proposed research.

I look forward to a favourable response from you.

Yours sincerely,
Miss Sibonile Linda Khumalo

Appendix two: Letter of acceptance to conduct research with Radio Khwezi



Radio Khwezi

Friday, 08 March 2019

To: **Wits University**

Attention: **Ms Linda Khumalo**

Re: **Letter of acceptance**

Dear Ms Khumalo

This letter serves to confirm that your request to visit the station to conduct research for your studies, has been accepted.

Please inform us early enough when you are planning to visit so that we can make the necessary preparations on our side.

We will wait for your response.

Yours faithfully,

B. Husslig

Station manager

RADIO KHWEZI
PRIVATE BAG X283
KRANSKOP.3268
TEL.032-4815520

The ♥ of KZN beats at 90.5 FM 107.7

Page 1

Radio Khwezi - P. Bag X283, Kranskop 3268 - Tel.: 032-481-5520 - Fax.: 032-481-5523
mail@khwezi.org.za - www.khwezi.org.za

Appendix three: Formal field visit/ research request letters to Radio Khwezi

05 July 2019

Khwezi Radio Station Management

Silverstream Farm

KwaSizabantu Mission

Kranskop

RE: Request for research follow up field visit for PhD research

Dear Khwezi Radio Station Management,

I trust that this communication finds you well. I would like to begin by expressing my gratitude for your collaboration and support during my last field visit in April 2019. Your hospitality and availability of staff to show me around and provide me with very insightful information has been very instrumental to the first Phase of my research exploration. Thank you for opening your doors to me, finding interest in my research and particularly for making it possible for Phakamani to facilitate all the interviews that I had with Khwezi staff as well as some of the listeners. I certainly enjoyed my stay at the Mission, which was filled with warmth and fulfillment.

Since my last visit to the station, I have successfully transcribed and discussed tentative issues arising from the fieldwork with my academic supervisor. I gained very useful insights on the developmental work that radio Khwezi is facilitating in the listener's communities which is an interesting area that I am exploring in my research. Most importantly, I was motivated by the role Khwezi radio is playing in facilitating community interaction with community leaders and other development practitioners in the community such as the Mayoral slots and the "Sakhisizwe" programme.

Based on the first visit, I am kindly requesting your support in facilitating a follow up visit which will be more focused on data collection at the listeners/community members' side. Although, I had some initial interviews with a few listeners from Ntunjambili, Msinga, Kwa-Kopi and Kranskop, upon discussion with my supervisor, it was suggested that a deeper understanding of how communities interact with the radio station in fostering social change is necessary to validate the hypothesis of the research. In order to do this, a much longer field visit is required to focus on at least **three key related issues** that Khwezi radio is working with community members and their leaders on in facilitating social change. Tentatively, these issues are agriculture, employment and access to water especially in as much as these issues relate to women's empowerment. I will then follow up on these issues and seek to understand the interaction between the radio station, Masibumbane Listeners club and community leaders towards achieving development in the community. My proposed dates for the field visit are planned from the period; **20th July to the 9th August 2019**. To facilitate the visit, I would kindly request your assistance with the following;

- Coordinating my ability to interact the listeners/ community members, (with a focus on the listeners clubs in uMzinyathi District)
- Communicating my visit to the listeners clubs coordinators
- Providing me with information on any upcoming events which may bring the listeners together which I may be able to attend
- Possibly, interaction with any of the community leaders that work closely with radio Khwezi
- Continuous engagement with Khwezi staff, e.g. conducting observations at the radio station and attending other open staff events that can help me continue to understand Khwezi's work with the community better

I am happy to further discuss the proposed and I am looking forward to meeting you again and engaging with you during my next visit.

Yours Sincerely,

Linda S Khumalo

PhD Candidate: Development Studies Department, University of the Witwatersrand

0787428620

05 November 2019

Khwezi Community Radio

Radio Station Management

Silverstream Farm

KwaSizabantu Mission

Kranskop

RE: Request for Final Doctoral Studies field Visit

Dear Radio Khwezi Management

I Would like to begin by expressing my sincere gratitude for the support that I have received from the Station Management throughout my Research. The team at Radio Khwezi has consistently gone out of their way to ensure that I received all the necessary support through this research journey. For this, I remain forever grateful.

I began the fieldwork journey with a visit to your station for a week in April-May 2019. Thereafter, I had a longer stay for three weeks (July-August) which was primarily focused on understanding the Khwezi listeners better, thus I spent a lot of time speaking to Masibumbane Listeners Club members. To this effect, I gained a lot of interest in focusing my research on the listeners club as it demonstrates innovative ways in which communities through the work of Khwezi radio are taking charge of their own development solutions. Moreover, I took an interest in the interaction of Radio Khwezi with community leaders as well as with other development organizations.

I would like to request a final Field visit that targets the Annual Year-end function taking place on 23 November 2019. I have heard a lot about this event

and I believe that attending it would be of great benefit to my research in terms of understanding the work of the station better. In addition, I request Khwezi to host me for the week following the event – **24Nov- 30Nov** to conduct/ finalize any follow-ups that I may have with the research – depending on what comes out of the event e.g. speaking to other listeners/stakeholders engaging with the station and community leaders. This will benefit me a lot as this is the final field visit for my studies. This will further allow me to engage with Management on the Research findings should this be required.

I anticipate that this research is the beginning of greater collaboration and a relationship with the radio station which is now very close to my heart.

I look forward to hearing back from you on the proposed requests.

Sincerely,

Linda S Khumalo

Doctoral Researcher

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Appendix four: Ethics Clearance certificate



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Khumalo

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H19/02/12**
PROJECT TITLE	Community radio as agent of social change: An exploratory study of Othulini Community participation in Khwezi Radio
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss S Khumalo
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Social Sciences/
DATE CONSIDERED	15 February 2019
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	26 March 2022

DATE 27 March 2019 **CHAIRPERSON** _____ (Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Dr S Louw

Appendix Five: Consent Form Sample





CONSENT FORM

TITLE OF PROJECT: Participatory development communication for social change: A case study of Khwezi community radio's role in facilitating community development

NAME OF RESEARCHER: Sibonile Linda Khumalo

I …… agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve.

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous	YES	NO (*please circle*)
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in this research report	YES	NO
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES	NO
I agree that the information I provide may be used anonymously by other researchers following this study	YES	NO

……

Participant signature

.....

Date

Appendix Six: Questionnaire Guides

Interview guide for community members/Radio Khwezi Listeners

1. Please tell me briefly about yourself
2. In which community do you live in? (For how long have you lived there?)
3. What have been your general experiences in living in the community?
4. What do you do for a living? (Do you have any source of income; if not how do you survive economically?)
5. What opportunities for training and self-development are available in your community?
6. Typically, what *developmental* challenges do you face (i) as an individual (ii) as a community?
7. (a) How are you currently addressing these? (PROBE: For developmental initiatives currently in place –are they individual/community/third party driven?)
8. Do you belong to any network/informal community group in the area that provides support towards enhancing community development? (if yes, please provide details)
9. What support has your community received to deal with the aforementioned challenges (Probe: support (i) Government (ii)Other external agencies –if so please name them and the nature of their support)
10. What forms of media do you have access to in your community? (How is information exchanged in the community?)
11. Please tell me about your experiences as a listener of Radio Khwezi.

(a) When did you start listening to the station?
(b) How frequently do you listen to Khwezi?
(c) What triggers the interest/motivation to keep listening to the station
(d) Do you ever switch stations when listening to Khwezi? (Probe: what are the alternative stations and what gaps do they address which Khwezi doesn't)
(e) What are your favourite radio programmes on the station? (And why?-what do you get out of these programmes)
(f) To what extent do you feel that radio Khwezi meets your needs? (Please elaborate)

(g) Is there something (an idea/information) that you first heard from Khwezi radio that you had not ever heard before? (Please provide examples and state how this information was or has been beneficial to you/your community?)

12. Please share your experiences as a member of *Masibumbane Listeners Club* (how has this *club* benefited your community-please provide specific examples of development initiatives in place supported by *Masibumbane*)

(a)When did you join the listener's club?

13. (b) What was the motivation for joining?
14. (c) Have your expectations been met? (Please elaborate)

15. Have you ever been involved in the programing or transmission of Khwezi radio station? (PROBE: Do you see yourself as a contributor to the station? Please elaborate)
16. In your experience(s), what role (if any) have you seen Khwezi community radio playing in (a) your life (b) your community (PROBE: Provide examples from specific programmes/ initiatives that Khwezi has implemented that have benefited the community)
17. What platforms are available to Khwezi listeners to connect as a community of listeners (e.g. face to face events/online platforms?)
18. Describe the steps that you take when you want a certain development issue addressed) (e.g. borehole instalment)

(a) Who would you speak to (community leaders) and how have they responded to previous issues?

(b) How does the community radio station facilitate your engagement with the mentioned "community leaders"? (c) How have these structures supported/ hindered programs in the community? (Please elaborate with examples)

19. Would you like to change anything about (i) how development-related messages are conveyed through the radio station? (ii) The work of Masibumbane?
20. Do you have any other comments/ recommendations as to how the radio station can support your community's developmental concerns?

Thank you for your time and participation in the research

Interview guide for Khwezi Staff and Management

1) What is your role in radio Khwezi?
2) In which area/community do you reside?
3) How did you get to work at the radio station?
4) For how long have you worked at the station?
5) What motivates you to work at the station?
6) Please provide a brief overview of Khwezi radio station (reasons for its foundation, as well as its vision and mission)
7) What are the programs offered by Khwezi radio station?
8) What are your favourite programs on the station? (why)
9) To what extent has radio Khwezi adapted new media/ICTs i.e. social networks (Facebook, Twitter, audio and mobile streaming) to further engage audience participation. (b) What other mechanisms does the station use to encourage participation with audiences? What are the challenges with these approaches?
10) Which areas/communities does the radio station transmit to? (what influences the choice of those audiences)
11) Do you have personal contact with your audiences? (Please elaborate)
12) How do you think community radio is different from commercial/public service broadcasting? Why
13) What are Khwezi radio station target demographic groups? (Age group, race, class,)Why
14) What is the current listenership of the radio station? (Probe: what are the listenership trends?)
15) How have you been able to assess the effect/impact of the station's activities on the livelihoods of the communities you broadcast to? (Any particular findings you would like to share?) (b) What have been the radio station successes?
16) What have been your radio station failures? (How have these been overcome?)
17) What is your understanding of development as a part of Khwezi radio station?

18) How do you think the station programming currently addresses development challenges in the communities that you serve?
19) During your time at radio Khwezi, are they any key/cutting-edge ideas(or pieces of information)which were disseminated through the station that were/have been "life changing for listeners" (based on positive feedback you may have received thereof)
20) To what extent is the community involved in the programming and management of the station? Please provide any examples
21) How does the radio station fund its programs? (What partnerships and resource strategies are in place?) (b)What is the funding model/economic sustainability plan of the station? (c)To what extent does the radio station's funding model influence the programming on the station?
22) How does the station come up with its radio programs schedule? (what influences the choice of programs aired)
23) How has/does the station work together with community leaders to ensure social change (development) in the community? What have the challenges and opportunities been of radio Khwezi working with community leaders in influencing individuals and communities livelihoods/societal change?

24) **Is there evidence to indicate Radio Khwezi' s effects on its audience in terms of**: (*Assess the contribution of the station to community members/listener's livelihoods*)

a) Enhanced economic activities such as employment opportunities, addressing poverty
b) Social and/human development such as contributing to social inclusion and integration of the community
c) Participation in the local (and national) debates on political, social and economic matters as they affect the community
d) Connecting community members with community leaders (and /other influential community structures) to enhance their contributions to driving social change
e) Empowerment of community members to engage in development-related concerns

f) Education and Training opportunities
g) Addressing health-related concerns
h) Contributing to the community's safety and Security
i) Any other developmental issues you would like to indicate

Thank you for your time and participation in this research

Interview guide for organisations working with/ supporting Khwezi community radio station

1. Please tell me briefly about yourself and your role in your organization
2. Please describe your organisation's work towards supporting community development?
3. When and how have you partnered with/supported community media in your work? *Specifically, please tell me about your engagement with radio Khwezi*? (Do you also work with mainstream media?)
4. Why have you seen the importance/relevance of this partnership/support?
5. In your experience, how do you see (/have you seen) community radios playing a role in achieving community development (*Social change*)?
6. Have your engagements with community radios (*Khwezi radio specifically*) achieved the intended objectives?
   (i) How have they contributed to development-related progress in targeted communities?
   (ii) How have you involved community leaders in these initiatives?
7. What (i) opportunities (ii) challenges have you experienced in seeking to achieve the aforementioned objectives through community radio?
8. How do you think community radios can work better with their communities/ can be better supported to achieve their developmental objectives? (*Any recommendations for Radio Khwezi*)

Thank you for your time and participation in this research

CONSENT FORM /ISIFOMO SOMSEBENZI

I-TITLE YOMSEBENZI: Umsakazo womphakathi njenge-agent yezinguquko zenhlalo: Ucwaningo oluhlolisisayo lwe-Othulini emphakathini iqhaza emsakazweni we-Khwezi

IGAMA LOKUPHUMA: Sibonile Linda Khumalo

Mina u ..... ngiyavuma ukuhlanganyela kule phrojekthi yophenyo. Ucwaningo luye lwachazwa kimi futhi ngiyaqonda ukuthi ukuhlanganyela kwami kuzobandakanya.

Ngiyavuma ukuthi ukubamba iqhaza kwami kuzohlala kungaziwa

YEBO CHA

Ngiyavuma ukuthi umcwaningi angasebenzisa izingcaphuno ezingaziwa embikweni wakhe wocwaningo

YEBO CHA

Ngiyavuma ukuthi ingxoxo ingaba yomsindo oqoshiwe

YEBO CHA

Ngiyavuma ukuthi ulwazi engikunikezayo lungasetshenziswa ngokungaziwa ngabanye abacwaningi kulandela lolu cwaningo

YEBO CHA

....

Isiginesha somhlanganyeli

....

Igama lomhlanganyeli

.....

Usuku

Appendix seven : Masibumbane Listeners Club membership form with code of conduct

Yini u- Masibumbane Listener's Club?

U-Masibumbane Listener's Club uwuhlelo olusakazwa noluphethwe iRadio Khwezi.. Bonke abalaleli ababumbene nabamunye emgomeni wokusekela iRadio Khwezi bavumelekile ukuba amalunga kaMasibumbane Listener's Club, Amalunga ayazibophezela ukuhambisana neMigomo, Imibono, Izinhloso-ngqangi noSikompilo lweRadio Khwezi:

UMbono wethu: I-Radio Khwezi yenza konke okusemandleni ukubamba iqhaza emphakathini , silwa nalo lonke uhlobo lobuphofu, ukucwasa, nokungahambisi ngobulungiswa, bese sinika amandla siphinde sigqugquzele imiphakathi yasemakhaya ebikade ishaywe indiva ekutheni ibambe iqhaza ekuzithuthukiseni.

Umgomo wethu: I-Radio Khwezi isebenzisana nemiphakathi yasemakhaya maphakathi nesifundazwe saKwaZulu Natal nasogwini oluseNyakatho nesifundazwe. ukuthuthukisa, nokusakaza izinhlelo ezakhayo nezigqugquzela ukunakwa kwezidingo zomphakathi. Sigcizelela usiko-mpilo lokufundisa nokufunda, nokwenza ngcono inhlalo yomphakathi kwezomnotho, nasemphefumulweni siphinde sibheke umuntu ngamunye, imindeni nemiphakathi yonkana.

Izinhloso-ngqangi zethu: Sithuthukise umphakathi. ngezinhlelo ezinhle zokusungula amabhizinisi, imithetho ephusile yokusakazwa kwezinhlelo zomsakazo, ukubika izindaba ngendlela eseqophelweni eliphezulu., ukuze sikhulise abalaleli bethu ngaleyondlela sibe umsakazo womphakathi omkhulu nophumelelayo eNingizimu Afrika.

Ukukhuthaza umphakathi ukuba ubambe iqhaza ezintweni ezenziwa isiteshi.

Ukubamba iqhaza ekwakhiweni kabusha komphakathi , ukusekelana , ukusizana ukujulisa izimpande zokuba nomthelela omuhle emphakathini nasezinhlanganweni ezisebenza ukwenza ngcono izimpilo zabantu.

Ukulekelela umsakazo womphakathi ekusekeleni intando yeningi, ukunika amandla umiphakathini , inkululeko yokuveza uvo lwawo nokulwisana nalo lonke uhlobo lokucwasana nobuphofu eNingizimu Afrika.

Usiko-mpilo lwethu:

- Ukuzimisela nokuzinikela
- Ukubamba iqhaza ezintweni ezinhle
- Ukuhlonipha ukwehlukana ngokwezinhlanga.
- Ukulwela ukuba seqophelweni eliphezulu kukho konke esikwenzayo.
- Ukwethembeka.
- Ukwenza izinto ngedlela egculisayo ngezikhathi zonke.

NGOMASIBUMBANE

U-Masibumbane Listener's Club uhlelo olwasungulwa iRadio Khwezi ukuze abalaleli abangamalunga kaMasibumbane Listener's Club bamukeleke ,bashaye izingcingo ngenhloso yokuba yingxenye ezinhlelweni zeRadio Khwezi.

Izinto eziqondene noMasibumbane Listener's Club ziyokwenziwa ngokubambisana nesiteshi., bese kuthi amalunga abambe iqhaza aphinde asekele lezo zinto. Lezo zinto zimbandakanya , ukusakazela lapho umphakathi uhlangene khona.

IZINHLOSO NEMIGOMO-NGQANGI KA MASIBUMBANE

- Ukuqhakambisa ubudlelwano obuhle phakathi kwabalaleli neRadio Khwezi.

IFOMU LOBULUNGA



Sicela unamathisele isithombe sakho esingangese-ID uma uthanda ukuba nekhadi lobulunga. Lelikhadi ungalikhokhela egantsheni lakho lika Masibumbane Listner's Cub.

Igama lakho likaMasibumbane:

.....

Igama ne Sibongo kwangempela:

.....

Ikheli lakho leposi:

.....

.....

.....**Ikhodi:**.....

Inombolo Yocingo:

.....

Umakhalekhukhwini:

.....

Indawo ohlala kuyo:

.....

Igama Legatsha:

.....

Iminyaka:

.....

Owesilisa noma Owesifazane?

.....

Ngiyaqonda imibandela nemigomo yokuba ilunga likaMasibumbane Listener's Club, futhi ngiyavuma ukuzibophezela kulokho:

I – (Signature):

.....*Usuku:*

.....

- Ukusebenzisana ngokubambisana nabaphathi bomsakazo ezindleleni zokudayisa iKhwezi emphakathini.
- Ukuvuselela isiko lokwazisa omakhelwane, inhlonipho nokuziphatha okuhle.
- Ukubambisana ekutholeni nasekuxazululeni izingqinamba zomphakathi njengesifo sengculazi, ubudlova, ubugebengu, nokwehlukana kwemindeni emphakathini.
- Ukugqugquzela isiko lokufunda.

UBULUNGA

1. Ubulunga buvumelekile kuwowonke umlaleli weRadio Khwezi ohambisanayo neMigomo, Imibono, Izinhloso-ngqangi noSikompilo lwe Radio Khwezi no Masibumbane Listener's Club.
2. Amalunga asemthethweni kufanele agcwalise ifomu elikhishwe iRadio Khwezi bese lithunyelwa esiteshini iKhwezi.
3. Ubulunga banoma iliphi ilunga likaMasibumbane bungamiswa iRadio Khwezi, uma isiteshi sibona ukuthi lelolunga aliselcho eMigomeni, Emibonweni, Nasezinhlosweni-ngqangi noSikompilo lweRadio Khwezi noMasibumbane.
4. Ubulunga banoma iliphi ilunga buyomiswa uma lishona, noma lingasakwazi ukuqhubeka, okanye lihoxisa ubulunga balo.
5. Amalunga kaMasibumbane aphethwe umqulu wokuziphatha (Code of Conduct) weRadio Khwezi uma esengamalunga kaMasibumbane ngokusemthethweni.

Masibumbane Listener's Club

RADIO Khwezi

Imininingwane Ongasithinta Kuyo:

Radio Khwezi
P.Bag x 283
Kranskop 3268
Ucingo: 032 4815520
Isikhahlamezi: 032 4815523
Email: mail@khwezi.org.za
Web: www.khwezi.org.za

Appendix eight: Excerpts from NVivo Data analysis

Wordcloud depicting the representation of the qualitative data



Extract from NVIVO Codebook

Name	Description	Files	References
programming			
KR Empowering community members	How Is Khwezi community radio empowering community members to become agents of their change?	0	0
Collaborative empowerment (power with)		3	7
Communityness of CR		11	15
Individual empowerment- (power within+power to)		1	1
Masibumbane membership	Masibumbane as a participatory space from KR promoting collective empowerment, within it also levels of individual empowerment arise.	18	61
KR Interaction with community gatekeepers	What are the key gatekeepers in the community/power dynamics inherent in the process of achieving social change? (How does the radio station interact with these?)	0	0
Khwezi engagement with leaders		11	15
Khwezi facilitatory role between community and leaders		7	11
Leaders engagement with communities through KR		4	4
Motivation for leaders using Khwezi		3	7
Leaders accountability to community thru Khwezi		4	9
Recommendations for Khwezi &Masibumbane	Noted recommendations to improve KR and MLC interventions	17	30
Commending Khwezi		9	14
Social change in communities	Those initiatives/interventions that indicate social change In communities Opportunities for (i)self (ii)community development, innovative information and Khwezi's contribution to SC	22	101
Community development initiatives	Development initiatives in the communities. These range from Government initiatives,	17	47

Appendix nine: Demographic information of Khwezi listeners represented in the study

Listener category KEY=Masibumbane member=1; Adhoc listener =2 ;Gender Key: F=Female, M=Male (e.g. F1=Female 1)

SOURCE OF INFO	NO	GENDER	PLACE	LISTENER CATEGORY	YRS OF LISTENERSHIP	SOURCE OF LIVELIHOOD	MOTIVATION FOR LISTENING TO KR/MLC MEMBERSHIP
FGD	1	F1 F2 F3	KwaHaza	1	F1-14 F2-cant remember F3-1	F1-Unemployed F2-Pension F3-Works at Old age home	F1- Openness and a sense of belonging, spiritually uplifting F2- Educational and informative F3-Openness and a sense of belonging
FGD	2	F1 F2 F3 F4	Msinga. KwaKopi 1	1	F1- 24 F2- 14 F3- 16 F4- No info	F1-sell fruits, chips and other snacks at nearby school F2- Childminding F3-Not employed F4-No info	F1-Spiritually uplifting F2-Spiritually uplifting F3-Comforting and supportive, openness and a sense of belonging F4-Comforting and supportive
FGD	3	F1 F2 F3 F4 F5	Msinga, KwaKopi 2	1	F1-cant remember F2- 4 F3-many years(cannot recall) F4- 15 F5- do not listen but MLC member37	F1- farming F2-farming, brick making F3- sewing and selling traditional clothes F4-selling snacks to school kids F5-make mats	F1-Comforting and supportive F2-Comforting and supportive F3-Spiritually uplifting F4-Spiritually uplifting F5-No info
FGD	4	F1 F2 F3 F4 F5 F6 F7 F8	Msinga. KwaKopi 3	1	F1-9 F2-8 F3-9 F4-2 F5-do not remember F6-no KR Signal F7- no KR signal F8-12	F1- Handwork (make mats) F2- roofing (thatching rondavels), cement plastering, farming F3- make mats, roofing and gardening F4- (seasonal) farmworker, sell goods such as snacks to kids F5-farm, sell produce to kids F6-farming, handwork (e.g. mats), CWP (Community Works Programme) worker F7-farming	F1-Comforting and supportive F2-Comforting and supportive F3-Spiritually uplifting F4- Entertainment F5-Comforting and supportive F6-can't listen, get MLC info from a neighbour F7-Comforting and supportive

37 Hearing problem

						F8- Community caregiver (CCG), ,handwork	F8-Entertainment, openness and sense of belonging
FGD	5	F1 F2 F3 M1 M2	Eshowe	1	F1- 21 F2- No info F3-No info M1-11 M2-21	F1-Farming F2-Beadwork/handwork F3-Beadwork M1-Entrepreneur (actively involved in community activities) M2-No info	F1-Comforting and supportive F2-Spiritually uplifting F3-Comforting and supportive, spiritually uplifting M1-Comforting and supportive, openness and a sense of belonging M2-No info
FGD	6	F1 F2 F3 M1	Darnall	1	F1- 2 F2- 3 F3- 2 M1-23	F1-Farming, sewing, baking F2- Farming F3- Farming M1-Farming, entrepreneurial activities	F1- Educational & informative, Spiritual upliftment F2-Spiritual upliftment F3-Openness and a sense of belonging M1-Entertainment, openness and a sense of belonging, spiritually uplifting
FGD	7	F1 F2	KwaSizabantu (KSB), Maphumulo	1	F1-2 F2-7	F1-Shop assistant F2- Chef, sewing, and selling chickens	F1-Educational and informative F2- Spiritually uplifting
IDI	8	M	KwaSizabantu (KSB), Maphumulo	2	8	Shop Assistant	Educational and informative
IDI	9	M	Kranskop	1	23	Growing crops and livestock rearing	Spiritually uplifting
FGD	10	F1 F2 F3 F4	PBM	1	F1- 24 F2- 24 F3- 24 F4- 22	F1-Entrepreneur F2-farming and selling produce F3- entrepreneurship and farming F4- crèche teacher, farming	F1-Spiritually uplifting F2-Comforting and supportive F3- Openness and a sense of belonging F4-Comforting and supportive
FGD	11	F1 F2 M1	Howick	1	F1- 11 F2- 11 M1-11	F1- work at a funeral parlour, runs NPO F2- Seasonal Farmworker M1- Pensioner	F1-Openness and a sense of belonging F2- Educational and informative M1- Spiritually uplifting M1-Openness and a sense of belonging

IDI	12	M	Ntembisweni	1	No info	Security guard, farming	Openness and a sense of belonging
IDI	13	M	eMatimatolo	1	22	Government official	Educational and informative
IDI	14	M	Vikindlala	1	8	Taxi owner(transporter)	Openness and a sense of belonging
IDI	15	F	Ntunjambili	1	11	Sewing and selling clothing	Openness and a sense of belonging., Educational and informative, spiritually uplifting
IDI	16	F	Ntunjambili	1	10	Sewing and selling clothing	Educational and informative, spiritually uplifting
IDI	17	F	Greytown	1	12	Domestic worker	Openness and a sense of belonging, spiritually uplifting
FGD	18	F1 F2 F3 F4 M1 M2	Mangethe	1	F1- 15 F2- 4 F3- 24 F4- M1-12 M2- 9	F1- Farming F2- make mats, (using plastic bags), then sell F3- sewing and selling mats F4- Runs a catering co. M1- Pensioner, farming M2-Unemployed	F1- Entertainment, Comforting and supportive F2- Openness and a sense of belonging F3- Openness and a sense of belonging F4-Openness and a sense of belonging M1- Openness and a sense of belonging, Spiritual uplifting M2- No info
IDI	19	F	Tugela Ferry	1	24	Farming and selling mealies	Comforting and supportive, spiritually uplifting
UI	20	M	eSwayimane	2	No info	Taxi driver	Openness and a sense of belonging, spiritually uplifting
UI	21	M1 M2 M3	eSwayimane	2	M1 M2 M3		M1-No data M2- Educational and informative M3-Educational and informative
UI	22	M1 M2 M3	eSwayimane	2	M1 M2 M3	No data	No data
UI	23	M	eSwayimane	2	9	Bishop	Educational and informative
UI	24	M	eSwayimane	2	No info	uMshwathi municipality official	Educational and informative

UI	25	M	eSwayimane	2	23	Teacher, and a Ward Councillor	Educative and informative
UI	26	F	Maphumulo	2	No info	Grant recipient	N/A
NPO	27	N/A	KwaSizabantu (KSB), KZN	1	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix 9: Demographic information of Khwezi listeners1