OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL IN COMMUNITY RADIO

A CASE STUDY OF HIGHWAY RADIO AND RADIO MARITZBURG

By: Habteab Teklemicael
201511570

Supervisor: Professor Ruth Teer-Tomaselli

Submitted to the Faculty of Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Masters of Arts in the Graduate Programme in Culture, Communication and Media Studies

May 2004
DECLARATION

I, Habteab Teklemicael declare that this research project, entitled "Ownership and control in community radio: a case study of Highway Radio and Radio Maritzburg" is my own work. All sources used in this text and all contributors have been given full acknowledgment. Further, I declare that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or examination in any other university.

........................................
Signature (H. Teklemicael)
........................................
May 2004
Durban

All work for this thesis was completed at the former University of KwaZulu- Natal.
AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I give glory to my Lord, Jesus Christ, who enabled me to accomplish all my work successfully. He is my strength in all aspects of my life. I would like also to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Ruth Teer-Tomaselli. She played a great role in solving all my problems, from the beginning up to the end, enabling me to complete this research successfully. I express my heartfelt appreciation to her for her patience with all my shortcomings. Without her, this research would have been very challenging to accomplish successfully.

I sincerely thank all CCMS staff members who gave me encouragement and advice during the research. Special thanks to Professor Keyan Tomaselli and Susan Govender for their support in facilitating my work. I also express my appreciation to Anusha Govender for her encouragement and effort in the final accomplishment of my work. I thank also Thembsa Mjwacu for sharing with me her advice and experience in the research.

I extend my sincere thanks to Highway Radio staff members: Pastor Luke Lunga, Lionel Leigh, Bev Camitses, Petros Msomi and the receptionists. I sincerely thank the Radio Maritzburg staff members: Mizi Sibiya, Sbu Molefe, Mazet Shabalala and Eric Sthembiso. I appreciate the cooperation of the staff members of both radios, with the collection of the desired data from their radio stations.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AGM: Annual general meeting.
AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.
IBA: Independent Broadcasting Authority.
ICASA: Independent Communication Authority of South Africa.
HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus.
NGO: Non-Governmental Organization.
SATRA: South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority.
LIST OF APPENDICES

Part one: Radio Maritzburg

Appendix 1: Organizational chart.
Appendix 2: Conditions of Licence.
Appendix 3: Business Plan.
Appendix 4: Deed of Trust.
Appendix 5: Personal interview with Sbu Molefe.
Appendix 6: Personal interview with Muzu Sibiya.
Appendix 7: Personal interview with Mazet Shabalala.
Appendix 8: Personal interview with Eric Sthembiso.

Part two: Highway Radio

Appendix: 9 Organizational Chart.
Appendix: 10 Articles of Association.
Appendix: 11 Memorandum of Association.
Appendix: 12 Personal interview with Lionel Leigh.
Appendix: 13 Personal interview with Bev Camitses.
Appendix: 15 Personal interview with Petros Msomi.
ABSTRACT

This research discusses the basic characteristics of community radio in relation to the types of communities they serve. The researcher focussed on Highway Radio and Radio Maritzburg. They are assessed in terms of their commonalities and differences in ownership, mission, governance, organizational structure and administration systems. One of the main differences between Highway Radio and Radio Maritzburg is the mission for which they were licensed and the type of community they serve. Radio Maritzburg was licensed to serve the geographic community of Pietermaritzburg and its surrounding areas. Its main mission is to create peace and harmony in the community, to encourage local artistic skills, to develop family values and enhance community upliftment through entertainment and educational services. On the other hand, Highway Radio was licensed as a community of interest radio station to serve the Christian community living in Durban, Pinetown and its surrounding areas. Despite Highway Radio broadcasts different programmes to serve the geographic community, its main mission is to proclaim the Gospel of Christ as a principle function of evangelism and to enhance harmony among the churches.

Radio Maritzburg broadcasts the programmes in six languages to cover the diversified linguistic groups in the community while Highway Radio broadcasts only in three languages. The concept of diversity in Highway Radio is to accommodate the diversified Christian churches rather than focussing on the linguistic diversity. These two radios are owned and controlled by their respective communities. The communities members are responsible for maintaining the radios in terms of programming, financing, and controlling the stations. In both radios, the communities control the radios through the Boards that are nominated by the respective communities at the annual general meeting.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration  
Acknowledgement  
List of acronyms and abbreviations  
List of appendices  
Abstract  
Introduction  
Section one  
Normative theories underpinning the concept of community radio  
1.1. Media in the community  
1.1.1. Community  
1.1.2. Community radio  
1.1.3. Community radio in South Africa  
1.2. Normative theories of communication  
1.2.1. Democratic participatory theory  
1.2.1.1. Democracy  
1.2.1.2. Representative democratic theory of media  
1.2.1.3. Interactive participatory of democratic theory  
1.2.2. Theory of media ownership and control  
1.2.2.1. Regulation from external sources  
1.2.2.2. Regulation within the media organization  
Section two  
The community, background and mission of Highway Radio and Radio Maritzburg  
2.1. Methods of data collecting  
2.2. The communities of the two radios  
2.3. Background of the radios  
2.4. Mission of the radios  
2.5. Communalities and differences in the background and mission of the two radios
INTRODUCTION

Since the 1950s, different organisations began to draw attention to the role of communication in accelerating developmental activities. They considered mass media as powerful instruments that could enable the extension of techniques from developed countries to the underdeveloped ones. The communication approach developed during that time, however, was identified by many scholars as unproductive, since it was a top-down model. The target audience was treated as passive receivers of the messages that have been decided by the central disseminator (Servaes, 1999: 83). This top-down model placed the senders in the central position to impose their influence on the target audience. As Jan Servaes explained, this situation made many communication scholars recommend restructuring the linear communication system. This can be done by placing the community members at the centre to make them an integral part of the communication process and develop a community driven communication system. The development of community radio can be a result of such community development strategy.

In fact, as Ad Boeren (1992: 47) explained, no change will take place in the lives of a marginalized community without the development of appropriate values, attitudes and stock of knowledge. In terms of this understanding, community radios are established based on the needs and aspirations of the community members to accommodate (in principle) the diversified views of the community democratically.

At the heart of the philosophy of community radio is oppositional theory and practice that aim in part to redistribute the power of communication by claiming for groups that are socially and politically marginalized and oppressed the right to a fair share of resources so as to take control of their own lives (Teer-Tomaselli, 1998:163).

Empowerment is achieved through the interactive approach in which different point of views are accommodated. So that the community members express their aspirations and broaden their perspectives.
It may not be possible to give a clear and specific definition for community radios; however, there are certain attributes that are particularly applicable to these media. According to the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC), one of the basic characteristics that differentiate community radios from the other type of radio broadcasting is the idea of ownership and the way they are governed (Bonin and Opoku-Mensah 1998). This concept of ownership is fundamental to understanding the structure of media and how the owners exercise their power to control the organization. Ownership is one of the factors determine the roles of the radios and organizational structure. “There are several forms of ownership of different media, and the powers of ownership can be exercised in different ways” (McQuail, 2000: 198).

Even among the community radios themselves, there are different formats of pursuing their objectives. That is, community radios as community based media should have certain distinctive characteristics that differentiate-one from the other based on the purpose for which the stand and the scope of the coverage. So identifying the basic distinctive features that differentiate one from the other and their common characteristics is important to understand the real nature of community radio. This research focuses on the two types of community radio with regard to the relationship between their ownership and control, along with the type of community they serve. The researcher concentrates on Highway Radio and Radio Maritzburg. Special attention is given to their individual characteristics and common attributes with regard to structures, governance, administration systems and their missions in relation to their respective types of community they serve.
SECTION ONE

Normative theories underpinning the concept of community radio

1.1. Media in the community

With the emergence of ‘Another Development’ theory in the early 1980s, the attention of many communication scholars began to shift towards finding ways of placing the community members at the centre of development communication activities (Servaes, 1999). The stress on the importance of a subject-generated communication strategy, driven by the beneficiary communities, has attracted greater academic attention to community-based media.

The value of a community medium depends not on using highly organized and sophisticated instruments, but on interactive and participatory forms of communication. It ought to reflect the immediate concerns of the community’s situation by involving the community members in the production and exchange of views. It deals with various issues such as environmental problems, literacy activities, health related programmes, family planning, agricultural productivity, gender equality, messages related to religion and other different contents. These support the enhancement of the community’s life in different aspects – socially, economically, politically and others. Such a medium reflects the real background of the community. “What made the medium tick with a lot of development is its ability to build on skills the people already have… It combines the entertainment value of the performing arts with their capacity to highlight issues related to community development.” (Boeren, 1992: 48). It encourages the members of the community to understand the developmental factors and think of themselves as sources of development, so that they can identify and respect their innate capacity and engage their experiences positively.
To give specific definition to the concept of community media is not easy. According to Paul Beaud (1981: 13) “as opposed to the ‘mass media’ the community media establish communication in a restricted circuit”. This reduction of context implies that the scope of communication is restricted to a given community. In this case, the basic concept that distinguishes the community media is the stress on the idea of community.

1.1.1. Community

It is not easy to decide from which point of view to approach the concept of community, because it is a general term applied in different situations, beginning from a specific area such as rural community or urban community up to broad concepts such as Arabic community, European community and others. “At various times, reference is made to prison communities, military communities, religious communities, academic communities, and so on” (Poplin, 1972: 4). According to this definition, the term ‘community’ refers to a condition in which people find themselves engaged in interwoven and meaningful relationships with their fellows. The cooperative action and sense of belonging are among the common attributions of the concept of community. As many writers suggest, the factors binding people together as a community is a state of mind on the part of the members that lead them to develop a sense of inter-dependence.

Community is said to exist when interaction between individuals has the purpose of meeting individual needs and obtaining group goals...The feature of social interaction, structures for the gratification of physical, social and psychological needs...are basic to the definition of community (Bell and Newby, 1971: 29-30).

Joseph Jusfield (1975) explained community from two different point of views territorial and relational:

1. Territorial community. In this part, the concept of community is explained in terms of physical geography. This idea concentrates on locality relation as a distinguishing feature from the remote physically located area. In fact, Denis Poplin
(1972) explained several approaches to study the community as a territorial entity. Among other things, attention has been centred upon patterns of land settlements, in which people live in proximity to their fellows. "The term community refers to the places in which people maintain their home, earn their livings, rear their children, and, in general, carry out most of their life activities" (Poplin, 1972: 9).

2. Relational community. The idea of relational community concentrates on the quality or character of human relationship regardless of the reference to a specific location. Here the main focus of classification is the ways group members cooperate or conflict (Gusfield, 1975: xv). The existence of bonds of similarity and sympathy that unites the target groups of people are the main initiatives and is the core of the concept. In general, community has been analysed as a network of interaction in a social system. The social group have several basic properties, including a sense of membership, a collection of assigned roles and a set of norms. The cooperation among the members is apparently the fundamental theme underlying all the social processes at the community level (Poplin, 1972: 19). According to Poplin's explanation, different organizations such as religious organizations, minority groups, members of the same profession, and even military establishment have been referred to as communities.

Of course, these two types of communities are not totally exclusive. To some extent it is difficult to analyse all facets of the units of community. The concept of community has been explained in terms of spatial dimensions, as cluster of people living together in a specific geographic area. The problem of such a classification is to decide how large a territory should be (village, town, city, region, or beyond) in order to be considered as a community. Even within the specific geographic area, it is possible to identify different types of what Gusfield (1975) called 'relational community'. This situation also makes the classification lack a clear cut of distinction between these two types of communities.
1.1.2. Community radio

Community radio is a type of radio broadcasting that serves a specified community. Many scholars defined community radios as more relevant to the community because they can be utilized by the members in a way applicable to their daily lives. This helps the individuals in a community not only to develop a sense of belonging to a particular group, but also to agree on certain values by sharing common symbols, and developing a form of common behaviour that is acceptable to the people who are living within the community. According to the technical documentation reported by UNESCO (1982: 13), the power of community media lies in their community-oriented character, in identification and expression of community life. The messages these media carry are not something imposed upon the community from outside, but part of the community’s life expression. It may not be possible to give a clear-cut definition for the manner in which community radios differentiate themselves from the other forms of radio broadcasting. Different writers, however, explained several features that are attributed to community radio. Some of these attributes are:

1. The restricted circuit of coverage. Community radio, as its name indicates is established to serve a particular community. Mostly, public broadcasting radio programmes have a tendency to include large areas with diversified communities; and their coverage can differ from regional to national levels. The scope of community radio, however, covers a particular community (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001: 234).

2. Absence of external restrictions. Community radio is governed and controlled by the target community it represents. So it is autonomous from government pressure on its daily activities and the primary decision makers are the members of the community themselves. That is, members of the target community are the key players in all aspects of the station’s activities, and they have authority either to stop the radio or improve its activities. The community is involved in different ways ranging from policy making and management to giving comments and opinions to shape the programme productions according to the need and pre-dispositions of the community (Rama and Louw, 1993: 72).
3. Equal opportunity of access for the interested members. Ideally, by opening forums of communication for the individuals and groups of the community members, it motivates self-expression and opens debate to accommodate the diversified ideas regardless of individual differences. "The major objectives are to encourage widespread community participation in broadcasting, to provide an opportunity for horizontal communication between individuals and groups in the community and to stimulate more free and open debate of community issues." (Teer-Tomaselli and Villiers, 1998: 165). In this case, minority groups are encouraged to express their views and opinions.

4. Funding system. In principle, community radios stand for the advantage of a specific community and hence stay away from vested interest. Although they get some financial support from the sale of advertising airtime, the responsibility to fill the financial gap is on the target community which it serves.

5. Unprofessionalism. "Community volunteers play an important role in the production of programming and distinctions between professional staff and ordinary users are played down" (Teer-Tomaselli and Villiers, 1998: 165). So since the audience of community radio are also the expected potential producers, it do not depend necessarily on professionals.

In fact the above distinctive characteristics of community radio may not totally guarantee that they are distinguished from the other forms of radio broadcasting. For example, despite the fact that they are non-commercial institutions, it is difficult to put a clear cut line separating them from commercial radio broadcasting as these community radios sell their airtime to individual advertisers to generate revenue. However, the basic characteristics provide a basic framework to understand the main attributions that distinguishes them from the other forms of radio broadcasting.

1.1.3. Community radio in South Africa

The media landscape of any country is the reflection of the political atmosphere under which they are governed. The current South African media context that opens
the gate for the expansion of community radios reflects the post-apartheid democratic transformation of the 1990s (Berger, 2000: 96). With the dismantling of apartheid and the birth the new Republic of South Africa, the airwaves began to be opened to the diversity of private and community radio broadcasting. “The state-owned and controlled South African Broadcasting Corporation’s previous monopoly gave way to a diverse broadcasting environment” (Tacchi, 2002: 68). Hence the expansion of community radios might be the reflection of such liberalisation of the airwaves in the South African local broadcasting media.

South Africa has a large and widely scattered population. Here the use of widespread short wave (local) broadcasting with domestic production may help to build well-organized community systems. This can be the motive for the emergence of community radio broadcasting that provides services based on the need of the communities. Community radio in South Africa is not as old as public service broadcasting. It is a new phenomenon that appeared around 1994 as a result of certain initiatives which led to its emergence from different directions “In 1992 no community radio stations existed but in both the Western and Eastern Cape, there existed initiatives which were quite far advanced with plans to set up community radio stations” (Rama and Louw, 1993: 75). It was during this time that remarkable issues have been raised regarding the freedom of communities to establish their own radio broadcasting stations. In fact the above writers explained that there were already initiatives by certain media activists who popularised their vision of establishing the community radios for democratic movement. These activists drew a clear agenda on how community radio should act for the benefit of the community and their distinctive characteristics to separate them from the profit-oriented radios. These “media activists had succeeded in putting community radio on to the South African media policy agenda by 1992” (Rama and Louw, 1993: 76).

One of the significant campaigns that discussed the freedom of airwaves to community radios was the ‘Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves’ conference that was held in the Netherlands in August 1991. The conference played a remarkable role in placing the concept of community radio on the South African agenda. As the above writers explained, during this conference, the definition of community radio and its basic features with regard to the community and the normative principles that govern
the community radios were formulated. In addition, the most important outlines of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act were conceptualised at this conference (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001: 234).

This Act enabled the Independent Broadcasting Authority to be established and take over the tasks previously performed. It also as accelerate the ownership and control by persons from historically disadvantaged groups through community broadcasting services (Tacchi, 2002: 70). The regulatory authority was established to regulate and implement the principles of all types of broadcasting. Since community radio is under the regulation of this authority, it is the responsibility of this regulatory body to certify how the community radios are fulfilling their responsibility with respect to the community they serve. On the basis of this mandate, the Broadcasting Act of 1993 defined community radio as follows. Such a radio:

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

Currently, after the merging of the IBA (Independent Broadcasting Authority) with SATRA (South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority), the regulation of broadcasting is the responsibility of ICASA (Independent Communications Authority of South Africa). "The community station operates with a licence issued by a regulatory authority. In South Africa, this is the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa" (Fourie, 2001: 429).
1.2. Normative theories of communication

1.2.1. Democratic participatory theory

With the development of democratic participatory theory, the previous theory of social responsibility that relies on the media-entered approach based on a narrative story telling format, started to be de-emphasised (McQuail, 2000: 160). As an alternative, media communicators started to focus their attention on developing an audience-centred communication model that entails the interactive participation of the audience. Today in civil society, it is not unnatural to define the primary function of media in relation to the discussion of a citizen's right in the process of exercising democratisation activities. To clarify how media institutions handle the idea of democracy in relation to the citizen's participation, first, it is important to make clear the concept of democracy in mediated communication.

1.2.1.1. Democracy

Different writers explained the concept of democracy in different ways. For example Denis McQuail (1996) defined democracy in terms of “the rights of belief, speech, movement, assembly, association, and access to information” (McQuail, 1996: 70). Such philosophical concepts highlight the equality of individuals and their values that would make people as far as possible free from outside restraints imposed on them unless such restraints are approved by the consent of the majority based on the principle of equality. In the context of mediated communication, one of the key components that differentiate democratic societies from the non-democratic is the access to information and freedom of expression. This idea is interconnected with the principles that media institutions carry out their activities to meet the requirements of pluralism without external pressure. Here the most important question is how media institutions enhance this democratic atmosphere. This section concentrates on the democratic theory of communication needed to be achieved in the mediated environment.
Dianne Rucinski (1991:184-188) explained the type of democratic diversity to be achieved in communication in terms of two theories
1. Representative democratic theory of communication
2. Democratic participatory theory of communication

In fact diversity at both levels of expression and consumption are two sides of the same coin (Curran, 1996: 103). However, underlying the stress on the particular nature of diversity based on the two different assumptions is a significant commitment to identifying the democratic structure of society. It is also relevant to specify the means of enabling different groups to represent or articulate their interests in societies where differences and conflicts are presented.

1.2.1.2. Representative democratic theory of media

Representative democratic theory of media is grounded in the idea of pluralism and representation. Here democracy is defined in terms of the additive aggregation of individual interests and is achieved when majority will is expressed through representative media.

Pluralism treats individuals as the primary entities of social life as well, but it sees groups as the effective operative units in the political sphere. Individuals are defined by and exercise influence through their group affiliations, which are determined by individual interests (Rucinski, 1991: 185).

The theory considers radio broadcasters as democratic institutions when they serve the diversified voice of all possible ranges, with a particular attention to the members who are marginalized and unexposed in the mainstream media environment. Even within a single community setting there can be much heterogeneity of interests and tendencies. So the media should be conscious of the full range of voices (Ronning, 1998: 4).

Media serve the community's interest to the extent that they portray the diversity of experiences. The members can make informed decisions through the exposure of
the media. In this case, the community radios play significant roles in the democratic life of the community. To exercise their privileges as citizens, people must have access to information enabling them to know their personal rights which allows them to pursue it effectively. As James Curran (1996) explained, the media:

should assist collective organizations to mobilize support; help them to operate as representative vehicles for the views of their supporters; and aid them to register effective protests and develop and promulgate alternatives. In other words, the representational role of the media includes helping to promote the conditions in which alternative viewpoints and representatives are brought into play. (Curran, 1996: 103).

Of course it may be difficult to involve each and every member of the community in the communication activities. Instead this idea refers to measure the process of how much is being done by the community. This is closely related to community organizing or mobilisation to accomplish the specified mission themselves (Boeren, 1992: 57). Hence, in community radio the community members extend their exercise of democracy mostly through the representatives of the Board or a committee representing the diversified interest.

1.2.1.3. Interactive participatory model of democratic theory

The interactive participatory model of democracy is grounded on the interactive use of media communications in small-scale and specified settings of communities that favours horizontal patterns of communication, where participation and interaction are key concepts (McQuail, 1994:132). The supporters of this theory criticize the representative mode of democratic communication. To them, the representative groups comprise the powerful and influential elites that routinely have the access to such media. These powerful politicians, such as company owners and other famous
people, stand as figures of representatives on the top and use their position as an opportunity to manipulate the mode of communication from specific points of view.

Participatory democratic theories argue that elite theory too narrowly constrains citizen participation to casting votes, communicating with these in decision making positions, and aligning with groups that have the power to influence elected officials. Participation thus is restricted to a few minimal acts, and political discussion is limited to a narrow set of issues (Rucinski, 1991: 185).

According to Rucinski's explanation, unlike the elite representation of communication, the strength of democracy in a participatory system depends on the development and achievement of reciprocity, sharing of experiences and knowledge. In this context, community radio serves the coordination or facilitation of communications by linking the individuals for interactions. The primary aim of participatory communication is to remove the constraints that hinder the interactions among the community members. In fact, community participation may not be an ultimate goal in itself but at least it can open the gates for individuals in the community to be active participants in order to raise the quality of their life and enhance freedom of speech.

According to this view, technology should be used to supplement community initiatives to develop critical attitudes towards the reality of self, the group and community through community interaction. It has to help the marginalized groups speak to one another, articulate their thoughts and feelings in the process of community organizing. Hence the programme contents need to be associated with the aspirations, cultural backgrounds, and experiences of the community with a stress on the centrality of indigenous knowledge. The community's participation should not concentrate on specific areas. Rather all the people who are living in remote parts of the community should also be encouraged to participate actively in the production of the media content, and should be enabled to discuss community issues regarding their concerns and expectations. In general the participatory theory can be a road to community empowerment. Such empowerment is possible only if community members critically reflect on their experiences and attitudes.
1.2.2. Theory of media ownership and control

The present part of the thesis concentrates on the controversial issue regarding the relationship between media ownership and control in a given context. It deals with different arguments based on theoretical assumptions on the issues of who owns the media, what are the productions and how these products are prepared along with the community's interest. These arguments are very important because they provide the theoretical framework to examine the relationship between the owners of the media, the agents who run the firms, and the structure of the media. "Fundamental to an understanding of media structure is the question of ownership and how the powers of ownership are exercised" (McQuail, 2000: 198).

In the recent development of media industries, most of the radio stations are owned by a number of shareholders rather than by individuals. This pattern of ownership is a challenge to the simplistic relationship between ownership and control. To analyse these relationships is not simple and straightforward because the intervention of the owners having direct control over the production is not a clear. That is, the owners may not be the determinants of the content in the specific media (Jones and Jones, 1999: 57). Today, the dominant form of media organization is the public limited company under which the day-to-day running of the firm is carried out. This is done not by the owners but by managers who are appointed to manage the daily activities of the station. Here, "when ownership and control of an organization are separate, its managers may decide to pursue goals. The managers appointed to run a media firm (agents) may not always act in the manner desired by principals but might, instead, have their own agendas to pursue" (Doyle, 2002: 5). This situation is the most critical issue to be avoided in community radios. In principle, these radios are owned by the whole community regardless of individual differences; but they are managed and run by specific representatives. So the mandate of the rest of the community members as owners, and their influence on the station’s activities is among the main focus areas regarding the relationship between ownership and control in community radio.

Media organizations often evolve an ethos of what is accepted and appropriate to be included in their planning based on the scope and limitations of the context, which
circumscribe them. This context is the main factor for both tangible and intangible forms of control. Croteau and Hoynes (1997: 73) explained the concept of control from two different points of view: regulating from the external environment and regulating from within the organization.

1.2.2.1. Regulation from external sources

Almost all media organizations that are engaged in the production and distribution of symbolic content face certain types of dilemmas unless they find ways of reconciling their organizational activities in relation to the general context under which they are governed. This type of regulation generally is imposed from the higher authorities to implement the general rules of the governing system. The control varies from implementing the direct censorship and licensing up to reserving certain quotas as well as motivations in the form of subsidizing the owners.

Even though community radios are supposed to be free from external intervention in their daily activities, they are under the regulations that govern the broadcasting system. In South Africa, for example, all the community radios must comply with the rules and regulations given by the ICASA. Hence any radio that does not fulfill such stipulations is subject to closure by the authority and must stop its activities. The action taken by the ICASA with regard to Radio Maritzburg in 2001 (explained in the next section) is a typical example of such external regulation.

1.2.2.2. Regulation within the media organization

Media organizations often evolve in the planning and assessing of their own work to evaluate how their objectives are implemented. This is mainly based on their mission and their expectation in particular fields of operation within the limited resources. In their analysis about the different dimensions of the relationship between ownership and control, Marsh Jones and Emma Jones (1999: 51) explained this concept of internal control from two different points of view.

1. Allocative control. This is a type of control in which the owners have the power to decide the general goal of the organizational policies and its financial resources.
Allocative control is the most significant aspect of decision making over the fundamental features of the media organizations. It deals with fundamental expansion strategies and investment. This type of control also includes making decisions on the number of principals and executive agents. It determines the scope of the stations.

2. Operational control. This form of control focuses on the daily activities of the media. Once the media firms have been established, all the staff members, from the managers up to the producers and presenters, make decisions as gatekeepers. They have their own roles on how to proceed with the production process and content shaping. That is, as gatekeepers, they can open their gates for inclusion of certain products or close the gates. This is one of the fundamental aspects in community radio that needs serious consideration in distinguishing it from the other types of broadcasting.

With the development of community media, the concept of manipulation and individual or group influence is considered against the principle of the community's interest. This is because community members are supposed are to be the actors at various levels of the station, determining how the radio is governed and what programmes are to be designed. The effectiveness of the activities depends mostly on the attitude of the community participants, as the primary beneficiaries are the community themselves. That is, the effectiveness of community radio is marked by the extent the community is convinced that the programmes serve their interest. The benefits of such participation is generally believed to be the most effective strategy due to the community's voluntary engagement and cost sharing.
SECTION TWO

The community, background and mission of Highway Radio and Radio Maritzburg

2.1. Methods of data collecting

Many writers recommended different types of research methods based on the type of the study and the researching area. In this dissertation, since the focus area is on only two radio stations, the researcher preferred to adopt qualitative based methods in collecting all the desired data. Hence the researcher conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews and assessed some relevant documents of the two radios. The researcher then organized this information, analysed and identified the themes of analysis which arise out of the interviews as described by the respondents, and pursued the areas and trends thus identified.

One of the major advantages of conducting interviews as a method of data collection is its flexibility. In conducting interviews, as Barrie Bunter (2000) explained,

Open-ended questions are asked to which respondents provide answers in their own words...There is also a degree of freedom accorded to the interviewer to introduce new, previously unscheduled, questions to follow up on specific remarks made by the respondent (Bunter 2000: 26).

In this research, these face-to-face interviews were undertaken with the station managers, programme director and other staff members who are active participants in the process of production and management in the two radio stations. Four major interviews have been conducted in each radio station. The key interviewees in Highway Radio were Pastor Luke Lunga, Lionel Leigh, Petros Msomi, and Bev
Camitses. Similarly, the key interviewees in Radio Maritzburg were: Muzi Sibiya, Sbu Molefe, Mazet Shabalala and Eric Sthembiso. The respondents were selected based on their position on the stations with regard to the types of the questions they were responsible to answer. All the questions were also prepared on the basis of the objective in which the researcher is intending to achieve.

Before the actual research was conducted, the researcher made several contacts and visits to the radio stations. This was aimed at obtaining a pre-interview basic idea about the stations. Even though such informal discussions and conversation were not well focused and unstructured, they were very helpful. They gave the researcher a basic understanding about the two radios. So all the formal in-depth interviews are extension of the previous informal discussions.

Another major source of data in this research was the analysis of documents. That is, the materials obtained from the stations providing information about these radios. Documents may vary in terms of degree of structure and the purpose for which they were originally written. As Kenneth Bailey (1994: 194) explained, “These include minutes of meetings, interoffice memos, financial records, and files containing various other materials relevant to maintenance of the organization”. In this dissertation, the researcher assessed some documents of the stations - such as the organizational chart, licensing, articles of the Boards or Trust - and other materials that describe the stations’ management, structures and other activities. Assessing these documents is important to understand the strategies of how these community radios are governed and managed. The documents are also important to understand the relationship between these stations and their respective communities, as well as the arrangements of their activities.

2.2. The communities of the two radios

One of the distinguishing characteristics of community radio is the focus of its services, supposedly oriented to specified communities. Unlike the public and commercial radios that broadcast for ‘audience’, community radio specifically focuses on target communities. Of course the concepts of community and audience have a
tendency to coexist. However, in their modest usage with regard to mass communication, these two concepts have some distinction. As D. Stout and J. Buddenbaum (1996) explain, "community has its origins in ideas of what people hold in common, as in common goods, interests, customs, identity, and faith. Relations of mutual obligation, not self-interest, are the dominant chord" (Stout and Buddenbaum, 1996: 150). According to these writers, audience is an occasioned collectivity. It often refers to anonymous and heterogeneous individuals who receive messages from central sources. To establish community radio in South Africa, the Broadcast Authority needs the licensee first to specify the target community in which the radio has to stand for.

The South African Broadcasting Act of 1993 classified community radios into two major categories based on the type of community they represent. These are:

1. Radio broadcasting that serves a geographic community: - these types of radio stations provide their service to the whole range of people living in specified geographic area. Their communities are determined by the residing context of the physical environment. These radios are controlled by the members of the geographic community that live within the service coverage area. These groups can use their own style in their territory to suit the area of broadcast.

2. Radio broadcasting that serves a community of interest: - these types of radios serve people who have common interests through in which they identify themselves as certain types of groups. These interests bind them to constitute a particular community. The above Broadcasting Act further specified three types of radio broadcasting that serve communities of interest. These are:

1. Broadcasting service catering to religious communities.
2. Broadcasting service catering to institutional communities.

Despite these different categories, community radios have in common basic criteria to serve their community. They could have their own distinctive characteristics in the governance, management and controlling systems. They might pursue a variety of strategies to approach their respective listeners which they define as their community. The two radios specified in this research are typical examples of the two types of community radios - the community of interest and geographically based community radios.
Highway Radio is one of the KwaZulu Natal's community of interest radios that broadcasts from Pinetown, outside of Durban. Despite its main focus on ideas related to religion, the station carries diversified programmes covering different issues such as current news events, family and children relationship programmes, morally related messages, health programmes and others in different languages. On the other hand, Radio Maritzburg is a geographic community radio that broadcasts from Publicity House in the centre of Pietermaritzburg. It reaches surrounding areas such as Howick, Cato Ridge, New Hanover, Edendale, Richmond and Hammersdale. Despite the station's aim primarily at Zulu speaking listeners, it broadcasts in other languages. The programming mainly focuses on traditional and cultural aspects including social upliftment, news, interviews, talk shows and others.

2.3. Background of the radios

Radio Maritzburg

Geographic community radios are established to serve the requirement of the community. They assist in promoting civic consciousness and foster development and cultural integration by providing essential information, education and entertainment through the use of their own languages. Being free and pluralistic media, they are essential for transparent and accountable political, social as well as economic systems of the community. The concept behind establishing Radio Maritzburg was not different from this idea. The proposal to set up this radio was initiated by a Christian agency called Africa Enterprise at the end of 1993. At that time, Pietermaritzburg was quite violent (Molefe, personal interview 2003). Therefore, there was a need to establish this radio in order to enhance a sense of unity and combine the community of Pietermaritzburg so as to bring about some kind of peace.

The applicant initially proposed to name the station Radio Peace because its initial mission was to bring peace between the fighting groups. Thereafter, the purpose was to build family values in order to achieve a normal life in the community (Sibiya,
personal interview 2003). The Africa Enterprise managed to get funding from an organization called the Open Society Foundation. It then started the process by selling the idea to the community. The people worked together and finally set up the radio successfully. By that time, Africa Enterprise organized the Board of Trust. Mostly, the staff members of the radio were volunteers with full time as well as part-time staff. By November 1994, the South African Independent Broadcast Authority granted a one-year license to Radio Maritzburg. Hence the station went on air for the first time on March 1,1995. This radio was the first community radio in KwaZulu Natal to be granted the licence of community broadcasting by the Independent Broadcasting Authority (Sibiya, personal interview 2003).

Africa Enterprise, a religious organization, is a Christian agency in Pietermaritzburg. The vision to establish the station was originally initiated by Doctor Michael Cassidy of Africa Enterprise. Michael Cassidy was seconded by Mr. David Hottchis, who became the chairperson of the station. African Enterprise actually started the station as a Christian radio. In 1996, however, it had to adapt to being a geographic community radio station. So in the beginning "it was a community of interest radio station. In June 1996, however, it had to adapt into a geographic community radio. So it became a geographic community radio in the KwaZulu Natal Midlands" (Sibiya, personal interview, 2003). Hence, with the detachment of Africa Enterprise from the radio station and allowing the accommodation of the station into the community, the station became a real geographic community radio.

Highway Radio

In this information era, religious institutions have engaged themselves in an exchange of messages through mediated communication in more frequent and complex ways. They consider media as powerful agents for accelerating the dissemination of Biblical messages across target communities.

They have seen the media as powerful vehicles for carrying out distinctly religious purpose, such as transmitting the faith to the unconverted (evangelism), educating and edifying evangelical belief, raising funds for domestic and international missionary work, and mobilizing evangelicals
for religiously inspired political action (Stout and Buddenbaum, 1996: 61).

The motive for establishing Highway Radio basically is grounded on the above concept. It was established on 16th December 1995 to serve a Christian religious community. The idea was initiated by pastor Greg Haswell. He brought together the leaders and shared with them his vision to start radio broadcasting in the Highway area. With the financial cooperation of Highway Christian Community churches, he started broadcasting from his garage in Westville. It was in 1996 the station moved out from his garage.

The main aim for the establishment of the station was to bring together and unite all the Churches, and reach out to the community with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as well as to establish a good quality of Christian life in the broadcasting area. During that time there was an association called Highway Christian Outreach Association, which came together to apply for a licence before it started broadcasting. On December 15, 1995 the station was granted a one year renewable licence and continued in this way until December 2002. Establishing the community radio was not a simple task. Since the station was started from scratch without having pre-collected fund and facilities, it demanded a lot of effort to organize the staff members and collect all the desired initial funds.

It was not easy to establish because it was something new. There was no funding, even no facilities. We had to start the radio station from the scratch. We opened a studio in his garage. So we worked in that garage as office and studio for the radio station. You can imagine how small the garage was to serve as a station, but we had to work there. So it was not easy (Msomi, personal interview 2003).

In spite of all these constraints, however, the broadcasting service went on successfully with the cooperative efforts of the Christian Outreach Association and dedicated religious practitioners, who are members of the Christian community in the area.
2.4. Mission of the radios

Radio Maritzburg

Community radios are established to serve the target communities on the basis of specified objectives after identifying the target need of the communities. In this respect, they are believed to be the best alternative to state and private radios. The programmes that are prepared in community radios are focused to the need of the target community. These radios serve the local people to participate in their own local initiatives. They are used as tools for communities to provide fundamental information. Community radios are essential for building a strong civic society, in which citizens are encouraged to express themselves and to exercise control over their own lives and environments (Rama & Louw, 1993: 71). One of the primary reasons for establishing Radio Maritzburg has been to enhance social upliftment, develop the community's consensus and build positive attitudes among the members of the community. In general, the main mission of this radio can be explained briefly as:

1. Providing easy access for educating and mobilizing the community members: Today it is a very common practice in most community radios to organize educational and other developmental programmes that familiarize the community with their environment as well as government issues provincially and nationally. Mostly the information that is disseminated through Radio Maritzburg aims at optimizing the experiences of the people. In fact, most of the educational elements in this radio station are designed based on the community's background knowledge of the subject matter. This is interwoven with different local and traditional entertaining elements so as to build the community's knowledge.

2. Making the community members aware of certain issues that affect their lives: This aims at preventing problems happening in the community. This can be achieved by clarifying the issue, and sometimes challenging the commonly held beliefs in order to increase the community awareness of the things that may affect them. This medium plays a significant role in influencing community attitudes and behaviour positively, because it informs them of the circumstances they find themselves in. Generally, this radio makes the community aware of circumstances
and conditions which could threaten their safety. This aims to bring constructive solutions to the social, political and health related problems occurring in their communities.

3. Enabling community members debate issues relevant to them: “Conversation binds communities, and conversation becomes our means-our eyes, voice and ears of discovering where we are going and where we have been... journalists will rightly be recognized as facilitators - not providers - of discourse” (Anderson, Dardene and Killinberge, 1994: 11-12). Radio Maritzburg raises different topics that are relevant to the community. The main purpose of such topics is not to disseminate predetermined and specific information from the centre, but to open the gate for discussion in the community. The members of the community talk of their concerns, initiatives and aspirations without outside interference. The idea initiated by one participant is discussed more and everyone who is interested can join the debate for improvement of the recommended idea, or opposition if it seems not to appeal to them.

4. Developing community spirit: One of the principal tasks of Radio Maritzburg is to promote community spirit. The medium is used as a means of community enrichment by maintaining and cultivating the existing diversified cultural values, and popularising indigenous cultures. It also aspires to keep the unity, peace, harmony and stability of the community.

5. Job creation for the previously disadvantaged community: The purpose of Radio Maritzburg is not only to play the role of serving the community as an information mediator, but also to serve the community members as a source of work exposure to get experience. In addition, when the station grows, people will also be permanently employed. So there will be job creation for the previously disadvantaged community

Highway Radio

Highway Radio is a Christian community radio station. All the programmes disseminated in this radio (in spite of their diversity) aim at rendering Christian related messages to the community members. In general the main mission of this radio can be explained in terms of the following:
1. Delivering Biblical messages to enhance spiritual practices in the community: Unlike Radio Maritzburg, the main mission of Highway Radio aims at the proclamation of the Gospel as a principal function of evangelism. This mission is to fulfil the Christian theological conviction regarding the need for personal salvation. In fact this radio provides a range of programmes, including non-religious messages and other entertainment. The role of this entertainment is, however, to capture the listeners' interest first and then to introduce the Gospel. In this case, the defined objective of this radio is Spiritual persuasion.

2. To teach the community basic moral principles: Highway Radio targets not only Christian religious practitioners, but also tries to approach the non-Christians who are living in the broadcasting area. The purpose of this coverage is to assist the listeners in promoting civic consciousness in order to attain the requirement of the community. So influencing the attitudes of the people positively and directing the community members away from unethical activities is one of the aims of this radio “Our plan is to influence the non Christians everyday to do things that is not selfish in order to have selfish less community in the country” (Leigh, personal interview, 2003).

3. To unite the different Christian groups under one consensus: Community is framed by certain phenomena that bind people together in certain circuits. So community radio can play crucial role in enhancing unity among community members by creating a link between them. One of the missions of Highway Radio is to create harmony among Christian believers so as to regenerate the collective soul and develop a common attitude among different churches. Hence, the emphasis of this radio is on spiritual unity rather than doctrinal conformity. It encourages the staff members to avoid sources that might conflict with the basic message.

4. Raising awareness of certain problems that affect community lives: Appropriating such radio constructively can be an essential tool for those who endeavour to broaden community’s knowledge. In this case, Highway Radio provides different programmes about community issues that makes the audience aware of the problems that can affect their daily lives; such as health issues, family relationships, traffic issues and others. The main purpose of such messages is aimed at the community’s well being.
2.5. Communalities and differences in the background and mission of the two radios

Community radios, as community based media, should have certain distinctive characteristics according to their purpose and the types of community they serve. Taking into account the South African classification of community radios, the main focus is not on the power of the technology or the size of the medium, but on the purpose for which they stand with regard to their respective community. The main difference between Highway Radio and Radio Maritzburg is interconnected with the type of community each radio station serves. Radio Maritzburg stands for the geographic community of Pietermaritzburg and its surrounding areas. Highway Radio, however, stands primarily for the Christian community living in Durban, as well as Pinetown and its surroundings.

With regard to Radio Maritzburg, since its service is geographically oriented in general, the entire environment under the broadcasting service is considered to be the target community of this radio. When it comes to Highway Radio, however, the specific community from the general geographic area needs to be identified. In principle, Highway Radio is a community of interest radio station, specifically licensed to serve the Christian community. Its service, however, is not restricted to only Christian related messages. Instead it accommodates the non-Christian as well. In other words, it also provides for the geographic community (Lunga, personal interview 2003).

The original initiative to establish Radio Maritzburg was not the same as the current one. Despite it being a geographic community radio station, it was established by a Christian agency called Africa Enterprise. The initial purpose for establishing this radio was to pacify the violence in KwaZulu Natal by disseminating religious and moral related messages. Thereafter, its aim was to unite the community under one consensus in order to create peace. That is why the applicant proposed to be given the name ‘Radio Peace’ instead of Radio Maritzburg “It was time of violence in KwaZulu Natal midland, and the applicants proposed to call the radio ‘Radio Peace’ because its mission was to bring peace between the fighting groups and at the end of
the day, to make sure that the family values and normal life be achieved" (Sibiya, personal interview 2003). At this time, however, after the detachment of Africa Enterprise, Radio Maritzburg totally diverted its services to accommodate the geographic community including the whole range of the interest groups who live within the broadcasting coverage area. In Highway Radio, however, there is no difference between the motive for the establishment of the radio and its current activities. As was already stated, the purpose to establish the radio was initiated by Pastor Greg Haswell, with the cooperation of Highway Christian community, and inspired by religious motives. Even at this time, the role of the radio is primarily, if not totally, religious-oriented.

At this time, despite these two radios having some commonalities in their mission, they have basic differences in the primary purpose they intend to achieve. Unlike Highway Radio, the main mission of Radio Maritzburg is not related to religious issues. Radio Maritzburg provides a range of programmes that aim at developing a sense of consensus among the community members by opening topics for dialogue. This radio enables the community to debate certain issues relevant to their daily lives, so that the people can express their feeling, and argue or agree on the topics. The propose for such programmes is to create understanding and harmony among the community regardless of their differences. Maintaining and cultivating the community’s diversified indigenous cultural values is also part of the mission of the radio. By providing different educational programmes, Radio Maritzburg intends to broaden the community’s perspective about their environment. The main mission of Highway Radio, however, is to reach out to the community with the Gospel of Jesus Christ in order to expand Christianity in the community and to develop the Christian ideals of life. The target goal of this radio is not only to evangelise the non-Christians, but also to unite all churches and enhance the cooperation among them in order to enrich their spiritual activities. In fact, this radio broadcasts different non-religious programmes. All these programmes, however, are not divergent from Christian principles.

In spite of the basic difference in the mission of the two radios, they have common purposes which both are trying to achieve. First of all, both radios provide a range of programmes covering religious, economic, social and political issues. In addition, as
part of their missions, both radios make an effort to develop awareness against certain problems that affect the communities.