THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY MEDIA IN DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF THE CATO MANOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Peter Matthews Mhagama, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that all acknowledgements have been properly made. I further declare that I have never before submitted this work for an award of a degree to any university.

Signed……..
Date…….

Peter Matthews Mhagama

Durban, 2004

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABM	Area Based Management
AIR	All India Radio
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CASET	Cassette Education Trust
CCLS	Centre for Community and Labour Studies
CMCO	Cato Manor Community Organisation
CMDA	Cato Manor Development Association
CMDF	Cato Manor Development Forum
CMDP	Cato Manor Development Project
CMRA	Cato Manor Residence Association
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Union
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DSC	Development Support Communication
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
LED	Local Economic Development
MCR	Mahaweli Community Radio
NCRF	National Community Radio Forum
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SLBC	Sri Lankan Broadcasting Corporation
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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ABSTRACT

Community participation and access are the major tenets that characterise and upon which community media are credited. Other tenets include issues of ownership, control and funding which are rooted in the hands of community members and they empower them to have control over the communication systems. They also empower marginalised communities to define and manage their own development. As such community media are driven by democratic principles which are socially oriented and not profit driven. This study investigates the role of *Izwi*, the Cato Manor community newspaper, and Siyaya FM, a community radio station in the development of Cato Manor. The study reveals that there is a kind of leeway in which the concepts of participation and access are applied by community media which is sometimes contrary to the postulates of participatory theories and 'Another Development' theory. This is evidenced in the operations of *Izwi* Newspaper and Siyaya FM which resemble the old modernisation paradigm which adopted the top-down approach to communication, making their role in the development project not very remarkable. The problem is aggravated by the nature of donor funded projects of which Cato Manor Development Project is. The study also reveals that since ownership of the two media does not rest in the hands of the people but a development agency, people's access and participation are defined in terms of how the agency sees appropriate.

Chapter One

Introduction

Community participation and access are the major tenets upon which community media are founded. Other tenets include ownership and control being rooted in the hands of community members and which empower them to have control over the communication systems in their communities. These factors make community media different from commercial, public, or private media. As such community media are supposed to be driven by democratic principles which are socially driven and not profit oriented.[1] This study investigates the role of *Izwi*, the Cato Manor community newspaper that ceased publication in 2002[2], and Siyaya FM, a community radio station ostensibly dedicated to development issues and projects in Cato Manor situated in Durban.

Particular attention is paid to the level of access that residents of Cato Manor (including Chesterville and Lamontville) have to Siyaya FM, and the access they once *had* to their former local newspaper *Izwi*. Access is defined in terms of "the opportunities available to the public to choose varied and relevant programmes and to have means of feedback to transmit its reactions and demands to production organisations" (Servaes, 1996: 79). The study also investigates how the people are involved in the programming or production of content, control, and decision-making process, management and formulation of policy of the two media. This is so because "the most developed form of participation is self-management. This principle implies the right to participation in the planning and production of media content" (Servaes, 1996:105). Although this is the case, most community media behave like mainstream media by not granting the right to access and participation to its intended audiences while still claiming that they do so. Hence, the importance of this study to test whether Siyaya FM fulfil its role as a community medium and also as a tool for development. The same applies to *Izwi* newspaper. Both the radio and print media

[1] http://www.crisinfo.org/content/view/full/170/

[2] According to the editor, *Izwi* Newspaper ceased publication in 2002 but will resume publication in the future.

are studied because they play a complementary role as far as information dissemination is concerned.

A study conducted by Felistus Kitchin *et al* (2002) examines the nature of community participation and development throughout the history of the Cato Manor Development Project (CMDP). The study reveals that the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA)[3] interacted with the community in three ways, namely; institutional or organisational mechanisms, specific communication strategies, and the actual provision of goods and services. Organisational mechanisms were set in place to facilitate community participation by empowering representatives from the community through workshops and skills training.

Specific communications strategies have been used to communicate to as wide a group of residents as possible. Finally, the CMDA was expected to provide houses, job opportunities, and skills training (Kitchin *et al* 2002: 8). On communications strategies the study argues that communication "is an important aspect of community development, and assists people to participate as fully-informed members of the community" (Kitchin *et al* 2002: 11). Without proper channels of communication problems arise when only few people have access to valuable information and are therefore able to benefit from it, sometimes to the disadvantage of the whole community. Thus, *Izwi* newspaper and Siyaya FM radio station were established in the community "to ensure that accurate information was going out in an equitable and accessible manner" (Kitchin *et al* 2002: 11).

The present study seeks to test the results found in Kitchin *et al* (2002) in terms of how accessible and participatory these two media are as credible sources of information and knowledge. It will also investigate how Siyaya FM serves and even empowers (and in the case of *Izwi*, serv*ed*) local residents with skills for their own development.

To achieve the above objectives the following research questions were set:

- How does the public participate in the production process, management, and planning of the communication systems in the two media?

[3] The CMDA was a Section 21 company (not for gain) responsible for the delivery of the project. It was established in 1993.

- How does the programming of Siyaya FM, and did the content of *Izwi,* serve development?

- What kinds of access do (and did) these two media offer the public to ensure their full involvement in the development process?

As early as 1992, stakeholders of the CMDP realised that communication was a necessary component of the development process of Cato Manor. The challenge, however, was how to adequately involve community members in various levels of the decision-making process (CMDA Progress Report, 1992). This study shows the extent to which the two community media in question were used to improve channels of communication between CMDA and the Cato Manor community, and how community members were involved in various levels of the decision-making process of the two media.

During the apartheid era "community media emerged as the voice of the oppressed and played a significant role in informing and mobilizing communities at grassroots level, against apartheid" (NCRF, 1999: 2).[4] However, this role has changed now to that of being a catalyst for development. Therefore, it is expected that this study is a continuation of the debates surrounding the role and impact of community media in development projects taking place in South Africa as they provide an alternative to mainstream media.

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the topic under study and the reasons for carrying out this study. Chapter 2 discusses the historical background of Cato Manor and the impact of this history on the present development. In Chapter 3 a theoretical framework of this study is provided. The chapter discusses the theories that characterise development projects, more especially the 'Another Development' theory which I use to test the data gathered. Chapter 4 examines historical developments in community radio and studies that have been conducted on community radios in South Africa and elsewhere. Chapter 5 provides the methodology used in data collection and the methods used to analyse the data. In Chapter 6, I analyse the data and discuss the findings of the study. In this chapter the characteristic features of Siyaya FM are discussed in light of the

[4] The NCRF (National Community Radio Forum) is a Non-Governmental Organisation responsible for networking and support for community radios in South Africa.

development theories under scrutiny. Further to this, the actual roles of *Izwi* Newspaper and Siyaya FM*,* as opposed to what development theories prescribe, are put into perspective. A lengthy discussion emerges on community participation and access to the two media. The chapter closes with a discussion of the relationship between *Izwi* Newspaper and Siyaya FM. The final chapter sums up the major findings of the study.

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative research methods to gather data. At first a pilot study was conducted. This involved conducting focus group discussions with the residents of Cato Manor who are supposedly the target audience of the two media in question. Structured interviews were also conducted with the station manager of Siyaya FM and the former editor of the defunct *Izwi* newspaper. The pilot survey also included qualitative document analysis of CMDA documents, programme schedule of Siyaya FM and also content of *Izwi* newspaper. The result of the pilot survey motivated the formulation of a few hypotheses. This led the researcher to design a quantitative study to be used to test the validity of the hypotheses which had been formulated. A detailed discussion of these methodologies is provided in Chapter 5.

It is hoped that the results of this study will add new ideas to the body of knowledge about the role of community media in post-apartheid South Africa, and possibly to indicate some areas where the outcomes differ from the expectations of its architects. In other words, this study indicates that despite the best intentions of the CMDA as a development agency, the impact of both media in question appear to have been minimal. Despite the laudable intentions of both development agents in the CMDA (which is at present being wound down as an organisation), and personnel in charge of programming at Siyaya FM, a significant disparity became evident between their policy and what emerged in opinions residents voiced in focus groups. An analysis of a follow-up street survey of a random sample of 485 respondents in Cato Manor (which, with somewhere between 90 000 and 100 000 residents gives a confidence level of slightly above 95% (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 180-82)) found that the perceived gap between public and broadcaster indeed had substance. (Both the qualitative data from interviews and focus groups, and the

quantitative data and its analyses, are provided towards the end of this dissertation as well as in appendices.)

Chapter Two

A brief historical background of Cato Manor

This chapter gives a brief historical background of Cato Manor from the mid-1600s to the time of the present project (2004). The impact of the history of Cato Manor on the present development is also provided in this chapter.

2.1. History of Cato Manor

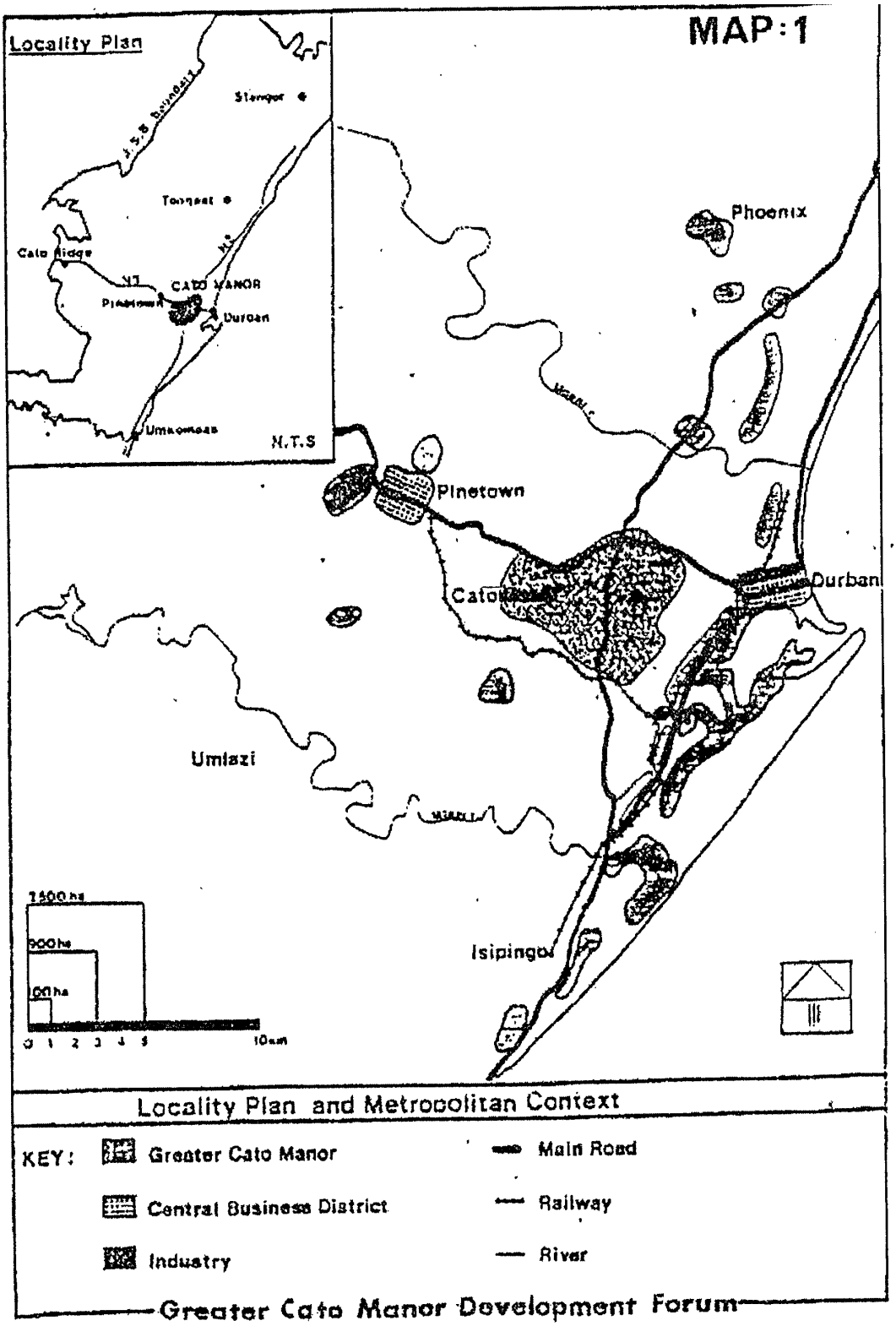
Cato Manor lies to the West of Central Durban. It is bordered by the Pavilion Shopping Centre and N3 freeway in the north, Sarnia Road in the south, Manor Gardens and the University of KwaZulu-Natal in the east and Westville Prison in the west (CCLS, 1992).[5] (See Maps 1 on page 7, and map 2 of Cato Manor on page 8).

The first inhabitants of Cato Manor were small chiefdoms dating back to mid 1600s. In 1854 Durban achieved municipal status, and later in 1865, its first Mayor, George Cato, occupied a farm land near Umkhumbane River which runs through Cato Manor. This land was given to him by the municipality as compensation for a beachfront property which had been expropriated for military purposes. Cato Manor, which was named after George Cato, was incorporated into the municipality of Durban in 1932. Although this meant that shack settlements were illegal, the authorities turned a blind eye, and Indian land owners found shack-letting to be more lucrative and so they continued building shacks (*CMDA Review*, 1994-2002).

In the 1880s indentured Indian labourers who had been freed from sugar plantations began to settle in Cato Manor (CMDA Review, 1994 – 2002). Most of these Indians leased plots of land from George Cato's farm and used it as market gardens while others bought their own land. Blacks began to build shacks along the Umkhumbane River in the late 1920's (Intunthuko Heritage Centre)[6]. In the 1930s landowners of Cato Manor who were predominantly Indian began to lease land to coloureds, blacks and Indians (Progress Report, 1992). By 1939 a total of 500 shacks were erected by blacks (Intunthuko Heritage Centre). During and after the Second World War blacks moved in their large numbers to Durban to take up

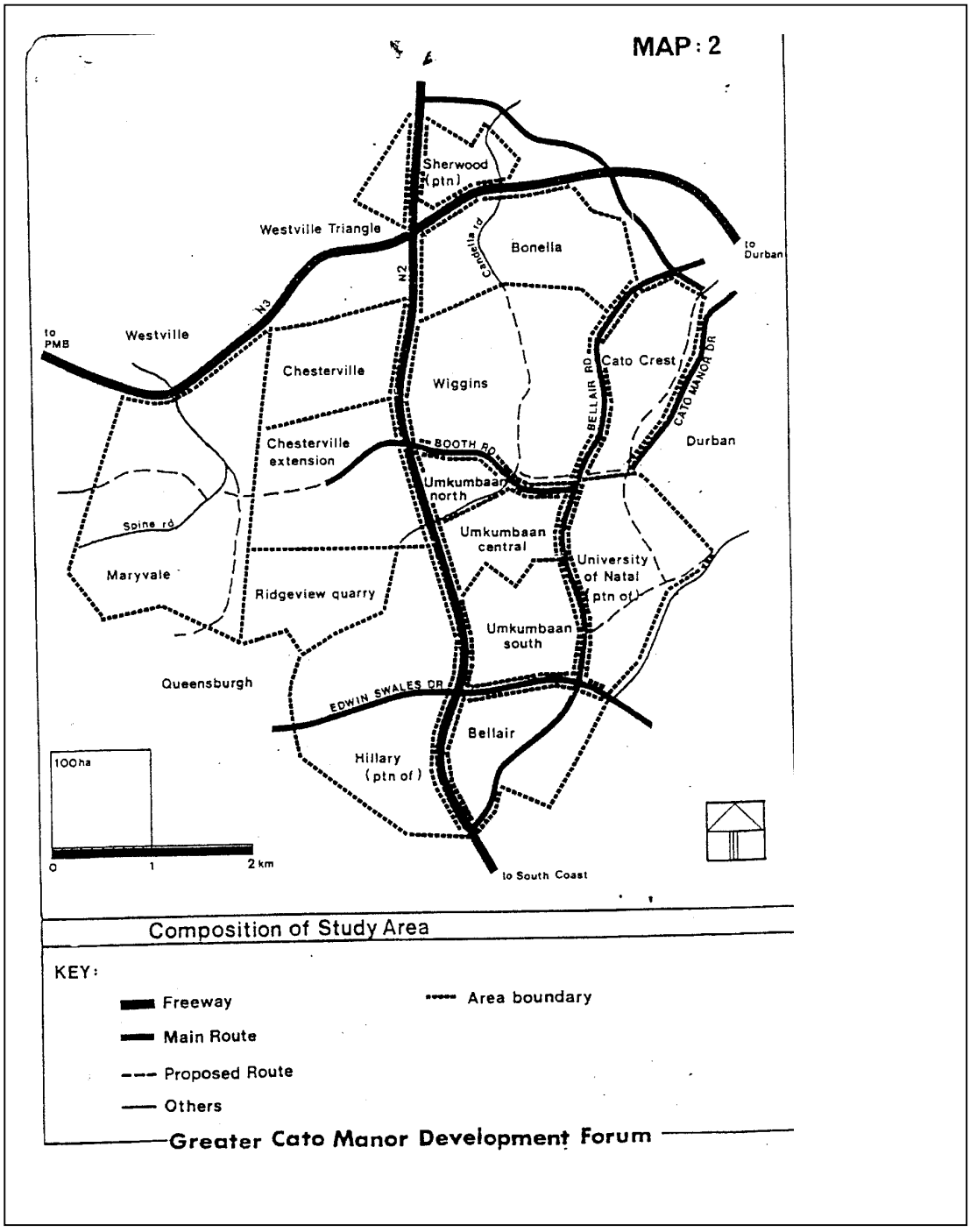
[5] CCLS stands for The Centre for Community and Labour Studies.
[6] Intunthuko Heritage Centre was established to preserve the heritage of Cato Manor.

employment opportunities and to escape from poverty in the reserves. Many of them built shacks on land that they leased from Indian market-gardeners of Cato Manor.



To continue with the history, in 1949 blacks rioted against Indian domination in trade and service activities. The riots known as the 'Durban Riots' erupted after an

assault of a 14-year-old African boy by an Indian man near Durban Indian market. The riots led to the wholesale evacuation of Cato Manor by Indians thereby allowing African traders and shack-lords to take their place (Intunthuko Heritage Centre). By the early 1950s between 45, 000 and 50, 000 blacks lived in congested shacks in Cato Manor (*CMDA Review*, 1994-2002).



In 1959 Cato Manor was declared a 'white' area according to the 1958 Group Areas Act of South Africa. Over 100,000 people were removed by force to the periphery of Durban (*CMDA Review*, 1994 - 2002). The vast majority of them were

resettled in Umlazi, KwaMashu, Chesterville and Chatsworth leaving behind a few landowners and tenants (Progress Report, 1992). Although the area was declared a 'white zone' whites never settled in Cato Manor, and the area remained almost empty and underdeveloped until the end of the 1980s. The whites did not really want to settle in the area but they simply did not want to be surrounded by blacks. In other words, the whites in the adjacent neighbourhoods were opposed to black urban development (*The Courier* ACP-EU, 2002: 78). In the 1960s and 1970s only a few scattered houses, shops, the beer hall and few Hindu temples could be seen still standing (*The Courier* ACP-EU, 2002: 78).

However, something significant happened in 1979. The remaining landowners and tenants formed the Cato Manor Residents Association (CMRA) to oppose further removals, resist racially based development, and tried to reclaim the land (CMDA Review, 1994 - 2002). In 1983, the remnants of the Indian community managed to have part of the area identified for development for Indian people and some formal houses were built, for example, at Wiggins and Bonela. When the Group Areas Act was relaxed in the mid1980's, a wave of informal settlements and widespread land invasions took place in Cato Manor. A great number of Africans poured into the area (*The Courier* ACP-EU, 2002: 78). The late1980s marked the end of thirty years of underdevelopment in Cato Manor.

2.2. The Impact of the History of Cato Manor on the Present Development of the Area

In this section, I discuss the impact of the history of Cato Manor on the present development of the area. Many problems or obstacles faced by the CMDA in delivering development initiatives in various areas of Cato Manor emanate from the troubled history of this area. The history of Cato Manor impacts on the present development in various ways. Firstly, the criteria used for defining the 'legitimate' residents of Cato Manor are problematic. At the inception of the CMDP, it was not clear who exactly were the rightful residents of Cato Manor. "In Cato Manor there is neither a legitimate community nor a strong sense of unity amongst the current residents which could counteract the problems around democracy a closed organisation would create" (BESG, 1992 Quoted in Kitchin *et al* 2002: 3). Could the legitimate owners be the small black chiefdoms which inhabited the area in the mid

1600's, the indentured Indians who leased land from George Cato, the blacks who finally displaced the Indian landlords, or the whites?

Although this question entails a history which is characterised by racial conflict, the CMDA did not use the question of race to solve the problem. On the contrary, the project defined residents of Cato Manor to include all those who historically have an interest in the area. In reality most of these residents turned out to be blacks who were marginalised by policies of the apartheid regime. These people include those who were currently living in Greater Cato Manor, in surrounding areas of Cato Manor and those who were displaced to KwaMashu and Umlazi by the Group Areas Act (CMDA Report, 1992). More recently new residents have also settled in the area after the CMDA had already been established. Thus, there are marked differences among the people of Cato Manor in terms of race, class, length of stay and the period in which they have lived there (Kitchin *et al* 2002: 3). These people have a different understanding of their role in the development process, and this results into conflict that slows down the development process.

Following the forced removals and destruction of most homes and infrastructure in the 1960s, Cato Manor remained empty and underdeveloped for many years. This was the case because the area was declared a 'white zone' following the Group Areas Act of 1958 but the whites never really settled in the area, and so the land remained unoccupied, undeveloped and idle for a long time. In the 1980s informal settlers started encroaching the area. These people could not build decent and permanent structures but only shacks because of their poor background and because they were afraid that they would be removed again since the land did not belong to them. The impact of this on development is that when development initiatives started to come, the area was very underdeveloped in almost all areas and the community was not "one coherent, homogeneous body of people" (Kitchin *et al* 2002: 3). It was therefore difficult to plan and implement development activities so that the area could be integrated into the Durban Metropolitan or to be at par with other areas. So much work needed to be done to achieve that status.

As most people in Cato Manor have just moved in and are still in the process of settling down, their unsettled nature and instability makes it difficult for the CMDA to win their co-operation. This is the case because there is lack of unity and trust among

the community members themselves. They view each other with cynicism and suspicion, and so it is difficult for them to work together. When the CMDA came, there were fragmentary communities some of which (i.e. Cato Crest) resisted external intervention while others (i.e. Chesterville) were pro-development. This resulted in a lot of tension among the community members themselves and also between the community members and the CMDA (Kitchin *et al* 2002: 7). The situation was aggravated by high levels of organised crime in the area. What followed was concentration of development activities only in those areas which were safe and where people welcomed the CMDA.

Moving further, when the Cato Manor Development Project was introduced, it targeted the poor marginalised groups of people, most of whom were the illiterate black majority in Cato Manor. It goes without saying therefore that their level of skills in community development and experience in development-related projects is very low. Consequently, the few with some education and skills are the only ones who get elected into leadership positions. These people end up occupying more than one position and end up being overstretched and consequently they become less effective in their performance (Kitchin et al 2002: 19). Some of these elected leaders take advantage of their position to pursue their own interests in order to personally benefit from the limited resources. Further than this, other problems arise when the developers (the CMDA staff) who are mainly white and Indian want to communicate with the masses of the people on an interpersonal level. Since they do not speak and understand the language of the people communication barriers often result:

> In meetings you don't get a true reflection of the whole thing even when translated – you don't get the nuances. Cultural differences play a big part. The translator feels obliged to be polite, so you miss a lot of vibes. If someone understands the language it makes it very different… This puts you in a different position, you are expected to side with them. Sometimes it works on your side. Sometimes they caucus in front of you in Zulu, and tell you to shut up (Trindad 2002, in Kitchin *et al* 2002: 20).

Finally, the history of Cato Manor shows that people of all races had some connection with the area before the development project started but there is emphasis only on the black population. More remarkably, Indians had settled in this area for some time but surprisingly there are very few Indians living in this area. It is clear from the history that whites never settled in the area but not so clear why there

are so few Indians in Cato Manor. Information regarding this issue is also not available. Probably by the time they were displaced from Cato Manor they had already developed business acumen which helped to reduce their economic marginalisation when they finally settled in Chatsworth and other areas. They might have improved their socio-economic status so much that they did not see the need to return to Cato Manor when the project was launched. Additionally, their violent displacement may have caused them to stereotype the place as a violent area in which they can never live safely although the situation has now changed for the better.

2.3. The Formation of the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA)

The early 1990s saw renewed interest in the development of Cato Manor leading to the establishment of Cato Manor Development Forum (CMDF), a multi-party negotiating group in 1992, and charged with the responsibility of creating a development policy framework for the area (Robinson, 2003: 1). In the wake of a new political era in the early 1990s, Cato Manor was identified as a development priority. This led to the transformation of the CMDF into Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA)[7] in 1993 to act as an agent for the delivery of the project (Robinson, 2003). The main mission of the CMDA was to "ensure that Cato Manor is rapidly developed into a holistic, quality urban environment, in a manner that leads to the generation and redistribution of economic opportunities, builds local capacity and improves the standard of living of the poor (CMDP Status Report, 2000). In other words the project was supposed to provide housing to the poorest, construct roads, schools, clinics, multi-purpose centres, commercial and industrial centres and public libraries. The primary objective of CMDP was the "creation of an efficient and productive 'city-within-a-city' aimed mainly at the poor and marginalised" (CMDA Review, 1994 - 2002). The cornerstone of the project is the integration of Cato Manor into Durban Municipality and the creation of an area where residents can live, work and relax without having to travel long distances in search of these social services (*The Courier* ACP-EU, 2002: 79).

[7] CMDA was a Section 21 Company (not for gain). It got disbanded in 2003 after fulfilling its mandate. http://www.cmda.co.za/arrangements.htm

To achieve these objectives the project was to run in three phases. Phase 1 (1994 – 1997) was a planning stage to establish and lay the foundations for delivery. This involved formulating plans and policies, securing technical and social support, assembling land and clearing statutory and legal constraints. Phase 2 (1997-2002) was a public investment stage to develop the physical and social infrastructure. Large-scale delivery began in 1997 and became evident in the rapid transformation of Cato Manor's physical landscape. Phase 3 (2002 and beyond) is a private investment and capital formation stage. The emphasis of the third stage includes Local Economic Development (LED) and social development (CMDA Annual Report, 2002).

In 1995 the project fell under the Presidential Lead Project of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and received a substantial amount of money (Robinson, 2003). Later in 1997, the project received more funds from the European Union totalling R135-R150 million (CMDA Review, 1994 - 2002). Thus, what began as a people's project turned out to be a government project making people feel alienated as they had no real sense of involvement and participation in the development process. They viewed the project with cynicism and suspicion (CCLS, 1992). At this stage the Cato Manor Development Forum decided that the development process should be participatory, so that people's interests could be taken into consideration, that they could learn and understand various aspects of the development process, and that they would not feel alienated from it (CCLS, 1992). To achieve this objective, the CMDA took the initiative to improve the channels of communication and information dissemination. *Izwi*, the Cato Manor community newspaper and Siyaya FM, a community radio station were formed as major communication media[8], hence the present project's aim of testing how participatory and accessible these media are.

In the next chapter I provide the theoretical framework upon which this study is based.

[8] The publication of *Izwi* newspaper was stopped when CMDA was disbanded in 2003 but was expected to resume in the near future.

Chapter Three

Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I discuss the theories that characterise development projects which also inform the present study. The chapter critically examines the Cato Manor Development project in light of these development theories especially the 'Another development' theory.

3.1. Modernisation Theories

The present study examines the CMDP in the light of the 'Another Development' theory and development theories in general. Studies about development were heavily dominated by modernisation theory which applied insights from communication models to address the shortcomings of development and modernisation in Third World countries. The concept of modernisation refers to the "fundamental proposition that people in traditional societies should adopt the characteristics of modern societies in order to modernise their social, political and economic institutions" (Foster-Carter, 1985: 13). This theory saw the problems of the Third World as emanating from lack of information and traditional cultural practices that hindered development. The remedy to these problems was communication. The modernisation paradigm dominated intellectual thinking from around 1945 to 1965 (Servaes, 1995: 40), and communication played a crucial role within it. Daniel Lerner (1958) and Wilber Schramm (1964) were influential in this regard because their works stressed the role of communication in development (Servaes, 2002: 15-16). They theorised that communication was the transmission of information from the Western World to the Third World. They had a strong belief that if traditional societies were exposed to the mass media, they would also be exposed to modern western attitudes which would make them change (Servaes, 2002: 15-16; see also Melkote and Steeves, 2001: 71 *passim*).

Lerner (1958) introduced an evolutionary modernisation theory by presenting different stages that had to articulate the process of modernisation and the sequence in which those stages had to occur. Development, according to Lerner (1958), starts

with a nucleus of mobile, change-accepting personalities followed by interaction of urbanisation, literacy, industrialisation, higher per capita income and political participation. The major driving force behind these personalities is empathy, a psychological attribute that capacitates individuals to easily adjust to or emulate modern environments and to be future oriented and rational. In this process “the media stimulate, in direct and indirect ways, mobility and economic development; they are motivators and movers for change and modernisation” (Servaes, 2002: 25). The media were thus viewed as agents of modernisation in the sense that once urbanisation occurred, literacy rates would rise. Consequently industrial development would accelerate, resulting in the growth of the mass media which would spread literacy (Melkote and Steeves, 2001: 116).

Building upon Lerner’s theory, Schramm (1964) supported the idea of introducing empathy in traditional cultures but used a more sympathetic approach. He argued that, “the modern mass media supplement and complement as mobility multipliers, the oral channels of traditional society” (Servaes, 2002: 25). He believed that the mass media could speed up and ease the long slow transformation that was necessary for economic growth and the mobilisation of human resources. They could do this in two ways. At the micro level they could play an educational role to prepare individuals for development by creating a climate of change. At the macro level leaders could use them in a top-down communication to disseminate development information (Melkote, 1991: 85-86). Although Schramm (1964) recognised the importance of oral communication channels of traditional society the modernisation paradigm remained predominantly in favour of mass media communication. In the 1950s and 1960s scholars did not only enthusiastically accept the role of the mass media (radio, newspapers, cinemas, and more recently, television) in modernisation but also ventured into research activity to demonstrate the correlation between exposure to the mass media and modernity (Melkote, 1991: 88).

Everret Rogers (1962, 1983) developed the diffusion of innovations theory as another communication model of modernisation. “Modernisation here is conceived as a process of diffusion where individuals move from a traditional way of life to a different, more technically developed and more rapidly changing way of life” (Servaes, 1995: 39). In this model an innovation, which is a new idea or practice, is

communicated through certain media over time among members of a social group with the aim of changing their way of thinking or doing things. The model sees development as a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system to improve agriculture, health, education and politics. To put it in Rogers' own words, development communication is a "process by which an idea is transferred from a source to a receiver with the intent to change his behaviour. Usually the source wants to alter the receiver's knowledge of some idea, create or change his attitude toward the idea, or persuade him to adopt the idea as part of his regular behaviour" (Rogers, 1962 in Waisbord 2000: 4). This model worked on the premise that new ideas diffuse over time according to individuals' stages. He distinguished five different stages in the diffusion process through which an individual goes in the adoption of innovations: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption or rejection. The role of the mass media manifests in the first stage which is awareness where the traditional society is exposed to the new ideas or innovations. The early adopters set an example for the others to follow suit, allowing development to trickle down to the rest of the society. The slow ones continue to lag behind, and these represent a majority of the population in developing countries (Rogers, 1962 in Waisbord 2000: 4). However, what these scholars overlooked was the fact it was not only the lack of information which was the sole contributor of underdevelopment in Third World countries. There were factors which communication alone could not solve. The major failure of the modernisation theorists was their concentration on one factor alone with total disregard of other factors like trained human resource, marginalisation by the developed nations, and so on.

In short, the mass media in the modernisation paradigm are regarded as having magic powers to multiply the benefits of development in poor nations. It is assumed that the mass media can change peasants' mind-set and introduce them to a modern way of life (Melkote, 1991: 87). The development agencies are mainly Western from the modernisation perspective, and from a dependency perspective the adopters have to be indigenous. In all this a top-down communication process exists between developed nations and traditional societies. The communication models employed by the modernisation paradigm were media-centred aimed at improving literacy levels of traditional societies in an attempt to persuade them to break away from their traditional barriers. Communication was linear or a unidirectional process flowing

from the source through the media to the passive recipients. The growth and penetration of the mass media in traditional society, therefore, was indicative of modernisation. More radios and increased readership of newspapers were regarded as positive markers of modern attitudes (Lerner, 1958 in Waisbord, 2000: 4). Another weakness of the modernisation paradigm is the lack of correlation between penetration of the mass media and increase in literacy levels. Without proper formal education literacy levels can not improve even if the media are there to disseminate information. If literacy levels are poor, it is difficult for people to understand the message or information made available to people through the mass media.

The modernisation paradigm has been heavily criticised for not allowing people's participation at the grassroots. Problems are identified and solutions offered at top levels of government and development agencies. Then a top-down flow of information occurs from government or development agencies to the local communities because it is considered that grassroots participation is slow, inefficient and that people at the grassroots do not know best what is good for them. In recent years, however, many scholars have recommended that "people who are objects of policy need to be involved in the definition, design, and execution of the development process" (Melkote, 1991: 191). When local communities are not involved in the decision-making processes development projects tend not to be successful. One example from the Kalahari Desert will suffice here. McLennan-Dodd (2002: 4) recounts a story of how the Khomani Bushmen were provided with electricity in their homes without their consultation. It turned out that the lights were attracting numerous insects at night and so they stopped using the electricity.

Although the modernisation paradigm continues to dominate in development projects in spite of many new challenges facing development projects (Dyll, 2002), the 1970's saw a shift in the conceptualisation of development to allow for the participation of local communities. This shift is generally referred to as development as empowerment paradigm. Melkote and Steeves (2001: 366) argue that "a major goal of development as empowerment is to move the locus of control from outsiders to the individuals and groups directly affected. Empowerment is the mechanism by which individuals, organisations, and communities gain control and mastery over social and economic conditions, over political processes and over their own stories".

Rogers (1976: 133) testifies to this assertion when he defines development as “a wide participatory process of social change in society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over the environment”.

The model of Development Support Communication (DSC) arose as a bridge between modernisation theory and dependency theory (Melkote, 1991). DSC relies heavily on the role of the media in development and values grassroots participation because it regards the local groups as the beneficiaries of development projects. The theory legitimises outside agencies as harbingers of real social change and promotes local messaging for easy adoption of donor funded projects by local communities. DSC wants to ensure that beneficiary communities have access to material, informational, cultural and psychological resources; leadership, life and communication skills; local empowerment and critical awareness (Melkote and Steeves (2001: 252). In essence DSC displays key components of the participatory model of communication provided by Figueroa *et al* (2002) which can be summarised as follows:

- The process and content of communication is owned by community.
- Communication gives a voice to previously unheard community members.
- Communities become their own change agents.
- The communication process is characterised by debate and negotiation on issues that affect community.
- Emphasis is placed on outcomes that go beyond individual behaviour to widely recognised social needs.

Although these key components look flowery and democratic, real participatory communication in DSC paradigm has been frequently misunderstood and overlooked because of the unwillingness of experts to give up control over the process, and also due to the inability of development support workers to appreciate and operationalise

true participatory approaches at the grassroots. In other words DSC is not popular amongst development agencies (Melkote and Steeves 2001: 350). The solution lies in 'Another Development' paradigm.

3.2. 'Another Development' Paradigm

The lack of grassroots participation in DSC was blamed for the failure of most development projects. It was therefore imperative for participatory theorists to redefine development communication. One such definition is that communication is "the systematic utilization of communication channels and techniques to increase people's participation in development and to inform, motivate, and train rural populations mainly at the grassroots" (Waisbord, 2000: 17), hence another development. Another development paradigm has been defined as "need-oriented, endogenous, self-reliant, ecologically sound and based on participatory democracy and structural transformations" (Servaes, 1996: 32). Here the key words are 'participatory democracy' and 'endogenous'.

Another development theory focuses on community access and participation in development projects. It sees access as "the use of media for public service" (Servaes, 1996: 79), and participation as a process of empowering the people to participate in identifying the problem or designing a development programme (Melkote, 1991: 237). "Here individuals are active in development programmes and processes, they contribute ideas, take initiatives, articulate their needs and problems and assert their autonomy" (Ascroft and Masilela, 1989 in Melkote 1991: 237-239). Thus participation requires a higher level of people's involvement in the communication systems especially the media. People have to be involved in the production process, management, and planning of the communication systems. "In this case, the public exercises the power of decision-making within communication enterprises and is also fully involved in the formulation of communication policies and plans" (Servaes, 1996: 79). However, drawing examples from the working relationships between developed and underdeveloped countries, although people are involved in the formulation of policies the donors still have a say on those policies and if they are not happy about them they have a right to say no considering their position as the sponsors of the programmes. In the final analysis, people's

participation is seen as blackmail because the final decision is influenced by what the donors want. This resembles the development support communication paradigm.

Servaes (1996) discusses the notion of participatory communication at length. He stresses the importance of communication at all levels, international, national, local and individual, and points out that this participation does not only mean "inclusive of, but largely emanating from the traditional receivers" (Servaes, 1996: 75). Participatory communication is, thus, a reciprocal process involving the marginalised groups who are trying to renegotiate their situation with the development agents. In other words, participatory communication gives the local community a right to freely share or exchange information and to reach a consensus on what they want to do or to be done. Freire (1983: 76) cautions that "this is not the privilege of some few men (and women), but the right of all people to individually and collectively speak their world".

When applied to development projects, participation is seen as very important in any decision making process in order for various stakeholders to share information, knowledge, trust, and commitment in development projects (Servaes, 1996: 75). According to the Xavier Institute[9] (1980: 11), "development efforts should be anchored on faith in the people's capacity to discern what is best to be done as they seek their liberation and how to participate actively in the task of transforming society. The people are intelligent and have centuries of experience. Draw out their strength. Listen to them". Thus participatory communication advocates the decentralisation of media systems and the dissolution of the status quo because it involves a "more equitable sharing of both political and economic power, which often decreases the advantage of groups in power" (Servaes, 1996: 76). He further identifies two major approaches to participatory communication and these are: the dialogical pedagogy of Paulo Freire of 1970, and the ideas of access, participation and self-management articulated in the UNESCO debates of the 1970's (Servaes, 1996: 78).

Freire held a strong belief that individuals, no matter who they are, have the capacity and ability to think critically, make decisions, and plan for social change in

[9] The Xavier institute is an Indian NGO responsible for developing comprehensive information on key social and development issues.

order to bring about their own social transformation and the transformation of the whole society (Servaes, 1996: 78). Just as dialogue de-socialises students from passivity in the classroom so does participatory communication among individual members of the community. Mere awareness as is the case with diffusion of innovation is not enough to bring about conscientisation". It is this dialectical and emancipatory process of action and reflection that constitutes the process of conscientisation" (Servaes, 1996: 78).

In summary, the two approaches to participatory communication work on the principle that the development agenda should not be defined by an academic elite and the development programmes, too should not be enacted by a bureaucratic elite for their own benefit. Instead, for local people to gain an understanding of their situation and the development process, they need to define their own needs and development goals, and then participate in the enactment of the development process (Servaes, 1996: 80). In short, participatory approach to development is pro-poor. It is important to note that this process of participatory approach involves three interrelated cyclical parts, and these are collective definition and investigation of a problem by a group of people struggling to deal with it, group analysis of the underlying causes of their problems, and finally group action to attempt to solve the problem (Servaes, 1996: 82).

Another important point to note is that the theory of 'Another Development' originated in the 1980s against a background of "social struggle, and in the movement of lower-class segments for changes in the core of society (Servaes, 1996: 166). This is significant because most of the community radio projects that are now applying the principles of 'Another Development' emerged in similar circumstances of resistance against marginalisation of all sorts. Because it was considered that the mass media were 'manipulative', 'conscious domineering', and 'harmful' to collective interests, community media or popular media were thought to express the alternative, the inverse, the opposite (Servaes, 1996: 166), hence the relevance of the 'Another Development' to this study.

Alternative media are defined as "those forms of mass communication that avowedly reject or challenge established and institutionalised politics, in the sense that they all advocate change in society, or at least a critical reassessment of

traditional values" (O'Sullivan *et al* 1994: 10). Community media can therefore be categorised under alternative media because they give voice to the voiceless and allow them to participate in the various stages of decision-making processes described above. These aspects are not there in mainstream media. In short, "alternative media are distinguished by their ownership and management structures, their financing, their regulation, their programming and their policy stances on issues of access and participation" (Masilela, 1996: 108). These defining characteristics of community or alternative media make the substance of this study especially in terms of how *Izwi* Newspaper *and* Siyaya FM, both community media, applied them in their operations.

> In terms of their ownership and management, alternative media are community owned and managed through duly elected representatives or direct and voluntary community participation. In terms of their programming, alternative media carry community oriented programming produced by community members for community members. In terms of their policy stances on issues of access and participation, alternative media are – highly responsive to highly targeted audiences and use alternative methods as much as possible (Tehranian, 1990: 108 in Masilela, 1996: 108).

The present study assesses the extent to which *Izwi* Newspaper and Siyaya FM satisfy these characteristic features of community media in their operations.

Chapter 4

Historical developments in community media

This chapter discusses the historical developments leading to the emergence of community media in South Africa and elsewhere. There are different reasons for the emergence of community media depending on the circumstances of individual regions or countries.

4.1. Emergence of Community Media

The history of community radio in South Africa and elsewhere shows that the emergence of community radio stations was a result of a demand to break away from repressive regimes which were worsened by the dominance and monopoly of mass media. For example, Mtinde *et al* (1998) mention specific examples of community radios which emerged in these circumstances. In some parts of Europe, Australia and North America, minority groups such as indigenous, immigrant, refuge and black communities who were marginalised by mainstream media used community radio to fight for their rights (Mtinde *et al* 1998: 15). In Latin America community radio was known as 'People's Radio' and became the voice of the voiceless and the poor, and also a tool for development. Landless peasants, urban shack dwellers, impoverished indigenous nations and trade unions used community radio to voice their concerns and to mobilise themselves in an attempt to uplift themselves from their impoverished conditions (Mtinde et al 1998: 15). A few examples of community radio stations from elsewhere will suffice here before I look at the South African context.

Several studies of community radios have been conducted with interesting results. Harold Fisher (1990) analysed the operations of six community radio stations drawn from different parts of the world. I will briefly discuss four of these. The Jamaican Community radio Project was launched in 1979 with the aim of involving farmers in agricultural development. The station received its funding from USAID and was to operate for three years. It was soon discovered that the producer of agricultural programmes knew little about farming and was advised to start accompanying the researcher on village visits because an agricultural officer was

dictating what was good for the farmers. Following this development, farmers' ideas formed the agenda for the agricultural programmes. The production team adopted colloquial Jamaican English which was the language that most farmers spoke and understood. An audience survey was conducted to find out the farmers' preferences. After the survey the station started broadcasting dramatised formats of local news in Jamaican English not only to make the news presentation more interesting but also to attract more listeners. The station also started playing indigenous music for entertainment because it was the music that had an immediate appeal to the farmers (Fisher, 1990: 20). Lessons that were learnt from this radio project are that audience surveys are important in order "to get audience input in the formative stages of programme development" (Mody, 1986: 158). Thus there was great involvement of the targeted audience in the production of content of the programmes.

When the USAID contract expired, the station manager, who had qualifications in acting and radio production was left to handle the finances. The project began experiencing financial hardships which forced the station manager to resign. Three years later, when the Jamaican government adopted a new media policy, the Jamaican Community Radio station was turned into a commercial station (Fisher, 1990: 20). This is a major problem that community radio stations experience when they totally depend on external funding.

Radio Baha'i, a community station located in Otavalo, Ecuador was the second one to be analysed. Launched in 1977, the station aimed to promote and maintain the values, dignity, and culture of rural Ecuadorians, promote basic education, the delivery of social services, and the distribution of development information; and served as a centre for the exchange of local news and information (Fisher, 1990: 20). The station's strength lies in its use of Quichua, a local language in most of its programming and maintaining listener loyalty. It was able to do this through its daily news broadcasts. The local news broadcasts contain stories about lost children, livestock, or property, and also community activities. These stories are broadcast free of charge, thereby prompting many listeners to travel long distances to deliver their messages to the station and to interact with the station staff (Fisher, 1990: 20). A major strength is that the station conducts formative evaluation of its programming

regularly with the audience, gathering information about listeners' needs and preferences (Fisher, 1990: 20). The weakness of this station lies in the fact that although it conducts formative programme research, staff make the final decisions on the programming. According to Fisher (1990: 20-21) "it remains essentially a top-down project with relatively little community input at the station policy level". This practice limits people's access to the station and as such they cannot develop a sense of ownership of the radio station.

Radio Nagercoil was established in 1984 in rural Tamilnadu, India to function as a mouthpiece of the local community. It was established as an affiliate of *All India Radio* (AIR). Most of this radio's programmes are field-based produced with the aid of producers who "conduct field participant-observer studies of the people and their needs, culture and lifestyles" (Fisher, 1990: 21). The radio also arranges for access programmes with the help of local producers. Local artists, speakers and musicians are given airtime to perform or make a speech. The channel also serves as a two-way channel of communication between development agencies and the local people (Fisher, 1990: 21). For example, the station helped settle a dispute between two rival fishing groups by bringing together all concerned groups and interviewing each group to give their side of the story. The views were then conveyed to the fisheries department which finally resolved the dispute. The involvement of government agencies and the bringing together of people to solve problems has been a major strength of this community radio station (Fisher, 1990: 21).

On the other hand there is little formative evaluation of involving the community. Although the station emphasises local programming the system remains top-down. The station is also influenced by government because of its being affiliated to the national broadcaster. Finally the local community has little voice in station policy matters and management of the station (Fisher, 1990: 21).

The final community radio station that Fisher (1990) analysed was the *Mahaweli Community Radio* (MCR) in Sri Lanka. The radio station receives its financial assistance from UNESCO and DANIDA, and it went on air in 1981 following the introduction of the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme by the Sri Lankan government in 1977. The radio project was to be under, but independent of the Sri Lankan Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC), and it was introduced to

encourage farmers to actively take part in the development process and to strengthen the rice improvement scheme (Fisher, 1990: 21).

In terms of community access and participation, people are involved in the planning, recording and editing of programmes. This is made possible because the production team carries out audience surveys first to study the social structure, demographics, economic levels and agricultural activities of a particular village. Based on the material collected, the production team spends nights in selected villages to organise and record activities in which everyone participates (Fisher, 1990: 21). The materials recorded include dramas performed by the villagers, traditional music, and interviews with local experts who offer information to farmers. The programmes of the radio station also cover development information, agricultural news, irrigation methods, inland fishing, animal husbandry, health, nutrition, and many more (Fisher,1990: 21).

The success of the radio project lies in the fact that there was continual formative evaluation for its programming, and listener surveys were conducted regularly, for example in 1982, 1984 and 1987 (Fisher, 1990: 22). These evaluations and surveys produced good information about the impact of MCR. The station produced the kind of programmes that people liked and those that were not liked were changed to accommodate the likes and interests of the listeners. They also created awareness among the listeners of MCR and of the development project and of how the local community can participate and become involved in the development activities. The studies showed that MCR programmes motivated people to achieve 'self-actualisation' through their participation in radio programmes and community dialogue (Fisher, 1990: 22). In short "the MCR undoubtedly has incorporated many of the values of which lead to successful community radio for development-identification with listeners, involving them in programme planning, and production, and encouraging participation in development" (Fisher, 1990: 22).

From the examples of community radio stations discussed above, it can be concluded that different community radio stations employ different models of community participation and access. Most of these radio stations copy after public service broadcasting. Another important point to note is that with the exception of Mahaweli Community Radio, none of the stations employs full community

participation and access. Even MCR does not employ participation to the fullest. According to White (1994: 16) “the word participation is kaleidoscope, it changes its colour and shape at the will of the hands it is held”.

4.2. Emergence of Community Media in South Africa

Drawing close, the circumstances for the rise of community radio in South Africa are not very different.

> In South Africa, the apartheid regime ensured that the majority of citizens were disadvantaged and marginalised in the interest of the white minority. The apartheid regime used the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) as a monopoly that controlled the broadcasting industry. This led to struggles waged by progressive forces, which led to the establishment of community radio as a tool for development by community groups from the disadvantaged majority. Minority groups also saw community radio as a necessity for their communication and started joining the movement (Mtinde *et al* 1998: 15).

Therefore, community radios were used as an alternative to mainstream media whose function was to maintain the status quo. It can be argued that community radio can be used both as a developmental tool as well as an oppositional or advocacy medium for some specific human rights and communication of information. It is important at this point to examine how community radios emerged in South Africa.

The history of community radios in South Africa has it that “community broadcasting became an issue for South African left wing media activists during the 1990s” (Rama and Louw, 1993: 71). The Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves Conference held in Netherlands in August 1991 played a crucial role in putting the issue of community radio on the South African media policy agenda. At the conference the definitions of ‘community’ and ‘community broadcasting’ were adopted. However, the definition of the word ‘community’ was problematic especially in the South African context. While the anti-apartheid movement used it to mean those coming from poor and marginalised backgrounds, the liberals used it to mean

'black' (Rama and Louw, 1993: 71-72). A more correct definition was adopted to mean "people in a particular local area who share similar problems and interests as a collectivity" (Rama and Louw, 1993: 72). This definition was influenced by the realisation of the crucial role that community radio plays for the disadvantaged sections of society, that is "the empowerment of the people by giving them the means to inform and be informed within a participative communication medium" (Rama and Louw, 1993: 73). This role was especially significant in 1994 to ensure people's participation in the social debates both before and after the first democratic elections in South Africa (Rama and Louw, 1993: 74).

In 1992, media activists from all over the country managed to put community radio on the South African media policy agenda at a conference held in Cape Town where it was resolved that community broadcasting should "(i) be owned by its community but simultaneously (ii) have access to public sector funds, technology and training" (Rama and Louw, 1993: 74). A national coordination committee was formed prior to the 1992 conference. The committee was made up of representatives from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Grahamstown (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers, 1998:166). However, it was difficult to coordinate the activities of this committee because there was no formal meeting place to cater for the localised radio groupings (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers, 1998: 166).

In 1993 this national coordination committee was formalised into the National Community Radio Forum and was mandated to serve the development-oriented community stations and would-be broadcasters based in disadvantaged communities all over South Africa (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers, 1998: 166). By the end of 1996 the IBA had granted 82 temporary licences out of the 112 applications that were received (Teer-Tomaselli and de Villiers, 1998: 166). To date there are several community radio stations in South Africa, one of which is *Bush Radio*.

Bush Radio which is acclaimed as the 'mother of community radio in Africa' began as a brief-case radio station in the 1980s in the Western Cape against a background of the apartheid regime (Laureys, 1998).[10] A group of people known as CASET (Cassette Education Trust) started producing radio-type material on audio tapes containing information on community issues that were not allowed by the state

[10] http://www.rnw.nl/realradio/community/html/definition.html

media. These cassettes were distributed to people within the community in the Cape Flats (Rama and Louw, 1993: 75). With the dawn of democracy into South Africa Bush Radio was ready to transform itself from CASET into a full community radio station. According to the station manager, by 1998 the radio station had 2000 members with half of them willing to participate in the radio (Laureys, 1998). Because of this, "Bush radio is essentially a training radio station. What this means is that more emphasis is put on developing the skills of potential broadcasters in the community."[11] The station manager further stated that the station welcomes programme proposals from the community, NGOs, and all interested parties. There is a programme committee that meets regularly to discuss the proposals, make recommendations and look at the financial possibilities of putting the programmes together (Laureys, 1998). In addition to this the radio has two outside broadcast units that go into the townships. In the communities the station does not really broadcast but uses loudspeakers to disseminate different messages in the vicinity (Laureys, 1998).

The programming of Bush radio is informed by specific themes that the radio staff thinks the community needs to know about and be educated about. Although this sounds like top-down communication the station manager defends this position by arguing that; "If we would do a poll in the community, and ask the people what they would like us to broadcast, the majority would probably ask for hip hop and rock' n roll. We can't accommodate that, because we don't want to perpetuate this ignorance of what is going on around them in the world" (Laureys, 1998). This practice seems to be based on the agenda-setting theory of the mass media which states that "the audiences' views of reality are shaped by the mass media and that issues being given priority by the mass media may not legitimately be so important in real life" (Du Plooy, 2001: 26). The themes broadcast by Bush radio include the importance of completing the tuberculosis treatment, HIV/AIDS, crime prevention, importance of education, teenage pregnancy, etc. (Laureys, 1998).

Although *Bush Radio* is regarded as a success story by its personnel (because of its appeal to the community, increased level of community participation, high number of members, community outreach and local programming that addresses issues that

[11] http://www.rnw.nl/realradio/community/html/definition.html

concern the daily lives of people within the community) (Laureys 1998), most decisions regarding programme content are made by the radio personnel. This is contradictory to the postulates of 'Another Development' theories.

4.3. Emergence of Community Press in South Africa

Similarly community press or newspapers were the brain-child of the left-wing media activists and arose in the 1980s as anti-apartheid media and were generally known as progressive-alternative newspapers (Louw and Tomaselli, 1991: 7). To put it succinctly, alternative media were;

> The expression of community struggles, themselves located in the 'national democratic struggles'. This media not only challenged conventional journalism practices, but was organisationally connected to, and used the signs and codes arising out of, popular political movements such as the UDF, and labour movements such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) (Louw and Tomaselli 1991: 8-9).

Four characteristics defined a publication as 'alternative'; firstly, it was supposed to be non-profit, secondly, it had to be an 'advocacy' journal, meaning that it had to play a role within resistance in South Africa, thirdly it had to consider established media as not fulfilling the needs and aspirations of the majority of South Africans, and finally it had to aim at a majority black population (Johnson, 1991: 24). Alternative media did not follow the conventions of journalistic standards, instead "they sought to entrench themselves in the community struggles, and to become the voices at the grassroots. The community press further embraced the philosophy of participation, by providing access to the community organisations, and it practised a collective approach to newspaper production" (Heuva, 2001: 39).

Most community or alternative presses followed the democratic-participant model which "supports the right to relevant information, the right to answer back and the right to use the new means of communication for interaction and social action in small-scale settings of community, interest group or subculture" (McQuail, 1994: 131). This explains why community newspapers are only concerned with local news.

“The news value ‘proximity’ becomes the most important criterion for the local paper, which can also be described as a very personal medium, perhaps the most personal of all types of mass media” (Diederichs and de Beer, 1998: 98).

One example of community newspaper that fulfilled these roles is *Grassroots*. Louw and Tomaselli (1990: 85) argue that “in South Africa, there [was] a legacy of development decisions coming exclusively from either government (which [had] served only white interest) or from capital”. This motivated the establishment of *Grassroots* newspaper as a ‘progressive-alternative press’ in the Western Cape in 1980. Although there was no clear model to work from, *Grassroots* developed a democratic style which encouraged ‘bottom-up (popular) participation’ through evaluation workshops of previous editions, letters to the editor, through close contacts with the readers, and attendance of community organisational meetings. Because of high levels of people’s involvement that created a sense of ownership, *Grassroots* brought changes that were truly organic to that community (Louw and Tomaselli, 1990: 89-90).

The present study sets out to investigate the role of Siyaya FM and *Izwi* newspaper, both community media. In the next chapter I discuss the methodology used to collect data and how the data were analysed.

Chapter 5

Methodology

In Chapter one, a brief overview of the methodology used in this project was provided. This chapter gives a detailed discussion of the methodology used to collect data for this project and how the data were analyses and used for this project. The following qualitative and quantitative research methods were used to collect data for this project. Both methods were used so that they could complement each other.

5.1. Qualitative Research Methods

Originally, I conducted focus group discussions (FGD) with listeners and readers of Siyaya FM and *Izwi* Newspaper respectively". Focus groups are a free-form discussion by a group of people, led by a moderator, designed to obtain information about some topic" (Berger, 2000: 122). The listeners and readers were randomly selected from different areas of Cato Manor.

Because of low turn out, some of them were interviewed in groups of two while others in groups of three to five individuals. A total of six focus groups were conducted. Data gathered from these focus groups are qualitative because "data from the focus groups do not lend themselves to quantification" (Berger, 1989: 91). This is the case because "the aim of the focus group discussion is not to build consensus, but … to find out what each member of the group thinks about the topic under discussion, and to elicit from each member his or her opinions and descriptions of the behaviour of interest" (Berger, 1989: 89).

Face to face structured interviews were conducted with the station manager of Siyaya FM and the former editor of the now defunct *Izwi* newspaper to get information about the operations of the radio station and the newspaper respectively. These interviews were meant to elicit responses on the role of the two media in the development process, for example, how the radio station and the newspaper offer and offered people the opportunity to communicate and receive information, how

they encourage community participation and access through debates on community issues.

These interviews were also meant to assess how the two media empower people to have control over the communication process, production of content, control, management, formulation of policy and decision making process, and how they offer people an opportunity to have means of feedback to transmit their reactions and needs. Major themes which characterise community media and their operations were identified in the data. These themes include ownership, management structures, funding, regulations, programming, and more importantly community access and participation in these media. The interviews allowed the interviewer to probe and control the discussion to ensure that it remained within the boundaries of the discussion. Thus the qualitative methods focussed on identifying qualitative features, characteristics or attributes that make Siyaya FM and *Izwi* newspaper, community media that they are.

In both cases semi-structured interviews were conducted. In semi-structured interviews, “the interviewer generally works from a questionnaire or interview schedule in which questions are asked in a predetermined order and most questions supply respondents with a range of possible answers” (Gunter, 2000: 26). All the interviews and focus group discussions were tape-recorded and later transcribed.

I also conducted qualitative document analysis of CMDA documents. Document analysis refers to “an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving, analysing documents for their relevance, significance, and meaning” (David Altheide, 1996: 2). According to Altheide (1996: 2), there are three classes of documents relevant to researchers and these are ‘primary’, ‘secondary’, and ‘auxiliary’ documents. Primary documents are objects of study, for example, newspapers, magazines, TV newscasts, diaries, or archaeological artefacts. Secondary documents are records about primary documents and other objects of research, for example, field notes, published reports about primary documents and other accounts. Finally, auxiliary documents are those which supplement a research project or some other practical undertaking but which are neither the main focus of investigation nor the primary source of data for understanding the topic (Altheide, 1996: 3). The CMDA documents that I sampled fall

under the auxiliary documents. There is a resource centre at CMDA where all documents relating to the project are kept and can be accessed by outsiders. These documents provided valuable data for this project. In qualitative document analysis, materials are sampled or selected basing on emerging understanding of the topic under investigation. The materials are analysed by identifying themes, frames and discourses (Altheide, 1996: 29). Themes are "the recurring topical theses that run through a lot of reports. Frames are the focus, a parameter or a boundary, for discussing a particular event" (Altheide, 1996: 31).

A limited content analysis of selected editions of *Izwi* Newspaper was another method employed in this study. The newspaper was analysed in terms of its content, that is, the recurrent issues or main areas of coverage and what each one of them focuses on. Similarly the Programme Schedule of Siyaya FM was analysed or assessed with regard to the type of programmes that are broadcast, their merit in the development process, and how community members are involved in the production and broadcasting of these programmes. The programme schedule was also analysed to determine how the programming offers people a chance to give or receive feedback or encourage people to engage in dialogue or debate about issues that concern the Cato Manor community.

5.2. Quantitative Research Methods

After analysing this data, however, I discovered that it was not enough to reach any tangible conclusions. I, therefore, decided to consider the results of the first study as a pilot survey, which I would then test using quantitative data if proper generalisations were to be made. The results of the pilot survey motivated the formulation of the following hypotheses:

- Radio listenership is not high in Cato Manor because of low socio-economic conditions of the people.
- Siyaya FM is not popular in Cato Manor.
- People's needs are not addressed by the two media and people are discontented about the development process.

I then decided to conducted individual interviews with the listeners and readers of Siyaya FM and *Izwi* newspaper respectively. I designed a questionnaire with closed-ended questions as my data collection tool. According to Arlene Fink (2003: 37) “closed-ended questions produce standardised data that can be analysed statistically, and statistical analysis is essential for making sense of survey data for groups of people”. In addition, answers to closed-ended questions “have a better chance of being reliable and consistent over time” (Fink, 2003: 37).

The questions were formulated with a view to the original focus group data, and therefore do not include many areas considered important for a socio-economic and media usage survey. For example, the questionnaire excludes television usage. In retrospect, however, further research would well be advised to consider the question of television usage as this may explain (or illuminate) certain oddities in media usage evident in my data.

5.3. Sample parameters

I decided to interview a total of 500 people to provide for a confidence level of slightly above 95%, but I ended up interviewing 485 residents who were present in various public places in Cato Manor over a seven-day period. By ‘public places’ I mean places such as an informal market, taxi ranks, and any other places where residents of an expectedly wide demographic profile would be expected to congregate, and be accessible. My target population, therefore, was those residents gathered in a public place. Schools, people’s homes, firms, and any other places that might conceivably affect the generalisability of the data were avoided or excluded.

The researcher, with the help of two research assistants administered the questionnaire randomly to people who were willing to complete the questionnaire. A significant number refused. In some cases the questionnaires were distributed to the respondents for them to complete (if they insisted). The preference was to interview the respondents, and explaining the questions when necessary; and having the interviewer complete the questionnaire on behalf of the respondents.

The interviews were conducted daily over a period of one week, from Thursday of one week to Wednesday of the following week. This was a deliberate plan so as to have a wide cross-section of people and also to cater for those people who go to

work and school. The idea was to have those people who go to work and attend school interviewed over the weekend. On average 90 interviews were conducted per day.

The choice of conducting the survey over a weekend was to ensure that the sample was as representative as possible. Choosing to conduct the survey over the course of a weekend (with a weekend added at either end) was so as not to exclude those who are employed, attending school or those enrolled at a tertiary education institution, as might happen should the survey have been conducted during week days only.

I intended a sample size of 500 so as to achieve an error tolerance of no less than 5%, or a confidence level of equal to or higher than 95%. By 2002 the population of Cato Manor was 90 000 and was expected to grow to 150 000 in the next few years. If the population in 2004 reached 100 000, then according to du Plooy (2001: 104-105), the sample should be 383 respondents. Therefore, a sample of 485 is a good representation of the population.

As far as possible, an attempt was made to draw an equitable gender ratio (without going as far as engineering a strict quota), but sample ended up with 285 men and 200 women respondents. As will be shown here and in Chapter 6, chi-square testing indicates that gender is not a significant factor in the sample drawn. The only indication in which a null hypothesis should be rejected is found in a chi-square analysis of relations between gender differentials (item A on the questionnaire) and the types of community needs (item F on the questionnaire) identified by the respondents. Using data from Appendix L, the variables can be tabulated in the contingency table as given below, and tabulated accordingly (see Gillman, 2000: 71-80; Deacon et al 1999: 104-109):

df11	Men	Women
Gender	285	200
More housing	154	113
Better housing	37	18
Tarred roads	7	1
Jobs	198	140
Services	41	27
Electricity	40	36
Water	30	26
Crime	80	55
Corruption	49	13
Information	31	11
Facilities	2	0

With 11 degrees of freedom, the chi-square works out (to 4 decimal points) to 21.6292. But as the *p* value is less than 0.05, the distribution is deemed significant (on a distribution table, it should be more than 19.68 in order for the null hypothesis to be accepted.

A test of individual categories analysed at one degree of freedom shows that gender and 'more housing' (0.083), 'better housing' (1.486), 'jobs' (0.002), 'municipal services' (0.057), 'crime' (0.0107), and 'information' (3.645) are not statistically significant at the 0.05 level, which should be greater than or equal to 3.84 to be deemed otherwise. Only on the issue of 'corruption' was there a significant distribution evident between men and women, where the chi-square measurement is 9.4989 at the 0.01 level (≥6.63).

Apart from this one instance, gender is not a statistically significant factor in the data (Appendix M). This can be indicated in another way, although not nearly as accurately, and in a way that serves more to determine the representativeness of a sample. Supposing the actual gender ratio in the population is 1:1.425 (or reflects the sample), then in standard probability theory the standard error (given a simple random sample of 485, as this one) is s = 0.02, or 2%. This falls within the parameters of an acceptable error tolerance of 5% (see Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 180-82; Du Plooy, 2001: 102-103; Deacon et al 1999: 99-103).[12]

The standard error is one example of how true population can be estimated on the basis of sample evidence. The widely used chi-square test is a far more accurate means of hypothesis testing; which in the case of this study means determining to what extent the sample drawn might have occurred accidentally, or that it reveals real links between variables in the data (Deacon *et al* 1999: 103). As indicated above, one may postulate a null hypothesis between gender factors in the data; that is, to assume that there are no significant differences between how men and women in Cato Manor use media. Any differences would be due to random sampling errors. If

[12] The standard error equals the square root of 0.587 X 0.413 ÷ 485.

the results of the chi-square test suggest that the null hypothesis "is statistically improbable, then it is rejected and the converse proposition, that there is a significant relationship between the variables, is accepted" (Deacon *et al* 1999: 105).

Chi-square testing represents the limits of the statistical techniques used in this study. Its purpose here is to measure in the survey data the 'goodness of fit' between the observed impact and usage of Siyaya FM and *Izwi* (and other developmental media) and the expected frequencies given intentions of development agencies (e.g. CMDA) and the community radio station's management (see Deacon *et al* 1999: 106). Otherwise, the quantitative data is analysed by frequency counts and tabulations of the results from which interpretations are made. The frequency counts and tabulations involved counting, for example, how often respondents said they listen to the radio, which radio stations they had listened to or like most, the programmes they like listening to, and so on. This procedure was done on computer using Microsoft Excel. The results were again used to test the findings of the pilot study. The next chapter presents the analysis of the data obtained from this study and a discussion of the results.

An attempt was also made in the survey sample to draw an equitable age range, which in this case was broken down into the arbitrary categories of those (a) under 18, (b) 19 to 25, (c) 26 to 35, (d) 36 to 45, and (e) those 46 years of age and older. As it turned out, only 10 respondents were found to be older than 45. For better or worse, I decided against eliciting more respondents in this category for fear of 'tampering' with the data. The fear was that the threshold between random and quota sampling would be breached.

Also in order to ensure both internal and external validity, the respondents were randomly selected from five out of the nine areas in Cato Manor, and these areas are Cato Crest, Chesterville, Bonela, Wiggins and Dunbar. As it turned out, a small number of these respondents came from beyond Cato Manor, such as from Umlazi (4 respondents), KwaMashu (5), Lamontville (3), and Sydenham (6). Of those in the target population, 406 said they lived in Cato Manor, whereas 61 gave Chesterville as their domicile.

A few difficulties were encountered during the course of conducting the interviews. Being from Malawi, and therefore being a non-Zulu language speaker, I had difficulty in communicating with those who did not understand English. This meant leaving out some people who could have been interviewed. Secondly, since the questionnaire was in English, some respondents did not understand what the questions were asking them to do, but they went ahead completing the questionnaire resulting in a few mistakes, for example, where a question required one answer some respondents ticked all the answers or sometimes filled in a wrong answer. When a mistake was noticed during analysis I relied on my judgements to sort out the mistakes, for example, by not including the information provided in the analysis. Thirdly, some people expected to receive rewards or demanded to know the benefit of the project to them. When told that it was for academic purposes only, they refused to answer the questions saying they can not waste their time on something that is not of benefit to them. However, the majority of them were cooperative and helpful, and that resulted into the success of the interviews.

Chapter 6

Data analysis and discussion

This chapter presents the qualitative interview and focus group data, and analyses these with the benefit of the quantitative data (Appendix N) gleaned from the survey (Appendix M) conducted in Cato Manor.

6.1. A Case Study: The Role of Siyaya FM

Siyaya FM is the Cato Manor Community radio station which was officially launched on 1st July 2001. The name 'Siyaya' means 'we are getting there' or 'we are moving forward'. It was chosen during the planning stage because the community radio was to be regarded as a community mouth-piece which would encourage people 'to get there', to the dream of turning Cato Manor into 'a city-within-a-city' (See Appendix A: Interview with station manager). The station operates under ICASA's special events license category, which allows it to operate for thirty days subject to renewal (See Appendix I). Siyaya FM was granted the first licence in September 2002. Before that it was broadcasting on 101.5 FM, a frequency allocated to Highway Radio, a religious community radio station based in Pinetown. It was broadcasting for one hour only on Wednesdays between 7pm and 8pm. Now it is broadcasting from Cato Manor, specifically from Intuthuko Junction, 750 Francois Road, Durban.

Initially Siyaya FM was buying air time on Highway Radio, chosen because the two stations share the same audience and also because Highway Radio was found to be cheaper than other Durban stations when it comes to buying airtime. At first Siyaya FM was buying airtime on Highway Radio but later the two radio stations signed an agreement which allowed Siyaya FM to produce pre-recorded community-related programmes only which would be aired on Highway Radio at no charge.

6.2. Management and Ownership of Siyaya FM

Originally the CMDA Board of Directors owned Siyaya FM radio station. When the association was phased out, the radio station was handed over to Area Based Management (ABM), which is a wing of eThekwini Municipality. Therefore, the personnel of the radio station were accountable to the CMDA Board of Directors, and now they are accountable to eThekwini Municipality through Area Based Management (See Appendix A). This implies that during the time of the CMDA the radio station was 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.

6.3. Reasons for the Launch of Siyaya FM

Siyaya FM was launched to implement the communications plan of the Communications Department of the CMDA. Particularly, it was a response to the problem of inadequate information dissemination as there was only one medium of communication within the community which was *Izwi* newspaper (See Appendix A). However, the radio also plays other important roles like helping to empower people of Cato Manor including the youth with special skills, and also helps to preserve the history of the area. It can already be argued that the CMDA applied the principles of the modernization paradigm which sees the mass media as a powerful catalyst for change necessary for economic development and mobilisation of human resources.

Thus Siyaya FM is regarded as a tool for development. In doing so, however, it does not mean that the radio substitutes interpersonal or traditional communication systems but rather it complements them. This arrangement is in line with participatory communication which gives a secondary position to the mass media as a means of communication between development agencies and beneficiary communities (Waisboard, 2000: 18). This section examines the characteristic features of Siyaya FM in light of the 'Another Development' theory or participatory theories. These characteristic features include the type of community served, listenership, staffing, funding, programming, and finally community participation and access.

6.4. Who is the Community Served?

Siyaya FM is the Cato Manor community radio station, but how is community radio defined? “In relation to community radio, the term ‘community’ refers to a collective or a group of people sharing common characters and/or interests. The term ‘community’ can either be defined as: a geographically based group of persons and/or a social group or sector of the public who have common or specific interests” (Mtinde *et al* 1998: 12). Similarly, Ruth Teer-Tomaselli (2001: 234) observes that the I997 IBA Act “provides for a community broadcasting service to cater for a geographic community or a community of interest”. The difference is that in a geographic community broadcasting serves people living in a particular geographic location while in a community of interest, the community served has a specific ascertainable common interest (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001: 234). She further argues that the IBA Act categorises community interest radio stations into three types, namely; those which serve ‘institutional communities’, ‘religious communities’, and ‘cultural communities’.

> An institutional community is primarily designed to meet the needs of persons directly associated with an institution of learning, labour or indeed any other institutional formations. Religious community stations cater for religious needs of a specific community whose common interest is based on a religion or belief. The final type of community of interest station, the cultural community station, is designed to meet the cultural needs of a defined ‘community group’ (Teer- Tomaselli, 2001: 235).

However, she points out that the IBA’s definitions of community radio are “empirically slippy, not to say tautologous since they propose that a community radio station is one which serves a particular community, while begging the question of what constitutes a community” (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001: 234). This is true for Siyaya FM. The community that it serves is based on both geographic and community interest. It is geographic in the sense that it targets the residents of Cato Manor. In this case it is defined in terms of the area of coverage. At the same time it is a community of interest station because it serves a particular need of this community i.e. dissemination of development information. Coincidentally, this community of interest fits the geographical boundaries of the area in question which is Cato Manor characterised by its distinctive cultural and linguistic traditions.

6.5. Area of Coverage and Listenership

Siyaya FM covers a 100 kilometre-radius prescribed by ICASA (See Appendix I)[13], and because of the position of its antenna it is not only received in the immediate vicinity but also in areas beyond the prescribed radius, for example, Greater eThekwini Municipality and beyond. Therefore, the target audience of Siyaya FM are the people living in Greater Cato Manor area, 95% of whom are black. This is why the radio station uses Zulu as a medium of communication because the majority of the Cato Manor population speaks Zulu (See Appendix A). However, to encourage wider community participation people who do not speak Zulu are allowed to express themselves in other languages, such as English, Xhosa, Tswana and Sotho. The station manager estimated the listenership of Siyaya FM at a range of between 250 000 and 500 000:

> Greater Cato Manor community alone is 100 000 people plus, which suggests that because there are no boundaries on the airwaves given the fact that we are able to reach the Greater Durban and beyond, we are then able to reach 250 000 people plus which I believe is not above 500 000 (Personal Interview, 2004, Appendix A).

It should be noted that this is a mere estimation because since the station was established it has never conducted formative research to establish its listenership (Personal Interview, 2004, Appendix A). Formative research is defined as:

> Those activities that define the scope of the problem, gather data on the possible intervention strategies, learn about the intended audience, and investigate possible factors that might limit programme implementation. Formative research is also used test message strategy, test the effectiveness of possible communication channels, and learn about audience beliefs, motivations, perceptions and so on (Valente, 2001:107).

Thus formative research is an important aspect lacking in the planning policy and operations of the radio station. Therefore relying on these figures could be self-deception. The station appears to be working on the assumption that because it is a community radio for Cato Manor then everyone living in Cato Manor listens to it. This study reveals that actual listenership of Siyaya FM is far less than the estimated figures (± 250 000) provided by the station manager (See Table 1 below). If 1.3% of the sample had listened to Siyaya FM, then given an estimated population of 100 000, then this gives a listenership of a mere 1 300.

[13] Appendix I: ICASA's Short Term TemporaryCommunity Sound Broadcasting Licence

Station last listened to	No. of stations	%	Stations preferred	No. of stations	%
Ukhozi FM	315	45.52%	Ukhozi FM	280	47.78%
Metro FM	202	29.19%	Metro FM	163	27.82%
Highway Radio	27	3.9%	Highway Radio	9	1.54%
SAfm	6	0.87%	SAfm	2	0.34%
Siyaya FM	9	1.3%	Siyaya FM	8	1.37%
East Coast Radio	91	13.15%	East Coast Radio	79	13.48%
P4 Radio	16	2.31%	P4 Radio	16	2.73%
Imbokodo	3	0.43%	Imbokodo	2	0.34%
Umhlobo FM	7	1.01%	Umhlobo	7	1.19%
Maputaland	1	0.14%	Maputaland	1	0.17%
DYR	12	1.73%	DYR	14	2.39%
Igagasi	3	0.43%	Igagasi	5	0.85%
N = 692			N = 586		

Table1: Listenership of Radio Stations in Cato Manor showing the station(s) last listened to. One sees that only 1.3% of the population said they listened to Siyaya FM, giving an estimated listenership of only 1300.

Other points worth pointing out is with the popular stations last listened to, age and gender appear to have no significant bearing on listenership. Across all age groups, excluding those over 45, Ukhozi FM shows a chi-square (at 3 degrees of freedom (df3)) of 3.9653, which for significance at the 0.05 level should be greater than 7.82. The other main stations are: Metro FM (2.8019); and East Coast Radio (1.2509). In each case, *p* is equal to or less than 1. Siyaya FM shows an interesting 6.1004 reading (*p* is equal to or less than 0.2). In each case the distribution is not significant and supports the null hypothesis.

The chi-squares at df1 for gender significance also support the null hypothesis. Each score is less than 3.84, and pie equal to or less than 1, indicating their distribution is not significant: Ukhozi FM (0.0475), Metro FM (0,0018), Highway Radio (2.1796), Siyaya FM (0.7555), East Coast Radio(0.3098).

Stations Preferred	No. of Stations	Percentage
Ukhozi FM	284	47.78%
Metro FM	163	27.82%
Highway Radio	9	1.54%

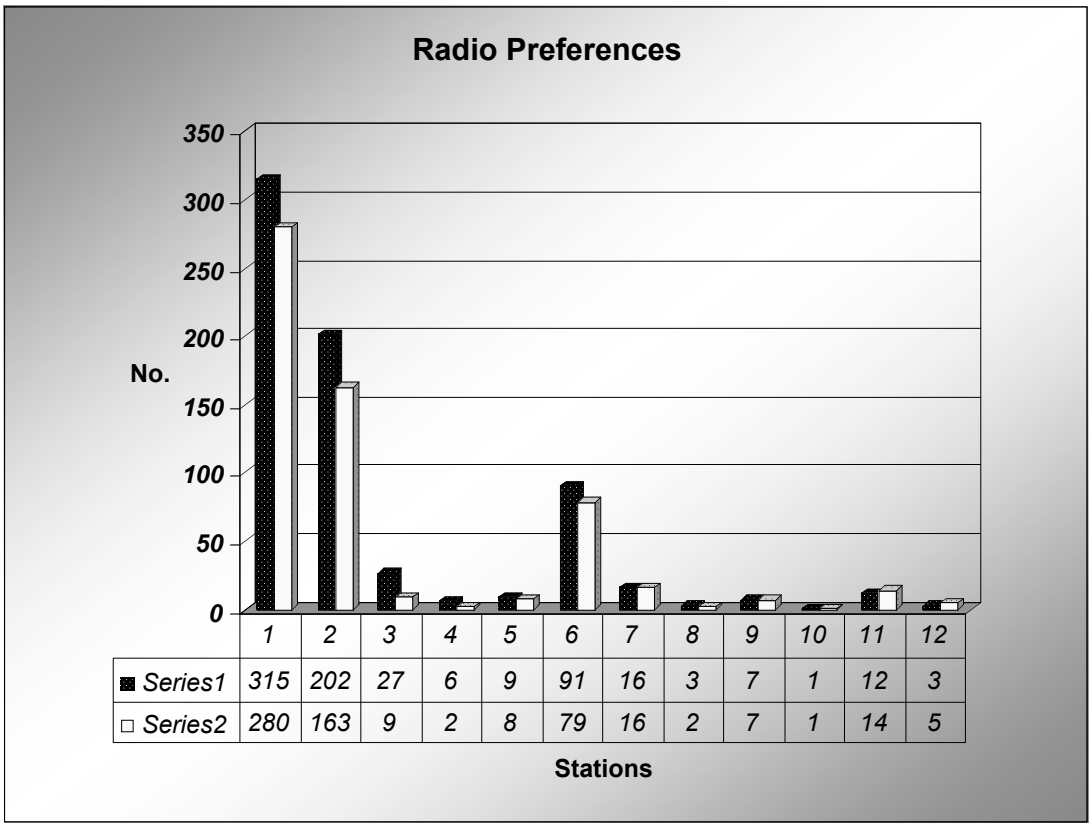
SAFM	2	0.34%
Siyaya FM	8	1.37%
East Coast Radio	79	13.48%
P4 Radio	16	2.73%
Imbokodo	2	0.34%
Umhlobo	7	1.19%
Maputaland	1	0.17%
DYR	14	2.39%
Igagasi	5	0.85%
	N=590	100.00%

Table 2: Listenership of radio stations in Cato Manor showing the station (s) respondents said they preferred. Again, less than 2% of respondents cited Siyaya FM as their station of choice. Again, there is no significant distribution of preferences between men and women (P is equal to or less than 1). The chi-squares at df1 (for significance at the 0.05level, the chi-square should be greater than or equal to3.84) read as:

Metro FM (0.7376), Ukhozi FM (0.0891), Siyaya FM (1.4647), East Coast Radio (1.4079), P4 Radio (3.2497) shows a pattern worth investigating.

The age chi-square (at df3) is equally as insignificant. Each reading should be greater or equal to7.82 for significance: Ukhozi FM (3.5787), Metro FM (1.7219), Siyaya FM (2.2266), East Coast Radio (o.44108).

Below is a graphic presentation of the results to show how listenership differs among the many radio stations that the people of Cato Manor indicated that they had listened to the last time they tuned in to a radio station and the radio station that they like most.



Graph 1: 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

The two tables above show the radio stations that respondents indicated they had last listened to, and the stations they like most. Most people (45.52%) had listened to Ukhozi FM and (47.78%) indicated that they like Ukhozi FM the most seconded by Metro FM.[14] However, Siyaya FM, which is the radio station under study, has 9 people (1.3%) of the sample who indicated that they had listened to the radio the last time they tuned in. Only 8 out of 485 people (1.37%) indicated that they liked Siyaya FM more than any other station. These results show that Siyaya FM is not popular among its intended target audience who are the people of Cato

[14] It should be mentioned that many people indicated that they like more than one station and also that they had last listened to more than one station.

Manor. The results also confirm what was revealed in the focus groups that very few people know about the existence of Siyaya FM. It can also be deduced from the listenership figures in the tables that there is high listenership of radios in Cato Manor. This is clearly illustrated in the following table showing the frequency of listening to the radio.

Frequency of Listening	**No. of people**	**%**	**Last Time Listened**	**No. of People**	**%**
Very often	238	49.07%	Today	236	48.65%
Often	147	30.31%	Yesterday	192	39.59%
Sometimes	94	19.38%	Days ago	47	9.69%
Seldom	6	1.24%	Last Week	9	1.86%
Never	0	0%	Last Month	1	0.21%
	485	100.00%		484	100.00%

Table 3: Frequency of Listenership. The figures of this table are drawn from Appendix N, and show how often respondents estimated that they listened to radio and when last they had done so.

The results in Table 3 show that many people have access to the radio and that there is high listenership in the area. The table shows that 238 people out of 485 (49.07%) listen to the radio very often. This is deduced from the frequencies of listening column in the table above. No one indicated that they never listen to the radio. The majority of the people also indicated that they had listened to the radio on the day of the interview or the previous day. Therefore, the question of not listening to the radio because of having no radio can not be a reason why many people do not know about Siyaya FM as was reported in the focus groups.

The lack of properly conducted research about listenership makes Siyaya F M appear as if it conforms to the modernisation paradigm whereby "producers of development media often failed to ask if the audience can receive the message…, understand the message…, act upon the message…, and want to act upon the message".[15]

The station manager explained that Siyaya FM greatly relies on phone-in programmes to determine whether or not people are listening to its programmes. The telephone is one of the most commonly used means of contacting the listeners, and inciting their participation in the station's activities (Crookes and Vittet-Philippe, 1985: 147). It is assumed that if more people are phoning in then many people are listening

[15] http://www.museum.tv.archives/etv/D/html/developmentc/developmentc.htm

and participating in its programmes, and vice versa. During the interview with the station manager he claimed that they receive many phone calls during their programmes. This confirms Crookes and Vittet-Philippe's (1985: 147) argument that "although it is an unscientific measure, many smaller stations are inclined to see telephone response as an indication of the presence of an audience, and try to extrapolate from the number of calls received some information about the size of the total audience". However, in practice this might not mean that many people listen to the radio station because phone-ins can create a false impression of the existence of a bigger audience than is the case in reality as this study has revealed. Crisell (1986: 181) argues that phone-in "creates the illusion of radio as a two-way medium and is concerned to verify that the station or channel has an audience and that this audience is capable of understanding and responding to the message which the station transmits".

6.6. Reasons why Siyaya FM is not popular

As mentioned before many interviewees in the focus groups were not aware about the existence of Siyaya FM and the results seem to suggest that this station is not popular among the residents of Cato Manor. There are varied reasons for this. One reason could be that some people do not know that it exists. Other people thought that the station is not properly advertised to the community. They feel the station should do more to market itself to the community, for example, by organising sporting activities, community fundraising activities and some competitions in the community, as one respondent in the focus groups explained:

> What I can say about the radio station you are talking about, I think the station should do something like advertising in the area like bringing in some special sponsorship to the kids, you see, like at school, calling students to make eh, like fundraising. The people will have knowledge to say that there is such a station like this so that they understand what the station stands for (Focus Group Discussion, 2004, Appendix E).

At the same time, some of those people who know about the existence of Siyaya FM do not listen to it at all. There are several contributing factors to this situation. Firstly, some people do not listen to Siyaya FM because of lack of interest in it, as they have other favourite radio stations such as Ukhozi FM and Metro FM, which are

popular in the area. For example, one respondent from the focus groups (Appendix C) said this:

> Q: Do you listen to Siyaya FM?
> A: Yes
> Q: In your opinion, what is the purpose of Siyaya FM?
> A: It's all about spreading the news about development in this area, Cato Manor
> Q: Which programmes do you like listening to on Siyaya FM?
> A: No! No! I am used to listening to Metro FM.

Here is a typical problem faced by community radio stations which are located in an area where several other radios can be tuned in because people have a choice among the available radio stations as shown in Table 1 above. Secondly, because the radio station obtains a 30-Days licence, it is on and off air, and as such people do not know when the station is on or off air. This has a drastic impact on the listening habits of the listeners in that they can not develop loyalty to this particular radio station because of its intermittent broadcasts. Siyaya FM keeps on transferring its audience to Highway Radio and back, and as a result some people can easily shift their loyalty to Highway Radio and consequently stay there. Those who do not like Highway Radio station will look for other radio stations that broadcast continuously. However, the results in Table 1 clearly indicate that even Highway Radio does not have a big audience in Cato Manor. Only 9 out of 485 people (1.85%) indicated that they like Highway Radio. Therefore, it can be said that the working relationship between the two stations does not help much in spreading development news about Cato Manor.

The third reason has to do with the reasons why people listen to the radio. Some people do not listen to the radio to gain information but for entertainment. One respondent said, "*Me, I like East Coast Radio. They play good music*" (Focus group discussion, 2004, Appendix H). This response implies that his motive for listening to East Coast Radio is the good music that they play. This study also found out that the main reason why people tune in to a radio is to listen to music. The results are shown below:

.**Favoured Programmes**	**Number of choices**	**%**
Music	366	34.5%
Sports	199	18.76%

Local News	198	18.71%
National news	135	12.76%
Talk Shows	108	10.21%
Advice	50	4.71%
Edutainment	1	0.09%
Preaching	1	0.09%
	N=1058	100.00%

Table 4: Reasons for listening to the radio (The 485 respondents chose multiple preferences

From the table, it is more likely that people will tune in to the radio to listen to music than most of the programmes. Therefore, lack of appeal to people's reasons for listening could be another reason why Siyaya FM is not popular. Being a development media Siyaya FM has to satisfy both the developmental needs of the area for which it was established as well as entertain people. Therefore, Siyaya FM is faced with stiff competition with other radio stations especially commercial ones. This competition for audience shares puts Siyaya FM at a disadvantage in that most people tend to dislike parochialism; hence they opt for those stations that can give then an alternative. Although the table indicates that local news is the second favoured programme, this is not news about Cato Manor but the whole of Durban and KwaZulu-Natal which may sometimes include news about Cato Manor. Sports news is another most favoured programme. Sporting activities give many people a form of entertainment and people would like to know the results of the teams they support and so on.

6.7. Staff Training

Siyaya FM started with sixteen members of staff who underwent training in radio production. They were trained by Kings Media, a media company which was under Highway Radio. The trainees, who were supposed to have a minimum qualification of a Matric, were trained in microphone techniques, scripting, audio editing, news gathering and journalism.[16] Besides specific training courses provided to the staff members after recruitment, Siyaya FM has a training slot everyday for staff and community members aspiring to become DJs and radio presenters. "Local

[16] http://www.cmda.co.za/IZWI/Izwi_Dec_pg3.htm

community radios have from the start attached great importance to the familiarisation of their public with the medium, as well as to the training of volunteers to man the station" (Crookes and Vittet, 1985: 88).

An analysis of the programme schedule of Siyaya FM[17] shows that from Mondays to Fridays the training slot begins at 12 mid-night and ends at 3 am. The trainees learn skills in presenting radio programmes. On Saturdays and Sundays the community members get trained as DJs from 12 mid-night to 6 am. The choice of night time as time for training is deliberate, because there is no serious listening taking place during this time as most people are sleeping. Therefore, even if the trainees make mistakes it would not affect many listeners. In this way Siyaya FM empowers the community members especially the youth with presentation skills that would enable them to enter into the world of radio without many problems. According to the station manager of Siyaya FM some of the trainees have been identified by big commercial radio stations and are working for them as DJs or presenters. It can be argued, therefore, that Siyaya FM fulfils one of the major objectives of community radio which is "to encourage widespread community participation in broadcasting" (White, 1990: 4).

6.8. Staffing of Siyaya FM Radio Station

Position and qualification	Brief job description	Sex	Race	Part time	Full time
Station Manager. Diploma in Business Management	Providing leadership guidance and ensuring that management committee decisions are translated into action.	Male	Black		Yes
Volunteer. Degree in Communications	Production of pre-recorded programmes & presenter of the mid-day *On Air Show*	Male	Black	Yes	
Programmes Manager. Studying Communications	Ensures that all relevant content is adhered to by presenters and that pre-recoded programmes are included in the programming schedules	Male	Black	Yes	
Volunteer. Journalism student	Serves as an administrator of radio activities and presenter of the *Breakfast Show*.	Female	Black	Yes	
Chairperson. Law Degree	Makes decisions about the radio team's meetings & ensures that management team decisions adhere to the constitution of the Radio Station. He is also the presenter of the *Late Evening Show*.	Male	Black	Yes	

[17] See Appendix J: Programme Schedule of Siyaya FM

Vice Chairperson. Diploma in Public Relations	Presenter of the *Early Evening Show* & sits in for the chairperson when he is absent.	Female	Black	Yes	
Secretary. ABET Skills	Presenter of the *Mid-morning Show* & keeps records about the progress made by the radio station as a community communications programme.	Female	Black	Yes	
Sales Manager. Sales Experience	Ensures that the airtime is sold to potential buyers which include both private & public sector.	Female	Black		Yes
News Manager. Diploma in Journalism	Production of news, ensuring that the news are read at the right time according to the programming schedule, and presenter of the Saturdays' late evening show, *Party Time*	Male	Black	Yes	
Presenter. Degree in Education	Presenter of the *Mid-night Show.* Member of Management Committee	Female	Black	Yes	
Presenter. Radio Presentation Skills	Presenter of the *Breakfast Show*. Member of Management Committee	Female	Black	Yes	
Presenter. UNISA student	Presenter of health-related programmes.	Female	Black	Yes	

Table 5: Staffing for Siyaya FM Radio Station

At the time of this study, Siyaya FM had twelve members of staff, seven females and five males, all of whom are black (See Table 5 above) because the radio station predominantly uses Zulu as a medium of communication and it also targets the dominant black population in the area. The use of local language is also in line with the conventions of community radio stations. Two of the members of staff work full time while the remaining ten are part-timers. Two of these part-timers work on voluntary basis. Some of these members of staff hold positions in the Management Committee that runs the day to day activities of the radio station and also oversees the legal aspects of broadcasting. All these members of staff have relevant qualifications for their jobs in addition to the special training in radio broadcasting they received for three months to ensure professionalism (See Appendix A). The distribution of roles by gender is not by design because recruitment was first and foremost based on availability of persons with relevant qualifications and the fact that they came from the Cato Manor community (Personal Interview, 2004).

An important observation to make about the staffing is that Siyaya FM relies mostly on part-time members of staff and volunteers just like other community radio stations. These members of staff except the volunteers are not paid a salary. Instead

they receive a stipend while the volunteers do not receive anything (Interview with station manager, 2004). This arrangement has both advantages and disadvantages which Ananthakrishnan (1994: 117) summarises as follows:

> Voluntary involvement is a strength as well as a weakness for the existence of the radio: a strength because highly motivated people without any expectations of monetary reward produce programmes involving the community thereby attracting listeners from the community…, and a weakness because the absence of paid employment results in a high turnover of people.

6.9. Funding for Siyaya FM

In principle, financing of community radios is supposed to be done by the community itself in the form of membership fees or subscriptions, listener donations, and in other cases by donor agencies both local and international.[18] The funding for Siyaya FM used to come from the European Union (EU) through the CMDA Communications Department. Its annual budget allocation was R500 000 (See Appendix A). After the CMDA was disbanded and the fact that the transition process is still underway the radio project is also in the process of being transferred to the Local Government Communications and Public Relations Department. This is to suggest that when the transfer process is over Siyaya FM will be receiving its financial support from the eThekwini Municipality.

Although the station manager acknowledged that the annual allocation is not enough for the full operations of the radio, they as a community radio station are not allowed to source extra income through advertising. Indeed, Clause 26 of the Short Term Temporary Community Broadcasting Conditions of Licence granted to Siyaya FM stipulates that:

> On no account, save with the written permission of the authority, may the licensee advertise or promote, whether directly or indirectly, any commercial or potential commercial radio or television station or business activities associated with a commercial or potential commercial station (See Appendix I).

The above regulation forces Siyaya FM to depend and barely survive on the resources of an external funding organisation. According to Crookes and Vittet-Philippe (1985: 157) “dependence upon finances of a larger body … can lead to

[18] http://www.rnw.nl.realradio/community.html/definition.html

abrupt changes in the station's service to its local community being determined by considerations outside that community". Lebohang Lejakane (1997: 136) shares similar sentiments and he cautions that when accepting foreign aid it is important to ensure that dependency relationships are not established so that the project may be sustained even when the donor agency stops its assistance. Therefore, more important than external funding is for a community radio station to have other sources of funding to be able to sustain itself when the external funding is curtailed to avoid closing down or being turned into a commercial broadcaster, as was the case with the Jamaican Radio Project discussed earlier. It is significant to note that although Siyaya FM relies on external funding, its operations and programming are not directly affected by this external agency. However, it is affected in that due to limited resources it is not able to sustain its operations for the entire year. That is why it only applies for a 30-Days Special Events Licence to broadcast only for one month and then it goes on Highway Radio station when that licence has expired. A practice like this is justifiable, however, because a community radio station does not necessarily need to be on air for twenty-four hours a day for the whole year (Crookes and Vittet-Philppe, 1985: 139), and that is what Siyaya FM is actually doing.

The station manager explained that efforts were at an advanced stage to have members of the Board of Directors and interested community members to become members of the radio station. These people will be required to pay membership or subscription fee to the radio station, and the money realised will help in the running of the radio station. Other efforts undertaken by the station to source extra funds include contacting different organisations and government departments to sponsor particular programmes. For example, the station has already contacted the Department of Health and the Departments of Safety and Security to sponsor programmes that deal with health and crime related issues respectively.

Furthermore the non-profit requirement does not necessarily mean that a community radio station cannot generate commercial revenue from advertising "but the principle is to use advertising revenue to directly fund programming or running costs, not as a source of profit" (Barnard, 2000: 71). Mtinde et al (1998: 22) further explain:

> It does not mean that the radio station cannot generate income in excess of its basic expenditure (i.e. a 'surplus excess income in a non-profit organisation cannot be called a 'profit'-it is rather a surplus'). Any surplus income generated has to be ploughed back into the project, be spent or invested in the development of the station.

In other words, because there are no individual owners or shareholders in a community radio station and because it is a non-profit station, any excess income that the radio generates has to be used for the good of the community and not individuals.

6.10. Programming

Siyaya FM broadcasts for 24 hours, seven days a week whenever it is granted a licence. When the licence expires it goes on air for one hour, five days a week on Highway Radio. During the 24- hour broadcasts the programmes are structured into three-hour slots. The programmes are heavily influenced by selected themes which the management of the radio station thinks are relevant to Cato Manor community. Initially there were three themes that were identified as relevant to Cato Manor community namely, Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), Heritage celebration, and Summerbridge Project. A 30-Day Special Events Licence was obtained for each of these major themes. In other words each theme had its own 30-Day Special Events Licence during which time the radio station broadcast relevant issues pertaining to the theme alongside other programmes. For example, when the radio station was granted a licence for the Summerbridge theme, Clause 12 of the Short Term Temporary Community Broadcasting Conditions of Licence stated that "The licensee must ensure that at least 60 % of the total programming consists of the Summerbridge project".

The BEE theme is meant to help the black population to engage in economic activities in their effort to improve their well-being. The station manager explained that:

> We do not organize the BEE event. What we do is try to engage people who are behind the idea of engaging black people into economic activities in the country. So, what we do is open a window

> whereby these people can talk to the community, exchange views and probably encourage them to be the role players in their economic development process. But we as a radio station do not engage ourselves as a radio station but we open a window which becomes a mouth piece for those people who are behind the events (Personal Interview, 2004, see Appendix A).

The heritage theme was chosen because community heritage is one aspect of development in Cato Manor. For example, the project mounted an oral history project, established a community heritage centre, and developed tourism infrastructure to promote the preservation of the history of Cato Manor. “The Oral History Project is fundamental for capturing, preserving, and celebrating the history of Cato Manor” (Hughes *et al* 1999: 4). The history of Cato Manor was broadcast on the radio during the Heritage theme to make local residents and visitors understand the history of this area.

A community heritage centre was built for purposes of preserving this history. Since this facility was built to be used by the people of Cato Manor, the challenge was how to mobilize the people to use it as their own. “Unless communities are mobilized and organized to take ownership of the proposed Community Heritage Centre, this could quickly become an underutilized and uneconomic facility which is not integrated into the social and economic life of Cato Manor” (Hughes et al 1999: 4). When the facility was ready for use Siyaya FM had to obtain a 30-Days special events licence for the purpose of raising awareness of the availability of such a facility and disseminating information about, and ability to access the resources that are provided. Radio interviews, talk-shows, followed by phone-ins were arranged by the radio (See Appendix J).

According to the station manager, the Summerbridge theme was mainly concerned with youth empowerment.

> We feel that if young people are at school, they have little leisure time but once schools are closed they have more time because there are no home-works and nothing can keep them busy because schools are closed. So we thought that evil prevails when a good mind is doing nothing. So we said let us use the community radio because a radio will be in a position to entertain those people, to inform them about the dangers of making lifeless decisions and also to educate these people about other opportunities that are there for them so that they could keep themselves busy until their school reopens (Personal Interview, 2004).

On the whole, however, the programmes cover a wide range of issues, which can broadly be put into three categories namely; education/culture, entertainment and information (see tables 6 below).

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

Table 6: Monday to Sunday Programme Content[19]

6.11. Assessment of the Programmes

Table 6 above shows that informative programmes are the most frequently broadcast, followed by educational and finally entertainment programmes. This means that Siyaya FM ideally fulfils its major function which is "to give the community access to information that is meant for socio-economic development" (Personal Interview, 2004, see Appendix A). The table also shows that there is a balance between educational and entertainment programmes. However, it is significant to note that the educational programmes dominate during week days while the entertainment programmes dominate during week-ends. This is an important arrangement because audience moods or psychology differ during the week and at weekends. During week days people are engaged in their daily routines hence they are in the mood for educational and informative programmes which may inform and guide their day-to-day activities. Similarly, there are more entertainment programmes during week-ends because this is the time when most people tend to relax. Knowledge of this and the living or work patterns of the people is important because

[19] The figures shown in the table do not mean the number of programmes broadcast but the number of times when a particular type of content, i.e., educational, informative and entertainment, is featured in different types of programmes.

it helps to mix informative and entertainment programmes properly, and this is effectively reflected in the programme schedule of Siyaya FM.

Furthermore, these programmes are aired between 7 am and 10 pm (See Appendix J). Although people listen to the radio at different times of the day and for different reasons, some times of the day have wider listenership than others and it is always a good idea to have knowledge of when most people listen to their radios. The respondents indicated that they are likely to listen to the radio during the following times (See table 7 below).

`Time of Listening	Monday-Friday (No. of People)	%	Saturday-Sunday (No. of People)	%
8am to 12 noon	194	28.74%	174	26.61%
12-4pm	53	7.85%	61	9.33%
4-8pm	226	33.48%	220	33.64%
8-12midnight	202	29.93%	199	30.43%
N= 675			N=654	

Table 7: Time when Many People are Likely to Listen to the Radio

The results show that from Monday to Friday many people (47%) are more likely to listen to the radio between 4pm to 8pm. This is the time when most people are resting or relaxing at home after returning from work, school or from other activities. Even those who do not go to work are also more likely to listen during this time because they have finished their activities for the day and are at home. This is also time for family gathering, and listening to the radio provides entertainment for the families. The period between 8pm to 12 midnight also attracts many listeners probably because most people tend to listen to the radio while in bed just before falling asleep while others leave their radios on the whole night. The period when most people are not likely to listen is 12 to 4pm. This is the time when many people are busy with their daily activities as such listening to the radio is not one of those activities. Over the weekend the trend remains almost the same but with a slight increase of 2% on the period between 12 to 4pm. This increase might have come about because of the people who do not go to work over the weekend and spend their time at home.

Apart from the programming being influenced and dominated by selected themes, Siyaya FM also airs news broadcasts almost at the top of every hour. “News makes up a very important part of programming of any radio station, and the IBA insists on a significant proportion of news daily, with an emphasis on local news” (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001: 243). Local, national and international news make the content of the news headlines and bulletins. Local news is collected by a group of volunteers who give their news items to the news manager to produce the final news content. Siyaya FM also used to collect local news from *Izwi* newspaper journalists who collected news on a daily basis but since *Izwi* was published once a month these news items were made available to the radio to be broadcast first before they were published in the paper. The advantage of having both a community radio and a newspaper catering for the same community is that it does not only increase news-gathering resources where newspaper journalists double as radio stringers (or vice versa) but it also increases information consumption by the people because the same information is made available to both media. In terms of national and international news, Siyaya FM relies on other radio stations and the internet.

Siyaya FM also airs entertainment programmes mostly in musical formats. The music programmes feature both local as well as international music to cater for the different tastes of the people, and as already discussed music attracts a big audience. In addition, the station manager explained that local upcoming artists have access to the radio if they want to have their music demos played and exposed to the public, and in this way some artists have had a chance of clinching recording deals with recording studios. Striking a balance between local news and national or international news, and also local and international music in a community radio programming helps to reduce parochialism which many people dislike.

An important observation to make about the programming of Siyaya FM is that there is no formative evaluation of the programming to determine which programmes listeners like or do not like and to know what the listeners want to be included in or excluded from the programmes as was the case with Radio Baha’i. “Radio programming can not be understood without reference to the research undertaken into its effectiveness in delivering listeners, and particularly as a vehicle for linking advertiser and listener” (Barnard, 2000: 88). Armed with knowledge about the

audience it becomes easier to schedule programmes that serve the interests of a larger part of the target population and at appropriate times of the day. “Formative research or evaluation has since become a vital corrective tool for community radio to analyse the environment, audience needs, problems and characteristics, delivery systems constraints, communication content and strategies, feedback channels and programme uses in the planning stages of a project” (Adkins , 1983 in Fisher, 1990: 20).

6.12. Community Participation

The major research objective is to investigate how the public participates in the production process, management, and planning of the communication systems in the two media. This section attempts to unpack the participatory nature of Siyaya FM to determine how people participate in the production of content and whether or not their needs are met by the radio station. As a tool for development, Siyaya FM has an important role to play in the development of Cato Manor by transmitting information that people need to improve their general welfare and understand what the CMDA is trying to do to develop Cato Manor. The programmes of Siyaya FM serve development in various ways, for example, through interviews with local elected representatives and other key informants, investigations and reports of local development issues, local traffic report, local religious issues, local health, local weather and environmental issues. More importantly Siyaya FM serves development through a selection of key themes discussed above which the management of the station considers important in the personal development of the people and the development of Cato Manor.

In all the above discussed themes, the radio station regards itself as a window through which the Cato Manor Community talks to itself. For example, for each theme key informants or other relevant individuals are invited to the station to give a live interview or talk about the theme. Then the host presenter invites community members to ask questions, make comments or suggestions by phone. If the programme involves an interview with a community leader(s) e.g. a ward councillor, they are requested to leave their telephone number for the community to ask them questions during their own time. Alternatively, community members are advised to visit the councillor’s office in person if they have any pressing issue they want to

discuss with the councillor. The function of phone-ins, therefore, is to create a two-way communication system not only between the listeners and the radio personnel but also between the listeners and the community leaders who are tasked with delivering services to the people. Even for those who are merely listening, the discussion on the radio is likely to provoke their thinking and enable them to understand what is going on around them, and an impression is created. Media analysts regard the function of phone-ins as "an attempt to accommodate the mounting pressure from excluded and underrepresented groups for greater access to scarce communications facilities" (Murdock and Golding, 1977: 38).

It is significant to note that this practice ensures that even those who do not have access to a phone are able to express their views or seek clarification on certain matters. Community dialogue and debate is created in this way. This can easily be linked to the idea of the public sphere. The community radio can become a public sphere where different development issues are discussed because open lines of communication have been established to ensure that there is horizontal communication or free flow of information among community members. The whole essence of the public sphere as propounded by Jurgen Habermas (1962) was to promote open lines of communication among citizens and all interest groups to engage in dialogue and debate, and Siyaya FM is trying to achieve that. In short, community radio if put to good use, can become an effective arena for a whole range of freedom of expression and can allow access to any kind of information so that members of the community have the information they need for their own development and that they are fully informed of what is happening in their community.

In principle, Siyaya FM tries to follow a participatory model of communication, which Agunga (1997 quoted in Waisbord, 2000: 17) defines as "a process of creating and stimulating understanding as the basis of development rather than information transmission". This understanding of communication is central to Freire's (1970) widely acclaimed pedagogical approach to communication. It is arguable, therefore, that this type of communication, gives a sense of ownership of the communication and development process to the Cato Manor Community as argued by Kitchin *et al* (2002). According to Crookes and Vittet-Philippe (1985: 15) "the more decentralised

and easily accessible the media, the greater the social consensus." However in practice, it still remains to be seen exactly hoe people participate in the formulation of policy of this radio station.

Community participation comes in a number of ways. According to Mtinde *et al* (1998: 23),

> The requirement of community participation ensures that members of the community are involved in the running of the station, i.e. in the following activities:
> - Election of leadership (Board members or trustees),
> - Policy-making for the station,
> - Management of the station,
> - Selection and provision of programming,
> - Production of programmes,
> - External representation of the station, etc.

It is important at this point to examine how Siyaya FM involves members of the community in the running of the station with reference to the above activities. In terms of election of leadership, six elected community leaders or representatives serve in the CMDA as Board of Directors. The Board of Directors is responsible for the running of the radio station, and it is the same Board of Directors that formulates policies for the station. Community members are not directly involved in this process. A major weakness with this kind of representation is that it does not fully represent the community but the interests of the representatives. There is distinction between government or political representation systems and representation systems employed by community radio with regard to community participation and access. In community radio people should have direct access to the media through contact with producers or editors of the media and also through making their own programmes (Francis Berrigan, 1977: 19). Moving further, the management of Siyaya FM entirely rests in the hands of the personnel of the radio station, and so are decisions about programming, making the radio station appear as if it belongs to the staff of the radio station only.

As there appears to be different kinds of people participating in the media, and also different models of community broadcasting, individual stations seem to have some leeway to decide on the kinds of participatory approaches they want to follow. However, for Siyaya FM it does not really suffice to have community input in the programming in this way as it is a limited way of ensuring community participation.

The Short Term Temporary Community Broadcasting Conditions of Licence, Clause 14 stipulates that:

> The licensee must ensure at all times that it serves the interest of this community by allowing for membership, management, operation, participation and programming by members of the community concerned. The licensee must ensure that its programme content reflects the special interests and needs of the listeners it is licensed to serve and must facilitate community access to its programming by clearly and regularly informing the community of the opportunities for such community participation.

In a nutshell, Siyaya FM does not satisfy all the requirements of community participation in its operations. This is a typical problem with funded projects. There are always annual work programmes, time constraints and deadlines to be met, and this makes planning of community participation problematic because it is considered slow, very involved and ineffective sometimes. What happens is retention and control of participation by the development agency or funders of the project (Mzimela, 2002 quoted in Kitchin *et al* 2002: 15).

6.13. Community Access

There appears to be an overlap in the way community access and community participation discussed earlier, are applied in development media. Berrigan (1977: 18-19) puts forward four types of access, namely access to policy, access to selection, access to production, and access to response, which he uses to establish whether or not a community radio performs the role of development media. This section employs the concept of access to establish the extent to which Siyaya FM functions as development media in ensuring that people are able to choose different and relevant programmes and that they have a means to receive and give feedback and to make their demands known to the radio station.

Access to media policy refers to “the right of the individual to take part in decisions about subjects covered, the schedules of broadcasting, the treatment of subjects, (and) the length of time allocated” (Berrigan, 1977: 18). This type of access is realised in several ways. Firstly, individual members of the community have access to media policy when they are able to use their right to participate in deciding about ‘subjects covered, the schedules of broadcasting, the treatment of subjects, and the length of time allocated’. Looking at Siyaya FM, however, one sees that the members

of the Cato Manor community do not enjoy this type of access. For example, it is the management and the personnel of the radio station who choose themes on which the programming of Siyaya FM is based. The community is not given opportunity to suggest themes although they are given a chance to suggest the person who they want to be interviewed on a particular selected theme. The same applies to the programme schedule and the time allocated to each programme. Such decisions are made at top management of the radio station.

The second aspect of access to policy is access to airtime, which means that individuals have the right to use the channels of communication to express their mind politically and creatively (Berrigan, 1977: 18). This type of access is also missing at Siyaya FM. Members of the community are not allowed to express their political opinions on the radio through various phone-in programmes that are designed to increase people's access to broadcasting time and, also allow them to express different views. The station believes that this limitation helps it to accommodate people with various political opinions. Teer-Tomaselli (2001: 249) argues that "community radio is a relatively new phenomenon in South Africa, and for many people the tradition of expressing their thoughts and feelings in such a public manner has not yet been well established". However, according to the station manager (See Appendix A), it appears that the radio station deliberately suppresses discussion of political views by not allowing the discussion of topics that are political, instead of encouraging them, and this makes people feel that it is wrong to discuss such issues on the radio.

The third type of access to policy occurs when community members have access to power of the media by exercising their "right to use them to influence others, to enlist support, to present a case" (Berrigan, 1977: 18). This type of access is also missing in the community media of Cato Manor Development Project. The main aim of the radio is to disseminate development news and stories and to educate and entertain the community (Interview with station manager, 2004, Appendix A).

The final type of access deals with production. When people have access to production it means that they have the right to participate in making programmes, to interact with media producers, planners and management and to develop relevant production and presentation techniques and skills (Berrigan, 1977: 19). This is a very

demanding type of access because ideally there is likely to be more people interested in it than opportunities available. It is interesting to note that to some extent Siyaya FM offers access to production of content to the Cato Manor Community. As already discussed, the radio station trains community Disk Jockeys (DJs) and gives them opportunity to present their programmes on air (see Appendix J).

Therefore, to answer the question, what kind of access Siyaya FM offers to people, it can be argued that there is no real access to the medium as postulated by participatory theories or 'Another Development' theory. A question that can be asked is why Siyaya FM does not give much access to the community that it serves. The answer might be found by looking at how it started. Unlike other community media the idea to establish Siyaya FM and *Izwi* newspaper did not start with the community but the Cato Manor Development Association. The purpose was not to create a forum through which the people of Cato Manor could speak to themselves but to help the CMDA communicate more easily with the community about the development. The mission statement of Siyaya FM states that the radio station was established "to ensure that development information is filtered through to all the people of Cato Manor via the medium of radio".[20] This statement suggests a top-down communication approach and leaves little room for audience participation and access. A study by Kitchin et al (2002) claims that the two media were established to ensure that development information was disseminated in an equitable manner. However, if there is no real people involvement and participation in formulation of development policies and in how the community media are supposed to operate, there can be no equity in information reception and consumption by the intended audiences.

Further than this, Mtinde *et al* (1998: 20) argue that "ownership and control of community radio are usually the most critical and contentious aspects in defining such station". This means that ownership and control play a big role in determining the operations and activities of the radio station. However, it is possible sometimes for ownership and control of the media to be in different hands. When this is the case, the managers may decide to pursue their own agendas other than those of the

[20] http://www.cmda.co.za/IZWI/Izwi_Dec_pg3.htm

owners, as Doyle (2002: 5) observes, “the managers appointed to run a media firm (agents) may not always act in a manner desired by shareholders (principals) but might, instead, have their own agendas to pursue”. The two media, Siyaya FM and the former *Izwi* newspaper, are owned by the CMDA, which is an agent responsible for the delivery of the project although in principle the Cato Manor community is supposed to own them. The CMDA owns, controls and manages the activities of the two media. People’s access and participation are defined in terms of how the agent sees fit which is sometimes not participation at all.

The stated kind of ownership and control baffles the whole essence of participatory communication which encourages local communities to be aggressive in defining their needs and managing their own development goals instead of having them defined by development agencies. It contradicts the postulates of the ‘another development’ theory which recognises potential in people (marginalised groups) to understand their situation, share ideas, and initiate action to solve their problems or improve their situation. One criticism levelled against participatory communication is that usually decisions are made by outside agencies and beneficiary communities are assigned the role of implementing them (Waisbord, 2000). Critics have argued that this is not true participation because it depends on decisions previously made and it still maintains power inequalities (MacKee, 1992). The CMDA, therefore, applied the principles of the modernisation paradigm in the development process. Siyaya FM and *Izwi* newspaper display a lot of the above characteristics of the modernisation paradigm.

The following table on evaluation of radio project performance, borrowed (and adapted) from Fisher (1990: 23) summarises the effectiveness of Siyaya FM as a community radio.

EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNITY RADIO PROJECT PERFORMANCE	**SIYAYA FM**
1. Pre-project Research/Formative Evaluation	L
2. Continuing Research/Cumulative Evaluation	L
3. Community Participation in Planning	L
4. Community Involvement in Programming	L
5. Project Staff Interaction with Community	L
6. Use of Local Language	H
7. Balance of Information and Entertainment Programmes	H

8. Use of Interpersonal and Other Media	M
9. Training of Community Members	H
10. Amount of Indigenous Support	NA
11. Interaction with Political Authorities	H

Table 8: Evaluation of the Performance of Siyaya FM

(L= Low; M= Medium; H= High; NA= Information Not Available)

6.14. The Role of *Izwi*- The Cato Manor Community Newspaper

Izwi, the Cato Manor Community Newspaper, was published from March 1995 to December 2002 by the CMDA through sponsorship from the EU. It was established by the CMDA to promote communication between itself and the community. The name *Izwi* (The Voice) is short form for *Izwi la banthu* (The Voice of the People). According to the editor, this name was chosen because the newspaper was to allow the community to voice their concerns about development (Appendix K). It is believed that *Izwi* has been successful in raising awareness and understanding of development issues among the people of Cato Manor.[21] In fact there is more emphasis on the informative role of the newspaper, for example, the mission statement of *Izwi* states that:

> The *Izwi* community newspaper is compiled and written by Cato Manor-based journalists and published seven times per annum by the Cato Manor Development Association as part of the communications programme to keep people in Cato Manor and the surrounding neighbourhood informed about the development.[22]

Therefore, just like Siyaya FM, information dissemination about development was the main reason for the establishment of the newspaper. This is characteristic of the modernisation paradigm which conceived the idea that "injecting technology and information into developing areas will automatically result in economic progress" (Louw and Tomaselli, 1990: 87; also see Schramm, 1960; Lerner, 1967). This paradigm failed to take into account the fact that recipients of such information can reject, fail to receive the information or misunderstand it altogether. The model worked on the assumption that the media were a powerful source of information and

[21] http://www.cmda.org.za/IZWI/iarchives.htm
[22] http://www.cmda.org.za/IZWI/iarchives.htm

that the receivers would adopt new ideas, attitudes and behaviours conveyed by the media without any problems. This, however, proved to be futile. As such it remains unclear why the CMDA decided to take such an approach because the whole essence of community or participatory media lies not only in transmission of information but in involving community members and offering them a chance to exchange views on issues that concern them.

To ensure wide readership, the newspaper was written both in English and Zulu so that all stakeholders or beneficiaries were well informed about what was happening in their areas. Stories written in English were simultaneously written in Zulu. Only stories that were not directly related to development were written in English alone. A number of *Izwi* supplements provided readers with valuable information about new roads, housing and other services which are being offered in the area.

6.15. Production and Mode of Distribution

News stories were gathered by the editor and community-based journalists who were specifically trained for this purpose but the final selection of news was made by the project manager and the editor who also worked as senior journalist and photographer. The production team comprised of three people, the project manager, editor, and the layout artist/designer. These people were on full-time employment. Thirty-six editions of the paper were published. Seventeen thousand (17 000) copies per issue were distributed for free to community members from door to door by a group of community volunteers. The paper was also placed in other strategic points like health centres, police station, schools, spazas and shops where people could get hold of the paper.

The study found that although the newspaper is no longer published, many people in the focus groups were able to recall having read it. Generally, there appears to be a culture of reading among the residents of Cato Manor as illustrated by the readership figures presented in the following table.

Newspapers Read	No. of People	%
Sunday Times	105	14.09%
Isolezwe	390	52.35%
Mail and Guardian	17	2.28%
Sowetan	96	12.89%
The Daily Sun	67	8.99%
Berea Mail	8	1.07%
Daily News	4	0.54%
Ilanga	43	5.77%
Mercury	10	1.34%
Laduma	1	0.13%
City Press	1	0.13%
Sunday Tribune	3	0.4%

N= 745

Table 9: Readership of Newspapers. Both Gender and age have a little significant impact on newspaper circulation in Cato Manor, except marginally for *Ilanga*. An analysis of figures for The Sunday Times, for instance, shows a chi-square (at df1) of 3.4751 (*p* equal to or less than 0.1) which comes close to the required 3.84 for significance. Circulation spread across age groups is a lot less significant, with chi-square (df3) of 2.0405 (*P* is less than 1), which at the 0.05 level should be greater than or equal to 7.82 for the distribution to be significant.
Isolezwe: Gender chi-square (df1) = 0.04995 (<3.84); age chi-square (df3) 3.0178 (<7.82)
Sowetan: Gender (1.8882); Age (3.3621).
Ilanga: Gender (o.4521); Age (8.6398), which is significant and worth further investigation.

Reasons for Reading	No. of People	%
Local News	265	24.7%
Regional news	26	2.42%
National News	211	19.66%
International News	107	9.97%
Entertainment	157	14.63%
Sports	190	17.71%
Celebrity News	97	9.04%
Jobs	19	1.77%
Business Report	1	0.09%

N=1053

Table 10: Preferred types of reading matter

It can be deduced from the table that *Isolezwe* is the most widely read newspaper (80.4%) among the people of Cato Manor and it can be argued that it is the newspaper that appeals to their needs. The most widely read stories are local news,

sports news and national news. Since local news are the most widely read stories and *Izwi* newspaper also contained local news only, it is likely that people found *Izwi* newspaper relevant and appealing to their local needs. This could explain why most people in the focus groups indicated that they enjoyed reading *Izwi* newspaper. This wide readership may be attributed to the door-to-door delivery system which ensured that there was even distribution of the newspaper that made many people to have a chance of receiving it. The door-to-door delivery system also enabled the volunteers to ask people what they thought about the issues they had read in the previous paper. This was a way of soliciting people's feedback and reactions to the issues covered in the paper. Actually it was the people's response to development issues and community based activities that used to make 75% of the content of *Izwi* newspaper (Interview with editor, 2004, Appendix K).

Apart from the 'information role', the newspaper was a source of pleasure for those who love reading for fun and those who are interested in what is happening in their area. The majority of the respondents appreciated the content of the paper because it informed them about issues of their concern. For example, one of them said:

> Ya, I enjoyed [reading *Izwi*] very much because it's talking about my place. I know it told me about my place, its telling me what is going on, from there what is gonna happen, because I feel very happy where I am reading that paper (Focus group, 2004, Appendix G).

However, other respondents were skeptical about the purpose of the newspaper. They felt that it was a propaganda tool. This is deduced from what one respondent said:

> Sometimes they just take a photo of a nice building and show it in the paper and they say many words about it. And we don't know what is going on, for example, they take a photo of CMDA, a nice building and they say a lot of things underneath and they say people are happy although it's not real (Focus group, 2004, Appendix E).

An analysis of the content of *Izwi* does not support this observation. The newspaper contained helpful information for the community to be in touch with current and future development activities and events. This observation might have come from the fact that the newspaper carried a full Photo Gallery page which displayed pictures of different activities and events that had just taken place in Cato

Manor. Another reason is that all stories were accompanied by photographs to add interest to and illustrate what is being talked about in the story, and also to attract the readers' attention.

6.16. Analysis of the Content of *Izwi*

The content of *Izwi* does, however, represent one way communication as implied by the respondent because it was mainly top-down with very little community participation and access. A sample of all editions of *Izwi* newspaper for the year 2002 were analysed to determine which kind of issues form the content of *Izwi* and which of these issues are given prominence. This was achieved by examining the number of times that each issue appears per copy and for the whole period that I sampled. The results are shown in the table 10 below.

CONTENTS	FEB	APR	MAY/ JUN	JUL/ AUG	SEPT/ OCT	NOV	DEC	TOTAL
Housing	3	1	2	0	1	2	3	**12**
Education	1	2	0	0	2	2	0	**7**
BEE	5	7	7	1	7	1	5	**33**
Health	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	**6**
Letters to the Editor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Entertainment	1	2	1	0	1	1	2	**8**
Sports	1	2	1	0	1	1	2	**8**
Crime & security	1	3	1	1	1	0	1	**8**
Editorial	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	**5**
Job opportunities	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	**3**
Development projects reports	3	1	2	1	3	0	4	**14**

Table 11: Content of *Izwi* Newspaper (February - December 2002)

The major issues that characterised the content of *Izwi* newspaper are black economic empowerment, housing, development projects reports, entertainment and sports, and crime and security. The content of *Izwi* was analysed to see if it addressed the people's needs which the people were asked to give. The following table shows community needs as given by the people of Cato Manor.

Community Needs	Number of People	Percentage
More Housing	265	24.27%

Better Housing	55	5.21%
Tarred Roads	8	0.76%
Jobs	336	31.85%
Municipal Services	67	6.35%
Electricity	64	6.07%
Water	59	5.59%
Fight Crime	119	11.28%
Fight Corruption	54	5.12%
Information	37	3.51%

N=1055

Table 12: Community Needs

6.17. Black Economic Empowerment

It is interesting to note that issues relating to black economic empowerment are the most frequently published issues in *Izwi* newspaper with an average of four stories per copy. At the same time, most people (69.2%) indicated that jobs or job opportunities are their first priority. It can be argued therefore that the issue of black economic empowerment is given priority by both media because it offers a solution or alternative to the problem of unemployment which is high in Cato Manor, as can be seen in the table below.

Employment	**No. of People**	**%**
Permanent Job	76	15.57%
Casual Work	74	15.16%
Part-Time work	60	12.3%
Student	118	24.18%
Pensioner/Disability	6	1.23%
Unemployed	150	30.74%
Volunteer	2	0.41%
Self-employed	2	0.41%

N= 488

Table 13: Employment

Transport Used	**No. of people**	**%**
Own car	11	2.56%
Borrowed car	1	0.32%

Bus	36	8.37%
Taxi	381	88.6%
Motor(Bicycle	1	0.23%

N= 450

Table 14: Type of Transport of Used

Table 13 shows that there are more people who are unemployed (30.74%) as compared to those who are in permanent employment (15.57%). The majority of the people (88.6%) use taxis (Table 14) as their form of transport as compared to 2.56% who use their own cars. This also means that the socio-economic condition of most people in the area is very low. Therefore, the idea of black economic empowerment is a very important one for the people of this area. This could entail that the project is really concerned about uplifting the economic conditions of the people of this area. To promote this economic development among the residents, a lot of skills training courses are offered to all interested people who want to start their own small businesses. Through *Izwi* people were invited and encouraged to attend these courses and benefit from them by putting up business structures of their own.

6.18. Housing

Accommodation	Number of People	%
House (own room)	181	37.55%
House (shared room)	27	5.6%
Flat (own room)	96	19.92%
Flat (shared room)	11	2.28%
Own Shack	161	33.4%
Shared Shack	6	1.24%

N= 482

Table 15: Accommodation

With the many people (34.64%) still living in shacks, the issue of housing is the most critical among the different activities taking place in Cato Manor and is given a lot of publicity in the newspaper. Many people do not understand how houses are located to people and what procedures to follow in order to benefit from the home ownership schemes, for example one respondent said:

> You see, like me, I have a complaint but I don't know where to take that complaint. You see, I have been living here for 15 years but I am

> still living in a shack. People who came last year, they have got houses but I don't know where I can complain about that because it is hard to go to the councillor (Focus group, 2004, Appendix E).

Many supplements of *Izwi* tried to educate people about how to own a house and encourage a culture of self-reliance. Announcements were made about housing projects that had just commenced and people were encouraged to apply in advance. People were also encouraged to apply for home loans meant for those who earn a specified monthly income, and detailed information about applications were also published.

6.19. Letters to the editor and opinion

From a sample of seven editions of *Izwi* no single edition carried the 'Letter to the editor' page. The only means through which people can gain access to the newspaper to express their views, to give and receive feedback is through the Letter-to-the-Editor page. Surprisingly, very few editions outside the sampled editions carried the 'Letters to the editor' page. For example, in one instance a resident of Chesterville complained about street lights which were not working (April, 2000 issue), and another reader complained about a person who was claiming a house as his arguing that he had bought it from the owner before he died (May, 2000 issue).

Most newspapers handle such issues by simply publishing them without giving a response. An interesting and striking observation about these letters is how *Izwi* handled them. The editor of *Izwi* contacted the relevant authorities who gave a reply to the people's complaints. In the above complaints, the councillor responsible for Chesterville responded to the problem of street lights, and the Housing Manager responded to the issue of the house claim respectively.

If this practice was consistent in all editions it could make *Izwi* a real tool for development because it could enable people to be in touch with their leaders and to remind them of their duties and what is happening in their areas. The absence of this page in almost all editions can imply two things, either few people were writing or some letters were deliberately not being published or were censored thereby limiting people's participation and access. A question regarding the absence of this page was however not put to the editor as it was observed after the interviews.

6.20. Crime and Security

With the high levels of crime in Cato Manor it is not surprising to note that the issue of crime and security features highly as one of the community needs with 24.5% of the respondents indicating that the fight against crime is one of their needs. Through *Izwi* newspaper, people were advised not to take the law into their own hands by imposing mob justice on criminals but rather to hand them over to the police. They were also given advice to desist from illegal connection of electricity to avoid unnecessary deaths that usually occur when there is an electrical fault.

In conclusion, the content of *Izwi* has a one hundred percent local content which mainly focuses on development activities taking place in Cato Manor. It can also be said that some of the community needs were being addressed by the newspaper by providing the relevant information although the problems can not be solved by the newspaper. However, the mode of communication remained highly top-down with very little community participation and access. The top down approach views recipients as passive consumers of media information who are waiting for experts to teach them skills required for advancement (Cobbett, 1987: 328). Ironically the name *Izwi* suggests that more and more people's voices would make the content of the paper but those voices are given very little space. Recommendation 42 of the MacBride Report clearly stipulates that "those in charge of the media should encourage their audiences to play a more active role in communication by allocating more newspaper space, or broadcasting time, for the views of individual members of the public or organised social groups" (MacBride 1980: 16). This is in line with the postulates of the 'Another Development' theory. However, this is not the case with *Izwi* newspaper.

6.21. How did *Izwi* Newspaper and Siyaya FM complement each other?

As already pointed out, *Izwi* newspaper and Siyaya FM complemented each other in their effort to facilitate communication within the Cato Manor Development

Project. It was felt that the newspaper covers important development news but most people do not have time to sit down and read newspaper. Secondly, many people in Cato Manor are illiterate because they did not get a chance to go to school during the apartheid regime. The results of this study also confirm that the frequency of reading a newspaper is lower than the frequency of listening to the radio (See table 14 below). Further, than this the frequency of reading magazines is lower than that of newspapers. The reason for this could be that most magazines are produced monthly.

Frequency	Radio Listenership	%	Newspaper Readership	%	Magazine Readership	%
Very often	236	49.06%	113	23.44%	45	9.16%
Often	145	30.15%	92	19.09%	53	10.79%
Sometimes	94	19.54%	226	46.89%	274	55.8%
Seldom	6	1.25%	35	7.26%	75	15.27%
Never	0	0%	16	3.32%	44	8.96%
N= 481			N=482		N=491	

Table16: Listenership and Readership Compared

For the reasons presented above, it was felt that important information was not reaching all people equally. Access to information was seen as a privilege of a few people who made good use of it but sometimes to the detriment of others as argued by Kitchin *et al* (2000: 11). Therefore, Siyaya FM was launched to cater for everyone, young and old, literate or illiterate. A radio does not also require a person to sit down and listen. Mtinde *et al* (1998: 17) share similar sentiments:

> Radio is the most accessible mass medium of communication in use. It is a particularly effective means of communication in communities where most people cannot read or write. Its listenership is therefore much broader than the readership of newspapers and television viewers particularly in developing countries.

It can be argued, therefore, that community radio helps to bridge the communications gap between those who have easy access to valuable information because of their literacy levels and those who do not have because radio can effectively reach everyone and maintain increased contact with the community unlike the newspaper. The third reason had to do with the fact that *Izwi* newspaper was a monthly publication which meant that urgent information was not going out to the people at the right time. To ensure prompt information dissemination the radio

project was established despite there being other mediums like notice-boards and billboards because with radio, information transmission is immediate.

Fourthly, some stories meant for the newspaper were first of all aired on Siyaya FM, which also used *Izwi* newspaper reporters to gather news items before *Izwi* ceased publication. Apart from cutting down operational costs, this arrangement helped to maximize chances of community members getting relevant information about development. By doing, so they developed a better understanding of development activities. In all this, the community occupies an important position in the operations of the media in Cato Manor. However, all this can not be fully realised when the radio station does not attract a wide audience from the intended target audience.

6.22. Siyaya FM and *Izwi* Newspaper: Critical Watch-dogs of the CMDP?

The most critical role of the media is that of a watch-dog. McQuail (1992: 120) argues that "the view of mass media as a watch-dog against the abuse of power and against corruption in a public life has long been a staple ingredient of journalistic self-image, press mythology and of Western democratic political theory". This role has become a major criterion upon which the independence of the media is assessed. In the present case study, however, it was found out that this crucial role is lacking or is absent within Siyaya FM and also lacked in *Izwi* Newspaper. When asked to explain whether or not the radio station plays a watch-dog role in the development project, the station manager of Siyaya FM said:

> Not at all, we believe in doing what we are good at. We have no intention to do what politicians can do better. Our main aim is to ensure that government programmes are well communicated to the community at large to enhance community participation in socio-economic development process. Not that we are government puppets but we want to protect our fragile democracy (Interview, 2004, Appendix A).

The above response can be interpreted as an admission of lack of independence on the part of Siyaya FM. Station manager knows that playing a watch-dog role would mean stepping on the toes of some government officials or leaders of the CMDA who may not take criticisms kindly and may react badly to the media. Thus, it

is viewed as going against the authorities if the two media report criticisms against abuse of power, corruption, or if they critically evaluate development policies or some other persons. This confirms McQuail's (1992: 121) argument that the watch-dog role of the media "has been described as an 'adversarial' role or as an 'antithetical' role especially in respect of government, big business or other authority". This is characteristic of the observation by the Windhoek declaration which noted that "media professionals in many African countries continued to be victims of human rights violations or were otherwise restricted through such economic and political pressures as restrictions on newsprint, licensing systems or visas" (Arnaldo,1998: 34). However, participants at the same Windhoek Seminar, made a call to all international organisation "to provide direct funding to non-governmental media 'that reflect society as a whole and the different points of view within the communities they serve'" (Arnaldo, 1998: 34). Although the two media in question receive their funding from the EU which is an international organisation there appears to be some form of external influence in the way the two media operate.

Further than this, to argue that politicians are the ones who have the duty to guard or watch against one another is to refuse to shoulder a major responsibility which is to report in the interest of the community. It is not surprising, therefore, that some respondents complained about political corruption where the leaders give houses to their relatives from other areas other than Cato Manor because the two community media do not check and report on such malpractices. One respondent said:

> As I said before, this place is full of political corruption, so we have difficulties to address information to the community. We are not allowed to just call a meeting and talk to people unless you are told to do such a thing. If you do you might be in trouble (Focus group discussion, 2004, Appendix E).

The above argument also explains why some people feel that *Izwi* newspaper is a propaganda tool because it only covers positive issues while avoiding sensitive ones. Even the programming of Siyaya FM shows that this role is avoided. 54 out of 485 people (11.1%) reported that corruption is one of the needs of the community but the radio station and the newspaper do not seem to address this issue. In the Phone-in and Talk show programmes which are meant to give people a chance to debate and discuss issues relevant to their Cato Manor community, the station manager

explained that, “The topics we select should be politically neutral so that we accommodate various people” (Interview, 2004, Appendix A).

Fear or failure to play the watch-dog role in the interest of protecting the ‘fragile democracy’ is a lame excuse. On the contrary playing the watch-dog role is one way of strengthening democracy because corrupt leaders and their actions are exposed to the public, a thing that will lead them to be brought to justice and set precedence for other leaders. If the media do not report that, who else would?

In short, Siyaya FM and *Izwi* newspaper as development media are not critical watch-dogs of the Cato Manor Development Project. They are mainly concerned with dissemination of development information or news to the people to empower them with knowledge so that they can in turn participate in the development process as informed citizens. As pointed above, the two media are preoccupied with dissemination of information. Servaes (1996: 104) argues that “although development strategies in developing countries diverge widely, the usual pattern for the broadcasting media and the press has been predominantly the same: informing the population about projects and recommending that they be supported”. However, this is still considered a limited function of development communication media because information from impersonal sources like radio, television, and newspapers has “relatively little effect on the behavioural changes which development envisions” (Servaes, 1996: 105). The concept of development media, therefore, seems not to be working in Cato Manor. Maybe the introduction of the two media should be seen as development in itself as opposed to being tools for development.

Chapter 6

Data analysis and discussion

This chapter presents the qualitative interview and focus group data, and analyses these with the benefit of the quantitative data (Appendix N) gleaned from the survey (Appendix M) conducted in Cato Manor.

6.1. A Case Study: The Role of Siyaya FM

Siyaya FM is the Cato Manor Community radio station which was officially launched on 1st July 2001. The name 'Siyaya' means 'we are getting there' or 'we are moving forward'. It was chosen during the planning stage because the community radio was to be regarded as a community mouth-piece which would encourage people 'to get there', to the dream of turning Cato Manor into 'a city-within-a-city' (See Appendix A: Interview with station manager). The station operates under ICASA's special events license category, which allows it to operate for thirty days subject to renewal (See Appendix I). Siyaya FM was granted the first licence in September 2002. Before that it was broadcasting on 101.5 FM, a frequency allocated to Highway Radio, a religious community radio station based in Pinetown. It was broadcasting for one hour only on Wednesdays between 7pm and 8pm. Now it is broadcasting from Cato Manor, specifically from Intuthuko Junction, 750 Francois Road, Durban.

Initially Siyaya FM was buying air time on Highway Radio, chosen because the two stations share the same audience and also because Highway Radio was found to be cheaper than other Durban stations when it comes to buying airtime. At first Siyaya FM was buying airtime on Highway Radio but later the two radio stations signed an agreement which allowed Siyaya FM to produce pre-recorded community-related programmes only which would be aired on Highway Radio at no charge.

6.2. Management and Ownership of Siyaya FM

Originally the CMDA Board of Directors owned Siyaya FM radio station. When the association was phased out, the radio station was handed over to Area Based Management (ABM), which is a wing of eThekwini Municipality. Therefore, the personnel of the radio station were accountable to the CMDA Board of Directors, and now they are accountable to eThekwini Municipality through Area Based Management (See Appendix A). This implies that during the time of the CMDA the radio station was 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.

6.3. Reasons for the Launch of Siyaya FM

Siyaya FM was launched to implement the communications plan of the Communications Department of the CMDA. Particularly, it was a response to the problem of inadequate information dissemination as there was only one medium of communication within the community which was *Izwi* newspaper (See Appendix A). However, the radio also plays other important roles like helping to empower people of Cato Manor including the youth with special skills, and also helps to preserve the history of the area. It can already be argued that the CMDA applied the principles of the modernization paradigm which sees the mass media as a powerful catalyst for change necessary for economic development and mobilisation of human resources.

Thus Siyaya FM is regarded as a tool for development. In doing so, however, it does not mean that the radio substitutes interpersonal or traditional communication systems but rather it complements them. This arrangement is in line with participatory communication which gives a secondary position to the mass media as a means of communication between development agencies and beneficiary communities (Waisboard, 2000: 18). This section examines the characteristic features of Siyaya FM in light of the 'Another Development' theory or participatory theories. These characteristic features include the type of community served, listenership, staffing, funding, programming, and finally community participation and access.

6.4. Who is the Community Served?

Siyaya FM is the Cato Manor community radio station, but how is community radio defined? “In relation to community radio, the term ‘community’ refers to a collective or a group of people sharing common characters and/or interests. The term ‘community’ can either be defined as: a geographically based group of persons and/or a social group or sector of the public who have common or specific interests” (Mtinde *et al* 1998: 12). Similarly, Ruth Teer-Tomaselli (2001: 234) observes that the I997 IBA Act “provides for a community broadcasting service to cater for a geographic community or a community of interest”. The difference is that in a geographic community broadcasting serves people living in a particular geographic location while in a community of interest, the community served has a specific ascertainable common interest (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001: 234). She further argues that the IBA Act categorises community interest radio stations into three types, namely; those which serve ‘institutional communities’, ‘religious communities’, and ‘cultural communities’.

> An institutional community is primarily designed to meet the needs of persons directly associated with an institution of learning, labour or indeed any other institutional formations. Religious community stations cater for religious needs of a specific community whose common interest is based on a religion or belief. The final type of community of interest station, the cultural community station, is designed to meet the cultural needs of a defined ‘community group’ (Teer- Tomaselli, 2001: 235).

However, she points out that the IBA’s definitions of community radio are “empirically slippy, not to say tautologous since they propose that a community radio station is one which serves a particular community, while begging the question of what constitutes a community” (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001: 234). This is true for Siyaya FM. The community that it serves is based on both geographic and community interest. It is geographic in the sense that it targets the residents of Cato Manor. In this case it is defined in terms of the area of coverage. At the same time it is a community of interest station because it serves a particular need of this community i.e. dissemination of development information. Coincidentally, this community of interest fits the geographical boundaries of the area in question which is Cato Manor characterised by its distinctive cultural and linguistic traditions.

6.5. Area of Coverage and Listenership

Siyaya FM covers a 100 kilometre-radius prescribed by ICASA (See Appendix I)[23], and because of the position of its antenna it is not only received in the immediate vicinity but also in areas beyond the prescribed radius, for example, Greater eThekwini Municipality and beyond. Therefore, the target audience of Siyaya FM are the people living in Greater Cato Manor area, 95% of whom are black. This is why the radio station uses Zulu as a medium of communication because the majority of the Cato Manor population speaks Zulu (See Appendix A). However, to encourage wider community participation people who do not speak Zulu are allowed to express themselves in other languages, such as English, Xhosa, Tswana and Sotho. The station manager estimated the listenership of Siyaya FM at a range of between 250 000 and 500 000:

> Greater Cato Manor community alone is 100 000 people plus, which suggests that because there are no boundaries on the airwaves given the fact that we are able to reach the Greater Durban and beyond, we are then able to reach 250 000 people plus which I believe is not above 500 000 (Personal Interview, 2004, Appendix A).

It should be noted that this is a mere estimation because since the station was established it has never conducted formative research to establish its listenership (Personal Interview, 2004, Appendix A). Formative research is defined as:

> Those activities that define the scope of the problem, gather data on the possible intervention strategies, learn about the intended audience, and investigate possible factors that might limit programme implementation. Formative research is also used test message strategy, test the effectiveness of possible communication channels, and learn about audience beliefs, motivations, perceptions and so on (Valente, 2001:107).

Thus formative research is an important aspect lacking in the planning policy and operations of the radio station. Therefore relying on these figures could be self-deception. The station appears to be working on the assumption that because it is a community radio for Cato Manor then everyone living in Cato Manor listens to it. This study reveals that actual listenership of Siyaya FM is far less than the estimated figures (± 250 000) provided by the station manager (See Table 1 below). If 1.3% of the sample had listened to Siyaya FM, then given an estimated population of 100 000, then this gives a listenership of a mere 1 300.

[23] Appendix I: ICASA's Short Term TemporaryCommunity Sound Broadcasting Licence

Station last listened to	No. of stations	%	Stations preferred	No. of stations	%
Ukhozi FM	315	45.52%	Ukhozi FM	280	47.78%
Metro FM	202	29.19%	Metro FM	163	27.82%
Highway Radio	27	3.9%	Highway Radio	9	1.54%
SAfm	6	0.87%	SAfm	2	0.34%
Siyaya FM	9	1.3%	Siyaya FM	8	1.37%
East Coast Radio	91	13.15%	East Coast Radio	79	13.48%
P4 Radio	16	2.31%	P4 Radio	16	2.73%
Imbokodo	3	0.43%	Imbokodo	2	0.34%
Umhlobo FM	7	1.01%	Umhlobo	7	1.19%
Maputaland	1	0.14%	Maputaland	1	0.17%
DYR	12	1.73%	DYR	14	2.39%
Igagasi	3	0.43%	Igagasi	5	0.85%
N = 692			N = 586		

Table1: Listenership of Radio Stations in Cato Manor showing the station(s) last listened to. One sees that only 1.3% of the population said they listened to Siyaya FM, giving an estimated listenership of only 1300.

Other points worth pointing out is with the popular stations last listened to, age and gender appear to have no significant bearing on listenership. Across all age groups, excluding those over 45, Ukhozi FM shows a chi-square (at 3 degrees of freedom (df3)) of 3.9653, which for significance at the 0.05 level should be greater than 7.82. The other main stations are: Metro FM (2.8019); and East Coast Radio (1.2509). In each case, *p* is equal to or less than 1. Siyaya FM shows an interesting 6.1004 reading (*p* is equal to or less than 0.2). In each case the distribution is not significant and supports the null hypothesis.

The chi-squares at df1 for gender significance also support the null hypothesis. Each score is less than 3.84, and pie equal to or less than 1, indicating their distribution is not significant: Ukhozi FM (0.0475), Metro FM (0,0018), Highway Radio (2.1796), Siyaya FM (0.7555), East Coast Radio(0.3098).

Stations Preferred	No. of Stations	Percentage
Ukhozi FM	284	47.78%
Metro FM	163	27.82%
Highway Radio	9	1.54%

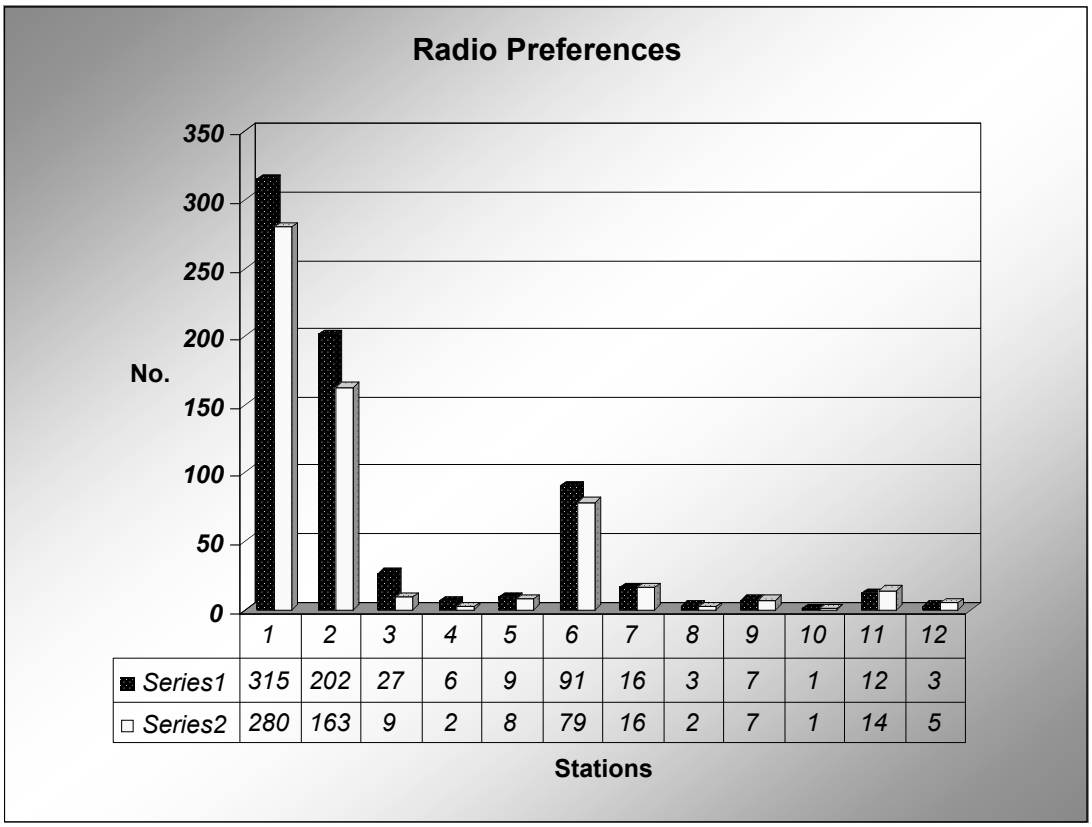
SAFM	2	0.34%
Siyaya FM	8	1.37%
East Coast Radio	79	13.48%
P4 Radio	16	2.73%
Imbokodo	2	0.34%
Umhlobo	7	1.19%
Maputaland	1	0.17%
DYR	14	2.39%
Igagasi	5	0.85%
	N=590	100.00%

Table 2: Listenership of radio stations in Cato Manor showing the station (s) respondents said they preferred. Again, less than 2% of respondents cited Siyaya FM as their station of choice. Again, there is no significant distribution of preferences between men and women (P is equal to or less than 1). The chi-squares at df1 (for significance at the 0.05level, the chi-square should be greater than or equal to3.84) read as:

Metro FM (0.7376), Ukhozi FM (0.0891), Siyaya FM (1.4647), East Coast Radio (1.4079), P4 Radio (3.2497) shows a pattern worth investigating.

The age chi-square (at df3) is equally as insignificant. Each reading should be greater or equal to7.82 for significance: Ukhozi FM (3.5787), Metro FM (1.7219), Siyaya FM (2.2266), East Coast Radio (o.44108).

Below is a graphic presentation of the results to show how listenership differs among the many radio stations that the people of Cato Manor indicated that they had listened to the last time they tuned in to a radio station and the radio station that they like most.



Graph 1: 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

The two tables above show the radio stations that respondents indicated they had last listened to, and the stations they like most. Most people (45.52%) had listened to Ukhozi FM and (47.78%) indicated that they like Ukhozi FM the most seconded by Metro FM.[24] However, Siyaya FM, which is the radio station under study, has 9 people (1.3%) of the sample who indicated that they had listened to the radio the last time they tuned in. Only 8 out of 485 people (1.37%) indicated that they liked Siyaya FM more than any other station. These results show that Siyaya FM is not popular among its intended target audience who are the people of Cato

[24] It should be mentioned that many people indicated that they like more than one station and also that they had last listened to more than one station.

Manor. The results also confirm what was revealed in the focus groups that very few people know about the existence of Siyaya FM. It can also be deduced from the listenership figures in the tables that there is high listenership of radios in Cato Manor. This is clearly illustrated in the following table showing the frequency of listening to the radio.

Frequency of Listening	**No. of people**	**%**	**Last Time Listened**	**No. of People**	**%**
Very often	238	49.07%	Today	236	48.65%
Often	147	30.31%	Yesterday	192	39.59%
Sometimes	94	19.38%	Days ago	47	9.69%
Seldom	6	1.24%	Last Week	9	1.86%
Never	0	0%	Last Month	1	0.21%
	485	100.00%		484	100.00%

Table 3: Frequency of Listenership. The figures of this table are drawn from Appendix N, and show how often respondents estimated that they listened to radio and when last they had done so.

The results in Table 3 show that many people have access to the radio and that there is high listenership in the area. The table shows that 238 people out of 485 (49.07%) listen to the radio very often. This is deduced from the frequencies of listening column in the table above. No one indicated that they never listen to the radio. The majority of the people also indicated that they had listened to the radio on the day of the interview or the previous day. Therefore, the question of not listening to the radio because of having no radio can not be a reason why many people do not know about Siyaya FM as was reported in the focus groups.

The lack of properly conducted research about listenership makes Siyaya FM appear as if it conforms to the modernisation paradigm whereby "producers of development media often failed to ask if the audience can receive the message…, understand the message…, act upon the message…, and want to act upon the message".[25]

The station manager explained that Siyaya FM greatly relies on phone-in programmes to determine whether or not people are listening to its programmes. The telephone is one of the most commonly used means of contacting the listeners, and inciting their participation in the station's activities (Crookes and Vittet-Philippe, 1985: 147). It is assumed that if more people are phoning in then many people are listening

[25] http://www.museum.tv.archives/etv/D/html/developmentc/developmentc.htm

and participating in its programmes, and vice versa. During the interview with the station manager he claimed that they receive many phone calls during their programmes. This confirms Crookes and Vittet-Philippe's (1985: 147) argument that "although it is an unscientific measure, many smaller stations are inclined to see telephone response as an indication of the presence of an audience, and try to extrapolate from the number of calls received some information about the size of the total audience". However, in practice this might not mean that many people listen to the radio station because phone-ins can create a false impression of the existence of a bigger audience than is the case in reality as this study has revealed. Crisell (1986: 181) argues that phone-in "creates the illusion of radio as a two-way medium and is concerned to verify that the station or channel has an audience and that this audience is capable of understanding and responding to the message which the station transmits".

6.6. Reasons why Siyaya FM is not popular

As mentioned before many interviewees in the focus groups were not aware about the existence of Siyaya FM and the results seem to suggest that this station is not popular among the residents of Cato Manor. There are varied reasons for this. One reason could be that some people do not know that it exists. Other people thought that the station is not properly advertised to the community. They feel the station should do more to market itself to the community, for example, by organising sporting activities, community fundraising activities and some competitions in the community, as one respondent in the focus groups explained:

> What I can say about the radio station you are talking about, I think the station should do something like advertising in the area like bringing in some special sponsorship to the kids, you see, like at school, calling students to make eh, like fundraising. The people will have knowledge to say that there is such a station like this so that they understand what the station stands for (Focus Group Discussion, 2004, Appendix E).

At the same time, some of those people who know about the existence of Siyaya FM do not listen to it at all. There are several contributing factors to this situation. Firstly, some people do not listen to Siyaya FM because of lack of interest in it, as they have other favourite radio stations such as Ukhozi FM and Metro FM, which are

popular in the area. For example, one respondent from the focus groups (Appendix C) said this:

> Q: Do you listen to Siyaya FM?
> A: Yes
> Q: In your opinion, what is the purpose of Siyaya FM?
> A: It's all about spreading the news about development in this area, Cato Manor
> Q: Which programmes do you like listening to on Siyaya FM?
> A: No! No! I am used to listening to Metro FM.

Here is a typical problem faced by community radio stations which are located in an area where several other radios can be tuned in because people have a choice among the available radio stations as shown in Table 1 above. Secondly, because the radio station obtains a 30-Days licence, it is on and off air, and as such people do not know when the station is on or off air. This has a drastic impact on the listening habits of the listeners in that they can not develop loyalty to this particular radio station because of its intermittent broadcasts. Siyaya FM keeps on transferring its audience to Highway Radio and back, and as a result some people can easily shift their loyalty to Highway Radio and consequently stay there. Those who do not like Highway Radio station will look for other radio stations that broadcast continuously. However, the results in Table 1 clearly indicate that even Highway Radio does not have a big audience in Cato Manor. Only 9 out of 485 people (1.85%) indicated that they like Highway Radio. Therefore, it can be said that the working relationship between the two stations does not help much in spreading development news about Cato Manor.

The third reason has to do with the reasons why people listen to the radio. Some people do not listen to the radio to gain information but for entertainment. One respondent said, "*Me, I like East Coast Radio. They play good music*" (Focus group discussion, 2004, Appendix H). This response implies that his motive for listening to East Coast Radio is the good music that they play. This study also found out that the main reason why people tune in to a radio is to listen to music. The results are shown below:

.**Favoured Programmes**	**Number of choices**	**%**
Music	366	34.5%
Sports	199	18.76%

Local News	198	18.71%
National news	135	12.76%
Talk Shows	108	10.21%
Advice	50	4.71%
Edutainment	1	0.09%
Preaching	1	0.09%
	N=1058	100.00%

Table 4: Reasons for listening to the radio (The 485 respondents chose multiple preferences

From the table, it is more likely that people will tune in to the radio to listen to music than most of the programmes. Therefore, lack of appeal to people's reasons for listening could be another reason why Siyaya FM is not popular. Being a development media Siyaya FM has to satisfy both the developmental needs of the area for which it was established as well as entertain people. Therefore, Siyaya FM is faced with stiff competition with other radio stations especially commercial ones. This competition for audience shares puts Siyaya FM at a disadvantage in that most people tend to dislike parochialism; hence they opt for those stations that can give then an alternative. Although the table indicates that local news is the second favoured programme, this is not news about Cato Manor but the whole of Durban and KwaZulu-Natal which may sometimes include news about Cato Manor. Sports news is another most favoured programme. Sporting activities give many people a form of entertainment and people would like to know the results of the teams they support and so on.

6.7. Staff Training

Siyaya FM started with sixteen members of staff who underwent training in radio production. They were trained by Kings Media, a media company which was under Highway Radio. The trainees, who were supposed to have a minimum qualification of a Matric, were trained in microphone techniques, scripting, audio editing, news gathering and journalism.[26] Besides specific training courses provided to the staff members after recruitment, Siyaya FM has a training slot everyday for staff and community members aspiring to become DJs and radio presenters. "Local

[26] http://www.cmda.co.za/IZWI/Izwi_Dec_pg3.htm

community radios have from the start attached great importance to the familiarisation of their public with the medium, as well as to the training of volunteers to man the station" (Crookes and Vittet, 1985: 88).

An analysis of the programme schedule of Siyaya FM[27] shows that from Mondays to Fridays the training slot begins at 12 mid-night and ends at 3 am. The trainees learn skills in presenting radio programmes. On Saturdays and Sundays the community members get trained as DJs from 12 mid-night to 6 am. The choice of night time as time for training is deliberate, because there is no serious listening taking place during this time as most people are sleeping. Therefore, even if the trainees make mistakes it would not affect many listeners. In this way Siyaya FM empowers the community members especially the youth with presentation skills that would enable them to enter into the world of radio without many problems. According to the station manager of Siyaya FM some of the trainees have been identified by big commercial radio stations and are working for them as DJs or presenters. It can be argued, therefore, that Siyaya FM fulfils one of the major objectives of community radio which is "to encourage widespread community participation in broadcasting" (White, 1990: 4).

6.8. Staffing of Siyaya FM Radio Station

Position and qualification	Brief job description	Sex	Race	Part time	Full time
Station Manager. Diploma in Business Management	Providing leadership guidance and ensuring that management committee decisions are translated into action.	Male	Black		Yes
Volunteer. Degree in Communications	Production of pre-recorded programmes & presenter of the mid-day *On Air Show*	Male	Black	Yes	
Programmes Manager. Studying Communications	Ensures that all relevant content is adhered to by presenters and that pre-recoded programmes are included in the programming schedules	Male	Black	Yes	
Volunteer. Journalism student	Serves as an administrator of radio activities and presenter of the *Breakfast Show*.	Female	Black	Yes	
Chairperson. Law Degree	Makes decisions about the radio team's meetings & ensures that management team decisions adhere to the constitution of the Radio Station. He is also the presenter of the *Late Evening Show*.	Male	Black	Yes	

[27] See Appendix J: Programme Schedule of Siyaya FM

Vice Chairperson. Diploma in Public Relations	Presenter of the *Early Evening Show* & sits in for the chairperson when he is absent.	Female	Black	Yes	
Secretary. ABET Skills	Presenter of the *Mid-morning Show* & keeps records about the progress made by the radio station as a community communications programme.	Female	Black	Yes	
Sales Manager. Sales Experience	Ensures that the airtime is sold to potential buyers which include both private & public sector.	Female	Black		Yes
News Manager. Diploma in Journalism	Production of news, ensuring that the news are read at the right time according to the programming schedule, and presenter of the Saturdays' late evening show, *Party Time*	Male	Black	Yes	
Presenter. Degree in Education	Presenter of the *Mid-night Show.* Member of Management Committee	Female	Black	Yes	
Presenter. Radio Presentation Skills	Presenter of the *Breakfast Show*. Member of Management Committee	Female	Black	Yes	
Presenter. UNISA student	Presenter of health-related programmes.	Female	Black	Yes	

Table 5: Staffing for Siyaya FM Radio Station

At the time of this study, Siyaya FM had twelve members of staff, seven females and five males, all of whom are black (See Table 5 above) because the radio station predominantly uses Zulu as a medium of communication and it also targets the dominant black population in the area. The use of local language is also in line with the conventions of community radio stations. Two of the members of staff work full time while the remaining ten are part-timers. Two of these part-timers work on voluntary basis. Some of these members of staff hold positions in the Management Committee that runs the day to day activities of the radio station and also oversees the legal aspects of broadcasting. All these members of staff have relevant qualifications for their jobs in addition to the special training in radio broadcasting they received for three months to ensure professionalism (See Appendix A). The distribution of roles by gender is not by design because recruitment was first and foremost based on availability of persons with relevant qualifications and the fact that they came from the Cato Manor community (Personal Interview, 2004).

An important observation to make about the staffing is that Siyaya FM relies mostly on part-time members of staff and volunteers just like other community radio stations. These members of staff except the volunteers are not paid a salary. Instead

they receive a stipend while the volunteers do not receive anything (Interview with station manager, 2004). This arrangement has both advantages and disadvantages which Ananthakrishnan (1994: 117) summarises as follows:

> Voluntary involvement is a strength as well as a weakness for the existence of the radio: a strength because highly motivated people without any expectations of monetary reward produce programmes involving the community thereby attracting listeners from the community…, and a weakness because the absence of paid employment results in a high turnover of people.

6.9. Funding for Siyaya FM

In principle, financing of community radios is supposed to be done by the community itself in the form of membership fees or subscriptions, listener donations, and in other cases by donor agencies both local and international.[28] The funding for Siyaya FM used to come from the European Union (EU) through the CMDA Communications Department. Its annual budget allocation was R500 000 (See Appendix A). After the CMDA was disbanded and the fact that the transition process is still underway the radio project is also in the process of being transferred to the Local Government Communications and Public Relations Department. This is to suggest that when the transfer process is over Siyaya FM will be receiving its financial support from the eThekwini Municipality.

Although the station manager acknowledged that the annual allocation is not enough for the full operations of the radio, they as a community radio station are not allowed to source extra income through advertising. Indeed, Clause 26 of the Short Term Temporary Community Broadcasting Conditions of Licence granted to Siyaya FM stipulates that:

> On no account, save with the written permission of the authority, may the licensee advertise or promote, whether directly or indirectly, any commercial or potential commercial radio or television station or business activities associated with a commercial or potential commercial station (See Appendix I).

The above regulation forces Siyaya FM to depend and barely survive on the resources of an external funding organisation. According to Crookes and Vittet-Philippe (1985: 157) “dependence upon finances of a larger body … can lead to

[28] http://www.rnw.nl.realradio/community.html/definition.html

abrupt changes in the station's service to its local community being determined by considerations outside that community". Lebohang Lejakane (1997: 136) shares similar sentiments and he cautions that when accepting foreign aid it is important to ensure that dependency relationships are not established so that the project may be sustained even when the donor agency stops its assistance. Therefore, more important than external funding is for a community radio station to have other sources of funding to be able to sustain itself when the external funding is curtailed to avoid closing down or being turned into a commercial broadcaster, as was the case with the Jamaican Radio Project discussed earlier. It is significant to note that although Siyaya FM relies on external funding, its operations and programming are not directly affected by this external agency. However, it is affected in that due to limited resources it is not able to sustain its operations for the entire year. That is why it only applies for a 30-Days Special Events Licence to broadcast only for one month and then it goes on Highway Radio station when that licence has expired. A practice like this is justifiable, however, because a community radio station does not necessarily need to be on air for twenty-four hours a day for the whole year (Crookes and Vittet-Philppe, 1985: 139), and that is what Siyaya FM is actually doing.

The station manager explained that efforts were at an advanced stage to have members of the Board of Directors and interested community members to become members of the radio station. These people will be required to pay membership or subscription fee to the radio station, and the money realised will help in the running of the radio station. Other efforts undertaken by the station to source extra funds include contacting different organisations and government departments to sponsor particular programmes. For example, the station has already contacted the Department of Health and the Departments of Safety and Security to sponsor programmes that deal with health and crime related issues respectively.

Furthermore the non-profit requirement does not necessarily mean that a community radio station cannot generate commercial revenue from advertising "but the principle is to use advertising revenue to directly fund programming or running costs, not as a source of profit" (Barnard, 2000: 71). Mtinde et al (1998: 22) further explain:

> It does not mean that the radio station cannot generate income in excess of its basic expenditure (i.e. a 'surplus excess income in a non-profit organisation cannot be called a 'profit'-it is rather a surplus'). Any surplus income generated has to be ploughed back into the project, be spent or invested in the development of the station.

In other words, because there are no individual owners or shareholders in a community radio station and because it is a non-profit station, any excess income that the radio generates has to be used for the good of the community and not individuals.

6.10. Programming

Siyaya FM broadcasts for 24 hours, seven days a week whenever it is granted a licence. When the licence expires it goes on air for one hour, five days a week on Highway Radio. During the 24- hour broadcasts the programmes are structured into three-hour slots. The programmes are heavily influenced by selected themes which the management of the radio station thinks are relevant to Cato Manor community. Initially there were three themes that were identified as relevant to Cato Manor community namely, Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), Heritage celebration, and Summerbridge Project. A 30-Day Special Events Licence was obtained for each of these major themes. In other words each theme had its own 30-Day Special Events Licence during which time the radio station broadcast relevant issues pertaining to the theme alongside other programmes. For example, when the radio station was granted a licence for the Summerbridge theme, Clause 12 of the Short Term Temporary Community Broadcasting Conditions of Licence stated that "The licensee must ensure that at least 60 % of the total programming consists of the Summerbridge project".

The BEE theme is meant to help the black population to engage in economic activities in their effort to improve their well-being. The station manager explained that:

> We do not organize the BEE event. What we do is try to engage people who are behind the idea of engaging black people into economic activities in the country. So, what we do is open a window

> whereby these people can talk to the community, exchange views and probably encourage them to be the role players in their economic development process. But we as a radio station do not engage ourselves as a radio station but we open a window which becomes a mouth piece for those people who are behind the events (Personal Interview, 2004, see Appendix A).

The heritage theme was chosen because community heritage is one aspect of development in Cato Manor. For example, the project mounted an oral history project, established a community heritage centre, and developed tourism infrastructure to promote the preservation of the history of Cato Manor. “The Oral History Project is fundamental for capturing, preserving, and celebrating the history of Cato Manor” (Hughes *et al* 1999: 4). The history of Cato Manor was broadcast on the radio during the Heritage theme to make local residents and visitors understand the history of this area.

A community heritage centre was built for purposes of preserving this history. Since this facility was built to be used by the people of Cato Manor, the challenge was how to mobilize the people to use it as their own. “Unless communities are mobilized and organized to take ownership of the proposed Community Heritage Centre, this could quickly become an underutilized and uneconomic facility which is not integrated into the social and economic life of Cato Manor” (Hughes et al 1999: 4). When the facility was ready for use Siyaya FM had to obtain a 30-Days special events licence for the purpose of raising awareness of the availability of such a facility and disseminating information about, and ability to access the resources that are provided. Radio interviews, talk-shows, followed by phone-ins were arranged by the radio (See Appendix J).

According to the station manager, the Summerbridge theme was mainly concerned with youth empowerment.

> We feel that if young people are at school, they have little leisure time but once schools are closed they have more time because there are no home-works and nothing can keep them busy because schools are closed. So we thought that evil prevails when a good mind is doing nothing. So we said let us use the community radio because a radio will be in a position to entertain those people, to inform them about the dangers of making lifeless decisions and also to educate these people about other opportunities that are there for them so that they could keep themselves busy until their school reopens (Personal Interview, 2004).

On the whole, however, the programmes cover a wide range of issues, which can broadly be put into three categories namely; education/culture, entertainment and information (see tables 6 below).

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

Table 6: Monday to Sunday Programme Content[29]

6.11. Assessment of the Programmes

Table 6 above shows that informative programmes are the most frequently broadcast, followed by educational and finally entertainment programmes. This means that Siyaya FM ideally fulfils its major function which is "to give the community access to information that is meant for socio-economic development" (Personal Interview, 2004, see Appendix A). The table also shows that there is a balance between educational and entertainment programmes. However, it is significant to note that the educational programmes dominate during week days while the entertainment programmes dominate during week-ends. This is an important arrangement because audience moods or psychology differ during the week and at weekends. During week days people are engaged in their daily routines hence they are in the mood for educational and informative programmes which may inform and guide their day-to-day activities. Similarly, there are more entertainment programmes during week-ends because this is the time when most people tend to relax. Knowledge of this and the living or work patterns of the people is important because

[29] The figures shown in the table do not mean the number of programmes broadcast but the number of times when a particular type of content, i.e., educational, informative and entertainment, is featured in different types of programmes.

it helps to mix informative and entertainment programmes properly, and this is effectively reflected in the programme schedule of Siyaya FM.

Furthermore, these programmes are aired between 7 am and 10 pm (See Appendix J). Although people listen to the radio at different times of the day and for different reasons, some times of the day have wider listenership than others and it is always a good idea to have knowledge of when most people listen to their radios. The respondents indicated that they are likely to listen to the radio during the following times (See table 7 below).

`Time of Listening	Monday-Friday (No. of People)	%	Saturday-Sunday (No. of People)	%
8am to 12 noon	194	28.74%	174	26.61%
12-4pm	53	7.85%	61	9.33%
4-8pm	226	33.48%	220	33.64%
8-12midnight	202	29.93%	199	30.43%
N= 675			N=654	

Table 7: Time when Many People are Likely to Listen to the Radio

The results show that from Monday to Friday many people (47%) are more likely to listen to the radio between 4pm to 8pm. This is the time when most people are resting or relaxing at home after returning from work, school or from other activities. Even those who do not go to work are also more likely to listen during this time because they have finished their activities for the day and are at home. This is also time for family gathering, and listening to the radio provides entertainment for the families. The period between 8pm to 12 midnight also attracts many listeners probably because most people tend to listen to the radio while in bed just before falling asleep while others leave their radios on the whole night. The period when most people are not likely to listen is 12 to 4pm. This is the time when many people are busy with their daily activities as such listening to the radio is not one of those activities. Over the weekend the trend remains almost the same but with a slight increase of 2% on the period between 12 to 4pm. This increase might have come about because of the people who do not go to work over the weekend and spend their time at home.

Apart from the programming being influenced and dominated by selected themes, Siyaya FM also airs news broadcasts almost at the top of every hour. “News makes up a very important part of programming of any radio station, and the IBA insists on a significant proportion of news daily, with an emphasis on local news” (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001: 243). Local, national and international news make the content of the news headlines and bulletins. Local news is collected by a group of volunteers who give their news items to the news manager to produce the final news content. Siyaya FM also used to collect local news from *Izwi* newspaper journalists who collected news on a daily basis but since *Izwi* was published once a month these news items were made available to the radio to be broadcast first before they were published in the paper. The advantage of having both a community radio and a newspaper catering for the same community is that it does not only increase news-gathering resources where newspaper journalists double as radio stringers (or vice versa) but it also increases information consumption by the people because the same information is made available to both media. In terms of national and international news, Siyaya FM relies on other radio stations and the internet.

Siyaya FM also airs entertainment programmes mostly in musical formats. The music programmes feature both local as well as international music to cater for the different tastes of the people, and as already discussed music attracts a big audience. In addition, the station manager explained that local upcoming artists have access to the radio if they want to have their music demos played and exposed to the public, and in this way some artists have had a chance of clinching recording deals with recording studios. Striking a balance between local news and national or international news, and also local and international music in a community radio programming helps to reduce parochialism which many people dislike.

An important observation to make about the programming of Siyaya FM is that there is no formative evaluation of the programming to determine which programmes listeners like or do not like and to know what the listeners want to be included in or excluded from the programmes as was the case with Radio Baha’i. “Radio programming can not be understood without reference to the research undertaken into its effectiveness in delivering listeners, and particularly as a vehicle for linking advertiser and listener” (Barnard, 2000: 88). Armed with knowledge about the

audience it becomes easier to schedule programmes that serve the interests of a larger part of the target population and at appropriate times of the day. “Formative research or evaluation has since become a vital corrective tool for community radio to analyse the environment, audience needs, problems and characteristics, delivery systems constraints, communication content and strategies, feedback channels and programme uses in the planning stages of a project” (Adkins , 1983 in Fisher, 1990: 20).

6.12. Community Participation

The major research objective is to investigate how the public participates in the production process, management, and planning of the communication systems in the two media. This section attempts to unpack the participatory nature of Siyaya FM to determine how people participate in the production of content and whether or not their needs are met by the radio station. As a tool for development, Siyaya FM has an important role to play in the development of Cato Manor by transmitting information that people need to improve their general welfare and understand what the CMDA is trying to do to develop Cato Manor. The programmes of Siyaya FM serve development in various ways, for example, through interviews with local elected representatives and other key informants, investigations and reports of local development issues, local traffic report, local religious issues, local health, local weather and environmental issues. More importantly Siyaya FM serves development through a selection of key themes discussed above which the management of the station considers important in the personal development of the people and the development of Cato Manor.

In all the above discussed themes, the radio station regards itself as a window through which the Cato Manor Community talks to itself. For example, for each theme key informants or other relevant individuals are invited to the station to give a live interview or talk about the theme. Then the host presenter invites community members to ask questions, make comments or suggestions by phone. If the programme involves an interview with a community leader(s) e.g. a ward councillor, they are requested to leave their telephone number for the community to ask them questions during their own time. Alternatively, community members are advised to visit the councillor’s office in person if they have any pressing issue they want to

discuss with the councillor. The function of phone-ins, therefore, is to create a two-way communication system not only between the listeners and the radio personnel but also between the listeners and the community leaders who are tasked with delivering services to the people. Even for those who are merely listening, the discussion on the radio is likely to provoke their thinking and enable them to understand what is going on around them, and an impression is created. Media analysts regard the function of phone-ins as "an attempt to accommodate the mounting pressure from excluded and underrepresented groups for greater access to scarce communications facilities" (Murdock and Golding, 1977: 38).

It is significant to note that this practice ensures that even those who do not have access to a phone are able to express their views or seek clarification on certain matters. Community dialogue and debate is created in this way. This can easily be linked to the idea of the public sphere. The community radio can become a public sphere where different development issues are discussed because open lines of communication have been established to ensure that there is horizontal communication or free flow of information among community members. The whole essence of the public sphere as propounded by Jurgen Habermas (1962) was to promote open lines of communication among citizens and all interest groups to engage in dialogue and debate, and Siyaya FM is trying to achieve that. In short, community radio if put to good use, can become an effective arena for a whole range of freedom of expression and can allow access to any kind of information so that members of the community have the information they need for their own development and that they are fully informed of what is happening in their community.

In principle, Siyaya FM tries to follow a participatory model of communication, which Agunga (1997 quoted in Waisbord, 2000: 17) defines as "a process of creating and stimulating understanding as the basis of development rather than information transmission". This understanding of communication is central to Freire's (1970) widely acclaimed pedagogical approach to communication. It is arguable, therefore, that this type of communication, gives a sense of ownership of the communication and development process to the Cato Manor Community as argued by Kitchin *et al* (2002). According to Crookes and Vittet-Philippe (1985: 15) "the more decentralised

and easily accessible the media, the greater the social consensus." However in practice, it still remains to be seen exactly hoe people participate in the formulation of policy of this radio station.

Community participation comes in a number of ways. According to Mtinde *et al* (1998: 23),

> The requirement of community participation ensures that members of the community are involved in the running of the station, i.e. in the following activities:
> - Election of leadership (Board members or trustees),
> - Policy-making for the station,
> - Management of the station,
> - Selection and provision of programming,
> - Production of programmes,
> - External representation of the station, etc.

It is important at this point to examine how Siyaya FM involves members of the community in the running of the station with reference to the above activities. In terms of election of leadership, six elected community leaders or representatives serve in the CMDA as Board of Directors. The Board of Directors is responsible for the running of the radio station, and it is the same Board of Directors that formulates policies for the station. Community members are not directly involved in this process. A major weakness with this kind of representation is that it does not fully represent the community but the interests of the representatives. There is distinction between government or political representation systems and representation systems employed by community radio with regard to community participation and access. In community radio people should have direct access to the media through contact with producers or editors of the media and also through making their own programmes (Francis Berrigan, 1977: 19). Moving further, the management of Siyaya FM entirely rests in the hands of the personnel of the radio station, and so are decisions about programming, making the radio station appear as if it belongs to the staff of the radio station only.

As there appears to be different kinds of people participating in the media, and also different models of community broadcasting, individual stations seem to have some leeway to decide on the kinds of participatory approaches they want to follow. However, for Siyaya FM it does not really suffice to have community input in the programming in this way as it is a limited way of ensuring community participation.

The Short Term Temporary Community Broadcasting Conditions of Licence, Clause 14 stipulates that:

> The licensee must ensure at all times that it serves the interest of this community by allowing for membership, management, operation, participation and programming by members of the community concerned. The licensee must ensure that its programme content reflects the special interests and needs of the listeners it is licensed to serve and must facilitate community access to its programming by clearly and regularly informing the community of the opportunities for such community participation.

In a nutshell, Siyaya FM does not satisfy all the requirements of community participation in its operations. This is a typical problem with funded projects. There are always annual work programmes, time constraints and deadlines to be met, and this makes planning of community participation problematic because it is considered slow, very involved and ineffective sometimes. What happens is retention and control of participation by the development agency or funders of the project (Mzimela, 2002 quoted in Kitchin *et al* 2002: 15).

6.13. Community Access

There appears to be an overlap in the way community access and community participation discussed earlier, are applied in development media. Berrigan (1977: 18-19) puts forward four types of access, namely access to policy, access to selection, access to production, and access to response, which he uses to establish whether or not a community radio performs the role of development media. This section employs the concept of access to establish the extent to which Siyaya FM functions as development media in ensuring that people are able to choose different and relevant programmes and that they have a means to receive and give feedback and to make their demands known to the radio station.

Access to media policy refers to “the right of the individual to take part in decisions about subjects covered, the schedules of broadcasting, the treatment of subjects, (and) the length of time allocated” (Berrigan, 1977: 18). This type of access is realised in several ways. Firstly, individual members of the community have access to media policy when they are able to use their right to participate in deciding about ‘subjects covered, the schedules of broadcasting, the treatment of subjects, and the length of time allocated’. Looking at Siyaya FM, however, one sees that the members

of the Cato Manor community do not enjoy this type of access. For example, it is the management and the personnel of the radio station who choose themes on which the programming of Siyaya FM is based. The community is not given opportunity to suggest themes although they are given a chance to suggest the person who they want to be interviewed on a particular selected theme. The same applies to the programme schedule and the time allocated to each programme. Such decisions are made at top management of the radio station.

The second aspect of access to policy is access to airtime, which means that individuals have the right to use the channels of communication to express their mind politically and creatively (Berrigan, 1977: 18). This type of access is also missing at Siyaya FM. Members of the community are not allowed to express their political opinions on the radio through various phone-in programmes that are designed to increase people's access to broadcasting time and, also allow them to express different views. The station believes that this limitation helps it to accommodate people with various political opinions. Teer-Tomaselli (2001: 249) argues that "community radio is a relatively new phenomenon in South Africa, and for many people the tradition of expressing their thoughts and feelings in such a public manner has not yet been well established". However, according to the station manager (See Appendix A), it appears that the radio station deliberately suppresses discussion of political views by not allowing the discussion of topics that are political, instead of encouraging them, and this makes people feel that it is wrong to discuss such issues on the radio.

The third type of access to policy occurs when community members have access to power of the media by exercising their "right to use them to influence others, to enlist support, to present a case" (Berrigan, 1977: 18). This type of access is also missing in the community media of Cato Manor Development Project. The main aim of the radio is to disseminate development news and stories and to educate and entertain the community (Interview with station manager, 2004, Appendix A).

The final type of access deals with production. When people have access to production it means that they have the right to participate in making programmes, to interact with media producers, planners and management and to develop relevant production and presentation techniques and skills (Berrigan, 1977: 19). This is a very

demanding type of access because ideally there is likely to be more people interested in it than opportunities available. It is interesting to note that to some extent Siyaya FM offers access to production of content to the Cato Manor Community. As already discussed, the radio station trains community Disk Jockeys (DJs) and gives them opportunity to present their programmes on air (see Appendix J).

Therefore, to answer the question, what kind of access Siyaya FM offers to people, it can be argued that there is no real access to the medium as postulated by participatory theories or 'Another Development' theory. A question that can be asked is why Siyaya FM does not give much access to the community that it serves. The answer might be found by looking at how it started. Unlike other community media the idea to establish Siyaya FM and *Izwi* newspaper did not start with the community but the Cato Manor Development Association. The purpose was not to create a forum through which the people of Cato Manor could speak to themselves but to help the CMDA communicate more easily with the community about the development. The mission statement of Siyaya FM states that the radio station was established "to ensure that development information is filtered through to all the people of Cato Manor via the medium of radio".[30] This statement suggests a top-down communication approach and leaves little room for audience participation and access. A study by Kitchin et al (2002) claims that the two media were established to ensure that development information was disseminated in an equitable manner. However, if there is no real people involvement and participation in formulation of development policies and in how the community media are supposed to operate, there can be no equity in information reception and consumption by the intended audiences.

Further than this, Mtinde *et al* (1998: 20) argue that "ownership and control of community radio are usually the most critical and contentious aspects in defining such station". This means that ownership and control play a big role in determining the operations and activities of the radio station. However, it is possible sometimes for ownership and control of the media to be in different hands. When this is the case, the managers may decide to pursue their own agendas other than those of the

[30] http://www.cmda.co.za/IZWI/Izwi_Dec_pg3.htm

owners, as Doyle (2002: 5) observes, “the managers appointed to run a media firm (agents) may not always act in a manner desired by shareholders (principals) but might, instead, have their own agendas to pursue”. The two media, Siyaya FM and the former *Izwi* newspaper, are owned by the CMDA, which is an agent responsible for the delivery of the project although in principle the Cato Manor community is supposed to own them. The CMDA owns, controls and manages the activities of the two media. People’s access and participation are defined in terms of how the agent sees fit which is sometimes not participation at all.

The stated kind of ownership and control baffles the whole essence of participatory communication which encourages local communities to be aggressive in defining their needs and managing their own development goals instead of having them defined by development agencies. It contradicts the postulates of the ‘another development’ theory which recognises potential in people (marginalised groups) to understand their situation, share ideas, and initiate action to solve their problems or improve their situation. One criticism levelled against participatory communication is that usually decisions are made by outside agencies and beneficiary communities are assigned the role of implementing them (Waisbord, 2000). Critics have argued that this is not true participation because it depends on decisions previously made and it still maintains power inequalities (MacKee, 1992). The CMDA, therefore, applied the principles of the modernisation paradigm in the development process. Siyaya FM and *Izwi* newspaper display a lot of the above characteristics of the modernisation paradigm.

The following table on evaluation of radio project performance, borrowed (and adapted) from Fisher (1990: 23) summarises the effectiveness of Siyaya FM as a community radio.

EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNITY RADIO PROJECT PERFORMANCE	**SIYAYA FM**
1. Pre-project Research/Formative Evaluation	L
2. Continuing Research/Cumulative Evaluation	L
3. Community Participation in Planning	L
4. Community Involvement in Programming	L
5. Project Staff Interaction with Community	L
6. Use of Local Language	H
7. Balance of Information and Entertainment Programmes	H

8. Use of Interpersonal and Other Media	M
9. Training of Community Members	H
10. Amount of Indigenous Support	NA
11. Interaction with Political Authorities	H

Table 8: Evaluation of the Performance of Siyaya FM

(L= Low; M= Medium; H= High; NA= Information Not Available)

6.14. The Role of *Izwi*- The Cato Manor Community Newspaper

Izwi, the Cato Manor Community Newspaper, was published from March 1995 to December 2002 by the CMDA through sponsorship from the EU. It was established by the CMDA to promote communication between itself and the community. The name *Izwi* (The Voice) is short form for *Izwi la banthu* (The Voice of the People). According to the editor, this name was chosen because the newspaper was to allow the community to voice their concerns about development (Appendix K). It is believed that *Izwi* has been successful in raising awareness and understanding of development issues among the people of Cato Manor.[31] In fact there is more emphasis on the informative role of the newspaper, for example, the mission statement of *Izwi* states that:

> The *Izwi* community newspaper is compiled and written by Cato Manor-based journalists and published seven times per annum by the Cato Manor Development Association as part of the communications programme to keep people in Cato Manor and the surrounding neighbourhood informed about the development.[32]

Therefore, just like Siyaya FM, information dissemination about development was the main reason for the establishment of the newspaper. This is characteristic of the modernisation paradigm which conceived the idea that "injecting technology and information into developing areas will automatically result in economic progress" (Louw and Tomaselli, 1990: 87; also see Schramm, 1960; Lerner, 1967). This paradigm failed to take into account the fact that recipients of such information can reject, fail to receive the information or misunderstand it altogether. The model worked on the assumption that the media were a powerful source of information and

[31] http://www.cmda.org.za/IZWI/iarchives.htm
[32] http://www.cmda.org.za/IZWI/iarchives.htm

that the receivers would adopt new ideas, attitudes and behaviours conveyed by the media without any problems. This, however, proved to be futile. As such it remains unclear why the CMDA decided to take such an approach because the whole essence of community or participatory media lies not only in transmission of information but in involving community members and offering them a chance to exchange views on issues that concern them.

To ensure wide readership, the newspaper was written both in English and Zulu so that all stakeholders or beneficiaries were well informed about what was happening in their areas. Stories written in English were simultaneously written in Zulu. Only stories that were not directly related to development were written in English alone. A number of *Izwi* supplements provided readers with valuable information about new roads, housing and other services which are being offered in the area.

6.15. Production and Mode of Distribution

News stories were gathered by the editor and community-based journalists who were specifically trained for this purpose but the final selection of news was made by the project manager and the editor who also worked as senior journalist and photographer. The production team comprised of three people, the project manager, editor, and the layout artist/designer. These people were on full-time employment. Thirty-six editions of the paper were published. Seventeen thousand (17 000) copies per issue were distributed for free to community members from door to door by a group of community volunteers. The paper was also placed in other strategic points like health centres, police station, schools, spazas and shops where people could get hold of the paper.

The study found that although the newspaper is no longer published, many people in the focus groups were able to recall having read it. Generally, there appears to be a culture of reading among the residents of Cato Manor as illustrated by the readership figures presented in the following table.

Newspapers Read	No. of People	%
Sunday Times	105	14.09%
Isolezwe	390	52.35%
Mail and Guardian	17	2.28%
Sowetan	96	12.89%
The Daily Sun	67	8.99%
Berea Mail	8	1.07%
Daily News	4	0.54%
Ilanga	43	5.77%
Mercury	10	1.34%
Laduma	1	0.13%
City Press	1	0.13%
Sunday Tribune	3	0.4%

N= 745

Table 9: Readership of Newspapers. Both Gender and age have a little significant impact on newspaper circulation in Cato Manor, except marginally for *Ilanga*. An analysis of figures for The Sunday Times, for instance, shows a chi-square (at df1) of 3.4751 (*p* equal to or less than 0.1) which comes close to the required 3.84 for significance. Circulation spread across age groups is a lot less significant, with chi-square (df3) of 2.0405 (*P* is less than 1), which at the 0.05 level should be greater than or equal to 7.82 for the distribution to be significant.
Isolezwe: Gender chi-square (df1) = 0.04995 (<3.84); age chi-square (df3) 3.0178 (<7.82)
Sowetan: Gender (1.8882); Age (3.3621).
Ilanga: Gender (o.4521); Age (8.6398), which is significant and worth further investigation.

Reasons for Reading	No. of People	%
Local News	265	24.7%
Regional news	26	2.42%
National News	211	19.66%
International News	107	9.97%
Entertainment	157	14.63%
Sports	190	17.71%
Celebrity News	97	9.04%
Jobs	19	1.77%
Business Report	1	0.09%

N=1053

Table 10: Preferred types of reading matter

It can be deduced from the table that *Isolezwe* is the most widely read newspaper (80.4%) among the people of Cato Manor and it can be argued that it is the newspaper that appeals to their needs. The most widely read stories are local news,

sports news and national news. Since local news are the most widely read stories and *Izwi* newspaper also contained local news only, it is likely that people found *Izwi* newspaper relevant and appealing to their local needs. This could explain why most people in the focus groups indicated that they enjoyed reading *Izwi* newspaper. This wide readership may be attributed to the door-to-door delivery system which ensured that there was even distribution of the newspaper that made many people to have a chance of receiving it. The door-to-door delivery system also enabled the volunteers to ask people what they thought about the issues they had read in the previous paper. This was a way of soliciting people's feedback and reactions to the issues covered in the paper. Actually it was the people's response to development issues and community based activities that used to make 75% of the content of *Izwi* newspaper (Interview with editor, 2004, Appendix K).

Apart from the 'information role', the newspaper was a source of pleasure for those who love reading for fun and those who are interested in what is happening in their area. The majority of the respondents appreciated the content of the paper because it informed them about issues of their concern. For example, one of them said:

> Ya, I enjoyed [reading *Izwi*] very much because it's talking about my place. I know it told me about my place, its telling me what is going on, from there what is gonna happen, because I feel very happy where I am reading that paper (Focus group, 2004, Appendix G).

However, other respondents were skeptical about the purpose of the newspaper. They felt that it was a propaganda tool. This is deduced from what one respondent said:

> Sometimes they just take a photo of a nice building and show it in the paper and they say many words about it. And we don't know what is going on, for example, they take a photo of CMDA, a nice building and they say a lot of things underneath and they say people are happy although it's not real (Focus group, 2004, Appendix E).

An analysis of the content of *Izwi* does not support this observation. The newspaper contained helpful information for the community to be in touch with current and future development activities and events. This observation might have come from the fact that the newspaper carried a full Photo Gallery page which displayed pictures of different activities and events that had just taken place in Cato

Manor. Another reason is that all stories were accompanied by photographs to add interest to and illustrate what is being talked about in the story, and also to attract the readers' attention.

6.16. Analysis of the Content of *Izwi*

The content of *Izwi* does, however, represent one way communication as implied by the respondent because it was mainly top-down with very little community participation and access. A sample of all editions of *Izwi* newspaper for the year 2002 were analysed to determine which kind of issues form the content of *Izwi* and which of these issues are given prominence. This was achieved by examining the number of times that each issue appears per copy and for the whole period that I sampled. The results are shown in the table 10 below.

CONTENTS	FEB	APR	MAY/ JUN	JUL/ AUG	SEPT/ OCT	NOV	DEC	TOTAL
Housing	3	1	2	0	1	2	3	**12**
Education	1	2	0	0	2	2	0	**7**
BEE	5	7	7	1	7	1	5	**33**
Health	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	**6**
Letters to the Editor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Entertainment	1	2	1	0	1	1	2	**8**
Sports	1	2	1	0	1	1	2	**8**
Crime & security	1	3	1	1	1	0	1	**8**
Editorial	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	**5**
Job opportunities	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	**3**
Development projects reports	3	1	2	1	3	0	4	**14**

Table 11: Content of *Izwi* Newspaper (February - December 2002)

The major issues that characterised the content of *Izwi* newspaper are black economic empowerment, housing, development projects reports, entertainment and sports, and crime and security. The content of *Izwi* was analysed to see if it addressed the people's needs which the people were asked to give. The following table shows community needs as given by the people of Cato Manor.

Community Needs	Number of People	Percentage
More Housing	265	24.27%

Better Housing	55	5.21%
Tarred Roads	8	0.76%
Jobs	336	31.85%
Municipal Services	67	6.35%
Electricity	64	6.07%
Water	59	5.59%
Fight Crime	119	11.28%
Fight Corruption	54	5.12%
Information	37	3.51%

N=1055

Table 12: Community Needs

6.17. Black Economic Empowerment

It is interesting to note that issues relating to black economic empowerment are the most frequently published issues in *Izwi* newspaper with an average of four stories per copy. At the same time, most people (69.2%) indicated that jobs or job opportunities are their first priority. It can be argued therefore that the issue of black economic empowerment is given priority by both media because it offers a solution or alternative to the problem of unemployment which is high in Cato Manor, as can be seen in the table below.

Employment	**No. of People**	**%**
Permanent Job	76	15.57%
Casual Work	74	15.16%
Part-Time work	60	12.3%
Student	118	24.18%
Pensioner/Disability	6	1.23%
Unemployed	150	30.74%
Volunteer	2	0.41%
Self-employed	2	0.41%

N= 488

Table 13: Employment

Transport Used	**No. of people**	**%**
Own car	11	2.56%
Borrowed car	1	0.32%

Bus	36	8.37%
Taxi	381	88.6%
Motor(Bicycle	1	0.23%

N= 450

Table 14: Type of Transport of Used

Table 13 shows that there are more people who are unemployed (30.74%) as compared to those who are in permanent employment (15.57%). The majority of the people (88.6%) use taxis (Table 14) as their form of transport as compared to 2.56% who use their own cars. This also means that the socio-economic condition of most people in the area is very low. Therefore, the idea of black economic empowerment is a very important one for the people of this area. This could entail that the project is really concerned about uplifting the economic conditions of the people of this area. To promote this economic development among the residents, a lot of skills training courses are offered to all interested people who want to start their own small businesses. Through *Izwi* people were invited and encouraged to attend these courses and benefit from them by putting up business structures of their own.

6.18. Housing

Accommodation	Number of People	%
House (own room)	181	37.55%
House (shared room)	27	5.6%
Flat (own room)	96	19.92%
Flat (shared room)	11	2.28%
Own Shack	161	33.4%
Shared Shack	6	1.24%

N= 482

Table 15: Accommodation

With the many people (34.64%) still living in shacks, the issue of housing is the most critical among the different activities taking place in Cato Manor and is given a lot of publicity in the newspaper. Many people do not understand how houses are located to people and what procedures to follow in order to benefit from the home ownership schemes, for example one respondent said:

> You see, like me, I have a complaint but I don't know where to take that complaint. You see, I have been living here for 15 years but I am

> still living in a shack. People who came last year, they have got houses but I don't know where I can complain about that because it is hard to go to the councillor (Focus group, 2004, Appendix E).

Many supplements of *Izwi* tried to educate people about how to own a house and encourage a culture of self-reliance. Announcements were made about housing projects that had just commenced and people were encouraged to apply in advance. People were also encouraged to apply for home loans meant for those who earn a specified monthly income, and detailed information about applications were also published.

6.19. Letters to the editor and opinion

From a sample of seven editions of *Izwi* no single edition carried the 'Letter to the editor' page. The only means through which people can gain access to the newspaper to express their views, to give and receive feedback is through the Letter-to-the-Editor page. Surprisingly, very few editions outside the sampled editions carried the 'Letters to the editor' page. For example, in one instance a resident of Chesterville complained about street lights which were not working (April, 2000 issue), and another reader complained about a person who was claiming a house as his arguing that he had bought it from the owner before he died (May, 2000 issue).

Most newspapers handle such issues by simply publishing them without giving a response. An interesting and striking observation about these letters is how *Izwi* handled them. The editor of *Izwi* contacted the relevant authorities who gave a reply to the people's complaints. In the above complaints, the councillor responsible for Chesterville responded to the problem of street lights, and the Housing Manager responded to the issue of the house claim respectively.

If this practice was consistent in all editions it could make *Izwi* a real tool for development because it could enable people to be in touch with their leaders and to remind them of their duties and what is happening in their areas. The absence of this page in almost all editions can imply two things, either few people were writing or some letters were deliberately not being published or were censored thereby limiting people's participation and access. A question regarding the absence of this page was however not put to the editor as it was observed after the interviews.

6.20. Crime and Security

With the high levels of crime in Cato Manor it is not surprising to note that the issue of crime and security features highly as one of the community needs with 24.5% of the respondents indicating that the fight against crime is one of their needs. Through *Izwi* newspaper, people were advised not to take the law into their own hands by imposing mob justice on criminals but rather to hand them over to the police. They were also given advice to desist from illegal connection of electricity to avoid unnecessary deaths that usually occur when there is an electrical fault.

In conclusion, the content of *Izwi* has a one hundred percent local content which mainly focuses on development activities taking place in Cato Manor. It can also be said that some of the community needs were being addressed by the newspaper by providing the relevant information although the problems can not be solved by the newspaper. However, the mode of communication remained highly top-down with very little community participation and access. The top down approach views recipients as passive consumers of media information who are waiting for experts to teach them skills required for advancement (Cobbett, 1987: 328). Ironically the name *Izwi* suggests that more and more people's voices would make the content of the paper but those voices are given very little space. Recommendation 42 of the MacBride Report clearly stipulates that "those in charge of the media should encourage their audiences to play a more active role in communication by allocating more newspaper space, or broadcasting time, for the views of individual members of the public or organised social groups" (MacBride 1980: 16). This is in line with the postulates of the 'Another Development' theory. However, this is not the case with *Izwi* newspaper.

6.21. How did *Izwi* Newspaper and Siyaya FM complement each other?

As already pointed out, *Izwi* newspaper and Siyaya FM complemented each other in their effort to facilitate communication within the Cato Manor Development

Project. It was felt that the newspaper covers important development news but most people do not have time to sit down and read newspaper. Secondly, many people in Cato Manor are illiterate because they did not get a chance to go to school during the apartheid regime. The results of this study also confirm that the frequency of reading a newspaper is lower than the frequency of listening to the radio (See table 14 below). Further, than this the frequency of reading magazines is lower than that of newspapers. The reason for this could be that most magazines are produced monthly.

Frequency	**Radio Listenership**	**%**	**Newspaper Readership**	**%**	**Magazine Readership**	**%**
Very often	236	49.06%	113	23.44%	45	9.16%
Often	145	30.15%	92	19.09%	53	10.79%
Sometimes	94	19.54%	226	46.89%	274	55.8%
Seldom	6	1.25%	35	7.26%	75	15.27%
Never	0	0%	16	3.32%	44	8.96%
N= 481			N=482		N=491	

Table16: Listenership and Readership Compared

For the reasons presented above, it was felt that important information was not reaching all people equally. Access to information was seen as a privilege of a few people who made good use of it but sometimes to the detriment of others as argued by Kitchin *et al* (2000: 11). Therefore, Siyaya FM was launched to cater for everyone, young and old, literate or illiterate. A radio does not also require a person to sit down and listen. Mtinde *et al* (1998: 17) share similar sentiments:

> Radio is the most accessible mass medium of communication in use. It is a particularly effective means of communication in communities where most people cannot read or write. Its listenership is therefore much broader than the readership of newspapers and television viewers particularly in developing countries.

It can be argued, therefore, that community radio helps to bridge the communications gap between those who have easy access to valuable information because of their literacy levels and those who do not have because radio can effectively reach everyone and maintain increased contact with the community unlike the newspaper. The third reason had to do with the fact that *Izwi* newspaper was a monthly publication which meant that urgent information was not going out to the people at the right time. To ensure prompt information dissemination the radio

project was established despite there being other mediums like notice-boards and billboards because with radio, information transmission is immediate.

Fourthly, some stories meant for the newspaper were first of all aired on Siyaya FM, which also used *Izwi* newspaper reporters to gather news items before *Izwi* ceased publication. Apart from cutting down operational costs, this arrangement helped to maximize chances of community members getting relevant information about development. By doing, so they developed a better understanding of development activities. In all this, the community occupies an important position in the operations of the media in Cato Manor. However, all this can not be fully realised when the radio station does not attract a wide audience from the intended target audience.

6.22. Siyaya FM and *Izwi* Newspaper: Critical Watch-dogs of the CMDP?

The most critical role of the media is that of a watch-dog. McQuail (1992: 120) argues that "the view of mass media as a watch-dog against the abuse of power and against corruption in a public life has long been a staple ingredient of journalistic self-image, press mythology and of Western democratic political theory". This role has become a major criterion upon which the independence of the media is assessed. In the present case study, however, it was found out that this crucial role is lacking or is absent within Siyaya FM and also lacked in *Izwi* Newspaper. When asked to explain whether or not the radio station plays a watch-dog role in the development project, the station manager of Siyaya FM said:

> Not at all, we believe in doing what we are good at. We have no intention to do what politicians can do better. Our main aim is to ensure that government programmes are well communicated to the community at large to enhance community participation in socio-economic development process. Not that we are government puppets but we want to protect our fragile democracy (Interview, 2004, Appendix A).

The above response can be interpreted as an admission of lack of independence on the part of Siyaya FM. Station manager knows that playing a watch-dog role would mean stepping on the toes of some government officials or leaders of the CMDA who may not take criticisms kindly and may react badly to the media. Thus, it

is viewed as going against the authorities if the two media report criticisms against abuse of power, corruption, or if they critically evaluate development policies or some other persons. This confirms McQuail's (1992: 121) argument that the watch-dog role of the media "has been described as an 'adversarial' role or as an 'antithetical' role especially in respect of government, big business or other authority". This is characteristic of the observation by the Windhoek declaration which noted that "media professionals in many African countries continued to be victims of human rights violations or were otherwise restricted through such economic and political pressures as restrictions on newsprint, licensing systems or visas" (Arnaldo,1998: 34). However, participants at the same Windhoek Seminar, made a call to all international organisation "to provide direct funding to non-governmental media 'that reflect society as a whole and the different points of view within the communities they serve'" (Arnaldo, 1998: 34). Although the two media in question receive their funding from the EU which is an international organisation there appears to be some form of external influence in the way the two media operate.

Further than this, to argue that politicians are the ones who have the duty to guard or watch against one another is to refuse to shoulder a major responsibility which is to report in the interest of the community. It is not surprising, therefore, that some respondents complained about political corruption where the leaders give houses to their relatives from other areas other than Cato Manor because the two community media do not check and report on such malpractices. One respondent said:

> As I said before, this place is full of political corruption, so we have difficulties to address information to the community. We are not allowed to just call a meeting and talk to people unless you are told to do such a thing. If you do you might be in trouble (Focus group discussion, 2004, Appendix E).

The above argument also explains why some people feel that *Izwi* newspaper is a propaganda tool because it only covers positive issues while avoiding sensitive ones. Even the programming of Siyaya FM shows that this role is avoided. 54 out of 485 people (11.1%) reported that corruption is one of the needs of the community but the radio station and the newspaper do not seem to address this issue. In the Phone-in and Talk show programmes which are meant to give people a chance to debate and discuss issues relevant to their Cato Manor community, the station manager

explained that, “The topics we select should be politically neutral so that we accommodate various people” (Interview, 2004, Appendix A).

Fear or failure to play the watch-dog role in the interest of protecting the ‘fragile democracy’ is a lame excuse. On the contrary playing the watch-dog role is one way of strengthening democracy because corrupt leaders and their actions are exposed to the public, a thing that will lead them to be brought to justice and set precedence for other leaders. If the media do not report that, who else would?

In short, Siyaya FM and *Izwi* newspaper as development media are not critical watch-dogs of the Cato Manor Development Project. They are mainly concerned with dissemination of development information or news to the people to empower them with knowledge so that they can in turn participate in the development process as informed citizens. As pointed above, the two media are preoccupied with dissemination of information. Servaes (1996: 104) argues that “although development strategies in developing countries diverge widely, the usual pattern for the broadcasting media and the press has been predominantly the same: informing the population about projects and recommending that they be supported”. However, this is still considered a limited function of development communication media because information from impersonal sources like radio, television, and newspapers has “relatively little effect on the behavioural changes which development envisions” (Servaes, 1996: 105). The concept of development media, therefore, seems not to be working in Cato Manor. Maybe the introduction of the two media should be seen as development in itself as opposed to being tools for development.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

To conclude, I want to answer the question; “what has been the specific impact or the major roles of the two media in the development of Cato Manor?” According to Crookes and Vittet-Philippe (1985: 86) “the problem facing the communications analyst is not whether or not a new medium has had an impact – but precisely what has been its specific impact”. *Izwi*, the community newspaper played a prominent role in spreading development information concerning the area. Its content was designed to achieve this purpose, and its door-to-door mode of distribution made an important contribution in this regard.

People’s awareness to development issues such as housing, black economic empowerment, education and health, just to mention a few, was raised which helped people to own decent houses, start small businesses, promote literacy and health education and so on. All this was in an attempt to improve the living conditions and economic well-being of the people. In an area of more than 100 000 people the mode of distribution per household ensured that not only one person read the paper but the entire family. However, this was hampered in some cases because of high levels of illiteracy, and hence a wise decision was taken to introduce a radio station, Siyaya FM in the area.

Although Siyaya FM was introduced to complement *Izwi* newspaper in dissemination of development news, it does not seem to have played a crucial role in the communication process. Few positive contributions can however still be noted. The radio station has allowed people to not only become aware of the development process but has also given them a voice to discuss the development process and express their concerns in the community. Through the selected themes, the radio station has drawn the attention of the people to issues of immediate concern to them like the economic development, heritage celebration and youth empowerment.

On economic development a notable contribution of the radio has been the prospect of job creation especially for those who have used the information aired on the radio to obtain loans and start their own micro-economic enterprises. Additionally,

the radio station has exposed many young people and volunteers to this kind of media technology and has provided them an opportunity for training in radio production, presentation skills and also for those aspiring to become DJs. Although it may be too early to assess the impact of this training on the many trainees, positive results have been achieved because some of those who were trained by Siyaya FM have found employment in other big commercial radio stations as reported by the station manager.

The heritage celebration theme plays an important part in the promotion of cultural life and practice. Interviews, previews and enactment of cultural events and broadcasts of the history of Cato Manor were the main concerns of the radio station during the heritage celebration theme. The multi-purpose heritage centre is a living testimony of the seriousness that the CMDA puts in the preservation of cultural life and practice in Cato Manor.

For the young, the youth empowerment theme has had an impact of encouraging them to realise the need and importance of attending school and staying away from the life of crime. A word of caution, however, is that it should not be considered that it is the radio alone that has helped many young people to start attending school in Cato Manor or to reduce crime rate because there are several other factors that come into play. Crookes and Vittet-Philippe (1985: 89) have further argued that radio is an ideal medium for young people because “it provides both work and a meeting point for the confrontation of aspirations and the discovery of forms of expressions with which an age group easily identifies”.

In short, emphasis on local programming and selection of themes relevant to the Cato Manor community is a landmark for Siyaya FM because this can help people to identify with the radio station and to see it as indeed tackling the problems that they face. The radio has also opened channels of communication between the people and their leaders enabling the people to seek information from their leaders who also communicate with the people through the radio.

However, as mentioned earlier, the impact of the radio station has not been remarkable in the development process when looked at in comparison with *Izwi* newspaper. For instance, the Cato Manor Development Project started in 1994 but

the radio station was launched only in 2001 when large scale development had already started taking place and problems of communication had been dealt with by *Izwi* newspaper although not adequately (*Izwi* was launched in 1995).

As if this was not bad enough, the radio station was initially just broadcasting for one hour per week on Highway Radio station. When it finally got its licence in 2002 to broadcast for 24 hours, it was only one year before the CMDA got disbanded in 2003. To make matters worse, Siyaya FM has been characterised by intermittent broadcasts because it only obtains a 30- days special events licence which allows it to broadcast only for one month and then it goes on Highway Radio pending the issuing of another licence. This drastically affects listener loyalty as the radio station keeps shifting its people from one radio station to another, and as such its contribution to the development process has not been remarkable so far. No wonder, the study has revealed that it is not popular in Cato Manor.

It would have been better if the radio station were to be established in the early beginnings of the project because most of the communication problems that were encountered could not have been there. Community radio is a better medium if put to good use when compared to a community newspaper. It appears that the idea of a community radio was not included in the initial planning. When it was felt necessary to have a radio station it was a bit too late.

Other major weaknesses of Siyaya FM include the lack of a properly conducted formative research to determine the size of the audience. By working on the assumption that since it is a Cato Manor community radio station then all people in Cato Manor listen to it makes it fail to face the realities that may change the course of its operation. For instance, the study has revealed that the station is not popular and has very low listenership. Similarly, lack of formative evaluation of programming to determine listeners' preferences of the programmes aired makes the radio station to operate blindly without addressing or incorporating the real needs of the people in the programme schedule.

In terms of people's access and participation in the media as defined by the 'Another Development' theory it should be noted that *Izwi* newspaper was mainly top-down making it to conform to the modernisation paradigm while Siyaya FM followed

a semi-participatory approach making it to conform more to the paradigm of Development Support Communication (DSC). The idea of 'Another development' is not working in these two media. The Cato Manor Development Project seems to have used 'participation-as-an-end-approach' where people are not really expected to participate in identifying a problem or designing a development programme as opposed to 'participation-as-a-means-to-an-end-approach' where people are empowered to articulate and manage their own development (Melkote, 1991:237). In the final analysis the Cato Manor Development Project seems to have relied heavily on the modernisation paradigm.

An explanation for this could be that the concepts of access and participation are defined and used by media experts or academics and then imposed on the owners of the community media to implement on an ignorant community or audience. The audiences of such media are ignorant of what it means to have access to the media or to participate in the media. Being a relatively new phenomenon, community media are still viewed as if they were mainstream media like public service broadcasting, commercial broadcasting or private broadcasting in which people's access and participation are limited or absent. Mjwacu (2002: 70) observes that some people do not know what 'participation' means, and she wonders whose responsibility it is to train people in community participation. Clause 14 of the Short Term Temporary Community Broadcasting Conditions of licence (See Appendix 2) suggests that it is the responsibility of the community radio station to inform people of the opportunities available for community participation in the media.

By calling upon the owners of community media to encourage wide community access and participation it gives them the mandate to define and modify their own means of community access and participation as they see plausible (which sometimes may not even be participation or access) because it is difficult to fully implement them according to what has been defined by somebody else. Community members need to be trained in community participation and have to be involved in the formulation of policy for the development of the area. Problems arise when all this was not included in the initial planning of the development process. Funded projects work on deadlines and when time constraints come in the way of work programmes, it is easy to overlook attempts at full community participation. Siyaya FM decided to

use phone-ins as a way of encouraging community access and participation, although this is not what participation and access are all about.

On questions of methodology, this project had initially set out as a ‘qualitative’ study, and the techniques of personal interviews and focus groups were conducted accordingly. As to be expected, a significant amount of data was obtained from these sessions. The problem remains, however, how the researcher was going to interpret and analyse the data. What theories were to be brought to the analysis process? It became clear that a real danger lay in the theory of ‘Another development’ actually predicting a finding. That is, it seemed easy to accept the theory, and then to actually see in the data what the theory conditioned the researcher to see. This seemed to be the case with Siyaya FM’s radio manager, who actually saw development happening through the radio station because that was what it was established to do.

Under these conditions, tit became necessary to switch to quantitative techniques not only to verify or validate what the qualitative data seemed to be saying, but also to clarify the data. The material from the interviews and focus groups was then problematised into quantifiable questions in a questionnaire. A minimum sample was selected to achieve at least a 95% confidence level (or a minimum of a 5% error tolerance). I therefore set out to survey 500 respondents in Cato Manor, and eventually got 485 (about 100 more than the acceptable minimum) (Appendix M).

This move proved invaluable, and an eye opener. Research ought to be both qualitative and quantitative. Perhaps the dichotomy is itself flawed. However, without employing chi-square analyses on the data (Appendix N), it would have been impossible to realise that gender and age were mostly insignificant factors (see pages 40, 47 - 49), and that the sample was indeed more homogenous than at first thought. Also there would have been no way of knowing that Siyaya FM did not have the audience the station manager said it did; nor to work out what the more likely listenership actually was (1300).

Perhaps the most important outcome of having applied the mixed analytical methods that I did was that areas for further research became clearly evident. The data (Appendix N) indicates a number of anomalies worth researching, or at least going beyond what the figures say superficially.

Finally, and to end on something of an ‘up-beat, while it has been widely acclaimed that the Cato Manor Development Project has been successful, it is important to note that the project has benefited greatly from outside sources like the European Union assistance and also from the government since it one of the Presidential Led Projects.

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