Community radio and participation

The case of Siyaya FM

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Contents

List of Abbreviation

- AMARC — World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters
- ANC — African National Congress
- CBO — Community based Organisations
- CMDA — Cato Manor Development Association
- CMDP — Cato Manor Development Project
- EU — European Union
- FXI — Freedom Press Institute
- GCMDF — Greater Cato Manor Development Forum
- IBA — Independent Broadcasting Authority
- ICASA — Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
- IDP — Integrated Development Plan
- IMF — International Monetary Fund
- IPI — International Press Institute
- ISRDS — Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy
- LSM — Living Standard Measure
- MDDA — Media Development and Diversity Agency
- NCRF — National Community Radio Forum
- NGO — Non-governmental Organisations
- RDP — Reconstruction and Development Program
- SA — South Africa
- SABC — South African Broadcasting Corporation
- SATRA — South African Telecommunication Regulatory Authority
- UNESCO — United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
- URP — Urban Renewal Program
- USAID — United States Agency for International Aid

List of maps and figures

Appendix

Interview topics

Executive Summary

Community radio and participation - the case of Siyaya FM illustrates that radio is a powerful tool when it comes to communication and empowerment for active listeners. However, it also shows that community members are not empowered to the same extent if they are not engaged. Participation is essential for development and empowerment as described by, among others, Chambers (1983). At the same time the thesis demonstrates that it is difficult to involve all parts of a community because of power structures and therefore the radio station might end up empowering people already in power. Siyaya FM has, however, a role to play in Cato Manor with its high unemployment rate by training people the tool of radio and also educating listeners and informing them of important issues that can improve their knowledge. In addition, the radio station can take part in building social cohesion among the different groups of community members. By strengthening community radio stations the national authorities have a potential to meet the goals of their development strategies, while at the same time fulfilling the constitutional promise of freedom of speech for all by creating access to the airwaves for everybody. However, funding shortages create obstacles for many South African community radio stations to fulfil their task as community developers.

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Maria

1.0 Introduction

It is time again; Siyaya FM is going on air with their special event license that lasts for one month. The station manager rushes around the station trying to organise last minute details because he knows that if they are not on air when they told the community they would be, the phone lines will go crazy with people calling him to ask what is happening and why they are not on air. The volunteers eagerly plan their programs, and the listeners cannot wait for the first slot to begin. The main goals of the radio are to inform, educate and entertain the listeners and thereby develop the community members. Music is playing, people are running frantically around in the studio, listeners are in front of their radios – it's time, let Siyaya FM go on air!

1.1 Problem statement

This thesis is concerned with how community radio stations include the community members in the operation and running of the stations. Using Siyaya FM as an in-depth case study, this thesis strives to answer how the station involves, if at all, the members of the local community. Is Siyaya FM representing and developing the community through provision of information and opportunities for participation?

The premise of this study is the idea that community radio is meant to be a developmental tool. Specifically, members of a community should be encouraged to use the local radio station to become better informed, and to represent themselves through participation and involvement in the radio station. Ongoing debates in development literature and practice concerning the merits of participation and participatory communication make this case worth studying (IFAD 2002, UNDP 2002, Chambers 1983 and 1997). What does participation mean to the community of Cato Manor and has the radio, and their own involvement made a difference in their lives? What is the role of community radio as a means of development in a community? Is Siyaya FM, in this case, genuinely promoting development in the Durban township of Cato Manor, and how is this happening? Does participation matter in this respect?

Community radio is often seen as a development agent, as well as an authority on local politics and society. In Cato Manor, is Siyaya FM becoming a development agent, bringing possibilities for education and even jobs? Is it promoting development by highlighting important issues concerning the community and by bringing together community members and the local authorities to discuss the future of the society? Or instead, is the radio becoming an advocate and a mouthpiece of only the leading classes, keeping the community at arms' length and becoming like other media that operate *in* the community but not *by* and *for* the community? Or is there a danger that community radio may not serve popular interests, as a result of overarching commercial interests? In order to understand the case of Siyaya FM in Cato Manor, an overview of the role of media – especially community radio - in democratic South Africa is necessary.

1.2 A city within the city

Cato Manor is a city within the city of Durban, South Africa. The history of the area has been characterised by racial, class and gender tension, violence and turbulence, on the one hand, but on the other hand, Cato Manor has also been a recipient of major development spending and has become an area of special interest on the part of a development organisation. Under colonial rule, Cato Manor was first a farm and labelled a White area, but was then sold in parts to Indians, but because it was already occupied by Africans living informally or renting, the area was designated to be a non-racial area until widescale forced removals during the 1960s (Maharaj and Makhathini, 2004).

During the early 1990s, anti-apartheid organisations in greater-Durban viewed the area with great interest as an area with potential in the new democracy (Robinson and Forster, 2004:57). As a result the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) was established to coordinate the development of the area with regard to both 'hard' and 'soft' development, ranging from infrastructure to communication, relationships and issues like HIV/Aids and unemployment. When CMDA began working in the area there was already a hierarchy among the citizens. The shack-lords were on top, providing their followers with benefits to ensure their status and power. Communication and information was provided by the shack-lords, and therefore people were left out if they did not accept the terms they set (Interview CMDA management, September 2006). Shack-lords can also be termed ward-lords and these terms will be used interchangeably in this thesis, however more often ward-lords as they controlled larger areas.

Cato Manor is split into different wards and these used to be under the control of the ward-lords.

However, thanks to the commitment of institutions and community organisations, local democracy was promoted based upon active and informed citizens within it. In addition to infrastructure like houses and roads, there was a need to support the ambitions of the population – already highly politicised in the fight against apartheid - to become citizens of a democracy and providing people with information about their rights and obligations. To this end, first a local newspaper and then a community radio station were set up in Cato Manor. Seven years after formal democracy was established and five years after the first municipal election, Siyaya FM came to life in 2001 to provide the population of Cato Manor with information and to educate and entertain the members of the community. Since 2002 the station has operated on a periodic basis, one month at a time, as permitted by special-events licenses granted by the authorities. As part of a development project, the radio has played a role for the community by informing, educating and entertaining the community members, but the findings of this research show that difficulties with regard to financial issues have constrained the role that the radio could have played.

1.3 Freedom of the airwaves

The Jabulani Freedom of the Airwaves conference in the Netherlands in 1991 was the starting point for the development of a diverse broadcasting media sector in South Africa. The core idea was for the post-apartheid media sector to operate as a watchdog and agenda-setter, keeping an eye on the authorities and contributing to information-sharing among the public (Balch, 1991). Then as now, the media sector in South Africa is split into three parts; public, private and small, alternative media (Olorunnisola, 2005:1-2, Balch, 1991). There were already small media institutions during the apartheid regime (Bosch, 2006:250). Bush Radio in Cape Town started as a development initiative by informing people about health issues, education etc. via cassette-distribution and developed into one of the first community radio stations in South Africa (Dragon, 2001:149, Bosch, 2006:255). Community radio stations and small, alternative media were fighting for democracy long before 1994, becoming the core of a leftist, black-oriented media sector (Bosch, 2006253-254).

Since the Jabulani conference, there has been growth within the media sector in South Africa, both with regard to the number of broadcasters, but also in regard to legislation written in support of the media sector (Bosch, 2006:263 and Hadland and Thorne, 2004:26). There are now several private and community media organisations that operate together with the public sector to inform, educate and entertain the population. The community radio sector has grown steadily since the establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), the institution that grants licenses (Bosch, 2006:262), though the growth has been interrupted by difficulties concerning licenses for the stations.

Community radio is an alternative to the private and the public media sector with a specific focus on a certain community, selected either by interest or geographically. Community radio is owned and operated by its local citizens, and therefore it is seen as a developmental tool. It empowers listeners through education and knowledge, and provides opportunities to gain new skills, in addition to creating access to the larger media sector.

The South African Constitution, section 16(1), declares that the media is free and that people should be free to receive and share information. However, such freedom requires access, and the community-based media sector is often the best option for marginalised people to gain access. Moreover, restricted funding possibilities and difficulties in attaining licenses make it hard to sustain for community-based radios, thereby restricting their ability to fulfil South Africa's Constitutional mandate.

This dissertation explores the challenge of community radio and the participation of the community members. This thesis will begin, in the next section, by describing the history of Cato Manor. Following this, in section three, the theoretical framework of the paper will be presented while the fourth section turns to the situation for broadcasters in South African framed by the South African Constitution. The following section outlines the research methodology that was used to gather and analyze data. The sixth section provides the findings and analyses of the research in addition to a vignette of one of the interviewees, while the seventh chapter concludes the thesis.

2.0 History of Cato Manor

Map 1 South Africa   *Map 2 Cato Manor within Durban*
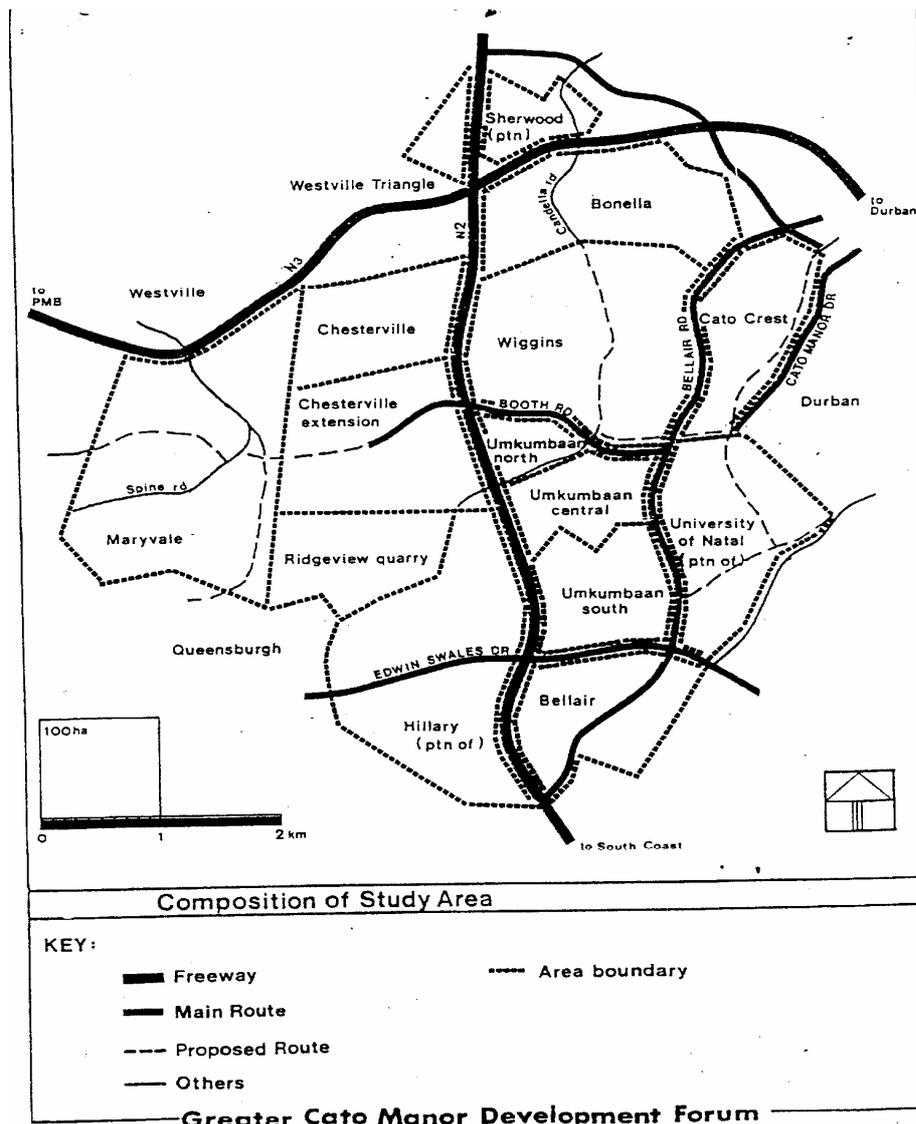

Cato Manor is situated within greater-Durban in the province KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. The first map shows Durban situated on the east coast of South Africa. Cato Manor is bordering the University of KwaZulu-Natal, east of Durban city centre, as seen in map two. The map underneath, map three, shows the different areas (wards) Cato Manor consists of and the coverage of the CMDA-project. Siyaya FM covers the entire Cato Manor and large parts of greater-Durban (Interview Siyaya FM management, August 2006). The radio studio is in the CMDA-building which is situated in Umkumbaan, close to the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Brij Maharaj and Maurice Makhathini plot the turbulent history of Cato Manor in their article 'Historical and political context: Cato Manor, 1845-2002' (2004:27-37). The area was first given to George Cato in 1845 "…in compensation for a beachfront property that was expropriated for military use" (2004:27). Cato and his family used the land for farming until 1900 when it was sub-divided into smaller farms. From 1900, Indian market-gardeners were allowed to hire or buy land from the White landowners and they in turn sublet their property to African shack-dwellers who after the 1913 Land Act were legally prohibited from owning their own land.

The African reserve areas were overpopulated leading to mass migration to areas around the city in search of employment, but there were no housing programs and social services to facilitate this growing urban movement. The number of people living in shacks grew enormously. The growing African population in Cato Manor was seen as a source of income

for Indian businessmen in the area, both through renting out rooms and as customers for shops and bus services. Many of the African tenants built new shacks which they then sublet to others, and by 1943 the squatter population in Cato Manor amounted to 17 000 people, thus turning the farmland of Cato Manor into a "…densely populated informal settlement" (Maharaj and Makhathini, 2004:29).

Map 3 Cato Manor

Composition of Study Area

KEY:

▬▬ Freeway   ▪▪▪▪ Area boundary

▬ Main Route

--- Proposed Route

—— Others

Greater Cato Manor Development Forum

Because Indians in Cato Manor were better off and in control of local businesses, riots by Africans suffering perceived exploitation occurred in 1949:

> "By the mid-1940s Cato Manor had become home to a vibrant, mixed-race community displaying racial harmony and mutual understanding. Underlying the perceived racial harmony, however, was a growing Indo-African tension generated by, amongst others, the unequal distribution of resources and preferential treatment of Indians by the State through racially motivated policies" (Maharaj and Makhathini, 2004:29).

The riots in 1949 started as a result of an assault on an African teenager by an Indian and turned into anti-Indian violence that led to the flight of most Indian residents from Cato Manor. During the early 1950s, Indians that fled Cato Manor returned only to collect rent from their tenants. Some of them rented out all their land to Africans who then turned the land into more shacks to be rented out. By the mid-1950s between 45 000 and 50 000 people lived in the approximately 6000 shacks in Cato Manor. From 1957 until 1963, the government implemented removal policies to move all the Africans in Cato Manor to areas on the outskirts of Durban, especially Umlazi and KwaMashu while houses and settlements in Cato Manor were cleared. Indians were moved to Chatsworth, Merebank and Clairwood. This forced movement of people was very unpopular amongst both Indians and Africans and lives were lost in the resistance.

The period from 1966 to 1991 found Cato Manor in a state of uncertainty. A few residents remained and resisted (Maharaj and Makhathini, 2004:33). The area was set to be a White area, but because of oversupply of land in other areas, the area remained uninhabited by Whites. Some Indian families remained in the area and, except for a few African and Coloured residents, it could be seen as an Indian area (Cross, 2004:42). The South African Indian Council (SAIC) fought for Indian ownership of the area and by 1979 Cato Manor was officially designated as an Indian area. Formal residences were built in some areas of Cato Manor, like Bonella and Wiggins, to cater for the Indian residents (Maharaj and Makhathini, 2004:33). In other areas of Cato Manor, African informal settlement increased again after many years of vacancy as a result of the political, economic and housing crises in South Africa during the late 1980s (Maharaj and Makhathini, 2004:34). Violence between ANC and Inkatha forces in townships in the vicinity of Durban was one reason that women and children in particular migrated to informal settlements in Cato Manor. When squatter numbers increased to a critical mass, they started to organise in order to negotiate with the authorities regarding housing.

Progressive non-governmental development organisations showed a particular interest in Cato Manor and hoped it could be an example of 'best-practise' for renewal and redevelopment in what they hoped would become a mixed-race/income area (Robinson and Forster, 2004:57). The Greater Cato Manor Development Forum (GCMDF) was established in January 1992 as an overarching representative body, and the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) was set up as an NGO in 1993 to implement the projects and plans of the GCMDF. The

CMDA has acted like a "…strategist, planner, facilitator, project initiator and 'developer of last resort'" (Robinson and Forster, 2004:56). The GCMDF's mandate was to make the area a "…place where people like to live and work in a distinctly urban environment, where one can enjoy a full lifestyle and reach most parts of the metropolitan area without needing to own a car" (GCMDF, cited in Robinson and Forster, 2004:61).

However, shack-lords in the area dominated the flow of public communication. They were the sources and distributors of information, and this was the basis for forcing shack-dwellers to obey. This power made it difficult for the other inhabitants to stay informed and know what was happening in the area. This left many shack-dwellers without opportunities because of the lack of communication. The CMDA-management complained about anti-developmental shack-lords in Cato Manor (Cross, 2004:45). CMDA-management found it difficult to work with this kind of hierarchy because communication with the masses was important, particularly in a program that was rooted on the idea of participation and supposed to be holistic.

With no formal communication tool for people to share information, when there was a need to inform the masses, the only possibilities were to use a load-speaker on a van or to organize public meetings. Therefore, the CMDA management saw it crucial to establish local media structures to give people access to information and to create a forum for information-sharing (Interview CMDA management, September 2006).

The early and mid-1990s was a period of continuing unrest and violence in Durban and this caused people to flee to Cato Manor. The number of people in one area of Cato Manor grew to about 2000 in one week and then doubled over the next months (Robinson and Forster, 2004:64). In November 1993, the houses that were built by the government for Indians were invaded by residents from the townships around Durban and because of the upcoming election in 1994, no party wanted to take sides and thereby risk votes. The CMDA had problems fulfilling their development goals in the beginning in part because of inefficient and ineffective communication. In addition, the CMDA board members were unable to meet at all board meetings, particularly in the pre-election period of 1994 as they were involved in campaigns and meetings regarding the new regime (Robinson and Forster, 2004:63). This delayed progress in resolving the difficult issues in Cato Manor and the problems only seemed to get worse. By the end of 1993, the future of CMDA hung by a thread because of

the loss of confidence, lack of projects conducted and completed, and the invasion of houses built in the area. On the other hand, there were no other organisations in a position to do a better job, so the CMDA was allowed to continue, albeit with some scepticism (Robinson and Forster, 2004:65).

During 1994, the CMDA was able to accomplish more than they did in previous years, both structurally in terms of the organisation of the association, but also in regard to specific development projects in Cato Manor. In their long-term programs, the CMDA tried to follow objectives of equal opportunities among race, gender and other historically excluded groups; building local, black expertise in urban development; re-education and re-training of people that already had specific skills and the creation of a wider civic accountability among the population (Robinson and Forster, 2004:65). The CMDA took a participatory approach in its development projects. This meant that it was inclusive of the local structures of leadership and organisation in planning and structuring, and provided transparency to the public with regard to its decision-making processes (Robinson and Forster, 2004:70-71).

In 1995, the CMDA was made a Special Presidential Project and granted funding from the federal government's Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP). Aside from shack-lord information networks, people kept themselves updated on general issues through Durban newspapers, but there was no medium that covered issues specifically related to Cato Manor. To open up possibilities for easier communication and to raise awareness and understanding of development issues among people in the area, a community newspaper was initiated by the CMDA. The newspaper, *IZWI*, was published every six weeks by journalists from Cato Manor trained by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Robinson and Forster, 2004:72). This free-of-charge newspaper was distributed by hand to approximately 40 000 people in the area. The paper faced start-up problems because some local leaders wanted to act as the gatekeepers of information. However, after a difficult start, the paper was received with enthusiasm and turned into an important source of information (Robinson and Forster, 2004:72). *IZWI* acted as a communication tool for CMDA but also provided an opportunity for readers to give feedback to the organisation. In addition, it included advice on how to apply for economic support to housing, children grants and pensions.

In 1995 and 1996, areas within Cato Manor experienced a breakdown of law and order. Local police were not able to restrain the criminal activity and, in this context, local ward-lords gained control. Their interests were more to protect their own power and their ability to allocate rights and resources than to install law and order. They rewarded their supporters through patronage, in order to remain powerful and were very anti-developmental in their interests (Robinson and Forster, 2004:75). This period of unrest made it difficult for the CMDA to carry on with its development projects.

Still, the organisation introduced more soft development projects to ensure communication with the community members and development on their premises. The unrest calmed and the CMDA regained trust among politicians and community members alike. In 1997, the European Union (EU) became a major donor to the CMDA and the period up to 2001 was a period of implementation and completion of large-scale infrastructure projects. In addition, with the influx of more funds CMDA was also able to focus on the delivery of community development projects and 'softer' projects to strengthen capacity-building and social and human capital. Among them was the establishment of the community radio Siyaya FM in 2001.

The Cato Manor Development Project (CMDP) has been awarded "formal commendations as an acknowledged international best practice" (Robinson et al, 2004:3) by the United Nations High Commission for Settlements for their work in establishing a city within the city in the area of Cato Manor. Denis Beckett, on the other hand, finds elements of failure within the CMDA in his report about Cato Manor and the development association. Hired by CMDA to conduct an evaluation, he walked the streets of the community and heard complaints about lack of housing, electricity and employment (2003:31). Even though some people were satisfied with the CMDA, others said that community members were not included in the decision-making processes and that there were too many *umlungus*[1] in the organisation that did not even try to learn the language (2003:13). One of the inhabitants states that: "To start with, they listen to all these foreign people, when we're the ones who live here [….] And they get things wrong" (2003:16). Beckett concludes the report with an admonishment of the broad ambition of the CMDA and sadness about the reality; people still living in shacks, enormous unemployment rates, lack of electricity and other constitutional rights and also the top-down

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[1]   IsiZulu for white people

attitude of the association. "Within CMDA, by no means alone, there is a prevailing sense that the whites are to hand over and get out" (2003:56). However, despite the lack of progress CMDA suffered in meeting its ambitions, community members generally did not favour the dismantling of the association. In 2002-2003, the CMDA along with many of their projects were transferred to the local municipality and according to an EU mid-term report, the unbundling of the organisation was done in a manner so as to sustain the projects and the structures established within the CMDA, as well as making it possible to replicate successful projects in different areas. It still remains to be seen, however, whether projects will be sustained and if long-term projects will continue as planned (Robinson and Forster, 2004:85-87).

3.0 Conceptual and theoretical framework

This dissertation focuses on the role of community radio in South Africa and considers how this sector is making a difference in people's lives, ideally by giving community members a medium where they can raise their voices and contribute to the development in their communities, and as a result, their own lives. These radio stations have the possibility to change lives by educating and informing the community members, and because they are owned and run by community members, the local radio is best able to represent different groups of society (Dragon, 2001:15-16). A successful community radio is operating as a developmental tool within a community, both in regard to economic development as well as in social factors like power relations and representation.

More generally, media shall play a role in the democratising process by assuring freedom of speech for everybody and by being a watchdog of the leading classes and individuals. Access to the media sector is necessary in order for people to voice their opinions and community radio is a sector that shall be more accessible to marginalised societies than the mass media. This sector can make it possible for all classes of society to be heard and thereby limit the injustice in power between people and classes.

> "As a tool for social change and participatory communication, radio has several comparative advantages over the other media. First, it is cost-efficient in terms of investment — both for those that run the station and for the audience. Second, it is pertinent in terms of language and content ideal for the huge illiterate population that still remains marginalised especially in rural areas of the Third World. Third, it is relevant to local practices, traditions and culture. Fourth, once the initial investment in equipment is made, sustainability is feasible, though dependent on the level of community participation. Fifth, in terms of outreach and geographic coverage radio has a strong advantage over other media" (Dragon, 2001:15-16).

Peter Mhagama (2004) has written an MA-thesis on CMDA and the issue of participation. He claims in his examination of the two media outlets in Cato Manor, *IZWI* and Siyaya FM, that they are both based within a 'modernisation' paradigm in the way they operate, and hence the potential for being a development agent is limited. In terms of participation, he questions the extent to which the two media are able to contribute to the empowerment of members of the society and how much they are involved in the programming and decision-making processes. In his research, Mhagama randomly asked people living in Cato Manor about the radio and found that there is little knowledge of the radio station. He concluded that the radio station is not an important actor in development and democracy for the people in the area, in spite of

the impression the radio management gives of the radio being a very important agent in Cato Manor. Mhagama (2004) asserts that the radio project is top-down-driven, in contrast to participatory approaches and 'another development' theory (discussed below). This dissertation picks up the line of research Mhagama began, and in the process next considers the theoretical basis for social change in relation to media.

3.1 From modernisation theories to 'another development' theory

Theoretical background is needed in order to critically examine Siyaya FM's role in Cato Manor. Development projects are influenced by different theories regarding development work (Martinussen, 1997). Actions taken can be linked to theories and ideas of how the world is seen. Theories are constantly changing and thereby also the focus of development work. This examination of Siyaya FM compares modernisation theory and an approach termed 'another development' which is oriented towards participatory and holistic strategies and focus on dialectical processes "which can differ from one country to another" (Servaes, 1996:32).

The modernisation approach emerged in the 1950s, and early studies of development communication are influenced by this theory (Waisbord, 2000:2). With the end of the World War II and the Marshall Plan's help to European countries, Western leaders believed it was possible to do the same for Southern countries, in order to lift them out of poverty.

> "The goal was, therefore, to instill modern values and information through the transfer of media technology and the adoption of innovations and culture originated in the developed world. The Western model of development was upheld as the model to be emulated worldwide" (Waisbord, 2000:3).

The main problem in the underdeveloped countries, asserted modernisation theory, was residual strength of culture and tradition. Modernisation can also be interpreted as 'westernisation'. Thus underdeveloped countries needed to become more like the Western countries in order to develop and experience economic growth (Waisbord, 2000:3). According to Jan Servaes, the theory views development as a "…unilinear, evolutionary process and defines the state of underdevelopment in terms of quantitative differences between so-called poor and rich countries on the one hand and traditional and modern societies on the other hand" (2001:14). To ensure the transformation from poor to rich and traditional to modern, information flows were needed because knowledge of other ideas can change behaviour and

attitudes and contribute to development. Communication was seen as the tool to make this transformation possible.

Such models of social change were linear in that the message was produced by a sender and sent to a receiver. They were based on a model from information engineering, the Shannon-Weaver-model (Servaes, 2001:16).

Figure 1

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┌──────────┐      ┌──────────┐      ┌──────────┐
│  Sender  │ ───▶ │ Message  │ ───▶ │ Receiver │
└──────────┘      └──────────┘      └──────────┘
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Modernisation advocates claimed that the information in the message would lead to a change in attitude. However, these models did not include the possibility of feedback from the receiver to the sender, nor the context in which the message was sent, nor personal attitudes, relations, history and experiences. These flaws are important if the desire is to contribute to a change of attitude.

Different studies about media and mass communication from the 1960s onwards "…concluded that the media had a great importance in increasing awareness but that interpersonal communication and personal sources were crucial in making decisions to adopt innovations" (Waisbord, 2000:4). Theories of modernisation and diffusion were criticised for having too much confidence in the media and the effects of mediated messages. In addition they were criticised for being westernised and not including cultural differences as an aspect. They were also seen as top-down with donors and development organisations deciding how to organise projects and use the resources (Martinussen, 1997:61-66). It was argued against modernisation theories "…that the problems of underdevelopment were not internal to Third World countries but were determined by external factors and the way former colonies were integrated into the world economy" (Waisbord, 2000:16).

The receivers of projects were neither included in decision-making processes nor were they asked what they wanted, needed and preferred. Perhaps not surprisingly, many of these projects failed; poverty remained immense, infrastructural projects collapsed and countries remained underdeveloped in spite of all the development work conducted. These approaches did not acknowledge the knowledge and expertise of the community members, but saw them as receivers and beneficiaries only (Chambers, 1997).

"Too many projects failed because of vertical planning and implementation and too much funding was channelled to developing nations that never reached the intended "beneficiaries" until donors and planners started realising that they were doing something wrong. If they had only involved the beneficiaries from the beginning. . . ." (Dragon, 2001:8).

This criticism led to another way of thinking about development that emphasised cultural differences and individuality. This was the theory of multiplicity or 'another development'. Servaes theory is in opposition to both modernisation theories and also dependency theories. In the history of development theories, the dependency theory criticised the modernisation theory for being too pro-western and seeing "…underdevelopment as a mainly internal Third World problem […that only can] be solved by external, technological aid" (Servaes, 1996:84). The dependency theorists, on the other side, see underdevelopment as an external problem and that the "…periphery is deprived of its surplus" because of the centre (Servaes, 1996:84). Servaes' theory of multiplicity is then a reaction to both these theories, as he can not find the problem to underdevelopment in only the two reasons modernisation and dependency claim, but that the problem is both external and internal, while nations are "…dependent upon each other" (Servaes, 1996:84) and that there are issues of hierarchies, power and participation that also matter to social change (Servaes, 1996).

In the 'another development' theory, participation plays an extremely active role, making development and projects more culturally diversified and individually based (Servaes, 2001:18). Participation is one of the main elements behind the promotion of community-based radios, on the grounds that people themselves know best what they need and how to create it (Chambers, 1983:75). Participation is supposed to include every aspect of community radio, from representation on the board, to deciding on programs, to producing the programs – this is done by volunteers and staff. "Community radio represents the democratisation of communication. Since the advent of Africa's democratisation process in the 1990s, many communication activists now see it as the basis for popular participation by the majority of the people" (AMARC, 1998:1).

3.2 Another development and participatory models

"In order to share information, knowledge, trust, commitment, and a right attitude in development projects, participation is very important in any decision-making process for development" (Servaes, 2001:18).

Already in the late 1950s the word 'participation' emerged in development jargon to describe the reasons for the failure of many development projects (Rahnema, 1992:117). Billions of dollars were spent on projects in the "third world" to help countries out of poverty, and make them economically sustainable. Development workers and experts realised that many projects failed because people in the benefiting areas were left out of decision-making processes and planning. "It was found that, whenever people were locally involved, and actively participating, in the projects, much more was achieved with much less, even in sheer financial terms" (Rahnema, 1992:117). Community participation was a necessary condition of sustainable development. It is possible, though, to realise the difference between instrumental participation and genuine participation. The first one, according to Bond and Zandamela, sees participation only as a means to reach a goal (Bond and Zandamela, 2001:5). The second type, on the other hand, symbolizes intrinsic participation where the goal is to have local communities involved in all parts of the process, and being the end goal. This is seen as a people-centred approach, according to Bond and Zandamela (2001:6), who provide an explanatory box of the differing perspectives. This makes the intrinsic participation more concerned about a welfare state according to human rights, as illustrated by figure 2 underneath.

Figure 2   Conflicting Views of Participation

perspective on participation	community-development philosophy	state administrative hierarchy and financial design
instrumental	community choice and self-management	promote decentralisation and rely on outsourcing of delivery (so as to 'tame' a distant, bloated bureaucratic welfare state), and support full consumer cost-recovery to assure sustainability
intrinsic	'people-centred development' assuming citizenship and universal (rights-based) entitlement to basic needs, and 'strong but slim state'	centralise fiscal resources (to facilitate redistribution and transfers) and set minimum national standards, but decentralise programme planning and implementation (with penalty for delivery failure), based upon sufficient subsidy to meet capital/recurrent expenses

An important challenge, however, is to contextualise participation within power structures. While the diffusion models focused on the sender of the message, the participatory models claim that the receiver of messages plays an important part in the communication process. The perspective of communication has changed to be more focused on the interpretation of a message than the words spoken. These participatory models illustrate that communication is a process where both the sender and the receiver participate and respect each other, and where the interpretation of messages is collaboration between the two. The elements of culture, trust, knowledge, individuality are important factors in these models of communication. "Communication was no longer focussed on persuasion (transmission of information between individuals and groups), but was understood as a "'process by which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding'" (Rogers, cited in Waisbord, 2000:5).

Robert Chambers, a development expert and academic, is one of the frontrunners in 'putting the first last and the last first' (1997:234). This demands a strong consciousness of the part of the development workers in regard to their role in the process (1997:234). Putting the last first and the first last shows that participation addresses power relations in society. There might be a need for structural change that can lead to a more equal sharing of power, both politically and economically. In essence, this requires that the people in power need to step down in order to give more power to the marginalised people (Servaes, 2001:18).

Brazilian educator Paulo Freire has influenced views on communication and development. He "…advocated an education based on dialogue that would lead to an ongoing process of reflection, followed by action" (Richards, 2001:4). His concern for language related to mass communication and the relationship between the audience and the media (Richards, 2001:4). Freire was more concerned about dialogue and face-to-face communication and argued that communication is a learning process for both sender and receiver. More than being a teacher teaching, he wanted education to be a process where communication between the parties would lead to understanding and a new knowledge for all. This two-way dialogue perpetuates the idea that the student also has knowledge that can give the teacher a new perspective.

This approach can be translated into development work, making development personnel understand that they can learn from receivers of projects, and that only through dialogue

based on trust and respect will the project give meaning for both parties (Servaes, 2001:23). The primary goal is empowering the "…voiceless and powerlessness" (Rahnema, 1992:121).

Participation by community members is also the most productive way to conduct community development because beneficiaries are included and used as resources of knowledge and information (Chambers, 1983 and 1997, Coupal, 2001, UNDP, 2002, IFAD, 2002 and Dale, 2004). This is a bottom-up approach as opposed to the modernisation theory and the question of power is highlighted, as illustrated by Servaes: "Participation involves the more equitable sharing of both political and economic power, which often decreases the advantages of certain groups" (2001:18). Chambers emphasises the importance that those in power need to step down in order to empower others, as part of the reaction against "…the pervasive ethos of the neo-liberal market and of the materialism and global greed of the mid-1990s" (1997:234). The neo-liberal idea creates losers and winners where the winners have power to control the losers (Chambers, 1997:234) whereas participatory approaches create the possibility for lower classes to act on their own behalf and make decisions based on their own interests.

The idea of empowering the lower classes also follows the thoughts of Karl Marx, who emphasised the means of production being taken by the working class, and in so doing making it possible for people to realise their full potentials as humans. To control production does not only mean the production of goods but also of ideas, with Freire arguing for the need to develop critical consciousness (1993). Community radio stations have sometimes continued this revolutionary tradition by lifting the voices of the marginalised groups and promoting social changes in accordance with human rights. This can happen when the radio is run by the community, in line with Servaes words: "The most developed form of participation is *self-management*" (Servaes, 1996:105).

One of the first community radio stations in South Africa, Bush Radio, had to fight authorities for a license to transmit. The radio started in the Western Cape as an organisation distributing tapes with information about health issues, hygiene, literacy and politics (http://www.bushradio.co.za). They attained funds from a German organisation and were ready to start broadcasting, but the applications for license were rejected.

> "In August 1993, Bush Radio students and volunteers pressured the government to free the airwaves and grant Bush Radio a broadcast license. However, during this period of negotiations the apartheid government was still in power, and two right wing radio stations were given licenses while two applications by Bush Radio were rejected.

Following this rejection, the station had their first illegal broadcast on April 25, 1993. The authorities arrived within a few hours to confiscate their equipment" (Bosch, 2006:261).

Bush Radio was accused of illegal broadcasting and the charges were continued for eight months before the case was finally dropped, as a result of pressure from individuals and organisations around the world (http://www.bushradio.co.za). This illustrates the revolutionary potential of community radio, as it fights for the rights of the lower classes with participatory approaches embedded in 'another development' theory.

3.3 Participatory communication

Participatory communication takes the notion of participation one step further. In regard to the media's role of serving a community, communication between different agents has been highlighted more and more. Communication depends on both the senders and receivers of a message to contribute to development and change. However, mass communication often seems more focused on the sender of a message than the receiver. In mass media, the people in the media are often more interested in talking than listening and therefore create barriers for people to communicate. "People are 'voiceless' not because they have nothing to say, but because nobody cares to listen to them" (Servaes and Malikhao, 2005:91). This has often been the problem in development work, silencing the recipients of development projects. Participatory communication, on the other hand, is based on listening and trust to "…help reduce the social distance between communicators and receivers" (Servaes and Malikhao, 2005:91).

Classic communication theories demonstrate that getting a message out to a large public is, in relation to development and social change, not necessarily useful. According to Servaes and Malikhao, "…the general conclusion of this line of thought is that *mass communication is less likely than personal influence to have a direct effect on social behaviour*" (2005:94, italics in original). The participatory model of communication "… stresses the importance of cultural identity of local communities and of democratization and participation at all levels – international, national, local and individual (Servaes, 2001:18). This model is more oriented on the receiver of the message than the linear model, and while Shannon and Weaver focus on the information given is the participatory model emphasising on the meaning ascribed (Servaes, 2001:19). Servaes highlights that the model incorporates the basics of 'another

development' theory and also Freire's assumption that the right to speak should be a right for every human being. According to Servaes and Malikhao the participatory model has two approaches, the Freirian and the UNESCO-approach including access, participation and self-management (2005:96-97).

Freire talks about 'the oppressed' while UNESCO uses the neutral term 'the public'. The UNESCO approach is based more upon the media as a communication tool. Self-management is the highest level in this approach, where the public are managing the community media in all parts. But throughout, the Freirian approach sees the audience as participators and not as recipients, and seeks a total change of power structures, and completely equal treatment of all humans. The UNESCO approach is not concerned about power relationships. At best, according to Servaes and Malikhao,

> "…participatory communication for social change sees people as the nucleus of development. Development means lifting up the spirits of a local community to take pride in its own culture, intellect and environment. Development aims to educate and stimulate people to be active in self and communal improvements while maintaining a balanced ecology" (2005:98).

Inspired by Freire, Dragon does also focus on the issue of power with regard to participatory communication and claims that there are "…political implications of participation in development, and moreover of participatory communication:

> • **An issue of power.** The democratisation of communication cuts through the issue of power. Participatory approaches contribute to put decision-making in the hands of the people. It also consolidates the capability of communities to confront their own ideas about development with development planners and technical staff. Within the community itself, it favours the strengthening of an internal democratic process.
> • **An issue of identity.** Especially in communities that have been marginalised, repressed or simply neglected during decades, participatory communication contributes to install cultural pride and self-esteem. It reinforces the social tissue through the strengthening of local and indigenous forms of organisation. It protects tradition and cultural values, while facilitating the integration of new elements" (2001:25).

Participatory communication demands trust between the communicators for information to become knowledge, and thereby a tool for development and social change in a community. Therefore it is important for community radio to pay particular attention to incorporate the notion of participatory communication.

3.4 Critics of participation

Participatory methods have become more and more accepted by mainstream agencies as tools in development management and in research and evaluation processes (UNDP, 2002, World Bank, 2004 and IFAD, 2002). But not all observers consider participation as a genuine solution to development challenges (Mikkelsen, 2005). Some talk about the "tyranny of participation […recognising that] direct participation is not always necessary or desired by the people affected" (Beall, Todes and Maxwell, 2004:317). Other critical voices claim that 'participation' is just a new, popular phrase within development jargon, and is required, in a tokenistic way, in project proposals in order to receive financial support. It "…was the slogan which gave the development discourse a new lease of life" (Rahnema, 1992:122).

In addition, it is seen as an economic concept in the modern sense, where "…a person should be part of a predefined project, more specifically, an economic project, in order to qualify as a participant" (Rahnema, 1992:120). Rahnema also claims that participation is now accepted by governments in developing countries because they understand the importance of it for receiving donor-support and development projects (1992:119). However, Servaes highlights that "…participation does not imply that there is no longer a role for development specialists", but that community members are heard and that changes can be made to a program as a result of the view of local groups (Servaes, 1996:105).

Moreover, 'empowerment' within the participatory approach has been criticised for being just as top-down as in modernisation theory, because development management insinuates that recipients do not already have power, and that as development workers, they have the solution about how the recipients can gain power, thus appropriating themselves with more knowledge and putting themselves first. According to Rahnema (1992:123), "As a result, there is little evidence to indicate that the participatory approach, as it evolved, did, as a rule, succeed in bringing about new forms of people's power". Worse, Rahnema claims that the participatory approach can undermined already existing power relations within traditional and informal systems that were functioning well (1992:123). Servaes confirms that participation "…poses a threat to extant structures" (2001:31) and therefore might lead to conflict instead of co-operation.

There is also the question of whether the community radio sector is able to live up to the ideal of participation and focus on the community members. Community radio's ability to be a tool for empowerment of the weakest in society is part of the discussion.

In sum, it is not enough to put poor or marginalised people into the governing process just for the sake of participation. There needs to be a genuine desire from the governing body to include individuals and also a genuine belief that people have the knowledge that is important for the process. "What is needed is a change of attitudes, the patient fostering of trust, and the ability to listen" (Servaes, 2001:31).

3.5 Access to media

Numerous barriers prevent people from participating in media. Many people neither have access to information nor to communication tools like internet, phones etc. Illiteracy and long distances from rural to urban areas are obstacles for people to consume information as well as participate in information-sharing, not to mention participating in the organisation of different media. In addition, discussions in national or regional media are often on a level many people do not understand because of inadequate education or because the media is concerned with an audience that has specific knowledge.

Ziyambi analyses women's media organisations in Zimbabwe based upon Robert White's explanation of communication:

> "…access as a deep and broad concept, entails three levels. First, that the media facilitate provision of relevant and varied information that is of concern. Second, that the media facilitate participation and dialogue in order for exchange of ideas and formulation of opinions to occur. Third, that members participate in the decision-making processes involved in communication" (Ziyambi, 1996:35).

Access to media is influenced by factors like wealth and power, and this is also true even on the community level. Power structures exist that community radio has to deal with. There are hierarchies within societies and the local radio has to be aware of its goal, to incorporate the participation of community members, in order to diminish these power structures and be accessible to all groups of the population.

The organisation and production of the media industry is partly regulated by political decisions. The South African Constitution sets a broad vision for the media industry and proclaims access for the population to issues regarding health, education and communication:

> "Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes
>
> a. freedom of the press and other media;
> b. freedom to receive or impart information or ideas;
> c. freedom of artistic creativity; and
> d. academic freedom and freedom of scientific research" (SA Constitution, Section 16 (1).

However, Marx argues that the owners of the means of productions are also the owners of spiritual production and thereby owners of the thought (Marx, 1946:89). In this light the ruling classes are also the decision-makers regarding the content of the media (Thomsen, 2005:113). Pluralism and diversity can easily disappear, often in disfavour of the poor. Community-based radios can therefore be an alternative. When it comes to funding and financial issues, however, the leading classes are often more successful in attracting advertisers who target the more affluent part of the population. Community radio, on the other hand, has difficulty attracting advertisers, as the listeners consist mainly of the poor segment of the population. According to the Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI), advertisers in South Africa use the Living Standard Measure (LSM) as a marketing tool for assessing the most lucrative markets.

> "This tool segments the South African market according to their living standards, using criteria such as salary levels, degree of urbanisation and ownership of cars and major appliances. Marketers use the LSM to target particular markets according to their LSM profile, with LSM 8 being the highest and LSM 1 the lowest. The higher the LSM, the more lucrative the audience is to advertisers" (Tleane and Duncan, 2003:14).

Advertisers are indeed seeking large, wealthy audiences, which do not listen to community radio stations. Commercialisation and the pressure to be financially sustainable might easily be the end of many community radio stations. Community radio stations can use advertisements for income generation, but then they risk shifting their focus away from lower-income community member needs and wants.

One community radio station, Highway Radio in Pinetown, for instance, separates its program schedule according to the type of listeners that tune in at different times of the day. The radio station focuses advertisements during daytime when there are mainly English-speaking

listeners that rank higher on the LSM-scale. In the late evening and early mornings, the radio broadcasts more in isiZulu. Then the majority of listeners are ranked lower on the LSM-scale and there are fewer commercials[2].

3.6 Media and democracy in Africa

Media is supposed to be a watchdog of society, the fourth estate of society, making sure the other three estates (judiciary, legislative and executive) are doing their jobs properly. Montesquieu defined the democratic structure to be split in three parts; judiciary, legislative and executive, to assure the distribution of power (Caplex, 2004). Media has been called the fourth estate as it is supposed to assure the flow of information between the people on the grassroots and the people in power and to make sure the politicians are keeping their promises to the people (http://en.wikipedia.org). The different media are supposed to speak for both the people and the politicians in order for them to communicate about issues regarding society. However, media has often been used as a one-way communication tool of the state and not as an instrument for dialogue.

Democracy has a recent and, in many cases, short-lived history on the African continent. Because of colonisation, nations were oppressed for a long period of time, economically, culturally and politically. With independence from the late 1950s to mid-1990s, democracy became part of the process of building nations. Establishing democratic institutions, like free elections, eventually became a condition for receiving donor support in some cases, although often donors were willing to accommodate dictators and pseudo-democratic elections. This pressure of establishing democracy must be seen in light of the Cold War and the competition between the West and the communist Soviet Union. Because of the Cold War, several dictatorships were supported from both sides in order to gain support. Frantz Fanon describes in his book *The wretched of the earth* how colonial history never ended in Africa, because the bourgeoisie put themselves in the place of the colonizers, robbing the general population and risking both democracy and economic sustainability (1961). He also highlights the role of political parties and accuses the new bourgeoisies of promoting a single party rule that often has led to dictatorships and control of the masses (1961).

> "All the opposition parties, which moreover are usually progressive and would therefore tend to work for the greater influence of the masses in the conduct of public

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[2]   Interview with management of Highway Radio, October 2006

matters, and who desire that the proud, money-making bourgeoisie should be brought to heel, have been by dint of baton charges and prisons condemned first to silence and then to a clandestine existence" (Fanon, 1961:149).

During the 1980s and 1990s, many countries in Africa experienced a second wave of upheaval from its citizenry because of dictatorships and mal-governance. They were fighting for democracy with multi-party systems and free elections and citizens' rights (Bond, 2006:144). Fanon claims that real democracy will first arise when the grassroots is engaged in decision-making processes.

> "In an under-developed country, experience proves that the important thing is not that three hundred people form a plan and decide upon carrying it out, but that the whole people plan and decide even if it takes them twice or three times as long […] People must know where they are going, and why" (Fanon, 1961:157).

Media, and particularly free media, was seen as important for building democracies, both with regard to freedom of expression and as a watchdog of society. In the 1960s and 1970s' communication within development theory and work was seen as a one-way operation and development was regarded as more important than democracy (Hyden and Leslie, 2003:4). From the late 1980s and onwards, this attitude changed towards regarding democracy as an important means of a development process and nation building. In addition, there was a change towards two-way communication since beneficiaries of development were seen as stakeholders and at "the [centre] of development" and therefore needed to be heard in a development process (Hyden and Leslie, 2003:5). Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen and others with him began recognising this shift.

> "Democracy has complex demands, which […] include voting and respect for election results, but it also requires the protection of liberties and freedom, respect for legal entitlements, and the guaranteeing of free discussion and uncensored distribution of news and fair comment" (Sen, 1999:9).

Democracy is concerned with complex demands and requirements. This complexity demonstrates the constraints a nation can experience in building a democracy and all the aspects that have to be established for it to be able to function and be sustainable. Governments of real democracies are forced to give up the control mechanisms that are found in dictatorships to be able to protect the liberties of the people and this is often a difficult process. Public media in many African countries have often been accused of being a tool for governments by promoting issues of interest to them and hiding criticism of them. In this instance, the media is working as a mouthpiece for the people in power instead of being a watchdog. When media is used in this way, media is not a force for democracy but a force for

the ones in power. As a result of the public media often being a tool for the elite, alternative and small media emerge as a tool for the oppressed and for those with no access to public media. Bush Radio is one example from South Africa (http://www.bushradio.co.za).

Hyden and Leslie claim that modernisation theory of the 1960s uncritically promoted the importance of African governments to have a strong role in the "…use of communications for national development" (2003:8). This was seen as much more important than the right to criticise policy and therefore the governments were able to control the media in the interest of national unity. Thus, with independence and political freedom in African countries, freedom of the press disappeared (Hyden and Leslie, 2003:9). Even though freedom of the press and media have emerged since the 1960s, there are still countries on the African continent that have neither an independent press nor freedom of speech.

According to the International Press Institute (IPI), Ethiopia and Zimbabwe are two of the main countries in Africa that lack media freedom (www.freemedia/ipi.org). Ethiopia is one of the countries in the world with the most imprisoned journalists. In other countries that officially have freedom of the press and media, there are government officials that "…continue to sit on information as if it were their private domain" (Hyden and Leslie, 2003:12) and thereby deprive people of their right to information.

In a democracy, media has three main tasks: adversarial, watchdog and agenda-setter. Within such tasks, media forms public opinion, and has an "…influence on the minds of ordinary citizens" (Ogundimu, 2003:212), and "[makes] citizens politically or civically more conscious of their own role in public affairs" (Ogundimu, 2003:214). The media is an adversarial actor when it pressures the leading forces of society and "…sets itself up against political (and economic) leadership" (Altschull cited in Ogundimu, 2003:213). When media institutions are keeping an eye on the leadership and making sure the leadership does their job, the media conduct their watchdog-function. While "…if [the media] let the public know what is important and what is trivial, it is setting the public agenda" (Altschull cited in Ogundimu, 2003:213). Community radio does also follow these guidelines and has often worked as a watchdog, although it seems like that aspect was more highlighted in the days of apartheid because then they had a common cause to fight, while in the democratic South Africa many community media institutions have problems defining themselves and turn more towards developmental issues (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:2).

New information technology and participatory approaches to development create new possibilities for people and organisations to promote their cause and receive information, like promoting the process of building democracy. On the one hand, the new technology can create new employment within information technology in Africa. On the other hand, it can create more dependence on Western media sources and a renewal of cultural imperialism (Hyden and Leslie, 2003:15). However, the percentage of people without access to the technology, like internet, but also telephones, is still high in Africa (Tleane, 2006:74), thereby reinforcing the differences in opportunity and accessibility and maintaining the power relations between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots', thus disturbing the possibility of equality.

"What happens in the economic domain has immediate repercussions not only for the sustainability of the newly privatized media but also the role that they can play in democratization" (Ogundimu, 2003:223). The aspect of power and ownership is obviously a part of this domain and is illustrated by the stories reported and the groups of the population covered in the media. Tomaselli claims that; "[o]wners of capital – whether black or white – use media [organisations] to further their own class interests to secure and enhance their personal strategic positions in the socio-economic order" (2003:145). As a result, there are large segments of the population that are not accounted for or listened to in the media (Ogundimu, 2003:225). These groups of the population often feel excluded and not encouraged to engage in civil society and information-sharing. In this regard, media is not a tool for democratising processes. The same problem relates to advertising. Because the business sector is relatively small in Africa, the different media have to fight for the advertising money (Ogundimu, 2003:225). Thus, the business sector can demand an audience that has the capability to buy, and the media sector will have to cater for that demand to the detriment of the listeners. This constrains the focus on marginalised groups even further and the ability of the media to provide for these groups. South Africa has more sophisticated infrastructure than other sub-Saharan countries, a market economy with an extensive business sector, business conglomerates and co-operation agreements that also extend the borders of South Africa (Tleane, 2006). There is also a growing concentration of ownership within the media institutions in general (Thomsen, 2005:14) and this might result in a threat to democracy with regard to civil society. In addition, Duncan and Tleane illustrate that the public broadcaster in South Africa, SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation), has been under pressure to reach financial sustainability and has therefore changed from being a

broadcaster for the general public to being a broadcaster for the affluent society (2003:13-15). Hence, lack of government funding is one of the reasons leading to a public broadcaster that does not serve the entire population. According to the Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI) political censorship and control are other reasons, demonstrated by the withdrawal of a documentary of President Thabo Mbeki from 2006 (http://www.fxi.org.za/content/view/101/1). (Only in late 2007 was the documentary finally aired, after minor changes were made.) Richard Steyn, the editor in chief of the newspaper *The Star*, highlighted in a lecture that: "…genuine freedom of the media means freedom from economic as much as political and legal constraints" (1993).

Folu F. Ogundimu has been writing about media and democracy in Africa. He claims there are different stands that influence the media sector. The political and ideological stands are mixed with economic interests that define the media-agenda. "The media agenda is controlled by distinct corporate interests rather than by the public, or special groups representing them" (Ogundimu, 2003:224). In this context, media is not promoting civil society and the democratic rights of the entire population. This proves that the press is not "…independent, it operates as an instrument of power" (Altschull, cited in Ogundimu, 2003:219). Community radio stations can be an alternative as they are based within a community and have an explicit focus on that community in addition to incorporating participation by the community members, but they are also constrained by economic issues and have problems finding businesses that want to buy airtime for advertisements from them because of their restricted audience.

As with the political domain, the media should constitute a two-way relationship with the cultural domain. Media influences what happens in the cultural life, while the cultural perspective can shape the output from media and thereby democratisation. As highlighted by Hawk, Africa is often misrepresented in Western media and this influences both how people in the West perceive Africa and also how Africans view themselves since the Western media – especially BBC and CNN - often are accessible in African countries (2003:157). "Mass media's images of Africans themselves were nearly uniformly negative during the recent period, which plays nicely into the hands of elites" (Bond, 2006:v). Bond blames the imperialist drive of the Western world for contributing to the picture Africans and others have of Africa:

"As the 'dark continent', Africa has typically been painted with broad-brush strokes, as a place of heathen and uncivilized people, as savage and superstitious, as tribalistic and nepostic. As David Wiley has shown, western media coverage is crisis driven, based upon parachute journalism, amplified by an entertainment media which 'perpetuates negative images of helpless primitives, happy-go-lucky buffoons, evil pagans. The media glorify colonialism/European intervention'" (Bond, 2006:v).

On the other hand, Ogundimu claims that globalisation of communication can lead to a more reasonable picture of Africa in the media and that it can play a part in highlighting important issues for Africa, as seen in the social movements' opposition to the World Trade Organisation meeting in Seattle, USA and the World Economic Forum in Switzerland (2003:232). "[G]lobalization of communications […] are mainstays of the emerging order of global empathy and global discourse" (Ogundimu, 2003:232). The development of media, however, too often reveals a choice of not acting as a tool for democracy and for the people, but for a few, large corporations, "thus threatening people's local culture and potential for self-development" (Thorne, 1998:240). As a result, South African as Norwegian radio stations often prefer playing American pop music instead of traditional, local music. Local musicians are often left behind as they cannot pay to have their music played. Celebrities and famous people are more often highlighted than issues important to politicians and the people at the grassroots because there is an economic market for these stories. Community radio can be an alternative to this as a result of its focus on local culture, heritage and language, in addition to promoting a specific political focus as independent media agents for often marginalised communities. Thereby, community radio is promoting a sense of belonging and representation among the people living in the area.

Free media can play a significant role in freedom of speech and the emancipation of the individual's right to express oneself. However, "[d]espite the end of the Cold War and the burgeoning of democratic elections across the [African] continent, most African governments continue to exert strong control over broadcasting" (van der Veur, 2003:89). Most countries in Africa have independent, privately owned printed press, however, these might be mouthpieces of the government or their owner and therefore not promoting democracy. Historically, radio has been seen as the "people's medium" in Africa because of its' possibility to reach large territories, linking people of different origin, bridging gaps between different people and providing an outlet for expression (van der Veur, 2003:81).

"Community media has become synonymous in many people's minds with community radio. This is because radio is seen as an ideal medium as it is affordable, easy to

install and operate and people don't need to be able to read or write to access information" (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:55).

Radio has the possibility of reaching far and in addition it is based in the oral tradition. This makes radio an effective means of reaching the people. Radio broadcasting is an important medium for the authorities and therefore privatisation and independence of broadcast media have proven to be difficult to accomplish in many African countries. According to van der Veur: "Much like their colonial predecessors, African governments treat the radio as the backbone in their strategy to secure support from the people, especially those in the rural areas" (2003:93). However, the potential the radio has to reach people and to be a voice for them, diminish because of threats from the government, lack of information from public officials and incompetence and fear among journalists and reporters.

Private media agencies are seen as a sign of democracy because they are not owned by the state, and thereby not controlled by it, and by allowing them to operate the government seems open to the freedom of expression by the masses. However, the owners of the private media sector are often government-friendly or do not dare criticise the government in fear of reprisals and sanctions. In addition, there are often links between people owning the private media and people in the authorities. "In principle, private media can play an important role in the development of democracy by informing and educating the public. In practice, Africa's independent broadcasters are often unable to fulfil this function in part because media owners are members of the ruling elite" (van der Veur, 2003:100). During the 1990s and 2000s a lot of community radio stations have been airing their programs to the South African listeners. "The NCRF has about 120 community radio station projects in its membership, with about 75 of the stations on air and others waiting to be licensed by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA)" (http://www.ncrf.org.za/about-us/history-of-the-ncrf). In KwaZulu-Natal alone there are thirteen full-time licensed radio stations according to www.wikipedia.com. Stations like Siyaya FM are not included in the list as they are only granted special events licenses, meaning there are even more stations available to the citizens. According to Byrnes, there were "…at least six privately owned commercial radio stations by 1996". The IBA issued licenses to several community radio stations in the first year of the agencies existence. Most first were granted special event licenses and then the one's who applied received permission to broadcast for four years (Byrnes, 1996).

Freedom of expression has been highlighted as important for three reasons, according to Ogbondah. First, freedom of expression opens up the possibility of people to freely exchange ideas and discuss opinions, thereby allowing truth to prevail. The second reason is to enable people to develop intellectually and spiritually following the possibility to express themselves and their attitudes freely. Third, freedom of expression enables "…citizens to understand political issues so as to be able to participate effectively in the governance of society. In this case democracy itself becomes the justification for free speech" (Ogbondah, 2003:59). In spite of these positive effects, freedom of speech and press in many African countries is restricted by law. According to Ogbondah: "The laws are still not always in tune with the democratic expectations associated with the ongoing political transition, nor is the behaviour of the principal political actors" (2003:73). There is a need for "…greater civic consciousness among the public at large. Widespread poverty and illiteracy limit not only the outreach of the media but also the extent to which people can participate in public affairs" (Ogbondah, 2003:76). The limitation of participation diminishes the chances for development while at the same time this becomes a negative spiral whereby the lack of a voice to fight for rights will make it difficult to escape poverty and experience development. Jallov took part in the development of community radio stations in Mozambique. The radio stations were partly able to monitor themselves through a barefoot strategy developed by Jallov. The evaluation illustrates how media freedom and access are developing communities. The example from Mozambique demonstrated that people felt much more informed about their surroundings, they had developed a higher degree of self-esteem as a result of local music and heritage was highlighted on the radio. In addition there was "…improving attendance to AIDS patients in one hospital and the reorganisation of administration of the electricity supply in another" and people were persuaded "…to put chlorine in the drinking water during a cholera epidemic" (Jallov, 2004:22).

Some academics claim democracy in Africa has come in pieces more than in system-wide reforms (Ogbondah, 2003:77). However, South Africa is an exception to this as a result of the overthrow of apartheid and the installation of the new democracy in 1994. In contrast to many African countries, South Africa has established a constitution that protects the rights of the individual and also the media, and thereby encourages freedom of speech as well as free media. Independent and private media are flourishing in the country, particularly within the radio and print genre. At the same time, though, the growth of media corporations might be a threat to the small media sector and as a result a threat to public participation and local

community interests. Large media corporations have the advantage of producing more without additional costs. Another advantage is that the bigger companies are often more attractive to the advertisers as they have a larger market of listeners (Thomsen, 2005:15).

4.0 South African Constitutional Rights

The history of free media in South Africa did not begin until the early 1990s. During the apartheid days South Africa's main source of information was the government controlled SABC. "The SABC was banned from broadcasting pictures or voices of opposition figures, and its editorial policy was dictated through an institutional censorship structure" (Bosch, 2006:252). Media outlets that were opposing the regime were under constant fear of being banned or shut-down. Journalists were imprisoned, some are also suspected killed and other fled the country to protect themselves, as was the case with the anti-apartheid journalist and editor Donald Woods (BBC website). The information flow was based on what the government wanted to be known and therefore the media was not working as a watchdog. SABC was "…established to serve primarily white interests represented by the various apartheid governments of the National Party (NP). Even when services were launched targeting black audiences, they were provided with a view to serving the propaganda interests of the apartheid regime" (Duncan and Tleane, 2003:55).

On the eve of a new regime the NP government realised the importance of turning the national state channel free from the state authorities. As in most countries the media is a powerful tool for the authorities to control the opinion and therefore there was a discussion about the SABC from the beginning of the 1990s as there was a mood in the country to change the system of apartheid to democracy. The broadcaster was to change from a state broadcaster to a public broadcaster, accountable to the public (Duncan and Tleane, 2003:55-56).

According to Hadland and Thorne: "[t]he term community radio is often used loosely to describe media that target black, working class communities…. [t]his reflects the current, and indeed pressing, priority to redress apartheid imbalances in the media and promote media diversity" (2004:56). Many of the first small media organisations that existed in the country before this time were comprised of freedom-fighters actively against the apartheid regime. In October 1991, the ANC presented its' view on the democratisation of the airwaves; "The ANC stands for genuine freedom of the airwaves which will create space for public, commercial and community broadcasting to flourish to the maximum in a dynamic and diverse broadcasting environment" (cited in Hadland and Thorne, 2004:28). The ANC highlighted that the community media was to be noted and expected to be part of the media

sector in the new South Africa. Teer-Tomaselli says that the ANC discussed the possibility of controlling the SABC on the eve of the democratisation in 1994 to be able to promote the party's interests, but in the end agreed to leave the SABC as a public broadcaster (1994:85). In 1999 a new broadcasting act replaced the act from 1979 and restructured SABC into two parts, public and commercial, the commercial one was to finance the public (Duncan and Tleane, 2003:64). However, this has led to an imbalance in what to broadcast and for whom depending on money, according to Duncan and Tleane. "The SABC has been forced into financial self-sufficiency, leading to an ever-increasing dependency on advertising revenue, a source of funding that has in-built biases towards historically privileged audiences" (Duncan and Tleane, 2003:71). Since the ANC came into power it is more influential within the SABC, and the broadcaster has been criticised for being pro-ANC and not objective in its reporting on governmental affairs and in the choice of leadership (Wanneburg, 2005). The FXI claims that the SABC is ANC-friendly and is not objective when reporting on the party and the politics (www.fxi.org). In addition, there have been complaints about the party's priorities regarding the merge of SATRA and IBA (see below). The party does not seem to highlight community broadcasters as it promised in 1991.

The South African Constitution (1996) guarantees freedom of expression for the South African citizens (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:20). People's ability to exercise these freedoms, however, presumes the possibility to access them. There are several broadcasters in South Africa, private, community and public. SABC has radio stations in all the eleven official languages to try to cover the needed access among the population. However, access does not only depend on the number of stations that exists, but also the content and how it is expressed in addition to practical issues of connection and technical solutions. In a country where a large proportion of the population still live in poverty or is marginalised, the government needs to ensure these rights by providing access to different communication and media sources. Julian May has studied the situation of poverty in South Africa for several years and his studies on the province KwaZulu-Natal shows that two thirds of the poor households in that area in 1998 were chronically poor and not able to escape the poverty trap and those that were "…just above the poverty line were at substantial risk of falling into poverty" (May et al, 2000:576-578).

According to Hadland and Thorne; "[t]he government […] has a legal and arguably constitutional obligation to promote a media to which ordinary people can achieve access"

(2004:20). Community radio stations depend on funding to promote access to information and freedom of expression. To be able to keep the promise of the Constitution, the government needs to help the community-based radios by providing funding or other sources of income. By providing funds for community radio, the government creates accessible channels for marginalised groups and thus assures freedom of speech for everyone (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:20). However, there are concerns in regard to funds from the government because all kinds of government funding potentially constrain and regulate the content of a radio station. Academics Herman and Chomsky highlight this as an important aspect in their propaganda model (1988:14). If a radio station finds it cannot criticise the government in their reporting because they are dependent on funds from them, this will restrict the possibility of the media to be the watchdog of society.

In addition, the agencies must be informed about the different radio stations' situation within the country so as to help the once most in need and to find good solutions for the sector as a whole.

> "A harsh economic environment will inevitably put pressure on organisations that are largely marginal operations. In such circumstances, advertising is difficult to attract, volunteers are hard to keep and resources are scarcer than ever" (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:4).

In addition to the right to speech and access to information (Section 16 (1b), equality is also guaranteed by the Constitution. Equality enforces the notion that there should be access for everyone in an equal manner (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:21), but development in the media sector in South Africa today does not seem to promote equal access, but instead privatisation and commercialism. Commercialism often influences radio stations to focus on affluent listeners, thereby treating the less affluent unequally, and making radio less accessible for the poor and marginalised audience. In the following section, the thesis will illustrate this dilemma in the concrete example of Siyaya FM and its community of listeners not being preferred by advertisers. Because of this, the radio lacks funds to be able to operate thus threatening the existence of a community radio for Cato Manor.

4.1 Broadcasting Acts in South Africa

According to Console Tleane, author of different media analyses, there are two main reasons for the establishment of community radio in South Africa:

"Firstly, there was a need to bring to an end the monopoly that was, up until 1994, exercised by the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation]. Secondly, and closely tied to the first reason, the country found had no choice but to follow some international trends in broadcasting, that is, diversification of media ownership and encouragement of plurality of ideas and views" (2001:6).

In South Africa, community radio was first promoted by the Left and the "vision of broadcasting [was] constructed upon a left-wing definition of democracy as direct participation" (Rama and Louw, 1993, 72-73). Community radio in South Africa is still a fairly new concept which emerged from the grassroots movement fighting the apartheid regime in the 1980s (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001 and Louw, 1993).

Up until 1995, broadcast licenses were granted by the state-controlled SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) and the Cabinet, thereby, facilitating "…the protection of democracy within the sphere of civil society" (Tomaselli, 2003:136). The Jabulani conference was the main breakthrough for the development of private and community broadcasting in South Africa and for the establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001 and Conference Report, 1991). In 1994 the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) was established in South Africa by an Act of Parliament, the IBA Act. "The Act set up the IBA as a statutory regulatory body with the principal function of regulating broadcasting activities and licensing new operators" (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:30). The establishment of the IBA confirmed the end of only state-controlled media and opened up the possibility for alternative and community-based media to play a role in the media picture.

The Broadcasting Act of 1999 kept the same definition of community radio as the IBA Act, but added that the radio stations had to have a democratically elected board representing different sectors in the community and that the programs of the radio station had to "…reflect the needs of people in communities served" (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:34). This clearly demonstrated a renewed commitment to democratising information through community-based radio.

Following a financial scandal, the IBA was forced to reduce staff. As a result the number of licenses it granted decreased, and the time consumed in the licensing process increased (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:31). In 2000, the IBA merged with South African Telecommunication Regulatory Authority (SATRA) and became the Independent

Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA). ICASA is now the agency that grants licenses to community radio stations. Tleane argues that the neo-liberal politics of the South African government can be blamed for some of the difficulties of community radio stations. During 1997-2001, few licenses were granted. The merger of IBA with SATRA into ICASA meant the agency lost some of the focus on community radio, instead focusing on commercial media. In addition, ICASA reduced the number of employees as a result of financial constraints. This happened, according to Tleane, as a result of the neo-liberal project of privatisation and the focus on market forces.

> "Thus, like other sectors of the society, broadcasting has not managed to survive the heavy and gnawing claws of neo-liberalism and conservative political-economic thinking. Underlying all these is the heavy interplay of power and dictatorship of the market" (Tleane, 2001:36).

About the time of the merger into ICASA, radio activists marched on Parliament, protesting the time-consuming process of granting four-year licenses. The FXI and NCRF (National Community Radio Forum) organised the march and community radio activists showed up to support the protest against system backlog (Tleane, 2001:10). They claimed that the time-consuming licensing process led to communities being "…shut out of the communication and information game" (Tleane, 2001:10), causing those already poor in communicative tools to remain poor, thereby maintaining inequality of information access among the population.

Since the establishment of ICASA, the agency has been subject to criticism with regard to lack of competence on community radio and licensing, financial and political issues, its lack of focus on community radio, and its poor communication with community radio stations. Many community radio stations complained that ICASA did not understand the situations of the various stations, nor was an effort made to inform community radio stations about important processes or procedures within the ICASA system (Tleane, 2001:18). Some suggest that the agency was established because of a lack of political will to fund the IBA, and by merging SATRA with IBA and reducing the staff, politicians demonstrated that their motives were financially based rather than in the interest of community broadcasters and their communities (Tleane, 2001:9).

In response to popular pressure, the Media Development and Diversity Agency Act established the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA). The MDDA was established to secure that policies like National Action Plan for the Promotion and Protection

of Human Rights were taken seriously. The plan was published in 1998 to assist the "…development of community media and promoting media diversity" (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:37). MDDA is a potential source for funds for community radio and the agency's funding criteria are; "…good governance, contributions to media development and diversity, community representation and participation" (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:37). The Media Development and Diversity Agency was established in 2002 to untie the boundaries between the government funds and the receiving media organisations. The Agency is funded by both government and business to be independent and the mandate was to "…promote, encourage and support media diversity and development" (http://www.mdda.org.za/ceo.htm). The website says that MDDA has supported approximately 128 projects with a total of 38 million Rands. However, the Agency has received applications worth a total of 150 million Rands, illustrating that the Agency has a big potential, but also that it is not able to satisfy all the broadcasters in need of financial support.

There is growing concern from civil society that the government is not living up to its constitutional commitment to public participation. Organizations like the Centre for Public Participation report that "…community participation has been largely rhetorical and not substantive" (Williams, 2005:19). In the case of community radio, content regulation and funding limitation show the reluctance of government to encourage the participation of community members. The government has established independent organisations and agencies to which they grant a certain amount of money for community radio stations to apply for. The Media Diversity and Development Agency is one of these organisations in South Africa, but the amount granted to the agencies is not significant enough to keep the high number of community radio stations running.

> "The government calculated that R500m would be required over 5 years. However this amount was immediately revised. Government recommended that the MDDA should seek to meet only 60% of the total needs. This amounted to R300m over 3 years, or R60m per year. It was understood that Government, donors and industry would contribute in equal parts. The Position Paper then reduced the amount further. It was agreed that the Agency would only cover half the identified needs R256m. […] Finally, now in the press statement released with the Regulations GCIS has committed R3m to the MDDA for 2002/2003 and R7m for 2003/2004. […] This is a shadow of the amount of money originally discussed. In light of the needs that exist the MDDA is going to struggle" (Duncan, 2003:8).

Over time, ICASA has become a better promoter for community radio stations. In 2005, the organisation held countrywide workshops to gather information from community radio

stations, NGOs and community-based organisations (CBOs) about community radios and their opinion on a proposed policy on broadcasting (ICASA, 2006:6-7). Hence the organisation demonstrates its commitment to communicating with the actors within the field and to hear their opinions on issues regarding them. Hadland and Thorne also recommend MDDA to focus on communication with the community radio stations, and in particular, to understand community radio structures and to receive and share information about organisational factors and politics (2004:102). The kind of workshop conducted by ICASA can develop and strengthen the communication between the local community and the organisation of ICASA.

5.0 Methodology

Collecting some of the elements of information for this dissertation proved difficult. The topic of participation within community radio stations and the effects of community radio on the targeted community are best explored through a qualitative research approach based on simultaneous data-collection and data-analysis. The reason for collecting and analysing the data simultaneously was to remember the issues after collecting the data so that important information was not lost. In addition, it allowed the researcher to observe the links between the research and the analysis. This is a constructivist method where meaning is constructed in the interaction between the object and the subject (interviewee and interviewer) (Crotty, 1998:9). This qualitative inquiry of community radio was done as a case-study on the community-based radio station Siyaya FM in Cato Manor and on the community of listeners. The research question being asked was a 'how'-question and thereby a case study was the preferred strategy of research (Yin, 2003:1). The case study provides a holistic view of the research question by focusing on different strategies and a number of people.

5.1 Selection

To gain information of the research question a qualitative research approach was used. The information was collected via in-depth interviews with volunteers that have been and/or are engaged in the radio station. Most of the volunteers were selected through a random sampling technique based on a list of involved volunteers provided by the manager of the radio station and the volunteers themselves. However, one of the volunteers was selected as a specific case based on her past relationship to Siyaya FM and the characteristic story of her life now. She is presently working as a journalist in national media. All other randomly selected volunteers agreed to take part in the research. In addition to the volunteers, in-depth interviews were conducted with the manager of the radio station and one person that used to be in the management of CMDA. Another person that used to work in the management of CMDA was consulted about some inquiries to confirm questions that others could not answer or did not remember completely. The sample consisted of five volunteers and three from the CMDA-management including the manager of the radio station. Moreover, informal conversations with other volunteers also gave valuable information about the radio and the situation.

In addition to the in-depth interviews and informal talks with volunteers and management, the research included focus-group interviews. The population selected for the focus-groups was from the community listening to the radio. This is potentially a very broad audience with regard to the frequency of the radio (reaching from Durban city to Mooi River), but based on the fact that this radio was established for the population of Cato Manor and is operating for the people in greater-Durban, the population was selected from Cato Manor and in two townships within greater-Durban. The listening population is not defined by an area or specifically defined in any lists like other populations; therefore this could not be a representative of a population, but rather a selection of people listening to the radio. The selection was chosen through a snowball technique which is a non-probability sampling method (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:166-167). The sampling technique was based on listeners' involvement with the radio and their knowledge of other listeners. The population of the focus-groups was selected based on information from the manager and volunteers about radio listeners and then from radio listeners themselves. One of the volunteers helped me establish the two first groups based on people that had called in to his shows on the radio. He had phone numbers for some of them and they continued the snowballing by inviting other listeners along to the groups. The third group was a selection through friends and connections of another volunteer, while the fourth was selected after a visit to one of the Cato Manor councillors' offices. One person at the office offered to help gather people for a group and so he did. He has no relations to the radio himself, except being a listener and a community member.

It might be argued that three of the groups were populated by people particularly interested in the radio station. The two first groups definitely consisted of active listeners that were very eager about the radio and with a high degree of knowledge about Siyaya FM because of intense listening when it was on air. The two last groups consisted of different people from Cato Manor, some with relations to one of the volunteers, but none of them were selected because of frequently calling in or being particularly active listeners.

Birgitte Jallov, a Danish academic and consultant on participatory development and communication strategies, has developed a method on how to evaluate community radio stations with regard to participation and development. The research methodology is named "…'barefoot' impact assessment, so called because the methodology was easy to apply and produced understandable results" (Jallov, 2005). Jallov states that interviews with individuals

and focus-groups "…can effectively be used for registration of the extent to which the radio is seen to actually having contributed effectively to the positive, social change within the community" (2004:21-22). Bearing this in mind, interviews are the main source of information in this research.

Four focus-groups were conducted with uneven numbers of participants in the groups, differing from five to ten persons in each group. One focus-group was conducted with only females, mostly young, but also a couple of old women, while another group consisted of only men. The third group consisted of people of different age and gender, while the last group where also a mix of gender but with mainly elderly people. The reason for having different groups regarding age and gender was to find out whether the two factors mattered regarding how people listen to the radio station and in the way they participate and are involved with Siyaya FM.

Thus, the selection of focus-groups seem quite representative of the listener-ship of Siyaya FM, and can be said to be a fair selection and thereby the validity of the data-collection is highly representative of the listening community.

5.2 Data collection and method of analysis

Data was collected through in-depth interviews with volunteers and management and through focus-groups. In-depth interviews were recorded on tape and then transcribed. The in-depth interviews were semi-structured through a mix of mostly standardised open-ended questions and some interview guide approach questions (Mikkelsen:2005:171) to be able to get as much information as possible, but at the same time keep the focus on the issues of the research topic of the dissertation. The semi-structured approach allowed the interviewees to feel as comfortable and free as possible and also have the possibility of talking about other interesting themes with regard to the radio. The interviewees agreed to be tape recorded which made the analysis easier. When the transcription of the interviews where finished, the interviews were coded in accordance to a set of codes developed in relation to the research topic, in addition to other topics that came up during the research period. The topics were categorised and the analysis is presented in accordance to the categories.

Because the focus-groups consisted of more than three people, technical difficulties as well as the group dynamics prevented tape recording. In addition to the difficulties of getting valuable sound, the tape recorder could easily have been a disturbing element for the group members to manipulate the interview. In addition, the recorder poses a potential threat to free flowing and honest conversation. Notes were compiled from each focus-group meetings.

The analysis was mostly done simultaneously with the data-collection and interpretation, as according to Mikkelsen (2005:168) to be able to get as full information as possible from the data-collection. As part of the analysis of the in-depth interviews with the volunteers, contact sheets were made from each in-depth interview to gain more knowledge about the volunteers and their specific information. The data collected from both the in-depth interviews and the focus-groups was coded and categorised as part of the analysis as described by Miles and Huberman (1994) to organise and cluster the data and thus construct the themes of the dissertation. This thematic analysis was organised according to themes of participation and encouragement to participation, access to and flow of information, the radio as a development agent, and how financial aspects interfere with the sustainability of community radio. The in-depth interview with the volunteer that had a specific story was analysed through vignette analysis. This story will be presented to demonstrate how the engagement in Siyaya FM has brought opportunities for volunteers and the potential of community radio to develop individuals. Two of the in-depth interviews were done via e-mail because of logistical difficulties. The two interviewees preferred to answer questions on e-mail and not on phone so that they could answer questions fully and completely.

Originally research was to be conducted during September 2006 observing the volunteers and manager in preparing for and conducting radio transmitting as part of the data-collection. Siyaya FM was not granted the special event license for this month because another radio station had applied for the frequency for that period. There were talks of postponing the transmitting period to November-December, but partly because of funding that was not possible for the radio station either, therefore direct observation of Siyaya FM was not possible to conduct. At the time of the postponing of transmitting, data collection had already started with in-depth interviews and focus-groups. Thus, research continued with the same radio.

To enhance research with Siyaya FM, I observed another community radio station. This was the station that trained the management and the first volunteers of Siyaya FM before they started in 2001, Highway Radio in Pinetown. This radio station welcomed me to do some observation on community radio in general and I was also able to gain more information from them on the operation of community radio stations and also on the process of licensing and funding.

In particular, Primary and Secondary source literature provided supplemental information. The Constitution and license-application of Siyaya FM provided essential background and historical information. In addition, other material regarding community media, media and democracy, participation of community members and documents about laws and regulations of broadcasting and community media in South Africa was gathered for this thesis. In addition, readings from organisations established to deal with different parts of the small media sector in South Africa have proven to be useful.

In addition to the aforementioned interviews, focus-groups and literature, research for this thesis has also taken into consideration the analysis of Mhagama, an MA-student at University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2004 who wrote his thesis on CMDA and community media in Cato Manor. His focus was on whether CMDA managed to develop the community within a participatory approach. In the following analysis, some of his observations will be included in accordance to my own findings, however it must be noted that the two researches are based on different interviewees.

5.3 Research limitations

As in most studies, there are limits to this research that deserve acknowledgement. First, the data-collection was conducted during a limited period of time and because of that I was not able to make observations of Siyaya FM transmitting. For some of the focus-group members it was difficult to remember how the radio was operating and acting on different issues because it was almost one year since the last transmitting period. Because of the license problem, the radio was not on as originally planned and the focus-groups had to remember issues from a year back, which was not always easy, particularly for listeners that had not been very interactive with the radio during the last period on air. Participation is difficult to measure, though the feeling of ownership is possible to register on how people relate to the

radio, in addition to how much people use the facility of calling in and are actively involved in the radio station. Hadland and Thorne point out the difficulty of defining ownership by a community and "…spell out how 'by the community' translates into different forms of participation" (2004:14). Therefore ownership can be measured by the degree of interactivity with the radio found among listeners and community members, although this research has to rely on the words of volunteers and listeners.

Another potential limitation is my language barrier due to my lack of knowledge of isiZulu. Cato Manor and the community of listeners were mainly Zulu-speakers and that is also the main language for the radio station. Approximately 80% of the time on air is transmitted in isiZulu. For the most part, though, both the interviewees and the focus-groups understood and spoke English and clarifications were made when responses seemed ambiguous. While three of the focus-groups consisted of mostly quite fluent English speakers, one of the groups also had people with a lesser degree of knowledge in English. To overcome potential challenges, for all focus-groups an isiZulu-English translator was provided. Translation was necessary only for one focus-group. With the aid of the translators and an open and free environment, the research was not particularly hindered by language.

However, for two of the groups the translator was one of the volunteers in the radio. The group members gave their permission for the translator to be there, but her presence might have had a binding effect on the group members or might have made them more likely to be more positive about the radio. On the other hand, these groups were actually the most critical of the four and also less active as listeners, thus it does not seem to have had a negative effect on the group and their openness. They seemed to speak freely irrespective of the fact that a volunteer was present.

The focus-groups were conducted in the homes of the listeners, in a group room in the library and in an office in the neighbourhood. This might have strengthened the security and openness of the group members by being in their own environment. The groups seemed to talk freely and be honest in their reflections.

The in-depth interviews were recorded and there will always be a risk that people constrain themselves when they know what they say are being taped. They all agreed to the recording, but it still might have been binding for some, but given the fact that the individuals mostly

(except for the management of CMDA) worked in the radio and are comfortable with technical equipment, this effect is unlikely. One of the interviewees even wanted to listen to the whole interview after being taped because he 'loves listening to his own voice'.

6.0 Findings and data analysis

This chapter presents the findings of the research conducted among listeners and volunteers of the community-based radio station Siyaya FM. The chapter tries to answer the research questions of how Siyaya FM involves participation of community members and whether or not this leads to development of the community. It is seen in the light of the development and communication theories of modernisation and 'another development'.

6.1 The role of Siyaya FM

Siyaya FM was established in 2001 as one of the 'soft' development projects within CMDA. CMDA focused on participation of the local population and was established with a holistic development approach, providing both 'hard' and 'soft' development issues. The CMDA board of Directors did also act as the board for Siyaya FM and the radio was therefore owned by the association. When CMDA was dismantled, the radio was handed over to the ABM (Area Based Management), which is part of eThekwini Municipality. According to Mhagama, the radio was "…during the time of the CMDA […] indirectly accountable to the community through its board representatives. Now it is accountable to the community through its leaders who work hand in hand with the ABM" (2004:50).

According to the management of Siyaya FM, the radio station was set up as a voluntary association with a management committee. The committee is formed like a board and it is elected on the annual general meeting (AGM).Volunteers say it is mostly represented by the volunteers at the radio station and the management says it would prefer people with influence if it was able to chose: "I want to make it a point that I'll go for the 'big breasts', but you may then know that electing a management committee is always in the hands of the community, so they elect people of their choice" (Interview with management of Siyaya FM, June 2006). This demonstrates that the station management does not prefer marginalised and poor community members as board members. Participation is therefore not highlighted by the management, making the radio work more according to modernisation theory than 'another development'. At the same time the manager also says that his wish is not what matters as it is the people that make the election and therefore it seems that the radio is involving the community members.

The volunteers from Cato Manor represent the community to a certain degree. AMARC Africa (World Association of Community Broadcasters, Africa) is a network of community radios and organisations "…promoting social change through the development of a strong community radio sector" (www.africa.amarc.org). A community-based radio is defined in regard to the community, either as a specific interest group (institutional, religious or cultural) or as a geographical area (AMARC, 1998:12), and thereby the community is seen as a homogenous group, more or less, with the same needs and wants. In isiZulu, "Siyaya" means 'we're moving forward'. To move forward, the radio was set up as a community radio defined by the geographic community of Cato Manor with volunteers from the area, though it can also be seen as a community of interest. One volunteer claims[3]; 'townships are the same', meaning that people in townships are interested in the same issues, not necessarily as individuals, but as a community. However, 'community' is not a homogenous concept. Dragon claims that there is a need to:

> "…demystify the perception of the community as a homogenous human universe. The idealised vision of a community entirely united by its fate or history or culture is one of the first masking myths to go. Every society or community has social strata and divergent interests" (2001:24).

Teer-Tomaselli notes that "definitions and abstractions of who precisely makes up the imagined construct labelled 'community' are notoriously difficult to pin down" (2001:232) proving the importance for a radio to be conscious of who the community consists of and who the radio regards as their community. In addition, it is important for the radio to acknowledge the diversity in a small community and try to meet their different needs and to be a radio for all the members of the community no matter age, gender or interests.

The volunteers of Siyaya FM represent different parts of Cato Manor and also different classes, but it does not seem to include the poorest and most uneducated as all the volunteers spoken to are literate, have some education and are involved in work or studies[4]. Moreover, the volunteers also have a specific interest in the radio and will therefore not be neutral. This suggests that Siyaya is not able to satisfy all the requirements of participatory approaches and may not be a tool for development of the entire community as they are not included in decision-making. Elements of the theory of modernisation are still the rule in the station, while 'another development' and participation theories are more talked about than acted upon.

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[3] Interviewed in September 2006
[4] Interviews with volunteers, September-November 2006

Siyaya FM did not have a license to air from the beginning, but was able to negotiate a deal with another local radio station, Highway Radio in Pinetown, to rent airtime on specific weekdays. After approximately one year of transmitting from Highway Radio one day a week, Siyaya FM was granted a special event license. This license was literally a one-month license granted on another frequency than the one of Highway Radio. The granted frequency, FM 96.8, is shared with several other community-based radios and they all have to apply for thirty days special event licenses. During the month granted they can broadcast all the time, 24 hours a day.

> ”Cato Manor's first community radio station, Siyaya FM, run by community members trained in radio production, went on air for the first time on July 4, 2001. Beginning with a one-hour per week pre-recorded programme and increasing to two hours per week, in October 2002, a one-month licence was granted by ICASA *(Independent Communication Authority in South Africa)* to Siyaya [FM] on 96.8 FM to broadcast 24 hours per day. This marked an important step forward in the growth and long-term viability of the station” (CMDA annual report 2002, italics not in original).

Since the first license was granted, Siyaya FM has been granted several licenses and is now on air approximately three months a year. In 2006 it was only on air from mid December 2005- mid January 2006, mostly due to lack of funds.

6.2 Reasons for launching Siyaya FM:

After the establishment of the community newspaper *IZWI* in 1995, more communication tools were seen as an essential part in creating a society of Cato Manor and in promoting development in the area. Part of the reason for launching the radio station was the fact that a large group of the population in the area are illiterate and thereby unable to benefit from the newspaper. As a result the radio was established by the CMDA and not directly by the community and can therefore be seen as a top-down project initiated by the association. The management of CMDA, however, claims that the community was positive to the idea when they first heard of it and many were eager to participate in the establishment[5].

Another reason for establishing the radio station was that citizens in Cato Manor had problems speaking their minds because of ward-lords 'deciding' who could speak and what could be said in the area. Minnaar illustrates why development work was a difficult task in

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[5]   Interview with management of CMDA, August 2006

Cato Manor and also the importance of creating systems of communication that was not based on power:

> "The failure to declare more formal townships had directly contributed to the growth in the [ward-lords'] power. It is also why so many [ward-lords] resist the attempts of developers to upgrade squatter areas. In addition, proper roads and drainage would make it easier for the authorities to exert official control over the areas" (1993).

In the light of Fanon's analysis, the ward-lords can be compared to the new bourgeoisie, being people with influence and an economic position that makes them want more and claim more only for their own good (1963). They were fighting for the freedom from superior powers, in the case of Cato Manor they were the force fighting for the justice of the Blacks and therefore have a high status in other people's eyes. In addition, the ward-lords have been engaged in violence and riots making the general community members afraid of them. Minnaar defines different types of ward-lords (1993). Some of these ward-lords have claimed the position as councillor to be able to control the areas where they live.

> "Such [ward-lords], […] rely heavily on a [patronage] system based on their controlling the rights to grant housing sites, issues trading licenses, and secure spaces in KwaZulu schools, among things. Although these rights legally rest with the town council, many town [councillor] [ward-lords] usurp them as personal privileges" (Minnaar, 1993).

The problem with the ward-lords being gate-keepers of information made it necessary to establish a tool of communication based on participation from the community members. CMDA wanted to be able to communicate more directly with the people in the area and to create a link of communication that reached further than *IZWI*. The community radio Siyaya FM was established to be this link, as well as to create possibilities for people to work within media by giving them knowledge and skills through engagement as volunteers in the radio[6]. The radio was supposed to be an instrument for community members to communicate and raise debates around development issues through phone-ins and participation and to also be a tool for feedback to the CMDA about their work. In addition, the CMDA-management claims that the establishment of the radio was an attempt to create an identity of the people in the area, to strengthen social cohesion among the population of Cato Manor[7]. The problems in the past of different groups fighting each other demonstrated this need of establishing an inclusive society where people could feel a sense of belonging. Thus Siyaya FM was designed to be a tool for development in Cato Manor by complementing the communication systems already in

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[6]   Interview with management of CMDA, September 2006
[7]   Interview with management of CMDA, September 2006

place, as described by Waisbord (2000:18). This is in line with participatory communication which places mass media as a secondary source of communication and illustrates the need for participation for creating change.

At the same time, this suggests a sense of top-down approach as the CMDA was the establisher of the radio and the radio was first and foremost accountable to the Board of Directors. The Board consists of people involved with the community, but not necessarily representing the different groups of the community. If the radio was initiated by the community members themselves, it would have been more in line with participatory approaches and 'another development'.

Mhagama came to the conclusion that the foundation of Siyaya FM was in modernisation theory with the top-down approach. As seen above, this research also finds that to a certain extent, however, Mhagama did not include the issue of ward-lords controlling the communication systems. Therefore Mhagama did not highlight the problems a community faces if they want to organise a communication tool for themselves. Seen in this light the top-down approach with external initiators might have been the only solution for people to have a communication tool that could mitigate the power of the ward-lords.

6.3 Frequency coverage and listening population

With the new frequency being granted in July 2002, there was also an expansion of the audience. This frequency reaches further than Cato Manor and listeners are able to listen to the same frequency all the time. However, it will not be the same radio station every month since there are more radios on the same frequency. The frequency has a potential of reaching up to 500 000 listeners in greater-Durban, from the metropolitan Durban until Mooi River, according to the management of the radio[8]. The radio has listeners in Inanda, KwaMashu, Umlazi amongst other places, in addition to Cato Manor. The geographical area of Siyaya FM used to be Cato Manor only. Siyaya FM is still the community radio of Cato Manor, but now there are listeners in other places as well. This expansion has changed the focus of the radio from only serving the community of Cato Manor to also including other areas and townships in the region, though it is still based in Cato Manor and has a main focus on that community[9].

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[8]   Interview with management of Siyaya FM, June 2006
[9]   Interview with management of Siyaya FM, June 2006

In addition, the radio is mostly focusing on the black African, isiZulu-speaking population as that is the main language and there are predominantly Africans living in Cato Manor. The management says they have 80% of the airtime in isiZulu and 20% in English. According to Mhagama, the population of greater-Cato Manor consists of 95% Africans (2004:50). This illustrates that the community of listeners is not only decided by geography but also as a community of interest, being mostly isiZulu-speaking Africans from townships in the area of greater-Durban.

Mhagama's study (2004:56) provides information about a high rate of people listening to radio stations in Cato Manor. That was also confirmed by the informants in the research conducted in 2006. One informant laughed and said there was a radio everywhere, almost more than people. "Everyone has a radio, or even more, and everyone listens to radio" (Focus-group, September 2006).

The two studies were done within two years only, and the knowledge that Siyaya has not been on air since January 2006 makes it possible to assume that the listenership has not been dramatically expanded since Mhagama's study. Therefore it is possible to use Mhagama's number of listenership in this research as well. According to findings from Mhagama's research, the radio does not seem to reach the potential audience of the frequency. Of the 500 000 people that are able to tune in on that frequency, only 1.3% of them actually do (2004:52-53). This shows that there is a lack of coherence between the potential and the actual. It seems like the station management believes that there are more listeners than there actually are, according to interviews conducted by both Mhagama and in this research[10]. Mhagama's study shows the preferences of the population in Cato Manor regarding radio stations. Of the 485 people interviewed, only 8 say they prefer Siyaya FM to other stations (see figure 3, from Mhagama, 2004:55).

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[10]   Interview with management of Siyaya FM, June 2006

Figure 3
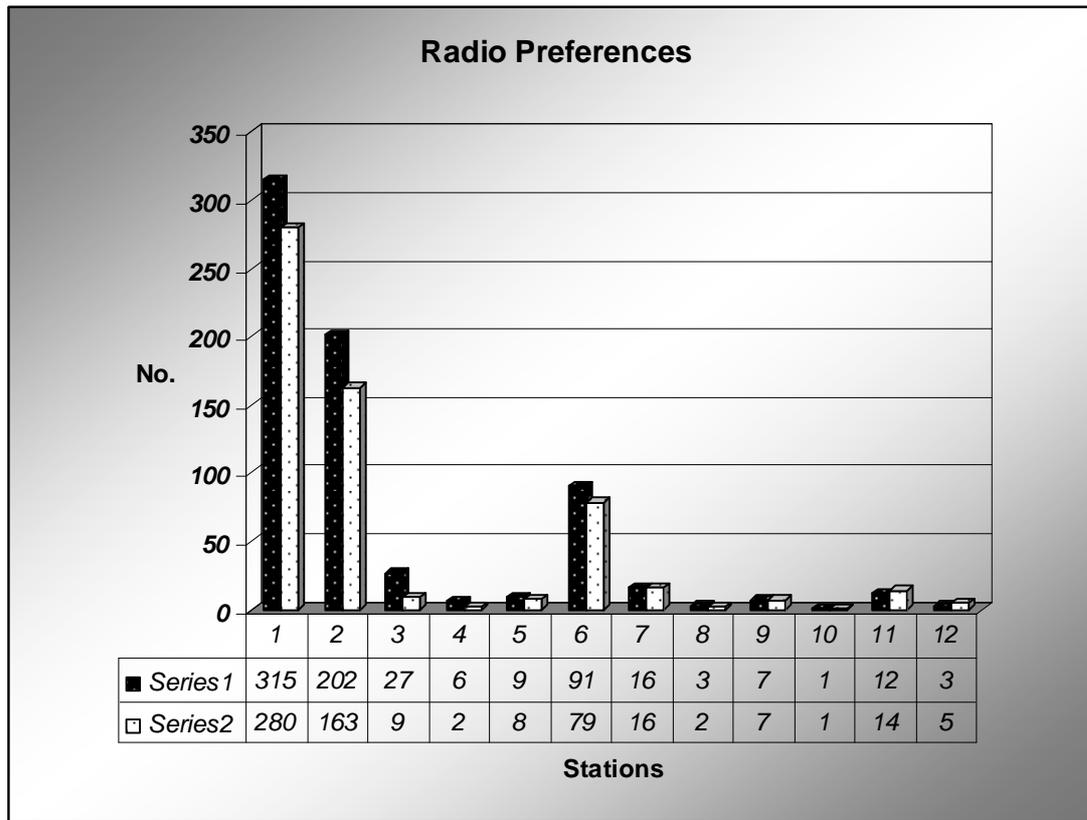
Listenership (Graphic presentation)
1 = Ukhozi FM (Series 1 = 'station last listened to'; Series 2 = Stations preferred.
2 = Metro FM
3 = Highway Radio
4 = SAFM
5 = Siyaya FM
6 = EastCoast Radio
7 = P4 Radio
8 = Imbokodo
9 = Umhlobo Wenene FM
10 = Maputaland Radio
11 = Durban Youth Radio
12 = Igagasi

According to informants of this research, it seems like the top three radio stations in Mhagama's study still are the main stations people listen to in Cato Manor. However, the research suggests that the main reason people do not listen to Siyaya FM is the lack of continuity because of only being granted licenses on periodic basis. Almost the entire group of informants claimed they would listen more frequently to Siyaya FM if it was granted a four-year license because they found Siyaya to be *their* radio station[11]. "If it was on everyday

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[11]   Focus-groups, August-September 2006

people would get used to it and would remember it. But now, it is difficult to know when it is on and not and then I tend to listen to other stations" (Focus-group interview, September 2006).

Listenership according to Mhagama shows that only about 1300 people prefer Siyaya FM as their main radio station (2004:53). The research is, though, conducted within Cato Manor, with only a few respondents from other areas. The respondents in my research are from both Cato Manor and other townships and it seems like there is more enthusiasm for Siyaya FM in other townships than in Cato Manor. These were the informants saying that they 'love Siyaya' (Focus-groups interview, August 2006). The impression this research gives is that people in townships that do not have their own community radio connect more to Siyaya FM than people in Cato Manor. This might, of course, depend on who was interviewed and also the age group of the interviewees. The younger respondents were more eager and engaged than the older respondents. The citizens of Cato Manor that were interviewed were not the most committed listeners, but they all claimed they would be more eager if the station was on air all the time. Some also claimed they did not always know when it was on and asked for more information about it. They all want the radio to be there, though, and wish for a four-year license. Then they would listen more and prioritize it as their main radio because they feel it belongs to them; "Yes, Siyaya FM is *our* radio station!" (Focus-groups, August-September 2006).

Siyaya FM has never conducted a proper survey of their listenership. They use the number of call-ins as a measure of how many people are listening to them. According to volunteers they use 30-50% of the time on air on call-ins, depending on what show is on air. The phone is ringing constantly during this time[12]. However, this can create an illusion that there are more people listening than there actually are. It might mean that some listeners are very eager and call a lot, but not necessarily that there are many people listening. It depends on who is talking on air, how the radio reacts to call-ins and what themes are being discussed. The management of the radio will normally have the last word in these decisions and in that sense it fits with the paradigm of modernisation, where the 'developer' is the expert and the beneficiary must just accept that decisions are made for them. The last, therefore, are not being put first (Chambers, 1983) and the result is that they can remain 'voiceless'.

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[12]   Interview with volunteers, August-September 2006

The ones calling in are not necessarily representing the other listeners or the others in the community. It might be that the ones who dare to call-in (or can afford to) belong to the 'higher' classes in the community, the ones with some education and money. Therefore it is ill-advised to base an impression on call-ins only, both in regard to total listenership and how representative it is of the entire community.

On the other hand, though, it can be a measure of how listeners find the programming. There might not be a big group of people listening, but of the ones who do, they listen very actively and are interested in what is being aired and is participating. Numbers are often emphasized in development work, while sometimes it might be that individuals gain a lot even though there are not so many of them. In this instance, it is quality, not quantity that is most important.

6.4 Staffing and programming

When the radio was to be launched, CMDA advertised for volunteers at *IZWI* and on local bulletin boards in Cato Manor. The first sixteen volunteers in Siyaya FM were all trained for three months by Kings Media at Highway Radio[13], where they were taught radio techniques, journalism and the concept of community radio. According to the management of CMDA, the first volunteers were mainly unemployed people from the grassroots and, considering their earlier experiences and exposures to radio, "…their achievements were impressive" (Interview, September 2006).

The process of selecting volunteers and training them is another example of top-down managing from the CMDA as it was directed by the association. On the other hand, CMDA provided the training to ensure the sustainability of the radio as the association was to be dismantled. Besides, the radio needed to be rooted in the community. This was ensured by selecting community members as volunteers. Participation is putting the last first and somehow this is what CMDA did.

This illustrates the difficulty of working according to the participatory approach. Issues of funding, organisation and time often provide difficulties for holistic development. The idea has to come from somewhere and often that must be from a place where funds are available.

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[13]   Interview with management, June 2006

Seldom will it start from the grassroots level in marginalised areas because of the lack of funding possibilities.

When Siyaya is granted a special event license the radio station is developing a structure of programs based on a theme for the month. In 2004 the themes were Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), Heritage Celebration and Summerbridge Project (Mhagama, 2004:64). In 2005 the themes for the three months of transmission were also BEE and Heritage Celebration, while the third was Youth Day, according to the management of the radio[14]. The radio management says Siyaya FM is occupied with the question of economy and how to give people knowledge and initiatives to move out of poverty. The programming is regarding "…issues that are more to do with social economic development, […] we also touch on issues of crime, touch of issues of health, housing issues, […] the latest development that has taken place in an area around our country, in and around Cato Manor" (Interview with management of Siyaya FM, June 2006). The programs during the day are normally introducing the main theme of the month from different angles, with interviews, open microphone, visits to different places and people and reports from events. While during the nights the programs are more based on dialogue with listeners about love and relationships. Music is an important part of Siyaya's programming and most phone-ins are music requests. The management is concerned with playing traditional and local music, but the radio also opens for music from other sources as well. Many of the listeners appreciate the choice of music in the station and are happy they can take part in deciding what music to be played. One of the elderly ladies says she really enjoys listening to the traditional music and she has requested songs she likes more than once[15]. Mhagama has organised the types of programs as shown in figure 4 (2004:66). The figure illustrates what kind of programs the radio station broadcasts and how often the different types are aired. The figure shows that Siyaya FM spends more time on informative programs than on the other two categories, even in the weekends, while educational programs are mostly transmitted during the week. Not unexpectedly, there are more programs with an entertainment profile during the weekends than during the week, as is normal in most broadcasters.

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[14]   Interview with management, August 2006
[15]   Interview with focus-group, September 2006

Figure 4 Monday to Sunday Program Content

Programme Content	Programming per day from Monday to Friday	Programming (Saturday)	Programming (Sunday)	Total per week
Educational	19	8	7	34
Entertainment	6	14	12	32
Informative	29	19	13	61

Mhagama notes that people's mood changes when it becomes weekend and therefore the entertainment programs are more easily digested than the educational ones on Saturdays and Sundays, while in the week people are ready to listen to informative programs and learn (2004:66). "Knowledge of this and the living or work patterns of the people is important because it helps to mix informative and entertainment [programs] properly, and this is effectively reflected in the [program] schedule of Siyaya FM" (Mhagama, 2004:66-67).

6.5 Participation and development of Cato Manor

As a community-based radio, Siyaya FM is supposed to be wanted by the community members and based in the local community.

> "Community radio [is] a type of radio made to serve people; radio that encourage expression and participation and that values local culture. Its purpose is to give a voice to those without voices, the marginalized groups and to communities far from large urban centers, where the population is too small to attract commercial or large-scale state radio" (Bruce Girard cited in Jankowski, 2002:7).

This section will discuss to what extent Siyaya FM realizes and deals with issues of empowerment, development and participation in the light of 'another development' theory.

6.5.1 Empowerment

The radio has expanded in terms of geographical reach, listenership and in the number and quality of volunteers. When the radio was established, it was expected to be an educator and to create opportunities for employment for the people of Cato Manor, not necessarily in the radio itself, but the radio was supposed to be a place to learn a skill to use in jobs elsewhere. Since the radio is a community radio, it is based on voluntary engagement with no salaries involved.

As the radio became more established, people from different places turned to it in order to gain experience and applied to become volunteers. Now volunteers are chosen because of their knowledge, skills and experience more than because of their belonging to the community of Cato Manor, thus there are several DJs and reporters from other areas involved with the radio[16]. The example of Coco in section 6.7 illustrates the importance of Siyaya for the volunteers. For these people, gaining experience at Siyaya FM is valuable because it will enable them to get a job. This is one of the most important ways in which the radio can empower people.

> "The process of controlling and producing communication is as important as the product itself. Both are seen as an integral part of the means towards enabling community access to, participation in and empowerment through creating and communicating their own messages to an audience of 'common interest'" (Scott cited in Hadland and Thorne, 2004:16).

Information and knowledge are means of power and the radio is instrumental in sharing such power with a broad base of people. In addition to giving people information, education and entertainment, Siyaya FM is able to empower people with skills of radio production. The volunteers say they do not only have enhanced knowledge regarding radio in general, but also in other areas of life. They have learnt technical skills, communication and listening skills, and about how to work with a community perspective. With the high unemployment rate in South Africa,[17] skills like these can support people in search for jobs. The 1996 census shows that Cato Manor has an unusually high number of young people and very low education and literacy levels in addition to high unemployment:

- There is a large number of youth in Cato Manor, 95% of them younger than 50 years.
- Education levels in Cato Manor are low with 12% of residents illiterate, 12% barely functionally literate and 20% educated between grades five and seven. Only 2% of the population has a post-matric qualification.
- With regard to employment, 44% of the economically active population is employed, while 29% is unemployed. A total of 6% more women than men are employed. A total of 76% of residents live in informal houses (such as traditional houses, shacks or tents) (Goodenough, 2006:20).

According to a survey on crime and security conducted among Cato Manor citizens in 2005, "[t]he high rates of unemployment and poverty were raised as key factors that are likely to

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[16]   Interview with management of the radio, June 2006

[17]   In 2003 the official unemployment rate was measured to 31.2% using the strict definition and 42.1% using the expanded definition (SA Human Dev. Rep, 2003:19-20). However the unemployment rate measured in September 2006 illustrates that the rate of employed is increasing. The unemployment rate in KwaZulu-Natal had fallen from 32.8% in September 2005 to 26.6% in September 2006. Still, though, it is the Black population that have the highest number of unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2007:xvii).

cause crime in Cato Manor" (Goodenough, 2006:21). These results illustrate the need for people to have a place where they can learn skills and also be informed in their own language and it shows the importance of a broadcaster compared to a newspaper.

The management of Siyaya FM claims that "…we have people who are working for SABC now, we have people who are working for P4 radio and we have people who have launched to different private sectors" (Interview, June 2006). Of the volunteers interviewed in this research three of five were working in media agencies, two in radio and one in a newspaper. The other two were working in other businesses, respectively as an attorney and within insurance. Other volunteers spoken to were also involved in different jobs. One of the Cato Manor residents, however, that used to be among the first sixteen volunteers was running a business, but barely making it financially. Anyway, this demonstrates that the experience working in Siyaya FM has been a good breeding ground for recruitment into employment, illustrating how involvement can create opportunities and empower people with skills.

Active listeners can also be empowered by the radio. Every time Siyaya FM is on air, the schedule provides time for people to come and learn the tool in the radio studio. During night time community members have the possibility to act as DJs and technicians for Siyaya FM. The management and the volunteers of Siyaya claim that listeners are encouraged to suggest topics and thereby learn more about issues that are important to them. Listeners can also engage in debates and communicate with other people in the community via the radio and thereby possibly avoid misunderstandings and distrust and develop social cohesion, as was one of the reasons for launching Siyaya FM. Volunteers involved in the station mentioned all these issues of knowledge and skills as important for them by being engaged within the community radio station.

Siyaya FM is a breeding ground for talent and a developer of skills. According to volunteers and focus-groups, there are people who have gotten jobs because of the knowledge and skills they received via Siyaya FM.

> "Sometimes I'd call the experts when it comes to small business how to make a decent plan, you know. I would just call somebody who's an expert in that field and then I would interview him, or her, on air and then people would just phone in with questions and then questions would be answered unlimitedly, ja, they are free to ask, you know, and that thing is free of charge, it was through Siyaya. Other people, they've got businesses now, they're driving expensive cars because of Siyaya FM" (Interview with volunteer, October 2006).

This knowledge was given to them for free through the radio and that is the difference between Siyaya FM and consultants that would charge for giving advices. More of the volunteers in Siyaya FM highlighted the importance of the radio to be a place where the community members could come to learn a skill in order to move on into employment. Even the Constitution of the radio station highlights this as one of their main objectives (Constitution of Siyaya, 2003:1). In addition, the radio station is committed to letting new people get a chance to volunteer both for the benefit of the person, to gain knowledge and skills, but also for the radio to expand its sound and its expression. The station manager says that he does not have a problem recruiting new volunteers: there are too many to choose from[18]. However, he also says that the high amount of people applying to positions as volunteers often makes him chose the ones with experience or higher education. Therefore the process is not promoting participation of the lower and marginalised classes as the radio does not put the first last by giving them opportunities.

Creating awareness among citizens is an important goal of the local radio in Cato Manor (Robinson and Forster, 2004:72), which serves to promote active citizenry. The management of CMDA highlighted the fact that many people in South Africa had to be taught how to be a citizen in a democratic country, because they had never been regarded as citizens with rights and obligations[19]. As a result there were many projects in South Africa in the mid-1990s dealing with information and education of democracy what it means to have citizenship, and Siyaya FM was partly part of this process. By explaining to people their rights according to the Constitution and also informing them about where and how to apply for different grants, scholarships and other social services, the radio station took part in the building of the nation and it can still be part of this process. According to the volunteers, the radio's main task is to develop the citizens and empower them with knowledge and information so they can act in the democratic South Africa, and this process of developing a nation is not done in a day, but it will, however, have long-reaching and long-term effects[20].

It is important for the management of the radio to be aware of who is empowered through the radio and to promote the possibilities of everybody being a part of the radio, especially the most marginalised groups. These people have fewer opportunities and need to be heard.

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[18]   Interview with management and volunteers of Siyaya, June-September 2006
[19]   Interview with CMDA-management August 2006
[20]   Interview with volunteer, October 2006

"Whether empowerment is good depends on who are empowered, and how their new power is used. If those who gain are outsiders who exploit, or a local elite which dominates, the poor and disadvantaged may be worse off" (Chambers, 1997:217). Local power structures often interfere in development processes to their own good and provide more possibilities to the local elite before people in the lower classes. The situation with ward-lords in power illustrates that this was a problem in Cato Manor, and one volunteer claims that there still are people who decide what and who shall be heard, that is why Siyaya FM is needed[21].

> "While the community radio sector is still very young, and it is therefore difficult and possibly even unfair to generalise, it would appear that even community radio is not breaking the mould when it comes to changing the means of production of the media. In fact, they risk becoming platforms for the empowerment of a few individuals, and have yet to succeed in developing a new, participatory pro-poor media vocabulary" (Duncan, 2003:10).

The radio station faces these obstacles and if the station management is not committed to putting the last first, the radio contributes to sustaining the existing power-relations and empowering already strong individuals. This is why it is important to have annual general meetings (AGMs) open for the entire community so that they can represent themselves as individuals and agree as a community on what the radio shall focus on and how to do it with the involvement of the citizens.

6.5.2 Development

Deputy President of AMARC and Executive Director of FEMNET (African Women's Development and Communication Network), Kenyan L. Muthoni Wanyeki says:

> "The nature of community media is participatory and the purpose….is development, a process of public and private dialogue through which people define who they are, what they want and how they can get it" (cited in Hadland and Thorne, 2004:23).

Is Siyaya FM able to provide the possibility for listeners to develop and define themselves and their needs? One problem is of course that the listener population is very small compared to the amount of people living in the area, as found in Mhagama's survey (2004). To create coherence and a public dialogue where the community is to gain and develop there need to be a broader listening population. On the other hand, this research shows that individual listeners believe the radio is working as a developing agent as a result of information and dialogue.

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[21]   Informal talks with volunteers, October 2006

"Siyaya FM is building a nation" (focus-groups, Sept. 2006). All the people interviewed said that they felt the radio belonged to them and that they owned the radio, meaning they feel this is the radio that is specifically meant for them and that they are a part of the changes it produces. Although all of them listen to other radio stations, they claimed that Siyaya FM is their radio and if it came back on air they would tune into that frequency. This is a strong demonstration of the attachment Siyaya FM inspires, the influence it possesses, and, therefore how potentially important it is for the development of the listeners. As Servaes highlights, when people are participating there are more chance for creating social change and development (Servaes, 1996:105).

First and foremost, the radio is a source of receiving and sharing information among the community members. Second, the radio provides opportunities to learn a skill and the knowledge learned can be used as a platform for further education or employment. Third, it is an educator of different issues and highlights issues that is not easily discussed in other settings, like HIV/Aids, discrimination of people with disabilities, domestic violence (also towards men) and it tries to tear down the hierarchical structures that might suppress certain groups of the population[22]. One volunteer highlights that there are community members that have learnt to read and write as a result of Siyaya FM. The radio informed about courses and promoted them in a way that made illiterate people want to go and later they received letters of appreciation saying that Siyaya FM helped them to become literate.

On the other hand, however, it has proven difficult to find concrete evidence that Siyaya FM has developed Cato Manor. The management says that a better financial situation would make Siyaya FM able to do more for the community. Then the radio could support development projects financially and in addition transfer more information to educate the citizens[23].

Siyaya FM can be seen as a development tool for the individuals that are listening to the radio and are engaging themselves in the radio and the community. However, Siyaya is not reaching the masses of Cato Manor and therefore is limited as a developer. There are different reasons for this, among them the limits to funding and licensing to be able to be on air all year round and therefore potentially reach more people. In addition, this research shows that the radio is not a project from the grassroots. It was commenced by CMDA and established in the

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[22]   Interview with volunteer, September 2006
[23]   Interview with management of Siyaya FM, October 2006

spirit of modernisation and the radio administration has not been able to engage the population enough to make a difference for the community as a whole.

6.5.3 Funding and licensing

Since the first license was granted, Siyaya FM has been granted several licenses and is now on air approximately three months a year, although there have also been times when the radio has been granted license but due to financial difficulties it has not been able to go on air, and other times when the radio has not been granted a license mainly because it is competing with other stations for the same dates for transmission. The manager of the radio thinks this is a shame for the listening population, but does not blame the system or ICASA for this inconsistency. He simply explains the situation as reflecting financial problems for the radio station and also the competition for the frequency. Mainly, however, if the finances were more stable they could apply for a license every three month and they would probably receive it as the different radio stations sharing the frequency are cooperating about the dates of transmission. In 2006 the radio was not on more than a half month, showing that there is more inconsistency in the finances than some years back. Siyaya FM was planning to be on air for three periods this year, but that did not happen, according to the management because of financial constraints[24]. To be able to receive a license they do not need much money, but they need to assure ICASA that they can finance the production. In addition, Siyaya FM needs to support volunteers with travelling-money. Therefore it is difficult for the radio station to sustain the goal of three transmission months a year.

Siyaya FM was first established with support from CMDA through money from the EU. The EU-money provided the station with technical equipment and training of the volunteers. CMDA then supported the radio by buying airtime from the radio. As mentioned above, the training of the first sixteen volunteers did also teach them financial matter on how to make the radio station financially sustainable[25]. However, when the radio was transferred to the ABM, it lost an important source of income in the CMDA and has struggled to be financially sustainable. As one volunteer in Siyaya FM states; 'When EU went back to Europe we faced financial difficulties. I really wish EU could come back and support us' (Interview, October, 2006). It is difficult for community radios to survive without donor support and as financial

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[24]   Interview with management of Siyaya FM, October 2006
[25]   Interview with CMDA-management, September 2006

pressures mount they consider potentially detrimental alternatives as shutting down or try to become commercial.

One of the main differences between community radio and other radio stations is that community-based radio is supposed to be non-profit, while commercial or private radios' highest goal is often to make money. The IBA Act, in addition to other regulations regarding community radio, makes a point of characterising community radio as not-for profit (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:23). However, community radio may be funded by "…donations, grants, sponsorships or advertising or membership fees, or by any combination of the aforementioned" (ICASA, 2006:8). This provides the opportunity for using advertisements to cover the running costs of a community radio, but mandates that any surplus the radio gains must be ploughed back into the community.

Listeners of Siyaya FM claim the radio would be able to do more with a four-year license and they understand there are limits to what the radio can do within a month, maximum three months a year. Therefore they all want the radio to apply for a four-year license. Both Tleane and Hadland and Thorne highlight the need for the government to realise the importance of the sector and support and encourage the sector to be "…able to communicate the government's development objectives" (Tleane, 2001:25) and "…keeping with key national developmental, constitutions and democratic objectives" (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:18). By supporting this sector financially and logistically, community radio would be able to meet the marginalised people that the government is not able to reach with other media sources.

There are several ways a community radio can gain income. Even though community radio is supposed to be non-profit and not commercial, there is a possibility for community radio to use advertisements as part of their income-generating activities. This option is increasingly appealing even though commercialism might create a different focus from the community focus. Some advertisements seem to be necessary to be able to sustain financially, therefore community radios must precede cautiously. According to both the management of Highway Radio and Siyaya FM, there are advertisements meant for everybody because they cover products that all people use, like toothpaste, flour etc[26]. Thus, community radio station

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[26]   Interview with managements, October 2006

managers are able to find reasons to use advertisements in spite of a non-affluent listener group.

This willingness to entertain advertisers has been met with lukewarm responses by advertisers because of the lack of affluent community members able and wanting to buy the products advertised on community radio stations. In addition, there is a lack of experience and expertise among the community members involved in community radio with regard to finance and marketing, making it difficult to attract the private sector.

> "Financially, community radio stations face considerable challenges. These include a lack of skills in planning, budgeting and fund-raising report writing skills. While some stations are having a degree of success by tapping into local businesses for advertisement and sponsorship, this is the exception rather than the rule. A shortfall in skills in advertisement and marketing is compounded by a lack of support from local (predominantly white) business. The limited broadcast radius imposed on many stations by their license conditions does little to alleviate this. Many stations operate in such poor, remote communities that they can never hope to become self-sustainable" (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:56).

The management of Siyaya FM insists that community radio stations are an underdeveloped and underused possibility for advertisers to reach a larger audience[27]. According to an article in *The Sunday Times*, community stations are the most popular airwave-medium in South Africa (Shevel, 2006). A survey conducted by SA Advertising Research Foundation shows that community radios have more than 20% of the listeners in South Africa in any given week. The SABC Zulu-station Ukhozi FM is second with also about 20% of all the listeners in South Africa and 66.4% of the listeners in KwaZulu-Natal, while commercial radios like Metro FM and East-Coast Radio are, respectively, number three and nine on the list with 17.5% and 6.6% of the listeners. Still East Coast Radio is the most profitable radio in South Africa. Advertisers might be missing out on the broader audience by choosing the commercial radios with whom they are more familiar.

> "Ivan May, the chief executive of community station 1485 Radio Today, said media buyers and planners needed to be "sold" community stations, because they tended to go the tried-and-testes traditional routes. "Media planners and buyers are missing the trick. Community radio is a secret weapon"" (Shevel, 2006).

Advertisers are not aware of the potential community radio stations have in reaching listeners, and often they rather opt for advertising in commercial and public media, in spite of a smaller listenership.

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[27]   Interview management of Siyaya FM, October 2006

"In 1999 community radio attracted about R8 259 491 in adspend. Total adspend for radio was R922 300 000. In 2000, community radio attracted only R6 717 269, while adspend for the whole radio sector increased by 32,7% to R1 223 800 000. In contrast, listenership figures for community radio have been growing year on year […] Yet these increases are not matched by increases in adspend for the sector" (Tleane, 2001:31).

As community radio stations seek advertisers, there is a need to educate the commercial sector. Advertisers might then grow to see community radio stations as an opportunity to reach a more broad-based and larger audience. Community radio stations might then be able to sustain financially. The management of Siyaya FM is cooperating with other community-based radios in greater-Durban in an attempt to influence the advertisers and commercial sector to see the opportunities within the community radio sector. The managers of different stations meet from time to time to work on this and on other matters regarding community radio[28]. The radio stations are dependent on adverts to sustain themselves financially.

Tensions between protecting community radio ideals and achieving sustainability is likely to persist even when funds are secured. According to the management at Highway Radio, a community radio needs to be run like a business. This radio station has a four-year license for community radio, but operates much like a business corporation. Their staff consists of 45 employees, 25 full-time employed and 20 volunteers. Everyone who is involved receives some sort of payment, the full-time employees are paid full-time, while the volunteers receive a certain amount per report and program they produce. The management says this is because in the end people do not want to work for them if they do not receive something in return, and also that community radio is a breeding ground for people to learn radio. If the radio cannot pay the volunteers, they will leave the station for greener pastures when and if the opportunity arises and then the community radio looses competent and skilled employees/volunteers and as a result, could lose some operating capacity until they can replace the volunteers[29]. However, according to the ideals of community radio, this radio sector should be based on volunteers that use the opportunity the community radio gives by learning a skill to lead them into a paid job later on. In their research Hadland and Thorne found that this constrains the organisation while benefiting the community.

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[28]   Interview with management of Siyaya FM, and from one of the meeting where I was present, October 2006

[29]   Interview with management of Highway Radio, October 2006

> "…[S]mall media organisations frequently complained over high staff and volunteer turnover rates. Just as volunteers had received their full quota of skills they acquired jobs often in the formal sector and moved on. While the inconvenience can be appreciated, the transfer of skills and opportunities for employment serve to highlight the important developmental impact of the sector" (2004:75).

Volunteer turnover might lead to a lack of capacity at certain stages, but it also provides the opportunity for even more people from the community to learn skills and thereby give more people the opportunity to get a paid job and potentially escape poverty. Siyaya FM is fully based on volunteers and there are always new volunteers for every transmitting period, but there seems also to be stability among many of the volunteers as they have been there since the start in 2001 and are still engaged in 2006. This might off course be because the radio has only been transmitting sporadically, one month a time. It makes it easier for people to commit themselves when it is only a short period. Although Siyaya FM does not pay the volunteers, it does support them with transport-money so they are able to go to and from the radio station. If the radio station was to apply and receive a four-year license, more full-time employees would be needed and some payment would necessarily be involved, at least in administrative positions.

Though it is operating more like a business than Siyaya FM, the management of Highway Radio claims it maintains its commitment to community radio and distinctions from commercial radio[30]. The management at Highway Radio says there is a need for passion about radio for the volunteers to commit themselves to the work, especially in a community radio, for even though they do get some payment in Highway it is not like the money popular DJs receives at larger, national stations and therefore the passion is needed to keep them going. Volunteers at Siyaya FM too seem to be very committed because they see that the radio can do something for the community and that means for them since they are part of it. They are proud to be part of something that wants to help the community to develop and give the community members possibilities, education, skills, training, a 'voice' and also entertainment based on their local language and heritage/culture/interest[31].

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[30]   Interview with management, September 2006
[31]   Interview with volunteers, August-September 2006

6.5.4 Participation of community members

> "The importance of community participation is highlighted in a range of contemporary South African policy initiatives including the Integrated Sustainable Rural development Strategy (ISRDS), the [URP] and the IDP. The community media sector not only facilitates such participation between community and government but embodies it too in the ownership, management and output of its organizations" (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:22).

The main focus of this research is to what extent and how Siyaya FM utilises the community members through participation with the radio. A community radio must be aware that without the listeners, it is nothing; the two parts need each other. As aforementioned, the difference between community radio and other types of media is that the first is more able to involve the audience and encourage their participation, thereby transferring the consumer from passive to active user (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:23). Listeners of Siyaya FM seem to believe and feel that Siyaya FM is *theirs*. "We are welcome to participate as listeners. We have visited the station" (Focus-groups, Sept. 2006). An important connection has been established between the listeners and Siyaya FM and that can lead to more involvement and participation among the community members in the future. However, the challenge is to keep this momentum when the radio is on air only one month out of time. It is difficult to know what the effect of the radio would be if they were granted a four-year license, but according to the listeners and the volunteers they all believe that the radio could do even more than now.

Siyaya FM is conscious of its role as a community organisation. Most of the volunteers interviewed showed a deep understanding of community radio and the role the community plays. They were preoccupied with the idea of participation, strived to connect with the community, and viewed the radio station as first and foremost a development tool and source of accessible information for the community. The volunteers interviewed said they used an average of 30% of the time on air on communicating with the listeners through, among others, debates and call-ins. This was mainly via call-ins of the listeners, but some time was also used on calling out to the community to conduct interviews or bringing community members into the studio. Active listeners suggest topics and themes to be discussed and the music to be played, in addition to providing the radio with information about things that are happening in the community. Respondents in two of the focus-groups said they took part in debates and suggested topics.

> "The DJs and reporters ask us what we want to be discussed or what themes that interests us and then they provide information about the themes we suggest. Some time they invite experts in the fields to come and talk in the studio and then we can call in questions or comments directly to that person" (Focus-groups, Aug-Sept. 2006).

In addition, the listeners send greetings to friends and family. One of the younger listeners said her mother also 'loved' Siyaya FM, so even though they are considered low on the Living Standard Measure-scale, her mother some times buys phone-cards for her to call the radio. However, phone expenses are quite high in South Africa, and in particular when using a cell phone with pre-pay cards. The listener community of Siyaya FM consists of different types of people, but mainly people that are living in townships, and it is not an affluent community. According to the eThekwini municipality's web site, "….Cato Manor residents include some of the poorest of the urban poor, despite the successes of the Cato Manor Development Programme […] The area remains characterized by a high unemployment rate and social [f]ragmentation" (http://www.durban.gov.za). Therefore not all listeners can afford to call in to the radio and definitely not talk for long. It might prevent some of the listeners from being active listeners. This is the reason why the radio station has to be aware how much time it can use on call-ins per show so that the poorest do not feel alienated by not being able to contribute and being involved. This then, becomes an issue of how financial means leave some people out of discussions and talks on the radio station. The ones that can afford to talk long will probably participate more and have more time on air. As mentioned, the volunteers try to keep the conversations short and this might therefore avoid the indifferences between the listeners, but it might also deny people the possibility to contribute with questions and comments.

The research shows that when beneficiaries are allowed to participate, they gain more and the development effects are higher than if they are passive recipients, as is also argued in participatory approaches and the 'another development' theory. The most active listeners were also the ones most able to articulate how they had benefited from the radio and what the radio meant for them. In particular people feel that Siyaya FM is meant for them and they are informed about local happenings through the radio. In addition, some of the young listeners said they could ask for help regarding schoolwork and they were given ideas about further studies and different possible careers. "It's like they are talking directly to us and they represent us. The DJs answer our requests, unlike other radio stations we have called to" (Focus-groups, Sept., 2006).

6.6 Is Siyaya FM able to be sustainable?

According to Siyaya FM listeners and volunteers, they all want Siyaya FM to apply for, and receive, a four-year license. "We want Siyaya FM to get a four-year license, or even a license that lasts forever" (Focus-groups, Sept. 2006). They hope for life time status because they 'love' Siyaya FM and believe that it is their radio, a radio that cares about their community and that is accessible for them as listeners[32].

To receive a four-year license, ICASA has established the following criteria:

- be fully controlled by a non-profit entity and carried on or to be carried on for non-profitable purposes;
- serve the interest of the relevant community;
- support from the relevant community;
- encourage members of the relevant community to participate in the selection and provision of programs;
- the need, demand, capacity and expertise of the applicant must be demonstrated:
- submission of a business plan and proof of funding for the first term of the license;
- demonstrate technical quality of the service (ICASA, 2006:10-11).

In addition to the above-mentioned points, a radio also needs to find an available frequency before being able to apply for a four-year license. Before applying for a license Siyaya FM could consult Sentech, the agency that knows if a frequency is available or not. Alternatively, they could contact ICASA directly. Siyaya FM has asked the agency for an available frequency, as it now seriously considers applying for a four-year license[33].

It is important that Siyaya FM receives a new frequency because the frequency the radio uses now is shared with other radio stations, and this frequency has been opened up for grabs as a commercial radio station. From the beginning of 2007, it will be taken over by the selected applicant and it will become a provincial radio station. The application fee for this frequency (103 FM) is set to ZAR30 000[34], therefore the application fee is financially burdensome, and Siyaya FM is not yet ready to consider acting as a commercial station. If Siyaya FM wants to stay a community radio for the community of Cato Manor and greater-Durban, it is not an alternative to change into a commercial provincial radio station. Siyaya FM has the equipment for transmitting and the experience, but is uncertain about becoming a commercial radio. To change from a community radio to a commercial radio would mean quite a lot of changes in

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[32]   Interview with focus-group, Oct. 2006
[33]   Talks with management of Siyaya FM, October 2006
[34]   Geshana Nadesan, interview on Oct 27th 2006

regard to structure and focus, a move that would take it away from its community roots. If another frequency is not secured and the currently becomes a provincial radio station, Cato Manor and the areas around will lose its station.

For Siyaya FM, as for many other community radio stations, their financial sustainability depends on their ability to generate funds. The radio intends to be on air approximately three times a year, but in 2006 they were not on air for one whole month, the last transmitting period being December-January 2005/2006. This is partly because the license was granted another radio station, but it is also related to economics and lack of funds. Siyaya FM was born as many other community radio stations with support from an organisation, in Siyaya's case it was the European Union (EU). In 2002 the radio was granted its' first special event-license and the same year EU "…went back to Europe" (interview with volunteer, Oct. 2006). The same year the CMDA stopped operating as an organisation and the projects of CMDA were transferred to the municipality. Thereby the radio did neither have the support from EU, nor a steady income from airtime sold to CMDA. Thus, the radio was without continuous financial support and had to try to make its' own way to sustainability. The route they chose was the special event licenses for some months per annum. The reason for this choice was to give the management more room to raise funds in between the months they were going on air, but this choice also shut down some opportunities. The National Community Radio Forum (NCRF), for instance, is a source of possible funding, but only for radio stations that already have been granted four-year licenses. They do not support stations with special event licenses and they are not able to help them get a four-year license, they can only support them after receiving the license[35]. In Siyaya FM's case, the radio would first need a four-year license to be assured of financial support from the organisation and in addition they need more sources of funding than from the NCRF only. For Siyaya FM to receive a four-year license the radio has to assure ICASA that they can manage financially[36].

Siyaya FM has been able to receive special event licenses. However, success in attaining a license has been unpredictable. This uncertainty can make it difficult to sell airtime for advertisements because they cannot be sure that the radio will be on air at a set time. This is not secure enough for advertisers that might have campaigns at certain periods and need to be assured of getting the airtime they buy at the time they were promised. Siyaya FM faces a

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[35]   Geshana Nadesan, interviewed on October 27th 2006
[36]   Interview with volunteer, October 2006

difficult situation because the radio needs the access to money before they can apply for a license while advertisers will not promise money until they are assured the license is granted. Therefore, it is unlikely that Siyaya FM will be able to rely on advertisement as their only source of funding. The management at Siyaya FM also complained about the ignorance of advertisers regarding community radio and highlighted the possibilities within community radio because of the relationship to the listeners in the community and also the large amount of listeners within communities. They will try to appeal to the social consciousness of the advertisers to buy airtime in townships as well and tell them that they have a responsibility for the development of the nation as owners of capital[37]. In addition, there is a group of community radio stations in the Durban area that are trying to focus on the positive elements of advertising in community radio for the business sector[38]. They are hoping to influence the private sector to focus more attention on communities and particularly community radios. At the same time, as a community radio Siyaya FM is not supposed to depend on adverts alone, it can also use membership fees, sponsors from local organisations, donations from community members and organisations and support from NRCF and other institutions. Therefore it is important for Siyaya to do research on the possibilities that exit for funds and also work more on the local ownership among listeners in Cato Manor for the community to be more supportive of the radio, also in financial terms. The lack of listeners in Cato Manor proves the lack of participation and feeling of ownership among the community members. If the community felt they owned the radio they would probably be more supportive also regarding money. However, it must be remembered that the listeners of Siyaya FM are not among the wealthy establishment of South Africa and therefore might not be able to pay membership fees or donations.

The station manager in Siyaya FM claims that if only the political and commercial forces knew the degree of listenership and understood the importance of the community radio, advertisers would use community radio more frequently and use that communication tool to send their messages and inform the audience about their issues[39]. However, as Thomsen also argues, the income from advertisement often is disproportional in favour of the big media companies because of their large audience and this leads to a spiral of fortune for the ones gaining most advertisement because the more audience, the more money. This trend increases

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[37]   Interview with management of Siyaya FM, October 2006
[38]   Interview with management of Siyaya FM on a meeting with different community radios, October 2006
[39]   Interview, June 2006

a stations ability to make more sophisticated programming, which in turn increases audience and access to money and thereby its capacity for programming. This spiral, then, has a negative effect for the less fortunate media organisations that do not have as much audience in the first place and therefore are not able to sell airtime for advertisements, do not receive funds that increase the capacity to make better programs and therefore do not increase their listener-ship. These smaller radio stations lose out (2005:20).

"The future success of small media rests on its ability to transform into a shared communication vehicle between all community stakeholders including civic structures, NGOs, educational institutions, local business, citizens and government" (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:62-63). These kinds of partnerships can be fruitful for the community as a whole and might create a greater chance of sustainability because both the organisations and the radios benefit while both acting towards the development of the same community. Siyaya FM has not yet tried this path of cooperation. At the same time, though, the question of independence when engaging closely with organisations with specific motives remains.

Community radio stations might also collect membership fees. This is most likely needed in addition to other sources of funding because the membership fees cannot be higher than what community members can pay, and it is not likely that everyone can or will like to become a paying member. Highway Radio, as a Christian radio station, has the support from many churches and they have the churches as their paying members, thereby generating a portion of income from the members and also proving to the ICASA that they are accepted and supported by their community.

Hadland and Thorne believe there is an unutilized potential for community media in South Africa in organising into community communication centres to merge radio, video and paper with new technology and in particular, ICT to be able to leapfrog other media and also "…'piggy-back' on government effort to promote an 'information society' through the provision of universal access to ICT" (2004:62). While it is not clear which funding or partnership strategy will prove most popular or successful, it is clear that community radio stations must think and act deliberately to achieve self-sustainability.

Due to being on air only one month from time to time, it is difficult to say how much Siyaya FM has influenced the community with regard to democracy and citizens' participation.

However, funding and access to frequencies and licenses limit the reach of the radio and diminish the hope for the community of development and empowerment. Easier access to funds and licenses can be part of the solution to the South African development goals, using the community radio stations to empower community members through information, education and access to the airwaves.

6.7 From Siyaya FM to BBC

'Coco' tells her story of being a volunteer in Siyaya FM and what opportunities the engagement in the radio opened for her. The experiences and knowledge she gained has changed her life and her as a person.

Being a volunteer in Siyaya changed the life of one of the volunteers. 'Coco'[40] labels herself as 'ordinary', a young African woman from a township in Durban. She is in her early 20s and has been living in a township all her life. As some other young women in South Africa she has been able to study because of scholarship grants. She has always been interested in communication and politics and says she has many stories to tell. She studied journalism and wanted to find out how much was expected of her and to get some practical experience before entering a working situation as a journalist. She came to know one of the volunteers in Siyaya FM during her studies and through this contact she was introduced to the station manager and was welcomed as a volunteer at the radio station. As a student of journalism, news was her main interest and she liked the idea of bringing news to the people in their own language and also modified for people to understand. She hoped to urge Siyaya FM to bring news more heavily into its programming. In spite of her focus on news, as a volunteer she had to work with other aspects as well and found herself serving the station at the same time as a DJ, a reporter, presenter and news reader at Siyaya FM. She experienced all aspects of working in radio, including the technical part. She has spent time there for several periods since 2004 with different programs. Usually she has also been occupied with studies during the transmission periods and therefore not available all the time, but she had regular shows every week throughout the month Siyaya FM has been on air.

When Coco began working for Siyaya FM, news was already on the agenda, but Coco says she helped modify it and focus it on the audience so that it would be of current interest to the

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[40]   Name being changed in accordance with the interviewee

community of Siyaya FM. For international news stories, she would try to modify it to be of interest for the listeners. She also introduced important aspects of the world that many in the community would not normally care about because of lack of understanding and experience, but when she introduced it and explained it in their 'language' people could see the importance of this also in their own lives. The issue of providing important topics and news to people in a way they can understand it and relate to it is what she sees as her main task in the world. She has so many stories to tell and if she is not telling them, who will, and how are people to know then if nobody tells these stories? Coco's dream-job is to be a science reporter, where she can "…facilitate understanding between the ordinary person and scientific breakthroughs" (interview with volunteer, Oct. 2006).

Coco started in the community radio Siyaya FM because she wanted experience. She explains that it is very difficult to be allowed to work in the big stations or newspapers when you are still "…wet behind your ears" (interview Oct. 2006). It is easier to get access to community radio stations, and in addition, in order to support her dream of making scientific information more accessible, she wanted to understand 'normal' people and she finds more normal people are listening to community radio stations, while the commercial stations often have more affluent listeners. She feels Siyaya FM reaches all different kinds of people, partly because there are no intimidating commercials that make people feel they are poor and not able to buy all the stuff in the adverts and that is also one of the main reasons why she likes Siyaya FM and feels the radio belongs to her and to her community.

Being a volunteer in Siyaya FM was the first step for Coco on her way to become a paid journalist. She now works for a newspaper and, because of her experiences in Siyaya FM and those that followed, she did not have a problem getting the job when she applied. She claims that working in radio made her more confident and also more humble in relation to other people. She says she used to be very stubborn about including her own opinions and expressing her views, but after working in Siyaya FM she realised that she had to listen to other opinions and to use time to understand the other side of the argument. Then she often found that there were aspects to agree upon even though she totally disagreed on the main view. Coco says the experience from Siyaya FM also helped her gain communication skills as it taught her how to express herself clearly without creating confusion, and with confidence even in talking to people of all types. It was as if "…you're not scared of anybody, but not

that you respect them less; you try to accommodate any person from whatever background or whatever calibre or whatever they are and want" (interview with volunteer, Oct. 2006).

Coco was introduced to Siyaya FM in the middle of a transmission period and had to jump into it without any proper training. She was taught the basic technical skills and because of her journalism studies she already knew a lot about reporting, the rest she had to learn through trying. However, the management was always very helpful and engaged and always willing to answer questions if there was something she wondered about. This knowledge has taken her a long way. She says her engagement in Siyaya FM changed a lot in her life. The main change happened one day people from BBC in the United Kingdom came to visit her teaching institution and said they needed people to help them when they were making reports from South Africa in general and KwaZulu-Natal specifically. Because of Coco's knowledge about radio she was chosen to be one of the BBC-crew when they are working in South Africa. She acts as a free-lancer for them and they are free to call her and ask if she is available for them to use her when they are in South Africa, and particularly in KwaZulu-Natal. This has not been often yet, but they are in touch with her and she is ready to work for them when they need her, at least as long as it works out for the paper where she works. She is a reporter in the paper where she is mostly engaged in news. The paper is part of the Media 24-group and a national paper, so her stories are told nation-wide. She says she has so many stories to tell and if she does not tell them, who will? Although she is now fully occupied in the paper she is also thinking about making documentaries about issues of importance to ordinary people in townships in South Africa. Coco is still faithful towards Siyaya FM, however, and still wants to volunteer for the radio station when it is on air. Siyaya FM is still *her* radio station and she has a sense of belonging and connecting to and with the community when working there.

Coco would like the radio station to transmit more often, but as she sees it, the problem is funding and sustainability. She says the people working for the radio have so many ideas about stories and projects to do, but because the license lasts for only one month and the station consistently faces financial constraints, the possibilities for helping the community even more are limited.

7.0 Conclusion

To sum up the above analysis there is a lack of evidence that Siyaya FM means a lot to the citizens of Cato Manor in general with regard to development and empowerment. The radio station is not able to keep the listeners because of few months on air and they are not able to connect with the masses in periods off air. To a certain degree they are not connecting with the masses of residents, as there are only some one thousand people listening to the radio station. However, people who take part in the radio, as volunteers or active listeners, have been empowered through knowledge and skills that has lead to employment and literacy. This illustrates the importance of participation, as described by Chambers (1997:216). In addition, the lack of listeners shows that the radio is not an initiative completely embedded in the grassroots which is needed for Siyaya FM to benefit the community members in general. For a community radio to act according to participatory approaches it needs to be embedded in the people. Unless it might happen that the radio creates imbalances and hierarchies between people by empowering people already powerful (Chambers, 1997:217).

Siyaya FM is to a certain degree empowering the listeners by informing them and teaching them technical skills. However, the way much of the work is being done is according to modernisation theory. The volunteers and the management of Siyaya FM believe they have much to teach the listeners, thereby demonstrating a top-down perspective. They see Siyaya FM as an educator and a developer because the radio provides information to the people, not so much as a result of participation by the community members. On the other hand, though, they are conscious of their own development as individuals and are grateful to Siyaya FM for giving them a breeding grown. This illustrates that the radio, and the way it operates, is influenced by both modernisation theory and 'another development' theory. Mhagama claimed that Siyaya FM was mostly influenced by the modernisation theory, while this study finds that both theories are possible to apply. Siyaya FM was established by the CMDA because the organisation needed a source to broadcast news about the projects. The radio was welcomed by the public and people involved were engaged and enthusiastic about it and the radio became important for listeners. Now the radio is only transmitting from time to time, meaning the masses of listeners are not satisfied and therefore are not benefiting from the development work of the radio.

On the other hand, however, the faithful listeners claim they have a relationship to Siyaya FM and will listen to it every time it goes on air. They say they are represented as women, men, young and old and that their heritage and culture are presented more often than in other radio stations. In addition they feel accepted as they are allowed to talk on air and are listened to when they have suggestions. The conclusion, therefore, is that Siyaya FM is operating according to modernisation theory more than 'another development', meaning that the community members are not as involved and engaged as promoted by participatory approaches.

It is difficult to know what would be the best way to go for Siyaya FM. There are lots of radio stations competing for funds, advertisers, licenses and listeners, leaving Siyaya FM with small chances of succeeding and sustaining. However, it is possible to promote some recommendations:

- First of all it is important that the radio station figures out how important the radio is to the citizens of Cato Manor through a proper evaluation. If the community members are not interesting in the radio's existence, there is no use to keep the radio operational
- If there is excitement about the radio, Siyaya FM can involve itself with other organisations in Cato Manor like NGOs and CBOs to develop a broader perspective of community interest and also a broader audience. It might be possible to find other ways of funding, for instances through membership fees and fundraising with the help of other organisations that has more experience in this regard. In addition, a cooperation of community organisations can open other doors to funding
- Siyaya FM can involve itself with other communication agencies to create a multi-communication centre. Siyaya FM can earn from this relationship with regard to administration, listernership and fundraising (Hadland and Thorne, 2004:56)
- With help from other organisations the radio station should apply for a four-year license and then apply for funds from NCRF to produce programs that are of interest for the other organisations as well
- Search NCRF, MDDA and AMARC Africa for possible funds and work with attracting advertisers
- If there is no will in the community members to contribute to the radio, there is actually no need for the radio. This need to be a project with support from the listeners

and it must be something they find useful as a source of communication, empowerment and development. It needs to be a community initiative to be participatory and to give a voice to the different groups of Cato Manor

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Appendix 1

This is a list of topics to be covered in the in-depth interviews and focus-groups. The questions will vary between the different interviews and focus-groups, but the main focus will be on participation and information-flow between the radio and the community, with more in-depth questions with the volunteers and the management.

In-depth interviews with manager and CMDP management:
- What is your involvement with CMDP and SiyayaFM?
- What is the history of Siyaya FM? Who came up with the idea of a radio?
- How was it to be funded?
- Degree of listener ship/level of involvement/ How are you involved in Siyaya FM?
- How was the community involved in the set-up of the radio? Was the radio wanted by the community members?
- What is the involvement of community in the board, leadership, management and among the volunteers?
- What do you believe the radio station can do as part of a development project?
- How was empowerment of the community implemented in the radio project?
- Sustainability of the radio – how was this planned and acted upon, both financially and human resources?
- Plans for the future?
- Evaluation of the radio?
- Does the radio have:
    - o A strategic plan and direction
    - o Capacity to attract resources from a variety of partners
    - o Ability to manage resources efficiently

In-depth interviews with volunteers:
- Tell be about you and Siyaya
- When did you become a volunteer?
- Why did you become a volunteer in Siyaya FM?

- How did you hear about Siyaya and how did you become a volunteer?

- Was it difficult to become a volunteer? How was the process?

- Where are you from? Does that matter in regard to the audience of Siyaya?

- Do you feel you can communicate with the community of Cato Manor and Siyaya?

- What do you do in the radio?

- What program do you host?

- How much do you plan your own show? Is it in accordance with the manager and other volunteers?

- How much do you know about the other programs, in which you do not take part?

- How is the organisation of Siyaya seen with your eyes? Could things be better/changed?

- What do you bring into Siyaya and the community through your involvement in Siyaya?

- What is your favourite thing about Siyaya?

- What do you do when you are not involved in Siyaya FM?

- Has your engagement in Siyaya meant something for your plans ahead in life?

- Have you used your experience in Siyaya in other parts of your life?

- Who make sure there is coherence between the different programs?

- What are your plans and hopes for the future?

- What do you believe the radio station can do as part of a development project?

- How has Siyaya FM affected your life?

- Have things changed after Siyaya FM was established in your life? How?

- What is important for you with regard to the radio?

- Are there aspects of the radio you do not feel comfortable with? What?

- What would your life be without Siyaya FM?

- Would you want Siyaya FM to transmit more often?

- What is the difference between Siyaya FM and other radio stations for you?

- What would your life be without your involvement in Siyaya FM? How/Why?

- How was your training before starting as a volunteer?

- Are you as volunteer encouraged to involve the community members in your shows? How do you do that?

- What do you think your engagement means for the radio and the community? What do you bring into the radio?
- How is your involvement with the community during transmitting?
- Is Siyaya FM *your* radio station?

Focus-groups:
- Do you listen to this frequency also when Siyaya FM is not on air?
- What do you listen to when Siyaya FM is not transmitting?
- How are you involved in Siyaya FM?
- How was the community involved in the set-up of the radio? Was the radio wanted by the community members?
- How has Siyaya FM affected your life?
- Have things changed after Siyaya FM was established in your life? How?
- What do you believe the radio station can do as part of a development project?
- Are you encouraged to be an active radio-listener (participate) through Siyaya FM? How?
- Were you engaged in the set-up of the radio? How?
- What is important for you with regard to the radio?
- Are there aspects of the radio you do not feel comfortable with? What?
- What would your life be without Siyaya FM?
- Would you want Siyaya FM to transmit more often?
- What is the difference between Siyaya FM and other radio stations for you?
- What would your life be without your involvement in Siyaya FM? How/Why?
- How is gender issues presented through Siyaya FM?
- Do you think your age group is fairly represented in the radio programs?
- Should there be more women, men, old, young represented in Siyaya FM? Why and how?