

Community Radio: The Beat that Develops the Soul of the People?

A case study of XK fm as a SABC owned community radio station and its role as a facilitator of community based development.



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DECLARATION

I, Thomas Bongani Hart, hereby declare that this masters thesis is my own original work, and has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university. The sources used have been duly acknowledged. This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the Master of Arts degree in Culture, Communication and Media Studies in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

Signature _____ Date: _____

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the potential of a community radio station under the ownership of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in being a facilitator and social actor of community-based development. XK fm is a radio station run by members of the !Xun and Khwe (two ethnic San communities), but owned and governed by the SABC. It was established to preserve and protect the cultures, languages and histories of the two communities as well acting as a facilitating and promoter of development. The focus of this research is on the examination of the station's day-to-day development programmes, the processes involved in operation, production and transmission of these programmes and the outcomes of these processes in the reception of the programmes among the two communities. As a means of critically analyzing the multi-layered aspects of operations within the radio station and the listening habits of its audiences as a whole, this study is situated within a Circuit of Culture (du Gay et al, 1997) framework of theory. It is also based on a case study approach of methodology that utilizes ethnographic methods of data collection from semi-structured and in-depths interviews to passive and participant observations that have been recorded on video.

Based on the principles of both forms of development radio broadcasting, this study concludes that XK fm has been successful in utilizing indigenous knowledge and culture to produce radio programming that is sensitive to the development needs of the !Xun and Khwe communities. It has created awareness of development issues through both its cultural programmes and its informational programmes, and through the SABC has been enabled to be productively sustainable, technically advanced and participatory in nature. However, the SABC's control over the station does limit the two communities' ownership of the station and participation in policy construction, thus constraining the station in more effectively acting as a community radio station. It suggests that XK fm cannot act alone as the sole facilitator of development and needs other mechanisms to enhance participation and effective dialectical information exchange such as radio listening clubs.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
AMARC	World Association of Community Broadcasters
CCMS	Culture, Communication and Media Studies
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CPA	Communal Property Association
FM	Frequency Modulation
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HIV	Human Immune Virus
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
IKB	Informal Knowledge Building
MDDA	Media Development and Diversity Agency
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
NCRF	National Community Radio Forum
NP	National Party
NRF	National Resources Foundation
PSB	Public Service Broadcasting
RBF	Radio Broadcasting Facility
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADF	South African Defence Forces
SASI	Southern African San Institute
SATRA	South Africa Telecommunications Regulatory Authority
SWAPO	South West African Peoples' Organisation
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation
XK FM	Xuntali and Khwedam radio station



Figure 1: Map of South African and Platfontein’s location in the Northern Cape
 Source: <http://www.worldmapnow.com/south-africa-map.html>)

CHAPTER 1

THE ROAD TO XK FM: AN INTRODUCTION

Driving out of the western part of Kimberley in the Northern Cape, I pass the ever-growing township of Galeshewa with its provincial legislative buildings and, ironically, new provincial prison straight outside the main entrance to the township. As I turn right towards Barkley West I notice the scattered remains of illegal rubbish dumps and discarded waste littering the Mars-like landscape of the Northern Cape. These unwanted remains of modernization in their state of neglect within and outside the townships lining the road to Barkley West are often identified symbolically by outsiders as indicators of underdevelopment, poverty and the failures of modernization. As I approach the turn off to the township of Platfontein, I notice that there are no structural displays such as road signs to identify the presence of the township as at Galeshewa. It was as if Platfontein did not exist.

A kilometre-and-a-half down the road to Platfontein, I pass by three women walking towards Platfontein carrying bundles of sticks on their heads. One woman has a small portable black radio hanging from one of the branches above her head. I ponder whether this radio is turned on and whether the women are listening to it. What could be so important about this radio that a woman would carry it kilometres into the wilderness with her in search of wood? However, my thoughts are suddenly cut short by the abrupt end of the tarred road. My car rattles onto the harsh surface of the gravel road as I approach the first glimpses of RDP houses. Rigidly positioned in the barren landscape of red sand, these houses are grouped into two separate communities divided by the brick-faced buildings of a school, a clinic, and a radio station, one community being the Khwe and the other being the !Xun. Members of these two communities scatter the streets walking to unknown destinations within their restricted landscapes while others tend to their domestic chores or socialize with one another at the local shebeens, a shady spot under a tree or at someone's home. As these daily activities play out in the two communities, one experiences the blaring sounds of household radios and hi-fi's pumping out either hip hop and house music or the voices of local presenters broadcasting from the local radio station. Accompanying these magical techno boxes of informational and musical sound, are women tending to their daily chores as housewives and mothers, groups of younger teenagers practicing choreographed dance moves, and gatherings of elders sitting around in the rays of the setting sun listening, discussing and debating the latest news and current affairs being broadcast. This experience almost creates a sense of a heartbeat to the two communities of Platfontein, as if the township is alive. When later asked, many citizens of Platfontein said they viewed the local radio station as theirs, the community's,

and even the heart and soul of Platfontein. It speaks to them, voices their opinions and thoughts, sings their songs, tells their stories and disseminates vital information to them.

Pursing these claims, I venture towards the !Xun and Khwe's local radio station isolated between the two communities on the main road with its vast background of open grasslands. As I walk up the ramp to the entrance, I am greeted by the ever-present SABC logo/banner sticking out like a sore thumb in the emptiness of the grasslands behind. A security guard leads me into the prefabricated building. On entering I am greeted by Regina Beregho, the station's manager and a member of the Khwe community, who introduces me to the rest of the staff who are sitting around a table in the centre of the entrance hall discussing and debating the contents of programmes for the next week's broadcasting schedule with the programme manager, Martin Edburg, a !Xun. As I learn the names of all the radio staff who are all members of the two communities, I notice that the station's entrance hall is flanked on the right by two state-of-the-art on-air studios and a recording/editing suite, while on the left are numerous offices for the radio station's management, producers and presenters. From these offices, studios and editing suites, a buzz of activity flows, all connected by the central location of that table in the middle of the station's entrance hall.

XK FM Radio

This local radio station that is described above is XK fm, a community radio station under the control of the South African national public broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). It was granted a four year community sound broadcasting license by the Independent Communication Authority of South Africa (ICASA) in 1999 after many years of the two communities and their leaders rallying as a cohesive movement for the preservation of their languages, cultures and heritage as well as better living conditions. The purpose of granting this license to the !Xun and the Khwe and establishing XK fm was to create a platform that would preserve the two languages and respective cultural heritages of the !Xun and Khwe and provide a channel for development (Mhlanga, 2006). It was viewed as a tool to provide better social services to the two communities, to alleviate poverty and to facilitate successful citizenship. Owing to the small size of the two communities and the lack of sustainable funding for XK fm, the radio station had to be established under the financial management and control of the SABC. In 2000, XK fm broadcast live under the banner of the SABC for the first time from three large metal containers placed in Schmidtsdrift. It was given a frequency transmission footprint of a 50 km radius by SENTECH in accordance with the community broadcasting license requirements of the Broadcasting Act of 1999. By 2003, with the gradual migration of the !Xun and Khwe communities from Schmidtsdrift to Platfontein, the station moved

to its new office building and studio situated in Platontein between the two communities. In 2008, the station was then granted a ten year public service broadcasting license under the SABC (see Appendix Three).

Problem Statement

This study is concerned with how XK fm functions under the financial control and ownership of the SABC in terms of regulation, production and reception as a communication instrument and facilitator of development for the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein. It critically analyzes i) the production of development programmes; ii) the impact of SABC oversight, and iii) what implications these processes and controls have on reception.

Community radio is conventionally intended to be a facilitator of local development. Radio is, in this paradigm, offered as a communication device that offers huge potential in the successes of development projects throughout the world. Community radio is often referred to as either an ‘agent’, ‘instrument’ or a ‘tool’ of social change that carries the responsibility of facilitating development amongst communities through democratic processes of communication. (This role has been recognized by international institutions such as United Nations Education, Scientific and Culture Organization (UNESCO) since the 1970s and `80s.) Case studies suggest that this form of media is able to address imbalances between elites and marginalized, by allowing the ‘voiceless’ access to media so that they can shape their own specific needs (Tamminga, 1989: 03). Thus for many, community radio seeks to tackle the issues of control and power in the operations of broadcasting by permitting ownership to be held by communities which permits participation in management, production and broadcasting (Tamminga, 1989; Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Mhlanga, 2006). In addition, institutions such as The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) argue that for a radio station “to qualify as community radio, the ownership and control of the station must rest squarely, and unquestionably, with the community it claims to serve” (MISA, 2000: 56). For them, the concept of ownership is both fundamental to understanding community radio and its role as a facilitator in the development of communities. When the ownership of production lies squarely in the hands the communities themselves, it is viewed by Solenvicens and Plauer (2007: 46) as a indicator of social change and development.

XK fm is seen by most of its management, programme and broadcasting staff and members of both communities as a community station that is theirs. Prior studies have revealed that actual SABC ownership notwithstanding, the locals claim ownership of the station because it is their people who are managing and working at the station,

transmitting in their languages, and voicing their stories, music and respective heritages. However, Brilliant Mhlanga (2006:89) argues that XK fm operates more as a tool for manipulation by the ruling elite than as a facilitator of development. This is because to him, XK fm does not conform to the general typology of a community radio station, in its terms of ownership and community participation. For Mhlanga (2006, 85-89), XK fm is run more on the lines of a decentralized station of the public broadcaster with top-down approaches of management, production and communication with its control over ownership of the station.

XK fm does not have a board of directors representative of the two communities or drawn from associated community organizations such as SASI and the CPA, the Sol Plaatje municipality or the government. Thus, the SABC controls decisions made on policies directed at XK fm, the station's objectives and the administration of finances and staff. As a community-targeted station financed and governed by the SABC, XK fm is required to follow the regulations, policies and objectives of the public broadcaster while also implementing ICASA-stipulated regulations, policies and objectives as a community radio station. This arguably creates a conflict of interest and crisis of identity within the station.

These factors are argued to exert negative influences as government-owned institutions can potentially constrain and regulate the content of community radio stations (Hadland & Thorne, 2004: 20). Usually, state-controlled broadcasting generates 'unidirectional flows of educational and moralizing information based on centralized models of communication and development that seldom involve those who are addressed as participants' (Ilboudo, 2000: 78). This means that what appears in the programmes may not be relevant to the communicational, developmental and educational needs of listeners. Thus, the question arises whether or not development programmes broadcast by XK fm offer approaches that represent the community needs, concerns and participation.

The term 'community radio', according to Guy Berger (1996: 3), has become less rigidly defined over the decades, especially in terms of ownership and control. This is because different historical and socio-political contexts of community radio stations offer different approaches with regard to ownership and community participation. In addition, the word 'participation' can change colour and shape at the will of the hands in which it is held and, as a result, can suggest many different meanings, depending on the socio-political contexts of each station (White 1994: 31). Berger (1996: 4) warns that it is unrealistic to view community radio as a tool of development solely if it embraces full community participation at all levels of ownership, management and production (Berger, 1996: 4). Therefore, while community control and ownership should be important in terms of categorizing community radio,

this criterion cannot be considered fundamental in the distinction and conceptualization of what is community radio and what is not. The most important feature of community radio is its commitment to serving listener communities in a manner that promotes development and social change within the communities themselves.

As a result, this study will question whether a radio station under the control of a public broadcaster can be defined as a community radio. In relation to this control, this study also questions what approach occurs to communication and the form of development radio broadcasting within the station and whether the station provides community access, participation and self management. With community media theorists advocating that community radio should be a facilitator of development and can only function in its purpose if there is community ownership and participation, what changes, if any, can be attributed to the station and the SABC in the way !Xun and Khwe organise themselves towards the development of their communities and cohesive existence within Platfontein and South Africa society outside of it? To answer these questions, one needs to investigate the macro and micro structures, processes and culture of the station as well as the two communities' identification with the station and its development programmes. Thus, this study is situated in the theoretical framework of du Gay et al's (1997) *Circuit of Culture* and will ask the following key research questions:

- 1) How does XK fm function in terms of its definition as a community broadcasting service under the control of the SABC?
- 2.) To what extent is it consistent with the principles of community radio in facilitating community development?
- 3.) To what extent are members of the !Xun and Khwe identifying with the station, it's programmes and discourses of development and how are they making sense of all while living in Platfontein?.

Apart from (Hart 2006) and Mhlanga (2006), no work has been done on this radio or its audiences. Furthermore, most studies on community radio station either examine power structures and relations within stations according to the participatory frameworks of communication. Or, they examine the perceived impact of community radio programming on listeners and their views of programming as separate dimensions of community radio. Many studies lack assessment of the entire structure of the phenomena of community radio from its regulatory environment, to the structures and processes involved in operations and the reception of programming among communities (Ilboudo, 2000; Fardon & Furniss, 2000; Jallof, 2007: 23).

The !Xun and Khwe Bushmen of Platfontein

There is much contestation, debate and controversy over the words used to refer to the descendants of indigenous hunter-gatherers of Southern Africa. Since the arrival of Bantu-speaking people to Southern African and then white European settlers, many namings have been used to refer to or classify these indigenous people. Originally Jan van Riebeeck on his arrival at the Cape in 1652 referred to the indigenous hunter-gathers as “Sonqua” (Mountain, 2003: 23). “Sonqua” was derived from the root, ‘Sa-’, which in the plural form is pronounced ‘San’ and means native or aborigine (Mountain, 2003: 23). This word was regularly used over the centuries by Europeans in referring to the hunter-gatherers of the Cape. It was later redefined to the term ‘San’ in the early 20th century. Another commonly used term was ‘Bushman’. Bushman was derived from the Dutch word ‘Bosjeman’ and became popular amongst diverse groups of European settlers, writers and academics. However, this word was deemed insulting by many and by the early 20th century fell into disfavour (Mountain, 2003: 23). Thus, many today use the term San, a name derived from ‘Sonqua’ and the Nama word ‘Saan’, meaning forager. However, in recent years groups within South Africa have denounced the term “San” and have reclaimed the term “Bushman” in the classification of themselves. Belinda Kruiper, a ≠Khomani representative, argues that the ≠Khomani preferred to be classified as Bushman or under their own collective term of classification, ‘Sa’, meaning united people (Kruiper, Interview, 2009). Billies Pumo, the programme director of SASI, Platfontein, also reiterates this referral back to the term Bushmen in the classification of the !Xun and Khwe in Platfontein, although he states that the use of both the terms in the classification of the !Xun and Khwe at Platfontein are regularly utilized by members of the two communities and SASI itself¹ (Pumo, Interview, 2009). Because many of the study’s respondents and participants referred to themselves as Bushmen, this study will use the plural word Bushmen.

The !Xun and Khwe are two distinct ethnic groups that experienced similar complex histories and experiences of relocation, upheaval, displacement and change. They shifted from their nomadic lifestyles on ancestral homelands in Southern Angola and the Caprivi Strip, being displaced by war from their land. These circumstances led to their long-term military involvement with the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the border wars of Angola and Namibia. From there they were relocated after the SADF’s withdrawal from Namibia and Angola in 1989 to South Africa to a temporary tent town on a military base called Schmitsdrift. They were then moved to their permanent site on the outskirts of Kimberley in 2003. Undoubtedly, these events and experiences of similar history have changed the way that many of the !Xun and Khwe identify with each other and engage with the world around

¹ Information obtained in interview conducted with Billies Pumo, SASI Platfontein’s programme director, in February 2009

them. The impact of their similar histories over the last 50 years as well as their “supposedly” similar ways of lifestyle and physical typologies have grouped them together into the racial classification of Bushman-ness. However, according to Robbins et al (2001: 09), there is no easy way to think or theorize about what it means to ‘be Bushmen’ in Platfontein. On the ground the !Xun and Khwe have their own ideas and experiences around ‘being Bushmen’, and these are likely to be ‘lived’ rather than talked about (Robbins et al, 2001: 09). Although the !Xun and Khwe refer to themselves as “Bushmen”, both groups regard themselves as having very different historical backgrounds as well as traditions, cultures and heritages.

Most of the !Xun of Platfontein originally came from Central and Eastern Angola as well as Namibia where they are often referred to and called ‘Vasequela’ (Forest Bushmen) (Robbins, 2004: 06). They speak !Xûntali, a linguistic sub-dialectic of the !Kung family of languages. However, the !Xun also speak a range of other languages such as Portuguese, Afrikaans and some uBuntu languages of Angola, Botswana and Namibia. Most !Xun, before the 1900s, were hunter-gatherers living off food from the bush, but soon adopted subsistence farming as a way of life due to contact with Bantu-speaking and Western populations. However, owing to the collapse of subsistence and gathering economies and the maltreatment experienced from the Bantu-speaking inhabitants of Angola, the !Xun sided with the Portuguese in the early 1960s in the colonial power’s fight against the independence of Angola (Robbins, 2004: 07). However, the Portuguese withdrew from Angola in 1971, leaving the !Xun to fend for themselves. With hostile political developments growing in Angola after independence and the fear of reprisals for their participation in the war against the liberation forces, the !Xun soldiers were forced to move with their families to the south to Namibia and Botswana for asylum (Robbins, 2004; Robbins et al, 2001). In 1976 civil war broke out between Angolan rebel factions for control over state resources. With South Africa’s involvement in Angola’s civil war, it was not long before the !Xun were recruited as soldiers and trackers by the South African Defence Force (SADF) and located with their families to the South African military base, Omega, in Eastern Caprivi between Angola, Namibia and Botswana (Robbins, 2004, Robbins *et al* 2001).

The origins of the Khwe ranged from Botswana, Namibia and Angola. Most, however, were centered on the Eastern Caprivi Strip where they were often referred to as the ‘Baraquena’ (Water Bushmen) (Uys, 1993a; Robbins, 2004). The Khwe are also usually described by other ethnic groups as the “black Bushmen” because of their taller stature and darker skin, in comparison to the lighter skin and small stature of other San ethnic groups based in and around the Kalahari (Robbins, 2004: 06). The Khwe speak Khwedam, a Tshu-Khwe linguistic dialect. Like the !Xun, the Khwe lived a hunter-gatherer lifestyle before the appearance of Bantu-speaking and western populations.

By the 1950s most of the Khwe were living as subsistence farmers. However, like the !Xun, by the 1960s the impact of Angola's war of independence and its civil war was also influencing the way of life of many Khwe populations in Angola and Eastern Caprivi. With the SADF bases located in the Eastern Caprivi as launch pads for counter-guerrilla operations in Angola and Namibia and the history of maltreatment experienced at the hands of local Bantu speaking populations, it was not long before the Khwe became involved with the SADF for reasons of labour, protection and services (Robbins, 2004:). At first the Khwe were used as labourers in the construction of the bases Alpha and Omega in Eastern Caprivi, but they were then slowly recruited into the SADF and trained as soldiers when the SADF needed support for its counter-liberation operations against SWAPO, a guerrilla force fighting for the liberation of Namibia. It was about this time that the Khwe were bundled together with the already experienced !Xun soldiers to make the infamous 'Bushman Battalion' (Battalion 31).

Thus, it was at the Alpha and Omega military bases in the early 1970s that !Xun and Khwe were first categorized as ethnically the same. In addition, the SADF continued to recruit members of the !Xun and Khwe populations in Eastern Caprivi during the 1980s until Namibia achieved its independence in 1990. With their recruitment into the Bushman Battalion, the !Xun and Khwe soldiers were provided with employment, health care, education and shelter as well as various social programmes and interventions by the SADF (Robbins, 2004; Douglas, 1996). This made the families of the soldiers dependent on the soldiers themselves and the SADF for their wellbeing. Under this dependence on the SADF for their wellbeing, both the !Xun and Khwe soldiers and their families began to be assimilated into the social, economic and political systems and practices of army life under the Apartheid government (Robbins, 2004: 11). However, this paternalistic relationship between the SADF and the !Xun and Khwe remained a military one based on hierarchical racial and social structures shaped by the top-down military culture. This male-dominated culture would lead to many of the two communities' problems in relation to the encouragement of community participation in the decision-making processes of the two groups (Robbins, 2004; Douglas, 1996).

With the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of the SADF from Eastern Caprivi and Namibia, the !Xun and the Khwe were once again faced with persecution. Furthermore, the retreat of the SADF back to South Africa meant that the entire socio-economic structure of the Caprivi would collapse due to the high level of dependency on the SADF on which the !Xun and Khwe populations were reliant for their well-being (Robbins, 2004). Thus, in 1990 five hundred !Xun and Khwe veterans of the SADF Bushmen Battalion, along with 3200 dependants (Douglas, 1996; Robbins, 2004), were relocated from the military bases in the Caprivi Strip and Bushmanland to

Schmidtsdrift. Shortly after their arrival, the SADF arranged for the two groups to be granted South African citizenship. Reasons given by the SADF for the relocation of the Battalion and their dependants were that the “SADF felt a need and obligation to save the !Xun and Khwe bushmen from retribution at the hands of a Swapo-led regime and the collapse of social, economic and political structure among the bushmen at Omega” (Douglas, 1997: 45). However, the remainder of the !Xun and Khwe who stayed behind in Namibia “experienced no retribution or direct oppression” based on past allegiances (Douglas 1997:45).

In coming to South Africa, the !Xun and Khwe believed that a brighter future was at hand with promises of continued employment, housing and social benefits from the SADF. They were placed in two separate camps consisting of tents that from the air looked like a massive tent city sprawled across a barren and dry landscape of red sand and shrubbery. At Schmidtsdrift, the !Xun and the Khwe became even more dependent on the SADF for their economic and social wellbeing due to the isolation of the military camp from any urban centre, creating a strong paternalistic relationship between the two communities on the one hand and the military and the state on the other (Douglas, 1997). By 1992, the promises of housing had not been kept by the army. Furthermore, with the emergence of Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), talks began on dissolving the SADF into the SANDF. This meant the Bushmen Battalion would disappear and with them the two groups’ only source of resources, employment and livelihood (Robbins, 2004, Robbins et al 2001, Douglas, 1997). By the end of 1992, Bushmen Battalion 31 was disbanded and the majority of the !Xun and Khwe soldiers were now without jobs or social benefits. This created an atmosphere of despair and disheartenment where, according to Robbins (2004), they were left without a “centre or purpose”. It also meant that the !Xun and Khwe now had to realise that the promises of proper housing would never be provided. Therefore, in 1993 the !Xun and Khwe Trust was established to resettle the San in permanent homes and raise awareness, funding and community development services (Robbins et al, 2001).

By 1994, the political environment of South Africa had changed dramatically. The dismantling of apartheid and the transition into a democracy ruled by the African National Congress (ANC) created a sense of uncertainty among the !Xun and Khwe at Schmidtsdrift. Yet again they were in a foreign country where the new ruling government was one that fought against their former employer’s oppression. There were suggestions from some ANC politicians in the Northern Cape that the !Xun and Khwe had no place in the new democratic South Africa and should be relocated to Namibia. Furthermore, Schmidtsdrift was now being reclaimed by its former inhabitants, the Tswana communities of Bathlapin (Robbins, 2004). Before 1967 the land belonged to the Tswana people but they had been

forcibly removed from the land by the SADF. Indigenous inhabitants who had been dispossessed of their land could now reclaim it through the Land Claims Court. Thus, in late 1994, the Tswana communities were awarded a land claim for Schmidtsdrift and the !Xun and Khe were without a place to live in. They were faced with resettlement away from Schmidtsdrift or deportation to Namibia, creating an atmosphere of personal and communal collapse, paranoia and depression.

The situation between 1993 and 1999, as Robbins (2004: 25-27) writes, was one of extreme social crisis where hopelessness pervaded the camp among the !Xun and Khwe. The lack of employment or steady income created enormous hardships where, over a period of six years, there was a sharp rise in the number of social problems experienced by the two groups. Rape, attempted suicide, extreme domestic violence and alcohol and substance abuse were reported during this period. Health problems such as HIV/Aids, tuberculosis, STDs and malnutrition increased with the abuse of alcohol and other substances, exacerbated by a lack of efficient health services in the area (Robbins, 2004). Furthermore, due to limited resources and perpetuating social problems, serious intra-community tensions and 'ethnic' divisions between the !Xu and Khwe were experienced in Schmidtsdrift generating sporadic incidents of violence (Robbins, 20004, Douglas, 1997). Thus, after 1994 the !Xun and Khwe as landless people yet again in a foreign country, found themselves facing a self-perpetuating cycle of extreme poverty, intensified by the lack of employment, isolation and uncertainty (Robbins, 2004: 25).

As a result, the !Xun and Khwe, while at Schmidtsdrift, 'politicized' their circumstances and Bushman-ness in the hope of securing funds from international donors and NGOs, and land from South Africa (Robbins, 2004: 26) At the time, there was a great deal of uncertainty on how the !Xun and Khwe leadership would go about obtaining permanent land and housing. The two communities' futures in South Africa were hanging in the balance between returning to Namibia or being scattered into many broken pieces across the townships and urban slums of South Africa. Furthermore, the !Xun and Khwe felt betrayed by the government and XK Trust for their lack of interest in solving problems (Robbins, 2004; Soskolne, 2007). However, in 1996 the Communal Property Association Act was amended which allowed for communal ownership of land to be given to local indigenous communities that had organizational structures in place. Therefore, at the end of 1997 The !Xun and Khwe Communal Property Association (CPA) was formed which led to the disbanding of the !Xun and Khwe Trust, and they brokered a deal with the South African government for a plot of land for permanent residence (Robbins, 2004, Robbins *et al* 2001; Soskolne, 2007). The government agreed to provide the !Xun and Khwe with a substantial grant that would enable them to establish permanent residence. By 1997 this grant enabled Platfontein, a large plot of farm land outside

Kimberley, to be purchased for the !Xun and Khwe (Robbins, 2004, Robbins *et al* 2001). The reason for the allocation of this specific plot was the fact that the farm had a 2000 year old rock engraving site on it. This gave the land ancestral symbolism based on their Bushman-ness, even though the !Xun and Khwe are actually diasporic communities to South Africa with no history of ever having lived in South Africa.

By the end of 1997 the handing over of the title deeds had not yet occurred. This left the !Xun and Khwe waiting in their self perpetuating cycle of poverty in the tent shanty town of Schmidtsdrift. Therefore the leadership of the !Xun and Khwe mobilized resources, while they waited for their land claim to come through. They mobilized for access to information and the media in order to help facilitate development within the two communities. They also wanted a platform from which they could protect and preserve their languages, music, stories, traditions and histories due to the fast assimilation of the youth into mainstream South African society. Thus a community radio station to broadcast in !Xun and Khwe languages was proposed at the end of 1997². Due to the low population of listeners among the !Xun and Khwe and the lack of funding from overseas sponsors, the !Xun and Khwe leadership approached the government and the SABC for support. Through lengthy negotiations and long application procedures, the !Xun and Khwe leadership, through the CPA, were awarded a community sound broadcasting license of four years in 1999, then were allocated financing and structural support by the SABC as a SABC public broadcasting initiative³. In addition that year, after waiting two years of stalled negotiations and in-fighting between the !Xun and Khwe CPA and the ANC government, President Nelson Mandela handed over the title deeds to Platfontein to the !Xun and Khwe at the end of 1999. However, it would take another four years for the !Xun and Khwe to eventually move into their homes at Platfontein due to lack of funds at the time, community division, and lengthy procedures of construction, development and planning. In the meantime, the community radio station that the !Xun and Khwe had been allocated by ICASA and the SABC went on air for the first time in 2000 in !Xûntali and Khwedam to the !Xun and Khwe at Schmidtsdrift.

Finally, in 2003, the !Xun and Khwe moved to Platfontein, being transported on buses and army lorries gradually through the year (Soskolne, 2007: 22). By 2004 there were over 1000 families at the new site. By the time I arrived in Platfontein in 2006 there were over 4500 !Xûntali- and 2000 Khwedam-speakers within Platfontein (Mhlanga, 2007). The !Xun and Khwe were housed in two separate but adjunct areas owing to previous tensions between the two groups. They were separated by the town's school, clinic, municipality buildings and the community radio

² Information obtained in interview conducted with Regina Beregho, XK fm station manager on the 17th of August 2007

³ Information obtained in interview conducted with Regina Beregho, XK fm station manager on the 17th of August 2007

station. The housing in Platfontein consisted of simple RDP concrete houses which were planned systematically into blocks with sand roads in between the blocks. According to Robbins (2004), everything from the housing to the school and clinic at Platfontein, to the number of small supermarkets in Platfontein, was superior to that of Schmidtsdrift. Furthermore, the city of Kimberley, just 8 kms away from Platfontein offered job opportunities for the !Xun and Khwe and the potential to engage in urban South African society that never existed at Schmidtsdrift (Soskolne, 2007: 23). Thus, Platfontein was seen by many of the !Xun and Khwe as a beacon of hope for a better life with possibilities of employment, income, services and proper housing facilities.

However, Platfontein in its isolation from Kimberley seems so distant from the modern world that the promised benefits of living near an urban centre mostly failed to materialize due to the lack of transport between Platfontein and Kimberley (Soskolne, 2007: 23). There is a sense of abandonment by the government and the Kimberley municipality. There are many structural skeletons of urbanization and modernization scattered throughout Platfontein. The deteriorating state of the township's main tarred road has become symbolic of the failures that Platfontein has experienced. Close by are the abandoned ruins of the Platfontein farm and its lodge. Instead, the disadvantages of urbanization have filtered into Platfontein where alcoholism, violence, unemployment, illnesses and poverty are experienced daily. So, in having moved to Platfontein from Schmidtsdrift where they were refugees faced with devastating poverty, violence and abandonment, the !Xun and Khwe are now facing different problems and concerns of development related to urbanization and modernization. The government has provided land and housing, but because of the township's structural limitation and lack of transport to Kimberley, it has been unable to ensure access to work and other opportunities that would move the !Xun and Khwe out of poverty. As a result, extremely high unemployment within the two communities at Platfontein exists, with many of the !Xun and Khwe dependant for income on small pensions, social and childcare grants. Women commonly forage through the municipality rubbish dump on the doorstep of Platfontein for food and domestic items. Subsequently, these conditions and issues of life within Platfontein have made it an essential aspect of the two communities fight against their poverty and isolation.

Structure of dissertation:

The expected chapters anticipated to appear in the dissertation are briefly detailed below:

1. Introduction

This chapter will be divided into subsections that will include a short historical background of the Platfontein San community being studied, with background information on XK fm and its history and a general description of the problems that lead to the research

2. Theoretical Framework Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of the Circuit of Culture theoretical framework on which this study is based and a brief outline of the development communication paradigms which I will use to analysis the role of the radio station in the development of the two communities.

3. Literature Review

This chapter provides an analysis of existing bodies of information, literature and other research done on development radio broadcasting and community radio.

4. Broadcasting Policy and Legislation

This gives an historical overview and analysis of South African broadcasting policy and legislation pre and post 1994 South Africa

5. Research Methodology

The chapter provides a description of the research methods, techniques and research tools that employed in the investigation of the research problem.

6. Findings and Data Analysis – Macro and Micro Operations

A detailed analysis of the findings will be done in this chapter. This will include the discussion of theories and research findings as a way of reading into social realities, thus creating an interlocking of theory and practice. This chapter will be split into two sections: Macro Operations (Public or Community?) and Micro Operations (Democratic Structure, Participatory Processes and Dominant Discourses)

7. Findings and Data Analysis – Macro and Micro Operations

Following the macro and micro analysis of findings, this chapter includes findings on the reception of the station and its development programmes among the !Xun and Khwe communities.

8. Conclusion

The conclusion will present a brief summary of the study and a conclusion on XK FM's circuit of culture. General suggestions may be made.

References:

A list of books, journals, documents, readings, unpublished materials, and on-line sources is provided

Appendices:

This will provide the reader with maps, official documents, research guidelines used and questions asked

CHAPTER 2

THEORIZING CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

In this study of XK fm, a community radio station under the ownership of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), I examine the processes involved in the broadcasting of the station's development programmes and the role these processes play in the facilitation of community based development. In order to do so, this study draws on two strands of theory, namely Cultural Studies and development communication. The first framework draws on du Gay et al's (1997) circuit of culture model that employs a multi-analytical and interpretive framework through which to examine the processes of production and meaning-making. This is applied to XK fm's development programmes. As these programmes are concerned with the development of the !Xun and Khwe communities, the chapter outlines the two paradigms of development communication, namely modernization and participatory development communication, and considers them in relation to the cultural studies framework.

Cultural Studies

Community media organizations are argued to provide an important site of cultural confrontation and exchange of meaning in the pursuit of creating a shared consciousness among members of certain communities (Howley, 2002). This is because community media organizations serve as "shared cultural spaces" (Howley, 2002: 4) from which the members of the communities may draw meaning for developing and bettering their lives as well as constructing an identity based on the shared collective. Community radio stations can thus be viewed as communicative platforms in which members of a group, community or society can participate and become part of a situated culture.

Culture, according to cultural studies theorists, concerns the ways in which one understands and relates to social situations through the processes of production and exchange of meanings among members of a society or group (O'Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner, 1998). Through patterns of meaning embodied in symbolic forms and practices of various kinds, it allows individuals to communicate with one another and to share their experiences, conceptions and beliefs (Williams, 1981; Thompson, 1990). For these theorists, culture encompasses two particular dimensions: first, culture is viewed as a framework of beliefs, values and other frames of reference through which we learn to make sense of our experiences and the world on a daily basis. Secondly, definitions of culture usually encompass

the various means by which people communicate or articulate a sense of self and situation (O'Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner, 1998). These dimensions of culture are usually constructed in spaces of production and exchange such as institutions (colleges, corporations and churches), public spheres (the media) and private spheres (family homes). These cultural spaces are argued to provide individuals and groups cultural resources on which they might draw to create a sense of belonging and identity in relation to the world around them (O'Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner. 1998; Hall, 1997a).

The production of culture consists of the construction of visual, verbal, nonverbal or sensory codes that find expression in the forms of texts or discourses (Lemon, 1995, 2001). People receive these texts that communicate something about a particular culture through 'cultural spaces' or channels of communication and then interpret them according to their understandings. However, people interpret these texts or discourses differently because as individuals they are unique due to variables such as race, language, age, social class, gender, attitudes and values (Lemon 2001; Thompson, 1997). Consequently, cultural meaning can change over time, making it a site of constant struggle over the production and exchange of meanings (Grossberg et al, 1998). Thus, culture is not a fixed or static entity, but a highly complex and forever evolving process that undergoes change continuously. This complexity has been the concern of Cultural Studies.

Cultural Studies offers a theoretical and methodological framework for investigating shifting patterns of meaning and how these meanings correspond to significant axes of power within particular social contexts (Moore, 1999; Murdock 1995). It acknowledges the power of ideologies and hegemonic forces, however. It sees audiences as active participants in the communication process with the ability to create their own meanings within and often counter to dominant ideologies (Pitout, 2007; Souderling, 2007). Cultural Studies was first established formally at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1960s and draws on a host of theoretical orientations such as semiotics, Marxism, psychoanalysis, feminism, structuralism, reception studies, and poststructuralism. It is a holistic framework for investigating culture from a range of perspectives and is thus qualitative in its methods and approaches in analyzing cultural phenomena (Alasuutari, 1995). As a result, Cultural Studies is a diverse field of study that encompasses a variety of theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches.

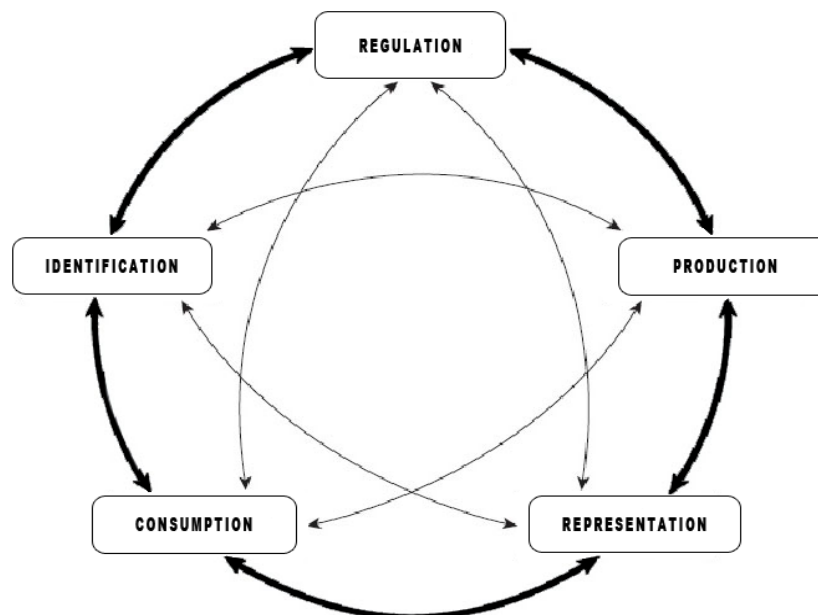
In terms of the media and culture, Cultural Studies is concerned with ways in which particular media practices reinforce or challenge existing trends of culture and relationships of power (Grossberg et al, 1998: 25). The

relationship between media and culture can be interpreted in two ways: namely, the media as culture and the media as reflections and portrayals of culture (Pitout, 2007). This study will focus on the media as reflections and portrayals of culture. The media present representations of the world and propose ways in which it should be viewed. They are considered powerful institutions whose frameworks of meaning are likely to conform to dominant power structures of groups with economic or political power (McQuail 1983: 56). However, it is important to note that the media and the audience are both part of the process of producing meaning. Thus the media are crucial sites of cultural production and consumption and cannot be studied in isolation from the culture within which they are situated (Grossberg et al, 1998:7).

The Circuit of Culture

The circuit of culture focuses on how the value and meaning of cultural phenomena are created, maintained and transformed throughout various sites, moments and practices. It consists of five moments that are interlinked in a circular and cross-linking progression, these being regulation, representation, production, consumption, and identity (see Figure 2). Cultural meaning is articulated through these moments where it is created, shaped, distributed, modified and recreated (Curtin & Gaither, 2006). By having five different but interlinking moments of cultural meaning that are theoretically determined by a different framework of analysis in each moment, the circuit of culture provides a holistic approach for investigating culture from a range of perspectives that include the socio-political, cultural and economic contexts of what is being studied. In this way, the concept of the circuit of culture directs analysts to examine both micro and macro level processes of meaning-making and exchange in culture (Howley, 2002).

Figure 2. Du Gay et al's Circuit of Culture (1997) - source du Gay et al (1997 : 3)



According to du Gay et al (1997: 3), these moments involved in the construction of meaning in culture cannot be studied in isolation from one another as they are dependent on the other moments of the circuit for their existence. Meaning is only produced through the processes of articulation between these moments in a certain time and space. By the term ‘articulation’, du Gay et al (1997: 13), refer to the process of connecting the disparate moments of meaning within the circuit to form a temporary unity or meaningful whole that foregrounds the context in which communication takes place as the object of analysis. An articulation thus represents the connection or linkage of meaning between each moment in the circuit of culture under certain conditions. However, these connections are not fixed, determined, or absolute (du Gay et al, 1997), but are part of an ongoing process of meaning-making in which the dominant narrative can shift over time. This means that anything that happens in one moment will affect all the other elements creating different dominant and competing discourses that arise. In addition, there is no beginning or end in the circuit of culture because each moment works in synergy with the other in the creation of meaning, providing a synergistic impact on the whole (Du Gay et al, 1997; Howley, 2002). Thus articulation is regarded as a communicative structure of relations through which meanings of cultural products, practices and phenomena are regulated, produced, distributed, consumed and identified with, allowing for contestation within various moments around the Circuit of Culture (du Gay et al, 1997; Thompson, 1997; MacKay, 1997; Slack, 1996; Howley, 2002). The five moments of the circuit are outlined below.

Regulation

The moment of regulation refers to the practice of attempting to codify, control and authorize the processes of cultural activity within the circuit of culture in ways deemed desirable by individuals, groups and institutions in power (du Gay et al, 1997). These practices of controls can range from formal and legal controls, such as regulations, laws, and institutionalized systems, to the informal and local controls of cultural norms and expectations of a society or group (du Gay et al., 1997). It is in this moment of the circuit in which meanings are determined by groups with economic or political power. They offer the rules, norms and conventions that govern what is acceptable and what is not. Regulation involves the power structures and the actions of individuals, groups and institutions that aim to regulate the meanings of cultural artefacts. However, in attempting to regulate the meanings of cultural artefacts, there is never a single worldview of society but rather a number that engage in a "war of position" in order to attain hegemony or a position of dominance (Grossberg et al., 1998). Therefore, meanings arising within a moment, then, are not predetermined but are part of an ongoing process in which the dominant narrative can shift over time.

Formal and legal controls such as regulations, laws, and institutionalized systems that attempt to regulate XK fm as a community radio station are the policies and legislation determined by the Independent Communication Authority of South Africa (ICASA), South Africa's broadcasting and telecommunications regulatory body. Under ICASA, XK fm has to follow the community broadcasting service policies and legislation of the Broadcasting Act 1993 and 1999. However, XK fm is also bound to the institutional frameworks of the SABC which are aligned to a more commercial, dominant and centralist structure of broadcasting. Therefore, regulation as a moment in the circuit of culture leads me to analyze XK fm at a macro level and to see whether the radio station is determined by the dominant development ideologies articulated in the policies and institutional structures of the SABC.

Representation

Representations are language systems that are constructed in the processes of production and signify or mediate specific reconstructions of reality (Reid, 2007). Language, according to Hall (1997a), is viewed as verbal, textual, visual and mental systems that represent specific views of the world and can be used to communicate specific meanings and subjects of knowledge with other people. In order for representations to convey meaning so that people understand them, it is argued that people need to communicate on levels of common language and shared codes so that they can draw the meanings and interpret the world in similar ways (Hall, 1997a). Common languages or shared codes consist of audio, textual and visual signs that make a representation understandable (Hall, 1997a). In terms of the media, representations can be referred to as the way visual images, verbal sounds, and texts are constructed by producers according to sets of conventions shared, or familiar to both producers and the people who engage with them and offer meaning (Swanson, 2007). It is argued that representations attached to the visual images, verbal sounds or texts can only come into meaning when readers, listeners or viewers engage with them outside the processes of production. Thus representations are not fixed in meaning; they are shaped in the process of production but are open for change of meaning when engaged in and decoded by audiences in the processes of consumption (Hall, 1997a).

For Hall (1997a), two systems of representation work together to create understanding within culture. They are mental representations and language. When interpreting the world around us, both physically and conceptually, people use mental representations. In order to communicate, people need to view the world in similar ways. This can be achieved by articulating mental representations into common languages or shared codes so that people can

correlate concepts and ideas with certain texts, sounds and images (Hall, 1997a). These shared codes are what establish meaning between the 'literal' of a text, image or sound and the symbolic conceptualization attached to the object. Their discursive groupings, placements and formations are what form communicative languages that represent certain worldviews and understandings of culture.

Hall's explanation of representation is strongly influenced by the constructivist approach of linguistics and semiotics. Subsequently, using Ferdinand de Saussure's structuralist semiology, Roland Barthes (1977) identifies three different levels of signification in representation. The first is that of denotation. Denotation is the actual, literal or obvious meaning of a sign. It is the signifier of an object that people from any culture and at any time would recognize the object as depicting (Panofsky, 1970: 51). For example, take a image of a young !Xun or Khwe male who is half naked, dressed in animal skins and holding a bow and arrow. Most people will refer to the figure in its denotative form as a young Bushman hunter, thus stating the obvious. However, on a second level of signification referred to as connotation, socio-cultural and emotional associations (mythical/ideological) are attached to the signifier of the image, thus mediating a signified position of the figure in the image. The connotative meanings that could arise from the image of a half naked young !Xun or Khwe male in animal skins and holding a bow and arrow, could generate the idea of 'primitivism'.

Barthes argues that denotative and connotative meanings of a representation combined produce ideology or a third level of signification (O'Sullivan et al, 1994). In the third level of signification, the sign reflects major cultural variable concepts underpinning a particular worldview which Barthes (1977) refers to as 'mythical signification', while Hall (1996a) refers to it as 'ideological signification'. For Barthes (1977: 45), myths serve to organize shared ways of conceptualizing something within a culture in order to help readers, viewers or listeners make sense of their experiences within a culture. Like Hall's shared codes or common language of representation, myths can be viewed as ideological in the way they naturalize preferred worldviews or views of culture over time, in which dominant cultural and historical values, attitudes and beliefs come to be seen as 'common sense' or 'normal' (Barthes, 1977: 45). If one takes the image of the young !Xun or Khwe hunter, mythical associations that could arise with the image could be the ideals of traditionalism, culturalism, and romanticism. However, there also can be negative connotations such as uncivilized, primitivism, backwardness and exploitation. Thus, representation can also function as socio-carriers of ideology (Reid, 2007: 203). However, there is no one dominant ideology at any given time; there is more a contestation of a number of different ideologies that struggle for power in shaping worldviews and cultures.

In addition to the above, representations find expression through discourse. A discourse is a ‘group of statements’ (Foucault, 1971, 1972) which provides a language or way of representing a particular kind of knowledge through the process of production (Hall, 1996a: 201). By grouping visual images, verbal sounds and texts into particular forms of common language or statements such as in a written text, a radio programme, or a film, these discursive conventions of representation communicate or offer a particular position or ‘truth’ of reality. Texts, images, sounds and social practices can only come to have meaning if they become the objects of knowledge produced within discourse. However, the meanings of these objects are shaped or influenced by structures of power in the processes of production where it produces human subjects of knowledge to occupy certain positions of ‘truth’ associated with these objects and society. Power is often associated with the way dominant ideologies try to legitimate the ‘truth’ of a particular reality. Thus discourses tend to be influenced by the macro and micro structures of production as well as the views, beliefs and value systems of the producer and the society in which the producer is situated. This means cultural texts do not simply represent, they reconstruct ideologies and practices of those responsible for producing them (Hall, 1996). If producers of a discourse share enough experience with the social, political and economic history of the intended audience, they can translate meanings in similar enough ways to enable understanding that is relevant to their audiences (Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner, 1998).

However, no discourse can exist in isolation; there is always an opposing one in circulation (Prinsloo, 2007: 208). This allows for multiple discourses to circulate within society and the media at one present time or another where they are often in conflict with each other in their explicit or implicit claims to define particular views of culture and society as the natural order (Marris & Thornham, 1996: 267). This provides for plural subjectivities to occur and be offered to people to occupy or negotiate. Thus there can be no absolute version of discourse of how things are but only many competing versions, with some more regarded than others (Prinsloo, 2007; Reid; 2007)

Therefore in relation to what has been discussed in terms of this moment, the examination of representation concerns the contents of media texts and how they come to have meaning and the manner in which these meanings are produced according to the “rules of formation” that enable them to become part of language systems (Delate, 2007; Reid, 2007; Swanson, 2007). However, this moment in the circuit of culture is not the focus of this research, but relates generally.

Production

The moment of production refers to the process by which media practitioners or producers of cultural products, practices and phenomena create meaning through processes of production often termed encoding (Hall, 1983; du Gay et al, 1997; du Gay 1997). Encoding refers to the manner in which media practitioners create and produce cultural products and articulate certain discourses within them. For du Gay et al. (1997: 62), media practitioners are viewed as “cultural intermediaries” and are responsible for constructing cultural objects within the processes of production and distributing them for consumption. By creating and constructing products of culture in the processes of production, they inscribe (encode) meaning to these products and thus create representations of the world they want to portray to audiences and consumers (du Gay et al, 1997). Cultural meaning does not rise from material objects, but rather from the representations that producers encode into the constructs of texts and their reception amongst readers (Hall, 1980a). However, media practitioners are usually influenced by institutional ideologies and the organizational culture of the establishments that they work for, thus suggesting the influence of regulatory, economic and political factors in the process of production.

Most corporations, companies and organizations in today’s world are defined by the processes of capital. Media economies are similarly driven by the logic of capitalism or profit which focuses on ownership of media production and the power that ownership and control can exercise over both the ability of individuals and groups to produce messages that would like others to see, hear and receive or consume messages that would be relevant to their social, economic and political backgrounds (Mcquail, 1983; Grossberg et al 1998). This means that although media practitioners are the primary “cultural intermediaries” that produce representations for diverse audiences, their process of production tend to be consistent with the organizational ideologies, values, structure and logistics of the institutions. In the study of community media organizations all over the world there have been many institutional analyses of these specific cultural spaces that delineate the structural factors, organizational contexts, social actors, and modes of production that determine community media form and content (Howley, 2002).

Consumption

‘Consumption’, is the moment, or cultural process, concerned with the reading or decoding of meanings in which audiences or consumers actively engage in attributing meaning to representations and negotiating them in relation to their everyday lives and cultural identities (Mackay, 1997). Decoding refers to the interpretation of media texts

by audiences. The final meaning of a text is not what is created and shaped in the processes of encoding, but is the interpretation and decoding by audiences of discourses present in the text. (du Gay et al, 1997). Audiences learn to make sense of representations by drawing on systems of codes and signs present in media texts (O'Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner, 1998). Thus this makes media texts polysemic or open to many interpretations (O'Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner, 1998).

The moment of consumption in the circuit of culture, thus, leads to representations and discourses produced by the media being consumed by audiences where they either asserted, opposed or negotiated in order to articulate a sense of identity to views ('truths') of the world presented to them (Hall, 1980a). Evidently then, analyses that focus on this moment of the circuit, involve audience analyses or reception studies that examine the negotiation of meaning by audiences in their attempts to interpret and decode discourses found in the media products and practices they consume (Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner: 1998). In terms of community media, this moment provides a way to explore the consumption practices of audiences and how they negotiate the discourses within the media in relation to the objectives of production that community media should practice (Howley, 2002: 17).

Identity

The conceptualizing of identification takes into account how meanings are negotiated and internalized by an individual or cultural group and how they facilitate the formation of relationships with other people (du Gay et al, 1997; O Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner, 1998; Hall, 1996). According to du Gay et al (1997), identification is defined as the process of identifying with others, either through lack of awareness of difference or as a result of perceived similarities. It provides one with a sense of belonging to a specific culture, worldview or group of people. Identities can thus be thought of as "social profiles" or "types" (du Gay et al, 1997: 10), that often "constitute difference" (Curtin & Gaither, 2006: 82), and are circulated throughout cultures in the processes of production, consumption, regulation, and representation.

Several theorists point out that media consumption lies at the heart of the process of identity formation (Strelitz 2002, 460). The media are representation systems that circulate identities with meanings attached to them to help us make sense of ourselves and others (Woodward 2002). They are thus important sites in shaping identity because they provide the discursive fields through which meaning can be negotiated (Woodward, 2002). Discourses offer

audiences, through the process of interpellation⁴, to take up positions of identification proposed discursively. If members of the audience accept the meanings within these discourses, they are constituted as subjects of a particular discourse in terms of who they are, to whom they ‘belong’ and with regard to whom they are not (Hall 1996b: 3). According to Hall:

the meeting point between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to ‘interpellate’, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be spoken. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions, which discursive practices construct for us (1996: 5 - 6).

Thus what defines specific identities is the way in which audiences make meaning drawing on language systems (discourses) and codes presented in media and then negotiating them or rejecting them according to their tastes, lifestyles and ethnic, cultural, linguistic and demographic backgrounds (Strelitz, 2002). Furthermore, with media texts being polysemic and open to different interpretations, audiences can create multiple identities which can be creatively integrated and reproduced into unique combinations, or differentiate clear binaries (Curtin & Gaither, 2006; du Gay et al., 1997; Grossberg, 1996; Hall, 1996). Identities, then, are never fixed. They are constantly changing, evolving and overlapping with one another.

Conceptualizing identity is complex and an ongoing site of negotiation in relation to the discourses human subjects encounter. However, the negotiation and contestation of identity within the circuit of culture provide insights with which to analyze the communicative form and practices of community media in relation to the processes of identity formation among members of the communities they cater for (Howley, 2002). Howley (2002: 20) argues that “where there is a great degree of identification” due to community participation in the processes of production “there is more likely to be an appropriation of the development discourse into the social relations of everyday life by the audience” than when production falls into dominant practices that limit community participation.

⁴ Interpellation is a process where individuals acknowledge and respond to a particular identity or ideology, thereby recognizing themselves as subjects of that identity or ideology (Althusser, 1972).

Reflection

In the critical examination of community media research, Howley (2002) advocates for a research agenda that is committed to a multi-dimensional cultural analysis of community-based media. He argues that the community media are sites of struggle over meaning throughout the processes of cultural production, distribution, and consumption in the construction and exchange of meaning and thus ‘demand rigorous, interdisciplinary approaches and interventionist strategies associated with the finest traditions of both cultural studies and political economy scholarship’ (2002: 1). The circuit of culture provides such an approach. This is because when analyzing community media one needs to delineate a research programme that enables one to investigate the relationship between communication, culture, and community as an interlinking whole through the cultural articulations that take place within and through communicative forms and practices (Howley, 2002). The complexity of the struggle over meaning between the institutional structures of the SABC and the local objectives of XK fm in what is the preferred way of developing the !Xun and Khwe communities, is at issue here.

Towards a Understanding of Development within the Circuit of Culture

With this case study focused on the role XK fm has on the development of the !Xun and Khwe communities, I provide a brief overview of the Modernization, Dependency and Multiplicity Development paradigms. Central to these development paradigms are concerns with communicating with subjects of development for the purposes of implementing development initiatives, distributing knowledge and trying to create some sort of behaviour change or adjustment of circumstances among subjects. This act of communication is usually referred to by theorists as development communication. Two dominant approaches have defined development communication and are most commonly drawn upon in the facilitation and implementation of development initiatives around the world, namely Everett Rogers’s Diffusion of Innovation Model associated with the modernization paradigm, and the participatory development communication model associated with the multiplicity paradigm of development. The UNESCO model of participatory development communication offers an overarching framework for the circuit of culture due to its association with Cultural Studies.

The Modernization Paradigm

Modernization has been a dominant paradigm of practice since World War 2. It grew out of the destruction of the war and the discovery of how ‘underdeveloped’ certain places and countries in the world were, especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America. These countries were often referred to as ‘Third World’ or ‘Underdeveloped Countries’ and were described as countries that had still not industrialized and which relied on more traditional and subsistence lifestyles and structures of society (Estevea, 1992; Escobar, 1995). It was argued that their indigenous economies were primitive and that their poverty was a consequence of their traditionalism and a threat to both them and other nations in the area (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). In other words, these Third World countries were considered backwards or underdeveloped. This view was advocated by Daniel Lerner (1958) and Walt. W. Rostow (1953) who argued that traditional practices, cultures and economies hamper development because of their “backwardness” and should be dissolved in order to ensure economic growth and development. With the supposedly successful restructuring and rebuilding of Europe after the war through the promotion of American (Western) models and ideals of industrialization, democracy, and institutionalism, a four point programme was thus proposed for the development of the Third World that promoted economic advancement and the application of scientific methods and technological knowledge (Servaes & Malikhao, 2003).

Modernization theorists argued that the solution to underdevelopment was for Third World societies to move from a traditional way of life to a more industrial and technical way of life. Lerner (1958) and Rostow (1971), proposed an evolutionary process whereby every society passes through specific phases or linear stages of economic growth from traditional societies to the industrial societies of high mass consumption. They proposed that modernization needed to occur at individual and societal levels to require a high degree of empathy and the mental capacity for change from traditional systems of belief and organization to modern traits of individualism, capital production, consumerism and institutionalism (Servaes, 1995, 1999; Waisbord, 2000). At the cultural level, they proposed that modernization required the adoption of scientific approaches to knowledge, characteristic of Europe’s and America’s periods of industrialization (Servaes & Malikhao, 2003). Finally, it was also stated that for modernization to occur as a form of development, underdeveloped Third World countries needed to adopt Western systems of democracy accompanied by the virtues of a free market economy based on industrial production and capital growth (Servaes, 1995, 1999). As a result, development in the modernization paradigm was viewed in quantitative and scientific terms as an evolutionary, unilinear and systematic progression of the state from traditionalism and underdevelopment to the modern industrial world of Western countries such the United States.

The need to communicate and disseminate Western discourses of modernization to underdeveloped Third World countries so that they would advance through the specific phases proposed in the above paragraph, led to the first systematic attempts to use communication for development purposes. This form of communication, referred to as development communication was conceived as a one-way process of passing messages from (Western) specialists to mass rural recipients, usually in a vertical, top-down fashion (Servaes, 1995: 41). Early approaches of development communication were informed by the communication models of Shannon-Weaver and Lasswell which emphasized sender-message-receiver forms of transmission. Referred to as the bullet theories, they relied on the “pervasive channelling of Western based economic, political and social knowledge from institutions of the nation state to the passive receivers of the third world through the mass media” (Dyll, 2004: 26).

These early approaches assumed that the mass media in its transmission of messages via specific channels of transmission to receivers would be able to influence and change willing societies of the Third World (Servaes, 1995). Modernization theorists argued that to ensure the transformation from traditional to modern, there was a need to distribute and disseminate large amounts of information on modern discourses through the mass media to subjects. This was because it was believed that the mass media were influential in shaping and influencing societies and that they provided fast and efficient methods of information exchange between specialists and recipients (cf. Lerner, 1958; Schramm, 1964; Lerner & Schramm, 1967). Thus these early approaches of development communication “relied on the dissemination of pre-packaged information to faceless mass audiences as part of extension strategies” of the modernization paradigm (Manyozo, 2008: 121).

However, over time it became evident that development communication interventions were not effecting the directed social change among recipients (Rogers, 1976; Servaes & Malikhao, 2003; Melafopus, 2003). This critique of the sender-receiver theory of effects led to Everett Rogers arguing for a restructuring of the modernization approach to communication. Research conducted by Rogers in the 1960’s suggested that the mass media were mere agents of awareness rather than influencers of direct behaviour change and thus he argued for adoption of the “Diffusion of Innovations” (1962) approach of development communication. In contrast to the powerful media effects models of communication, the Diffusion of Innovations framework proposed that interpersonal relations were crucial in channelling and shaping opinion. It viewed the mass media as important in spreading awareness of new possibilities and practices, but not as influential as decisions and practices conducted on a personal level of communication between specialists and recipients.

Rogers argued that the Diffusion model could bring social change to individuals and the public through a combination of mass mediated and interpersonal processes of communication that started with the awareness of a new innovation and then moved through the stages of interest, evaluation, trial and finally adoption or rejection (Roger, 1962, 1976; Serveas, 1991). Thus the role of the mass media was to create an atmosphere of adoption and an appetite for change through the indirect diffusion of knowledge from early adopters (opinion leaders) to the public (recipients) (Roger, 1976; Serveas, 1991; Waisbord, 2000; Melafopus, 2003).

However, research over the decades has shown that “while groups of the public could obtain information from impersonal sources such as radio and television, this information has relatively little effect on behavioural changes” (Serveas, 1989: 96). The view that traditionalism and culture were obstacles and barriers to modernization left many countries with socio-political and socio-cultural problems and conflict (Melkote & Steeves, 2001, Serveas, 1991). This was because most projects had a total lack of recognition for local circumstances, conditions, needs and historical contents of beneficiaries and thus were irrelevant to most populations who were subject to development. In addition, modernization models of development communication eroded the control that communities had over their lifestyles (Melkote & Steeves, 2001) because development agencies and theorists did not acknowledge the knowledge and expertise of the community members, but saw them as only receivers (Chambers, 1997). Development agencies and specialists had too much control on decisions of operation, production, dissemination and implementation of discourses they sought appropriate for the development of beneficiaries, while the receivers of projects were neither included in decision-making processes nor were they asked what they wanted, needed or preferred (Martinussen, 1997:61-66). Therefore, the dominant modernization paradigm and its associated approaches to development communication did not lead to the anticipated widespread improvement of countries in the Third World.

Yet, the modernization paradigm still retains its influence in development practices even today, except the paradigm has become more participatory in its processes of implementation. There is now an inclusion of recipients or subject of development in certain levels of decision making and implementation.

The Dependency Paradigm

Critiques of the modernization paradigm and its failures resulted in the emergence of a different framework of development referred to as the Dependency paradigm. It is an alternative approach of development that was based on a “structural analysis of the international capitalist system” (Mefalopulos, 2003: 22). This paradigm of development is informed by Marxist, socialist and structuralist thinking of the 1960s and 1970s that attributed the problems of the Third World to the global systems of capitalism and trade that ensured that the West, through relationships of dependency, control and exploit countries of the third world. Dependency paradigm advocates Paul Baran (1967) and Andre Gunder Frank (1967) criticized the modernization paradigm for placing the blame of underdevelopment on the internal conditions of developing countries. To them, underdevelopment was not the primary fault of developing countries as assumed in the modernization paradigm, but was attributed to external imbalances in the global economy that allowed for patterns of Western dominance to continue over countries of the third world (Waisbord, 2000). As a result, dependency theorists conceptualised a division between countries of the world into two socio-political blocks: the core and the periphery. The core or centre countries of the world were seen as the industrial and developed countries of Europe and America, while the periphery was seen as the former colonies of Europe and the states of the Third World that were dependent on the core. Both were seen as being structurally connected to each other through this relationship of dependence, which simultaneously created a barrier to independent growth in the countries of the periphery (Servaes, 1991; Waisbord, 2000). It was therefore advocated that the countries of the periphery should dissociate themselves from the core countries of the world market and opt for self-reliant approaches to development (Servaes, 1991) that utilized national strategies of production and ownership that aimed at protecting national industries and stimulating domestic growth.

The paradigm proposed that the state is the instrument for identifying and directing the strategies and processes of development and not the people, thus again assuming that rural individuals and communities were passive recipients of information (Dyll, 2004). The failure to understand the local conditions and needs of its citizens benefiting from the initiatives of self-reliant development led to a dependency among subjects of development on the States and governments that governed over them in terms of access to resources and information (Servaes & Mefalopulos, 2003). Thus the dependency paradigm, like the modernization paradigm, was criticized for its authoritarian approach to development and the processes of communication practiced within development initiatives. The paradigm was also criticized for its manner of theoretically dividing the world into two blocs of power in terms of international development and not concentrating on the local and internal factors affecting the

development of nations (Servaes, 1999, Mefalopulos, 2003). It blamed the causes of underdevelopment on the countries of the centre and the external variables of the international market, but overlooked additional factors that were contributing to the underdevelopment of the peripheral countries such as unequal internal class relations and other inequalities (Servaes & Mefalopulos, 2003). Therefore, the Dependency paradigm had a similar approach of development communication to the modernization paradigm because of its continuation of the linear, top down models of communication and its lack of recipient participation in the processes of development.

The Road to an Alternative Participatory Paradigm

The problems of the modernization and dependency paradigms gave rise to an intellectual shift in relation to development and development communication. According to Servaes (1991), with the delineation of the First, Second and Third Worlds breaking down into a blurred network of crossover centre-periphery relations that could be found in every region, there was a need for a new concept of development that would emphasize cultural frameworks with multiple perspectives. It was recognized by advocates of this new alternative thought of development that there was “no universal path to development” and that development should be conceived as an “integral, multidimensional and dialectic process which can differ from one society to another” (Servaes, 1991: 51). Subsequently, Roland Robertson (1992: 98) describes this change in thought as the “cultural turn” due to the increased focus on culture and cultural relations in relation to the processes of development.

This cultural turn was evident in the move away from the more traditional mechanistic approaches of the modernization and dependency paradigm that emphasized economic and materialistic criteria, to a more cultural perspective that advocated multiple approaches of holistic and participatory processes of development (Pieterse, 1995; Servaes & Malikhao, 2005). This led to the restructuring of development where processes were viewed “less as means to an end or outcome but as processes where people were regarded as subjects rather than objects; capable of analyzing their own situations and designing their own solutions” (Mefalopulos, 2003: 61). Thus the key feature of this approach of development was its emphasis on development as a cultural and participatory process that recognized people or members of communities as the nucleus of development (Morris, 2005). With participation central to this approach, it became referred as the participatory paradigm of development.

However, over the decades a diverse range of approaches have been associated with the participatory paradigm of development. This has given rise to a variety of names and approaches referring to the paradigm; namely Another

Development (Melkote, 1991; Jacobson, 1994), the Multiplicity paradigm (Servaes, 1991), Autonomous Development (Carmen, 1996), the Empowerment Approach (Friedmann, 1992), the Liberation Approach (Freire, 1997) and the Dialog Paradigm (Guba, 1990). Although many theorists in the field describe this particular family of approaches as the participatory paradigm, I use the term Multiplicity Development because of its relation to cultural studies and this study on XK fm and its development programmes. Development communication is understood as participatory development communication.

Multiplicity Development

Multiplicity Development is an approach of thought on development that favours the multiplicity of views and discourses, the locality of operations, the de-institutionalization of structures and processes and the interchange of sender-receiver roles and horizontal communication at all levels of society (McQuail, 1989). It was first articulated by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation in Sweden which established that there were four principles to development. First, that development should be needs oriented or geared towards the satisfaction of community needs and the eradication of poverty. Secondly, development cannot be predetermined by universal approaches of social, economic, cultural and political change, but must rather focus on the most appropriate way of development according to the specific resources, circumstances and cultures of a certain population of people or society. Thirdly, the development of each society should rely primarily on their own strengths and resources, making them self reliant on their own chosen path of development. Finally, development should be in harmony with the environment and be ecologically sustainable.

However, Servaes (1991: 63) furthered this paradigm of development by stating that in order to promote a participatory approach of development there also needed to be an existence of participatory democracy within all structures and institutions of society so that structural and sustainable change could be achieved. In order to achieve this there would need to be a structural transformation of social relations, economic activities, and power structures in the processes of development to allow conditions of self-management and participation amongst subjects of development⁵ (White et al, 1994). Thus participation in the paradigm of Multiplicity Development involves a more equitable sharing of social, political and economic power between development agencies, and the people who might benefit from development initiatives, through communicative processes that involve dialogue and combining

⁵ It is argued by Ascroft and Masilela (1994: 282) that “if peasants do not control or share control of the processes of their own development, there can be no guarantee that it is their best interest that is being served”.

community, indigenous and localized forms of media (Servaes 1991; Servaes & Malikhao, 2005; Chitnis, 2005). This approach is thus concerned with relations of power and representations just as in cultural studies, which tries to address unjust power relations and distribution through the participation of people subject to development.

Participatory Development Communication

As the discourse of development increasingly aspired to a more participatory and cultural conceptualization of social change among populations of nations states, development communication and its practices in facilitating development became increasing participatory. Instead of the former centralized, top down and sender oriented models of communication of the modernization and dependency paradigms, a more culture specific, horizontal, participatory and people oriented approach of communication referred to as participatory development communication (PDC) was proposed (Serveas, 1991, 1999; Servaes & Malikhao 2005). Participatory development communication has been defined as a

“planned communicative activity, based on the one hand on participatory processes, and on the other hand on media and interpersonal communication, which facilitates dialogue among different stakeholders, around a common development problem or goal, with the objective of developing and implementing a set of activities to contribute to its solution, or its realization, and which supports and accompanies this initiative” (Bessette, 2004:11).

The paradigm grew out of the realization that beneficiaries needed to be involved in the communicative practices of development initiatives meant for them through by participation at all levels (Chitnis, 2005). It was argued that the participation of beneficiaries in the communicative process of development enables individuals and communities to represent critical information, discourses and views of the world that are relevant to and in accordance with their own settings, cultures and histories (Chitnis, 2005; Waisbord, 2000). Subsequently, this would awaken self awareness among beneficiaries to solutions of social change according to their own resources and knowledge.

Within such a framework, in order for representations in the development programmes broadcast by XK fm to be relevant to the circumstances, interests and needs of the two communities, processes of production need to be based on participatory forms of communication. Previously in this chapter, it is argued that if the producers of programmes share many of the experiences of the social, political and economic history of the intended audience;

they can translate meanings in similar enough ways in the processes of production to enable understanding that is relevant to their audiences (Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner: 1998). In order to provide efficient representations of community based development, projects like XK fm must have the intended beneficiaries of development involved in the processes of decision making and production as a means of participatory communication.

However, participatory development communication is more than just a simple model; it has many different competing approaches, with the two most common and dominant approaches being the Freirian approach and the UNESCO approach (Servaes & Malikhao 2005), both of which are discussed below.

The Freireian Approach

Participatory development communication is an extension of Paulo Freire's dialogical approach of communication and provides a means for conceptualising empowerment and the requirements for its implementation (Banda, 2003). During the 1970s, Freire engaged in research on informal rural and adult education. In his studies he advocated that true participation does not involve a subject-object relationship but rather a subject-subject relationship, where both the teacher and learner learn from each other in a mutually transformative process. Through active participation and dialogue, he proposed that learners could achieve critical consciousness. By becoming aware of their conditions through reflection and action, learners could enable themselves to make changes when needed and empower themselves to act on their own knowledge and resources as a means of development (Shor, 1993; Freire 1969; Chitnis, 2005). Thus he believed that people's empowerment could be achieved through a process of awareness or conscientization that "restores to people the right to produce knowledge based upon their own experience and values" (Tomaselli & Aldrige, 1996: 61).

Through these points, Freire (1997: 69) conceptualized that development should be about leveling the playing ground between specialists and beneficiaries through structural changes and redistribution of power in the processes of communication which he identifies as being inseparable from the social and political processes necessary for development. He singled out the communicative processes of dialogue, conscientization, liberation and empowerment as the means of creating a cultural based form of development that insisted that the people were the makers of their own culture and development and not the development specialists. He referred to this conceptualization of development communication as the "dialogical pedagogy", which works towards a participatory framework of communications that sees the construction and transmission of knowledge as a subject

to subject relationship in which the recipients of development are empowered to a position of decision maker, thereby liberating themselves from structures and relationships of domination (Freire, 1997:70).

Communicative practices within this approach of participatory development communication consist of more culturally based informal and formal interpersonal and group dialogues within the settings of a community such as local indigenous story telling, theatre, songs, dances, video and community meetings. However, the emphasis on the interpersonal in this approach underplays the role of the media in communication processes.

The UNESCO Approach

Unlike the Freirean conceptualization of participatory communication, the UNESCO approach tends to de-emphasize the resistance of oppression. Rather, it promotes emancipation within processes of communication. It also uses media as channels of communication to focus on issues of public access to appropriate media channels, the participation of the public in production, and the self management of communication enterprises (Berrigan, 1981: 18-19). It is often referred to as the participatory media approach of development communication and is theoretically based on Mcquail's (1989: 121) participatory democratic media theory which advocates that all citizens have the 'right to communicate' by being offered access to local forms of media to express their concerns, needs and find common solutions to local problems. It emphasizes the use of grassroots approaches of communication and localized forms of media where according to Bessette (2004: 28), the concept of grass-root interactivity, with local based forms of media as operational channels of exchange, makes it possible for the acquisition of both indigenous and modern knowledges and skills that are based on local resources and provide solutions to local issues.

The three most important aspects of this approach are that development initiatives must provide access, participation and self management to beneficiaries of development. Access within the approach is viewed as providing beneficiaries opportunities to local and relevant resources, information and participation within projects. Participation refers to the involvement of the public in macro and micro levels of operation, implementation and communication. It usually consists of public involvement in structures and decisions of management and operations as well as processes of production. Through participation, members are able to achieve self management which is considered the power to exercising control over the decision-making processes within macro structures as well as involvement in the formation of policies. These aspects of the approach are also viewed as being gradual in

progression where access is advocated as a must from the implementation of a project, but self-management may be postponed until sometime in the future. Furthermore, the UNESCO approach of participatory development communication tends to emphasize an institutional level of operation and implementation. The conceptualization of this approach and its principles within the frameworks of community radio will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Reflection

Participatory development communication can be viewed as a two-way process that is interactive, democratic and participatory, encouraging a process of dialogue, engagement and mutual understanding between development specialists and people who are subjects of development as well as providing cultural shared spaces of collective knowledge that empower recipients to take control of their own path of development. In terms of research within this approach of development communication, researchers have now become more concerned with the processes of communication (the exchange of meaning) and on the significance of these processes in relation to relationships of power between individuals, the community, and development agents and institutions (Lie, 2003; Servaes & Malikhao, 2005). With the influence of Cultural Studies, development communication research has moved away from the target driven and scientific and economic based analyses of development found in the modernization paradigm, to a more normative, interpretative, epistemological and holistic approach of studying development that was associated with cultural studies and is people/recipient centred (Servaes, 1996, 1997). For instance, studies have now begun to examine the construction of ideologies and discourses of power present within processes and messages of development and proposed identities negotiated in the reception of initiatives by framing research within qualitative and ethnographic approaches of methodology and involving the subjects of research as participants. As a result, with this approach of development communication being more people focused and participatory, different research methodologies emerged that rebalanced power relations in the process of research where recipients were now positioned as subjects and part of the research process (Servaes, 1996, 1997). This informs my research approach and is discussed in Chapter 4.

Critiques of Participatory Paradigm of Development

The participatory paradigm of development with its associated framework of development communication has been criticized for being too vague in conceptualization (Dagron Gumucio, 2001; Cleaver, 2001; Cooke & Kothati, 2001). Almost any development agent, institution and nation state has their own conception about the meaning of

participation, resulting in a diverse range of participatory development communication strategies and conflicting views on what participation truly entails and how it should be applied (Mefalopulos, 2003: 34). Case studies across the world suggest that participation can change its make up and structure at many different levels of operation within a development project. Most argue that participation tends to be limited to the levels of administration, finance, and policy drafting, while on micro levels of operation within projects, participation varies from full ownership of decision making processes to partial participation in the form of feedback (Mefalopulos, 2003: 35). Furthermore, it is advocated that the presence of participation in development projects does not necessarily encourage equal access for all members of the community in question. The participation of one group in a community might mean the exclusion of another group of people. As a result, many theorists argue that there is “no common definition of participation, as it varies depending on the perspective applied” (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009: 12).

Associated with the flaws of participatory development communication is the concept of empowerment. Empowerment is often criticized for being just as top-down as in modernization theory, because recipients are only viewed as being able to “rise to a state of critical consciousness and liberation to empower themselves with the help of development agents and institutions who often reproduce dominant power relations” (Mefalopulos, 2003: 36). For example, initiatives can often be “target driven and authoritative in their structures of application and implementation which undermine already existing power relations within traditional and informal systems of structure and knowledge” (Rahnema, 1992: 123). As a result, it is argued that empowerment is too deterministic in its proposed objectives.

In spite of a participatory approach to development, the powerful discourse of the modern permeates the spaces of communication. Due to its pluralistic nature and the advancement of what is referred to as globalization⁶, the modernization paradigm has slowly manifested itself within the structures, discourses and processes of the participatory development initiatives (Mefalopulos, 2003). This is because the modernization paradigm has become

⁶ According Mefalopulos (2005: 54), in his argument that development is being shaped by globalization:

“Globalization can be considered a process where the world is coming closer together, reducing the constraints of time-space dimensions. In the literature, among the many definitions, the one stated by Giddens (1990: 64) seems to summarize the basic features of globalization: “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.” Thus literature on the subject appears to agree that globalization denotes a Western-centric vision of the world, promoting principles of liberal democracies, free trade and open markets (Kiely & Marfleet, 1998; Tomlinson, 1991)”.

closely linked to the interconnectedness of the global market brought about by the transnational flow of ‘free trade’ capitalism and the immigration of people around the world, which has supposedly lead to the homogenization and identity of a modern global culture (Tomlinson, 1999; Mefalopulos, 2003). With modernity, or modern culture as a central universalizing theme of globalization and the associated relationships of international institutions such as the United Nations (UN), World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Trade Centre (WTC) with the advancement of globalization, development has become less focused on the nation-state and more concentrated on the advancement of global Western based democracy that advocates access to basic human rights (Tomlinson, 1999; Mefalopulos, 2003) Thus one finds that development is now being shaped by globalization discourses and as a result there is a convergence of the participatory paradigm with the modernization paradigm, under the label ‘participatory’ within many contemporary development initiatives⁷. This creates a dualism within the participatory paradigm of development and a tension between the ideals of modernity/modernization and culturalism/traditionalism where global values of democracy and access to basic human rights are advanced through the reproduction of localized, indigenous and traditional structures of knowledge.

Therefore, in what has been discussed in the above, there is a web of “theoretical and conceptual confusion” within the field of participatory development communication, making the course of implementing and examining participatory approaches of communication in development practices problematic and limited in effectiveness (Waisbord, 2000). In order to compensate for these limitations I contextualized the analysis of the communication processes within the station and among the two communities by splitting the analysis into three separate but interlinking analyses associated with the five moments within the circuit of culture framework of theory. These consist of macro and micro analyses of the station and a reception analysis of the station’s development programmes among listeners of the two communities. The macro and micro analyses consist of the regulation, production and representation moments of the circuit, while the reception analysis consists of the consumption and identity moments of the circuit.

Furthermore, due to the ambiguity and plurality of participation within the participatory development communication model, I argue that participation is not a fixed or static entity, but a highly complex and forever evolving process of development that undergoes change continuously and interacts, overlaps, and hybridizes with

⁷ Refer to Mefalopulos, P. (2003: 54-65); *Theory and Practice of Participatory Communication: The case of the FAO Project “Communication for Development in Southern Africa”*; Unpublished Thesis; University of Texas, for more information on the link between globalization and development.

other structures of development at many different levels. Thus, instead of viewing the modernization and participatory paradigms of development communication as opposing theoretical frameworks, I argue that because of the complexity and diversification of development in today's globalized world, a more adaptable and multi-dimensional approach of envisioning development would be a convergence of the two frameworks of development communication. This is supported by Rogers (1983, 1998) and Morris (2005), who argue for a convergence model of development communication that incorporates participatory aspects into the strategic communicative practices of the diffusion model.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the Circuit of Culture, a Cultural Studies theoretical framework in order to provide a multi-analytical and interpretive framework through which to examine the processes of production and meaning making involved in XK fm's development programmes and the similarities and divergences of meaning experienced in the reception of the programmes among listeners of the !Xun and Khwe communities. As discussed, the circuit of culture consists of five moments that are interlinked in a circular and cross linking progression, these being; regulation, representation, production, consumption, and identity. Through these moments, this study provides a means by which to view and investigate the station and its role in the development of the two communities from a range of multiple perspectives that include the socio-political, economic and cultural contexts of what is being studied. In this way, this study is able to examine both the macro and micro levels of the station as well as the reception of the station's programmes amongst listeners of the two communities.

In addition, I have also gone on to discuss the theoretical frameworks of development communication in order to establish the developmental role the station and its programmes have on the !Xun and Khwe. In doing so, I highlight the UNESCO model of participatory development communication as my secondary theoretical framework of reference to this study.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW: DEVELOPMENT RADIO BROADCASTING, COMMUNITY RADIO AND THEIR ROLES IN FACILIATING DEVELOPMENT

This chapter considers the debates about the role of radio, especially community radio, in facilitating community-based development among communities throughout the world. Its purpose is to provide a definition of community radio and an understanding of the role community radio can potentially have in the facilitation of development in many communities around the world.

As a form of radio broadcasting, community radio provides the best platform for community-based development that is culturally, locally and linguistically defined. Thus community radio is often viewed as playing an important role in culturally sensitive and community-based development and is closely associated with the participatory paradigms of development communication (Alumuku, 2006; Carpentier et al, 2003; Carpentier & Scifo, 2010). XK fm was established as a development initiative to preserve the two local languages of Platfontein, safeguard their traditional values and bring unity to the two ethnic groups.

Debate exists over what constitutes community radio. On the one hand, it is argued that in order for a radio station to qualify as a community radio, “the ownership and control of the station must rest squarely, and unquestionably with the community it claims to serve” (MISA, 2000: 56). On the other hand, while calls for community access, participation, ownership, control and self-reliance of community radio stations are worthy goals, in reality these principles and ideals of community radio are often unattainable, contradictory and problematic. According to Fackson Banda (2004), the ideals and attributes of democratic communication, progressive activism, independence and community access, participation and ownership may not necessarily represent the reality of operations on the ground. Guy Berger (1996: 2) suggests that it is the purpose that defines community radio, arguing that it should:

... be defined in the abstract, but in relation to a particular purpose, particular social conditions and a particular ethic. It is the purpose of a community radio station that allows one to define community radio by both its difference and its commonality with other media.

This chapter will critically examine community radio in relation to the conceptual ideals of community access, participation, self-management and ownership using case studies in order to assess whether community radio can be viewed as a tool or instrument in the implementation of community based development.

Development Radio Broadcasting

In relation to its role in development during the second half of the 20th century, Linje Manyozo (2004: 2-5), identifies six schools of thought related to radio and development communication⁸. Because of the complexity intertwined in many of the models and theories of development communication over the half century, Manyozo (2004: 6) identifies a number of terms used to describe radio broadcasting when it is conceptualized as development communication and frequently includes broadcasting for development, development radio broadcasting, radio for development, and development radio

Broadcasting for the purposes of development refers to strategic employment of broadcasting technologies and programmes as a means of supporting planned development initiatives within rural communities and developing nations (Manyozo, 2004). This form of broadcasting is defined as Development Radio Broadcasting (DRB) and is seen as a strategic theory-based and method-driven employment of radio as a support tool in developing communities consciously, strengthening local decision-making structures, reducing illiteracy, poverty and improving socio-economic growth (Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1994; Eltzroth & Kenny, 2003; Manyozo, 2004). DRB can be achieved at two levels. The first being an approach referred to as radio for development, which employs radio programmes for the purposes of supporting development initiatives as extension tools and whose production is usually controlled by state, public or developmental institutions. (Manyozo, 2004, 2008). The second approach is known as development radio, and refers to the employment of broadcasting within the social, cultural, economic and political structures of communities, enabling them to assume total or partial control over programming and management (Manyozo, 2004; Alumuku, 2006). These are discussed below.

⁸ These schools consisted of the Bretton Woods School of Development Communication, the Latin American Catholicism, adult literacy and social movements of the 1940's and 1950's, the Los Baños School in the Philippines, the Anglophone African post-colonial broadcasting movement, the Indian School of Development Communication and the Participatory School of Development Communication that can be viewed as a mergence of the above schools of thought (Manyozo, 2004).

Radio for Development, Rural Educational Programming and Radio Listening Clubs

Manyozo (2004: 8), states that radio for development is a form of behavioural change broadcasting that “communicates scientific and technical knowledge to largely illiterate and poor people through culturally relevant, informative and educative content”. This form was first utilized after World War 2 and the establishment of the UN and World Bank by the Bretton-Woods School of Development Communication in the United States during the 1950s as a communication channel of the modernization development paradigm to transmit and disseminate mostly economic and agricultural related information to rural populations across the world (Manyozo, 2004). Commercial, public, state and rural radio broadcasters were commonly utilized for the dissemination of technical and economic innovations that would bring about the instalment of Western socio-political and economic growth to indigenous populations of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Programmes broadcast by these specific services were given the role of transferring technological innovations of agriculture from development agencies to rural recipients of the third world in the desire for behaviour change towards modernization among the members of the public. Evertt Rogers’s Diffusion of Innovation model of development communication, that is discussed above, was highly influential in radio for development initiatives and helped establish western-driven and centralized rural education and rural radio projects in India, Ghana, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania and Latin America during the 1950s to 1970s. RDB associated with this model of development “relied on the dissemination of pre-packaged agricultural information to ‘mass and faceless’ audiences” as part of agriculture extension strategies (Manyozo, 2008: 121).

Over the years, this form of RDB became known as rural radio broadcasting because its main focus was on the dissemination of agricultural information to rural populations. Although the first rural radio initiatives implemented in Africa were built on centralized processes and structures of broadcasting, this form of radio for development started to move away from the early modernization models to models that focused on collaboration with local rural populations (Ansu- Kyeremeh 1994; Manyozo, 2004, 2008). By the 1970s, the broadcasting of rural educational programmes had become a popular tool in disseminating agricultural programmes and development messages to isolated rural farmers and communities (Librero, 1985; Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1994; Manyozo, 2004). With the popularity of these radios for development initiatives, and the move to more participatory strategies of development communication, radio listening clubs and forums started to pop up as support initiatives to radio for development initiatives.

Radio listening clubs or radio forums refer to small listening and discussion groups consisting of selected members of communities that meet regularly to listen and then discuss the issues raised in a certain development or educational programmes, from which they later take relevant action in solving the issues raised and discussed (Rogers, Braun & Vermilion, 1977; Manyozo, 2006, 2008). By having radio listening clubs or forums, the top-down approach of rural broadcasting programmes are somewhat transformed to a more participatory approach of rural communication that allows rural communities to engage and take action in the issues represented in the programmes either broadcast by state broadcasters or local rural broadcasters. Radio listening groups would either produce a programme on a certain development issue and give it to a state or rural broadcaster to broadcast, or they would listen to and discuss the information in the programmes which they would use to solve problems in relation to their circumstances.

Another form of rural radio for development broadcasting emerged in the 1970s as an initiative to enmesh the methodologies and theoretical frameworks of Paulo Freire into the structures of development radio broadcasting. Termed Freirean Radio for Development, this form of broadcasting utilized and practiced non-formal education guided programming that is well designed methodologically but more relevant to the interests, needs and agendas of the targeted rural populations in terms of content (Manyozo, 2004: 16). Freirean influenced models of rural educational broadcasting employed diverse formats and styles of behaviour-change programming such as social marketing and entertainment-education to motivate communities to embrace best practices in health, agriculture and family planning (Manyozo, 2004).

These different forms of radio for development have been critiqued as being too instrumental in their approach of creating social change and development (Manyozo, 2005). Although farm and rural radio broadcasting models of radio for development had become more participatory and decentralized over the years from state and private institutions, they still approached communication with the recipients of development in a very hierarchical manner where elitist power relations remained. The control of development initiatives within targeted communities remained in the hands of professionals and not the communities themselves. However, this did not mean that radio for development initiatives did not have successes in building local capacity, strengthening local decision-making structures, reduce illiteracy, poverty and improve socio-economic growth (Manyozo, 2004, 2008).

Development Radio and the Alternative Media Paradigm: The Foundations to Community Radio

The second form of DRP, known as development radio, is the employment of broadcasting within the social, cultural, economic and political structures of communities (Manyozo, 2004). It is often referred to as other radio, citizen's radio, alternative radio, participatory radio, indigenous radio, or community radio and allows recipients of development to assume total or partial control over programming, management and ownership of the radio stations catering for their social and development upliftment (Romo, 1991; Vargas, 1995; Ansu-Kyeremeh, 1994; Eltzroth & Kenny, 2003; Alumuku, 2006; Molnar and Meadows, 2001; Manyozo, 2004). This approach was strongly influenced by the principles of Freirean critical pedagogy and UNESCO's approach of participatory communication that promoted the use of indigenous languages, cultures and knowledge in participatory processes of production that allow communities to take control of their own development. Unlike radio for development, development radio works in the cultural context of the community it serves, dealing with local issues in the local languages with the intention of helping the community develop socially, culturally, and economically (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001: 4). Development programmes adopted a bottom-up model of information and content exchange between the recipients of development and the radio stations themselves that was participatory and horizontal. It sought to enable ordinary citizens to have a voice and to debate and execute development initiatives in their own interests.

The first instances of development radio occurred in the 1940s when Radio *Sutatenza* in Columbia and the Bolivian Miner's Network Radio in Bolivia began broadcasting as community based-channels which began to set the trend for what is viewed as development radio today. The Miners' Network Radio movement, "born as a trade union response to the appalling conditions of workers in the mines", was viewed as providing a platform for uniting the community of miners to fight the injustices thrown upon them and to take control of their own development (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001: 12). Although it aspired to support the needs of the rural geographical community it served, it was not owned or directly managed by them. Like rural educational broadcasting, it broadcast to groups of rural farmers. However, unlike rural educational broadcasting, Radio *Sutatenza* enabled feedback, receiving 50 000 letters a year from rural listeners which it used to integrate listeners' needs, interests and opinions into the programmes it produced (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001). Through feedback from listeners, within the communities and basing programmes on the contexts and interests, these pioneering radio stations provided a blueprint for future participatory and community-based radio broadcasting.

By the 1960s and 1970s community-based radio started emerging as a counter force or alternative to mass media and oppressive regimes in countries across the world by providing alternative sources of information and content (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001: 6). The alternative media were seen as ‘politically dissident’ forms that offered alternative approaches to hegemonic forms of mass media. They rejected and challenged dominant institutions and advocated human rights, democracy, good governance and social change within society (Downing 1990; O’Sullivan, 1996). According to Banda (2003: 103), the alternative media emerged out of the “discontent created by centralized and top-down sender-oriented models of communication characterised by the mass media and the desire to democratize the structures and process of communication with the view of enabling marginalized and excluded communities to advance their own development agendas”. These alternative modes of the media looked for ways in which ordinary citizens could engage in the politics of identity, self representation, belonging and the struggle over meaning by counter-balancing the top-down and hierarchical approaches of communication found in the state and commercial media (Downing 1990).

By the late 1980s and 1990s, the potential of development radio as an alternative source of broadcasting and a mechanism for democratic communication was fully recognized in the movement towards democratization, decentralization and liberation of the media industry around the world after the fall of the Soviet Block and Asia (Jakubowicz, 2010). The World Bank, UNESCO and the Bretton-Woods School of Development Communication were influential during this period in carrying forward the ideals and practices of community radio, installing and funding projects especially in Asia and Africa (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001; Manyozo, 2004). They advocated that community radio be positioned as a form of development radio that allowed for the participation of communities in the management, production and broadcasting of radio stations (Alumuku, 2006). As a result, community radio started emerging in Africa by 1990 as socio-political movements spread across the continent in response to freeing the airwaves from government and state controlled broadcasters that were centralized, dominant and one-sided (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001; Alumuku, 2006). The first African country to make way for a community broadcasting sector was Mali, in 1991, followed by South Africa in 1993 with the demise of apartheid, and then Namibia, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001; Alumuku, 2006). With the liberation and democratization of South Africa, Bush Radio (formally CASET) along with Zibonele Radio were the first community-based radio stations to broadcast in South Africa, independently from government and commercial interests and focused on serving the geographical communities of the Cape Flats and Kayeliesha through localized programming created and broadcast by members of the communities (Bosch, 2004).

There are now thousands of community radio stations across the world that are viewed as popular forms of radio broadcasting in bringing development to marginalized communities through participatory approaches of production and ownership. Community radio is defined as a non-profit broadcasting system that is participatory and community-owned and controlled, reflecting a grassroots approach to operations that is influenced by the conceptual frames of alternative media theory and social movements that advocate for non-professional, non-commercialization and progressive agendas (Girard, 2007; Tabing, 2004; Buckley, 2006; Buckley et al. 2008).

XK fm is viewed by its staff and members of the two communities as being a community radio and under their ownership because it is located in Platfontein, and because it broadcasts in their languages, tells their stories, airs their cultures, music, and songs and preserves their history. However, Mhanga (2006, 2009, 2010), observes that XK fm does not conform to the topologies or characteristics of what a community radio station should be because of its association with the SABC. This is mainly because institutes such as MISA, AMARC and UNESCO believe that in order for a radio station to qualify as a community radio, it has to be independent, non-professional and non-commercial, participatory and owned and controlled by the community it claims to serve. I will argue below, by critically examining these outlined characteristics and principles of community radio, that on the ground level of operation these conceptual characteristics and principles of community radio are often unrealistic, contradictory and not so rigidly defined owing to different political, economic and social circumstances experienced by many community radio stations around the world.

So what is Community Radio? A culture of radio defined, built and lived by a community

The defining factor for institutions such as AMARC, UNESCO and MISA as well as broadcasting legislation throughout the world that separates community broadcasting from the likes of state, public and commercial broadcasting, is that it is solely committed to the social progression of a specific cohesive community and not a fractured, mass audience of consumers. According to Alfred Opubor (2008: 12), a community can only build itself if there is a platform for it to:

exchange initiatives, information and meanings in the process of defining, creating and maintaining a group identity and interests for survival within a specifiable geographical and/or cultural space.

A community radio station is viewed, then, as providing an ideal platform to create a community communication system to define itself, as this form of radio broadcasting is dedicated to enabling a collective group of people to define their identity through the means of access to expression and participation in debate, decision-making and production. However, according to Fraser and Restrepo Estrada (2002; 71), the formation and success of a community radio lies in a community's "sense of internal cohesion and consciousness" about its problems and its ability to address them through dialogue, debate and participation. Thus, the frameworks of a community can be a defining factor in the existence and survival of a community radio station. But what is a community?

What is the 'community' in community radio?

In its basic form a 'community' is understood to be a social or geographical network characterized by a distinctive kind of human interaction and a sense of belonging (Bordieu, 1977, Bosch, 2004; Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Teklemicael, 2004). It is viewed as a self-governing social unit or group of people with common values, or a common geographical location, who are engaged in economic, social, and political activities and who experience feelings of belonging to one another (Olorunnisola, 1997). However, the conceptual framework of the term 'community' in community radio is a problematic, complicated and often contradictory matter. The term applies to different situations ranging from a simple geographical community to more complicated communities of subcultures, virtual spaces and ethnicities. Furthermore, Ruth Teer-Tomaselli (2001: 232) argues that the "constructed label of the 'community' in community radio is notoriously difficult to pin down" on account of "conceptually and philosophically abstract notions of a community as an audience". Although communities are associated as geographic or social collective groupings, they are not solely that. It is recognized that communities are not homogenous but have a whole range of people with different identities constituted/established along the lines of class, gender, religion, age, interest, sexual orientation, and ethnicity (Fairbairn, 2009). It is not uncommon for internal tensions and conflicts of class, race, language, generation and gender to exist in locally defined communities where groups with contrasting views may pose a serious threat to the cohesion of a specific community and its communicative needs (Fairbairn, 2009). Furthermore, certain groups within communities are constantly sidelined, suppressed and silenced, for example as women are. Thus Jean Fairbairn (2009: 9), states, in the context of community radio, that the term community with its contradictory and sometimes harmful undertones makes the "questions of shared ownership and service in community radio more complex and problematic".

Consider Bush Radio as an example where the supposed community of the station is the geographical community of the Cape Flats. However, the radio station's footprint covers most of the city of Cape Town and many of its staff and volunteers are professionals or students who do not live within the Cape Flats or fit the demographics of the geographical location (Bosch, 2004). Furthermore, the geographical community of Cape Town consists of a diversity of ethnicities, a range of different cultures and subcultures and contrasting economic backgrounds. But by being founded by a range of activists in Cape Town who came together for the collective goal of socially, economically and politically uplifting the down-trodden and unheard, Bush Radio according to Bosch (2004) has managed to provide a platform for diversified interaction and communication that has united many different sectors of Cape Town society for a common cause. Today Bush radio caters for a number of ethnic groups as cultural and sub cultural groups within Cape Town and its townships such as the city's gay community and both its black and coloured populations with its programmes dedicated to the sub-cultural movements of hip-hop and Kwaito.

In terms of XK fm, its license states that the targeted community of XK fm's broadcasting is the geographical community within Platfontein. However, the license also states that the purpose of the radio station is to preserve the ethnic languages, cultures and traditions of the !Xu and Khwe. This suggests that the license sees the ethnic communities of Platfontein and their preservation of their languages as a targeted social ethnic community. Yet, the !Xu and Khwe communities are distinctly different from each other in terms of their languages, cultures and traditional heritages. Their differences have often led to conflicts between the two ethnic groups through misunderstanding each other. The only common features between the two ethnic communities is that they both speak Afrikaans and are geographically located in the same area.. Furthermore, within these two ethnic communities there are differences of nationality where community members either see themselves as Namibian, Angolan or South African. These differences of nationality occur because disagreements within the communities fracture them even more, while tension between the youth and older generations cause rifts in family homes. Thus one of the problems when conceptualizing XK fm's community is that although it is positioned as a homogenous geographical community, it actually consists of a two distinct ethnic groups that are both fractured by a variety of distinct citizenry, cultural, generational and sub cultural groups.

However, what they do share are the experiences of war, dislocation and poverty which came to their attention during their eviction from Schmidtsdrift, leading to the establishment of a united social movement between the two ethnic communities based on the struggle for land, the protection of their separate languages, cultures and heritages and the acknowledgement of their rights as South African citizens. This created a sense of 'communitas' among the

two ethnic groups in their pursuit of a better future in South Africa. As a result, it may be useful to state that a community, in terms of this case study of XK fm and the two San communities of Platfontein, should refer to a social movement consisting of a group of people who share similar problems and interests and as a collective strive to better their circumstances, environment and social identity in the form of a social movement (Louw, 1993). For Louw it is the getting together and interaction to solve joint problems that forms a group of people into a community. In this thesis, I adapt this understanding of a community as a mutual understanding between various individuals of common shared identities, interests and geographical positioning that come together as a public collective with the aim of improving their livelihoods.

The foundations of this community-based communication system rely on the participation of individuals in the socio-political construction of a collective identity. Community radio provides the appropriate platform for this type of community-based communication system to exist and thus it is a defining factor in the creation and development of a community and the structures that exist within a community. I will thus use the term community as a reference to this form of development radio broadcasting and as Bosch (2004: 36), suggests I will “remain aware that it is open to question and deconstruction”.

A matter of community access, participation and ownership, makes the medicine go down

With the concept of a ‘community’ open to a variety of ideas and theories, the parameters of community radio are somewhat difficult to define. However, a number of theorists and institutions offer definitions and topologies of community radio that are used across the world in defining this form of radio broadcasting in legislation and policy. The UNESCO manuals (Tabing 2004; Girard 2007; Fraser and Estrada 2001), point to community radio as being a third tier of broadcasting that is distinguished from its commercial and public service counterparts in three fundamental ways. First, the manner in which stations provide local populations with access to resources so that their voices can be heard; second, the organizational culture of stations that stress volunteerism over professionalism and promote community participation; and, third, the rejection of market-oriented approaches of operation and ownership with the advocating of a service that is non-profit and owned by a community for its own purposes and control; put more simply the principles of access, participation and ownership. Banda (2003:126) argues that when considering radio, “the criteria of access, participation, self management and ownership (should) be brought to bear on any definition of community radio”. These three core principles of community radio have associated sub-categories of classification that include the topologies of democratic organizational and staff

structures, local geographical positioning, localized programming and the non-commercialization and non-professionalism on operations. I will further discuss these three core principles of community radio below.

Access

The main purpose of community radio is to provide marginalized communities with access to a voice through the broadcasting channel of radio so they can express their concerns, interests and needs, promote and protect their cultures, traditions and heritages and determine their own development (Tabing 2004; Girard 2007; Fraser and Estrada 2001; Solervicens and Plaughter 2007). For a community radio station to serve its purpose, members of a community need to be allowed access to participate in the day-to-day activities of a community radio station and have access to relevant information to better their circumstances. In order to obtain access to these resources, certain operational frameworks must be established and maintained. UNESCO refers to access as the use of the media by the public in terms of opportunities available to the public to use facilities and equipment and to choose to participate in programming and give feedback on programming (Berrigan 1981). In the AMARC report (Solervicens and Plaughter 2007: 45), it is stated that access to information, education and knowledge that cater to the needs of communities are vital factors in facilitating achievements in poverty reduction and sustainable human development.

The question of access introduces the issue of geographical positioning. With the existence a community radio station being fundamentally based in and formed by the social fabric of a community, it is evident that in order for the station to function as part of the community it would have to be physically situated within the community itself. As a result, community radio stations are usually located within their communities in order to provide easy access to their facilities and to encourage community members to visit the studio and participate in the fields of management, production and broadcasting. It also allows individuals within communities to have direct contact with their radio stations, their staff and personnel on an everyday basis. It creates a sense of ownership and belonging among members of the communities.

Participation

Participation is the key defining feature of community media; it is what places community media outside traditional media models, in which audiences are passive receivers of messages, and by blurring the functions of senders and

receivers together through participatory processes of production (Fairbairn, 2009). Bruce Girard (1992:2), proposes that the "most distinguishing characteristic of community radio, is its commitment to community participation at all levels". Community participation, for AMARC, refers to ongoing interaction between the broadcast station and the community that results in the station becoming the voice of the community and prioritizing their needs, concerns and interests (Plaugher & Solervicens, 2007). Girard (1992: 13) states that not only does "community radio aim to participate in the life of the community, but also to allow the community to participate in the life of the station . . . at the level of ownership, programming, management, direction and financing". Community participation has been identified as having three levels of operation. The first level is the localization of content and programming by allowing members of the community to participate in the content of programming provided by the stations through feedback mechanisms. The second level of participation is the establishment of a democratic structure of organization in the station which allows members of a community to participate as staff and volunteers in the management, production and broadcasting operation of a station. The last level of participation is situated in management and ownership of a community radio station where it is commonly stated that the community being catered for must have control and self-management of the station through representation in a board of trustee and participation in policy-making.

Level 1: Localization of programming

With community radio stations being determined by the characteristics of the communities for which they cater, the content and programmes of stations have to respond to local conditions in order to be successful. Thus Fraser and Restrepo Estrada (2001: 58), argue that community stations usually take the "preferences of communities into account when deciding on formats and content". Presumably, these preferences are determined by the lifestyles and livelihoods of specific communities that community radio stations cater for and the problems they face (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001). As a result, programmes broadcast by community stations are usually defined by the languages, cultures, histories, identities and settings of their listening communities. Stations must therefore have mechanisms in place that enable community members to interact and participate in programmes. These commonly include procedures that enable members to volunteer in the production of programmes and that allow listeners to give feedback on programmes through the use of letters, phone requests, sms's, talk shows, request shows, listening clubs, village broadcasts, recordings in the field, and live broadcasts of events (Vargas, 1995; Fairbairn, 2009; Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001; Girard, 2007; Bofo,2000).

Level 2: Community-based staff structures and non- professionalism

The principles of democratic participatory media theory advocate that station staff should consist of members from the communities to which they broadcast. Hamilton (2000) advocates for the non professionalism of staff composition, interaction and productivity. To provide a progressive dialectical environment which embraces the social moments of the unheard, stations should have to be based on citizenry and non-professional forms of journalism and production that reject the professional structures of mainstream media that are usually top-down and elitist (Hamilton, 2000; Downing, 1990, 2001). This can be done by promoting community volunteers in the operations of stations. An active environment of volunteerism in the make-up of the people who work in community radio stations is seen as important in enabling community members to access certain skills, contribute to local content, ideas and information and so contribute to the development of the community (Girard, 2007: 22).

By localizing production through community feedback and enabling communities to actively participate in the production of content and programmes, it is argued that this will demystify professionalism by establishing community members as both receivers and producers of content (Fraser and Restrepo Estrada, 2001). Case studies suggest that community radio stations that consist of staff who live among their listeners and share many of the same problems are beneficial in creating feedback from listeners on programming which in return provides localized programming that is relevant and important in helping listeners make better informed decisions on their livelihoods (Vargas, 1995; Tamminga, 1989; Girard, 2007; Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001; Carpentier & Scifo, 2010). Therefore, unlike commercial and public broadcasting, community radio focuses on making the community the main protagonist of its programmes through means of community participation in management, production and broadcasting (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001:15). A continuous interaction between producers and receivers of messages where the traditional boundaries between sender and receiver are blurred through the creation of an active audience is thus advocated.

Level 3: Ownership and Independence

In order for community participation to be sustainable, there needs to be a presence of self-management and ownership by the community in the running of a community station. This imperative recognizes that the influence of governments, sponsors and NGOs over community radio can impede the development of the community itself by blocking members from the freedom of expressing their ideas and views and serving their needs as a community. A

community radio station that is controlled and owned by external commercial or state enterprise may be limited in its impact in creating community-based development because the control of representation and knowledge is in the hands of professionals and not the communities themselves. (Plaughter & Solervicens, 2007). Thus the ownership and responsibility of a station's facilities and equipment needs to be held by a board of directors or trustees consisting of community representatives such as local and traditional leaders, cultural and social organizations, and individual participants as well as local sponsors, technicians, and NGOs in the area (Fraser and Restrepo Estrada, 2001). The purpose of a board of trustees is to legitimize the establishment of a radio station with a formal structure of ownership and management that acts as a platform of democratic decision-making and responsibility in setting the overall purposes, objectives, policies and constitution of the radio station as well as its financial planning and operations. However, although the board of trustees has the responsibility of setting overall policies, objectives and mission of a community radio station, the day-to-day operations and decisions of a community station should be the responsibility of the station manager and programme manager, who should be part of the community which the station caters for (Fraser and Restrepo Estrada, 2001: 17).

An anti-commercial and not for profit service

Another significant factor of community radio is the rejection of commercialization for non profitable means of operation that is democratic, participatory, and local (Howley, 2002; Hamilton, 2000). John Van Zyl (2003) describes a community radio station as a non profit organization that is either registered under the ownership of a community or under the ownership of a civic organization that is non profit -making. This means that unlike commercial broadcasters, community stations are channels of communication for communities and exist without shareholders or objectives of profit-making. Financial control of a community radio station should rest upon a board of directors or trustees who represent the community.

Mehra Masani (1976) argues that community radio stations should have financial independence from external forces outside of its community. Financial dependency on external organizations can create imposing agendas seeking to entrench the objectives of their mandates instead of the interests and needs of targeted communities. If community radio stations cannot criticize the government in their reporting because they are dependent on funds from it, this will restrict the station in playing the role of society's watchdogs (Dalene, 2007). Therefore, central to the definition of a community radio is that this form of broadcasting is non-profit, non- commercial and a community financially-controlled service that depends on donations, sponsors and grants for funding.

A contradictory state of alternatives

However, according to Berger (1996), these above-mentioned criteria only exist as ideals and are not always appropriate in the messiness of everyday reality. Tamminga (1989) concludes that although these typologies are common, there are diverse perspectives on what the characteristics of community radio are. Over the decades community-based broadcasting has also developed differently and at different times, in different locations, for different reasons. In Latin America it is referred to as “people’s radio”, in the United States and Europe it is termed “citizens’ radio” or “alternative radio”, in Africa, Asia and Australasia it is referred to as “indigenous radio” or “community radio”. The term ‘community radio’ has become less rigidly defined (Banda, 2004: 3).

In terms of the core principles of community access, participation and ownership, Berger (1996) argues that community control and ownership are important in terms of community radio, but cannot be considered fundamental as the socio-political, economic, governmental and regulatory contents of a community radio station can dictate different approaches of community ownership and control. Chiumbu (2010: 116), argues that community radio “cannot not operate in a vacuum” as an alternative form of media but must be recognized as embedded in economic and political settings of the community and the national environment in which they are regulated. As long as community radio stations are not for profit, participatory, sustainable and made for the purpose of developing, uplifting and entertaining a local audience, ownership can be in the hands of any non-profit entity. In a study of radio stations in five different countries across the world, Girard (2007) observed that most were owned either by NGOs, cooperatives, church parishes, municipalities and associations or coalitions specifically formed to establish a radio station. Although these stations were owned by external entities outside of the communities, these stations effectively promoted democratic, participatory and community-based development within their communities and were sustainable. In addition to community ownership, Berger (1996) argues that participation in community radio should not be seen as a fixed index but on a continuum from total ownership to different degrees of audience involvement in programming and management. The word ‘participation’ has potentially a range of meanings, depending on the socio- political contexts of each community radio station (White 1994).

Furthermore, not only is participation affected by the economic, social and political contexts of each station but also by the social cohesion and consciousness of the community it is set in. As mentioned before, the idea of a community is problematic. Communities are often conceptualized as homogenous collectives or groups based on

geographical location or common interest, while in South Africa the word 'community' is associated with either poor rural or urban black South African populations (Bosch, 2004; Chiumbu, 2010). However, there are a whole range of different identities divided along the lines of class, gender, religion, age, interest, sexual orientation, and ethnicity. Thus certain groups within communities can hold contrasting views and pose a threat to the cohesion of a community and its communicative needs. The participation of one group in a community might mean the exclusion of another group. This makes participation in community radio contradictory and contentious. This supposed participatory relationship can be suffused with controversy and conflict when power structures embedded within the community are reflected in station structures (Milan, 2009: 600). This is evident in many cases across South Africa, where there is a tendency among community radio stations to be male dominated in both boards and managerial positions consistent with dominant gender relations present in communities around South Africa (du Toit, 2004). Therefore, these critiques suggest that it is unrealistic to view community radio as community radio only if it has full community participation in all levels of ownership, management and production.

Community stations face considerable challenges financially. UNESCO recognizes that "many of the existing and emerging community radio station across the world do not possess the economic, technical and human resources required for sustainability" (Boafo 2000: 5). They operate in such poor, remote communities that they can never hope to become financially self-sustainable. Most cases of non-commercialization in community radio have been difficult to achieve (Chiumbu, 2010). Lack of resources and the demise of donorship have forced community radio stations to drop their progressive alternative agendas of activism and anti-corporate capitalization of the media, for more commercial and corporate approaches of operation that source advertising and commercial sponsorship. Many community stations in South Africa have adopted a corporate structure as evidenced in the positions of Managing Director, Executive and CEO in the managerial and the board compositions of stations. 'Community' stations like Jozi Fm, Bush Radio, Radio Sunny South and Highway Radio have become corporate in operation and funding in order to keep themselves sustainable (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Hadland and Thorne, 2004; Chiumbu, 2010). Thus it is now not unusual for community radio stations to comprise of full time paid employees, professionals from outside the communities of interest. Hadland and Thorne, (2004) argue that calls for self-reliance in terms of funding might be a worthy goal, but that it is unrealistic to expect the most marginalized sectors of the population to financially sustain the community radio stations that cater for them. Girard (2007: 4), who states that the non profit characteristic feature of community radio does not mean that station cannot carry out advertising or create alternative ways of revenue, it merely "means that any surplus it makes is reinvested in the station and the community". In this, I concur that a community radio station should have the ability to generate an income to fund

the sustainability and purposes of its facilities and its commitment to serving and developing a particular community.

Conclusion

Therefore, community radio's relation to the theories of alternative media is less practical in the present economic context and inconsistent with reality. The alternativeness of this form of radio broadcasting is related to progressive activism, non commercialization and professionalism, independence and radical content. However, when this form of radio broadcasting is associated with the development of a community, it takes on a participatory and developmental context that fixates on the building of a cohesive community identity and the strengthening of local decision-making structures within the community, instead of progressive opposition to commercialization and state structures. Furthermore, although community radio is commonly defined in opposition to commercial, public and state broadcasting, many academics view community radio as just a more localized, decentralized and specialized form of public service broadcasting that caters for a specific community instead of a nation's public audience (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001). This is evident in broadcasting legislation and policy across the world in countries such as the United States, Britain, Australia, Canada, Denmark, and Finland to name a few, that positioned their community radio broadcasting services as smaller, decentralized versions of their public broadcasters, while also stating common similarities with smaller independent broadcasters. Therefore, although community radio emerges from the conceptual frameworks of the alternative media, it has moved on from the progressive socio-political movements of the past to a more decentralized public broadcasting service which is moulded to facilitate democracy, participation, and development within communities.

Thus it should be acknowledged that there is no standard or generic definition to community radio and that different socio-political contexts dictate different approaches to community radio, making each station unique and different in its purpose, creation and form. Community radio can be seen as an evolving, changing and non static form of broadcasting and communication that borrows from many forms of public and commercial broadcasting as well as paradigms of development of alternative media. In terms of this study of a community radio station that is owned by the SABC, the descriptions of what community radio is as outlined by Susan Merrill Squier's (2003) and Mary Myers (2000) in their subsequent studies, seem to be the most accommodating in describing XK FM. Squier's, (2003) states that community radio should be understood as a form of localized broadcasting that is non profit. It serves the social, cultural, developmental and informational needs of an audience that is either geographically or

demographically limited, and defined by their unity of improving their circumstances together. This is achieved by allowing members of the audience to participate in operations of production and defining programmes to the character of its audience. Myers's (2000: 90) contextualizes community radio as a "small-scale, decentralized, broadcasting initiative that has some elements of community ownership or membership that is easily accessed by local people to encourage their participation in programming". In the light of this, then, community radio should be seen more as a facilitator of change than a tool of development that carries a more instrumentalist attachment to it.

CHAPTER 4

SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC AND COMMUNITY BROADCASTING POLICY AND LEGISLATION

The radio station XK fm is viewed as a community radio station, but is one under the control and banner of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), South Africa's national public broadcaster. This means that it is regulated by the policies and legislation beholden on both the SABC as a public broadcasting service and its community broadcasting license requirements set forth by the South African regulating authority, the Independent Communications Authority South Africa (ICASA), as a community radio station. This case of dual radio broadcasting provides a unique case study of South African broadcasting policy and legislation in terms of public and community radio broadcasting. In order to understand this unique case and the predicaments XK fm faces in the broadcasting industry of South Africa as both a community radio and public broadcasting service outlet of the SABC, this chapter will discuss the historical significance of South Africa's public and community radio broadcasting background, pre and post 1994, in relation to the regulations and policies imposed on XK fm.

South Africa Public and Community Broadcasting Policy and Legislation Post 1994: From Oppressive, to Democratic, to Managed Neo-Liberalism

Community radio stations in South Africa are a fairly recent phenomenon, although public and commercial radio broadcasting have existed since the 1930s. Public broadcasting in South Africa materialized as a form of British colonial public service broadcasting, but was soon modified into a monolithic state broadcaster (Tomaselli, 1989; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001; Bosch, 2004).

However, with the demise of apartheid in the early 1990s and the democratization and re-organization of the South African broadcasting industry into a three tier system of commercial, public and community broadcasting with the establishment of South Africa's Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), the community broadcasting sector began shedding its resistance and activist role for a more participatory democratic role. Broadcasting has moved through a number of contested moments of broadcasting policy and legislation since the transition to democracy (Duncan 2001; Fokane & Duncan 2008; Barnett, 1998; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001; Berger, 2002) Contemporary broadcasting policy and legislation positions the community broadcasting sector along the lines of a

decentralized public broadcasting model rather than as a progressive socio-political model of community broadcasting.

Mouth and Speakerphone of a Oppressive and Racial Regime: The SABC and the Apartheid State

By making the apartheid state the sole regulator and policy maker of the broadcasting industry, the National Party government was able to entrench its influence on the SABC by having sole jurisdiction over the appointment of board members and staff, while also controlling licensing of broadcasters and programming (Ndlela, 2007).

With the government having control of South Africa's broadcasting industry, while also silencing and banning the African National Congress (ANC) and other liberation movements, a large movement of collective action and resistance in the 1980s led by the United Democratic Front (UDF) spread throughout the country in the form of protests, strikes, and boycotts (Bosch, 2004, 2006; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1989; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001). Civil society groups and organizations emerged and demonstrated a level of organization by disseminating information to local populations and communities through leaflets, pamphlets, cassette and video tapes and underground newspapers (Bosch, 2004). In addition, pirate radio stations started to emerge. These were categorized as alternative media on account of their progressive and activist agendas against the state and its public and commercial broadcasters. They acted as catalysts of political change during late 1980s and early 1990s, spreading their radical views and protests for human rights, freedom and democracy (Bosch, 2004).

The Road to an Independent and Democratic South African Broadcasting Environment

By 1990, owing to mounting political, social and economic pressure, the South African political climate started changing when newly installed President FW De Klerk, committed the NP government and oppositional parties to political transformation with constitutional reforms (Barnett, 1998; Fokane, 2003; Fokane & Duncan 2008). However, the government at the time was reluctant to hand over control of the SABC to the ANC, calling for the status quo to remain and the reappointment of the then SABC board (Fokane, 2003, Ndlela, 2007). It was known that the ANC had considered a more centralist and state aligned agenda for the SABC that, ironically, would not differ much in purpose and structure from the SABC under the apartheid government (Teer-Tomaselli, 1996; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1996; Fokane & Duncan, 2008). The NP government feared that the ANC would use the

SABC as a mouthpiece for its political gain, while the ANC feared that a SABC with influences of the past NP in the board of directors would lead to unfair coverage and dissemination of information during elections.

As a result, progressive movements to free the airwaves from the control of the NP government emerged in the early 1990s and included the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and the Campaign for Open Media (COM) which was comprised of media activists and figures within of the liberation movement (Fokane, 2003; Fokane & Duncan, 2008). These organizations sought to transform the SABC from a state to a public broadcaster by establishing a more independent and representational board that would govern the SABC, thereby “ensuring that the regulation of the airwaves and the issuing of licenses would be placed under the control of an independent and democratically elected regulatory authority” (Fokane, 2003: 06). They ensured this through a series of debates, conferences, protests and negotiations that transpired during the transitional years of 1991 to 1993 between the NP government, the ANC and civic organizations for the restructuring of the broadcasting industry, the SABC and the need for an independent regulating body (Louw, 1993; Teer-Tomaselli, 1996; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1996; Barnett, 1998).

The Jubalani, Freedom of the Airwaves conference in the Netherlands in 1991 and the Free, Fair and Open Conference in 1992 played a major role in the conceptualization of a democratic and pluralist broadcasting industry that included a community broadcasting sector (Fokane, 2003). Both conferences argued for the restructuring of the industry towards a three tiered system and the independence of the SABC. As a result of these different ranges of negotiations, on the 7th of April 1993, the ANC with the Campaign for Independent Broadcasting (CIB), a civic movement established for the purpose of negotiating the independence of the South African broadcasting industry, managed through bilateral negotiations with the NP government, to ensure that an independent SABC board was elected in 1993 (Fokane, 2003). For the first time in history, the SABC was independent from government and political control. This achievement was seen as a major step in providing an environment of fair, democratic and pluralist communication as well as in South Africa’s development into a democracy.

The Independent Broadcasting Authority: Transforming the Airwaves

Following the independence of the public broadcaster from the control of the government, the CIB focused on the establishment of an independent broadcasting regulator that would ensure the advancement of a free, fair and democratic South Africa. By accepting the recommendations put forward at the Jubalani, Freedom of the Airwaves

and the Free, Fair and Open conferences of the 1990s and because the initial idea of an independent broadcasting regulator was a proposition made by the government in the Viljoen Task Group, the process of drafting a bill on an independent broadcasting authority was a peaceful process (Fokane, 2003). The process of drafting legislation for the proposed Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) and its Broadcasting Act was undertaken by the Independent Telecommunications Authority Technical Committee and was passed by Parliament in October 1993. In 1994, South Africa held its first democratic elections and the ANC took over power and rule from the NP.

The IBA, under the Broadcasting Act of 1993, was given the responsibility and power of formulating, regulating and monitoring broadcast policy and activities in the new South Africa, independent of the state, government or political influence. Its duties were to regulate the broadcasting environment by granting licenses, limiting cross-media ownership, ensuring the protection of the public broadcaster from government or state influence and promoting investment and sustainability in the broadcasting industry.

Section 2 of the Broadcasting Act, No. 153 of 1993, states that the Act will promote:

the provision of a diverse range of sound and television broadcasting services on a national, regional and local level, which, when viewed collectively, cater for all language and cultural groups and provide entertainment, education and information; promote the development of public, commercial and community broadcasting services which are responsive to the needs of the public; ensure that broadcasting services, viewed collectively develop and protect a national and regional identity, culture and character”⁹.

The establishment of the regulatory authority and its Act was to provide a platform for public dialogue between different cultural, regional, and linguistic communities and the advancement of media ownership and control among historically disadvantaged groups of South Africa (Barnett, 1998, 1999; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001; Tomaselli, 2003). The intentions of the Act were to impose and enhance the conceptualization of nation-building¹⁰, development and democratic communication through the use of a normative model of the country’s media industry

⁹ Quoted from the Broadcasting Act of 1993, accessed on May 31st 2007 <http://www.icasa.org.za/tabid/90/Default.aspx>

¹⁰ Clive Barnett (1999; 275), states in *Broadcasting the Rainbow Nation: Media, Democracy and Nation-Building in South Africa*, - “Nation-building was conceptualized as facilitating processes of exchange and dialogue between South Africa’s different cultural, regional, and linguistic communities through the media such as radio and television”. Accessed 2009/03/25

(Barnett, 1999). However, according Clive Barnett (1999: 275), “patterns of cultural difference in South Africa remain tightly linked to inherited patterns of economic inequality”, that were created by the previous Apartheid regime, and therefore created a fragmented society due to “differences in social power” and “access to resources”. Thus, for the purposes of solving these inequalities, the Broadcasting Act of 1993 aligned itself as being part of South Africa’s Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)¹¹ through the three tier system consisting of public, commercial and community broadcasting services that would cater to all the linguistic, ethnic and cultural groups of South Africa.

With the founding of the IBA and the Broadcasting Act of 1993, the community sector was classified as a highly important factor in its objective in building a new democratic South Africa and providing a communication channel for representational transformation, development and nation building. The National Community Radio Forum (NCRF)¹² was launched in 1993 in order to create an environment of support for community radio as well as advocating its role in legislation and regulation policy in terms of transformation and democratization. The NCRF Charter (1993: 1) describes community radio as “independent non-profit Community Broadcasting Organizations (CBOs) that are owned and run by diverse local communities who actively participate in the development of programming activities” and emphasises participatory development based on local settings.

In line with the description of community radio in the previous chapter, community broadcasting was defined under the Broadcasting Act of 1993, as a broadcasting service that is non-profit making; serves a particular community; encourages members of the audience to participate in the selection and decision-making of the programmes and that it may be funded by donations, grants and sponsorships (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Bosch, 2004; Hadland and Thorne, 2004; Banda, 2003). Communities were defined by the Act as being geographically defined groups of people, or people with specific common interests. Four types of community radio stations were categorized in the Act as being geographical; campus-based radio stations operating on university campuses; religious radio stations; and

¹¹ According the RDP Policy Framework (1994), Sections 1.1 to 1.5, the RDP was an integrated and coherent socio-economic policy framework that looked to mobilize the people of South Africa and the country's resources toward the eradication of apartheid and the building of a new democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country. It was based on 6 basic principles that consisted of being people based, providing peace and security for all, nation building, reconstruction and development and enhancing democracy. Accessed on November 3rd 2009: <http://www.anc.org.za/rdp/rdpall.html>

¹² According to the NCRF Charter: “The NCRF is an independent body and consisted of community radio stations and support service organizations. Its purpose was to promote the role of community radio as a integral part of the broadcasting environment of South Africa as a support of pluralism democracy, development, the empowerment of communities and the freedom of expression by facilitating the establishment and development of community radio sector across the country and advocating its role in legislation and regulation broadcasting policy”. Accessed on March 10th 2009 www.ncrf.org.za/about-us/vision-and-mission

community radio stations that serve cultural or ethnic communities (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001). By 1995, the IBA granted temporary community broadcasting licenses of one year to 82 radio stations within South Africa in order to initiate the process of transformation within the broadcasting industry and giving a voice to the previously disenfranchised and disadvantaged (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001).

Due to the requirements of licenses under the IBA Act, previous community and pirate radio stations such as Bush Radio had to shake off their alternative roots of progressive social and political activism for a more democratic and supportive role as independent, community-based services (Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001; Bosch, 2004; Chiumbu, 2010). Thus, it is evident that the community broadcasting sector of South Africa shed its specifically oppositional activist role in the wake of democracy for a more supportive role in the facilitation of the country's process of reconciliation, development and nation building (Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001; Bosch, 2004; Chiumbu, 2010). The sector was now viewed as giving a voice to the previously oppressed, disadvantaged and excluded communities, by providing community-based development within these communities while integrating them into the macro and micro socio-economic spheres of the new 'Rainbow Nation'¹³. In terms of the SABC, the establishment of the IBA legally marked the national public broadcaster's independence in policy and legislation as well as creating a platform for its gradual transformation and restructuring into a true democratic public service broadcaster (Teer-Tomaselli, 1996; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1996, 2001).

In summary, the IBA and the Broadcasting Act of 1993 was accompanied by a hands-off approach.

The Expansion of Privatization, Economic Development and Growth in the South African Broadcasting Industry

By 1996, Parliament passed South Africa's new democratic Constitution. Accordingly, the SABC as well as the IBA were legally tied to the requirements of Chapter 9 institutions in accordance with the Constitution:

¹³ A term coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to describe South African society and the country itself after the transition to democracy for South Africa in the election of South Africa's first black president, President Nelson Mandela

(2) These institutions are independent, and subject only to the Constitution and the law, and they must be impartial and must exercise their powers and perform their functions without fear, favour or prejudice¹⁴.

Sections 16 and 32 of the Constitution guarantee everyone the right to freedom of expression and the right of access to information which includes the freedom of the press and other media and the freedom to receive and impart information and ideas. However, although the IBA and the SABC were now legally independent from state or political influence, the broadcasting industry was not outside of its neo-liberal economy that emphasized global competitiveness.

In 1996, with the liberalization of the media market and the three tier system, a steady flow of foreign investment started to flood the South African media market, bringing with it neo-liberal economic policies of commerce and international competition (Teer-Tomaselli, 1996; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001; Barentt, 1998, 1999; Banda, 2006). A new economic development strategy was implemented, known as Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)¹⁵. It opted for a more neo-liberal strategy based on privatization, corporatization and competitiveness in the global market than had been envisaged by the RDP strategy of economic development. In addition, the Telecommunications Act was amended at the end of 1996, giving birth to the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority (SATRA), whose purpose was the regulation of the sector. SENTECH¹⁶ (South Africa's signal distributor) was split from the SABC and privatized in accordance with the SENTECH Act of 1996 that saw SENTECH become a commercial enterprise owned by the government with a board of directors appointed by the Department of Communications. These events led to a series of proposals, debates and inquiries between 1996 and 1999 on the future of broadcasting.

In the Triple Inquiry Report of 1996, the IBA was tasked to conduct a wide-ranging policy inquiry that focused on the viability, nature and funding of the public broadcaster, the expansion of the broadcasting industry for privatization and technological advancement, the nature, number and licensing of commercial sound and television content rules and quotas for radio and television, universal access for all citizens and the prohibition of cross-media

¹⁴ Quoted from the South African Constitution, accessed on May 15th 2009
<http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96cons9.htm#192>

¹⁵ GEAR was a neo liberal macro-economic policy framework which set targets for government. According to the ANC, its main objective was to create a new economic system that would ensure the rapid economic growth and development of the people of South Africa by creating a competitive and fast-growing economy which creates jobs through privatization, commercialization and investment.

¹⁶ Refer to Sentech website for more information: www.sentech.co.za/about/history

ownership within the broadcasting industry (Barnett, 1998; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001; Ndlela, 2007). Outcomes were recommendations for an alternative funding and business model for the SABC in order to free the government from the obligation of funding the SABC, expanding its broadcasting services to cater for all 11 official languages and the privatization of a number of its radio stations (Barnett, 1998). In response to the Triple Inquiry Report, a Green Paper on Broadcasting Policy in 1997 and White Paper on Broadcasting Policy in 1998 were drafted into a gazette for parliament in accordance with recommendations put forward. It proposed that the SABC should be restructured on the lines of a corporate business model whereby the SABC would have a commercial arm that would cross-subsidise a public service arm. The 1993 Broadcasting Act was adjusted to make way for new emerging patterns of broadcasting that celebrated neo-liberal practices (Barnett, 1998; Duncan, 2001; Fokane and Duncan, 2008). The 1993 Broadcasting Act was passed by Parliament at the start of 1999 and consequently amended into the Broadcasting Act of 1999.

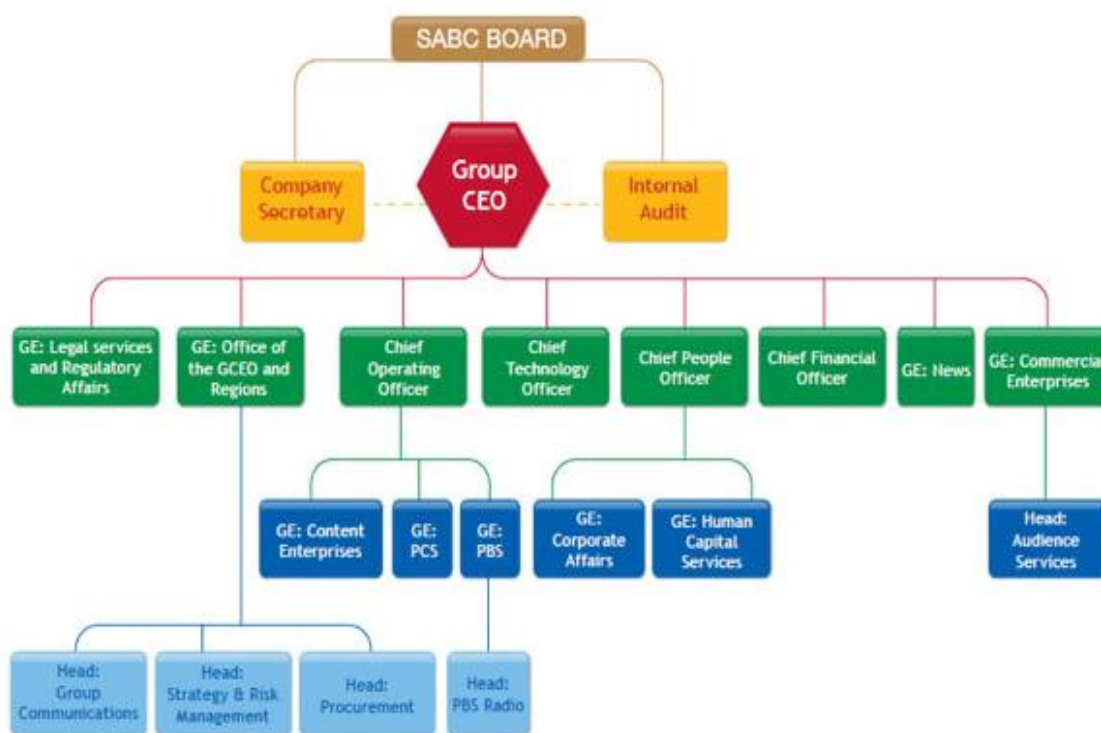
The Broadcasting Act of 1999: The Commercialization of the SABC

In the Broadcasting Act of 1999, the SABC was formed into a liability corporation with the state as its only shareholder (Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001; Ndela, 2007). In addition, due to the expansion of a neo-liberal market, the SABC was forced to reposition itself competitively in order to secure operational sustainability. Thus the SABC was divided into two divisions, the one being a public broadcasting division and the other being a commercial division. The latter enabled the corporation to generate revenue through advertising that would make it more competitively aligned with the market and could be used to fund the public service division of the corporation without any affect (Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001; Ndela, 2007). By the middle of 1999, six of the public broadcaster's radio stations were privatized and its television broadcasting was expanded into 3 television channels. However, the commercialization of the SABC meant that the public broadcaster was now in competition with broadcasters in both the commercial and community broadcasting sectors and was subject to positioning programmes in accordance with the preferences of profitable audiences and the demands of advertisers. This would hamper public participation in the public broadcaster and time devoted to serving the public in educational and developmental programmes, while limiting the ideals of a supportive relationship between the public and community broadcasting sectors.

In addition, the SABC now consisted of a Board of Directors and a Group Executive body which was divided into eight separate executive positions that each head up their associated division within the SABC (see figure 3). These

executive positions consist of the Head of News, Commercial Enterprises, Chief of Operations, Chief Technology Officer, Chief People Officer, Group Executive of GCEO and Regions, and the Group Executive for Legal and Regulatory Affairs. Under the Group Executive of Chief Operations, the SABC operations of production are subdivided into the Group Executive Content Enterprises¹⁷, the Group Executive Public Commercial Service and the Group Executive of Public Broadcasting Services. These divisions control all television and radio operations of content creation, production commissioning and approval, production, post production, programming and broadcasting. The annual budgets of all services and operations of the SABC are determined by the Group CEO and the Chief of Finances executive, with the approval of the SABC’s Board of Directors and, most importantly, Parliament.

Figure 3: Organizational Structure of the SABC - sourced from the SABC website
<http://www.sabc.co.za/wps/portal/SABC/SABCABOUT>



¹⁷ Within the operations of the GE content enterprise is the SABC Education department which creates, develops and manages educational programmes that are sent to public broadcasting services, both television and radio, such as XK fm.

In terms of the community broadcasting sector, the Broadcasting Act of 1999 kept the same definition of community radio as the IBA Act of 1993, but readjusted the time period of sound broadcasting licenses for community radio stations for one year to four year leases. It also insisted that to acquire broadcasting licenses, community radio stations had to have a democratically elected board representational of all sectors of a community. They were required to implement local content quotas,¹⁸ and programmes of community radio stations had to reflect the needs of people in the communities they served (Hadland and Thorne, 2004). In addition, according section 32, no 4 of the Broadcasting Act of 1999, community radio stations were mandated to:

reflect, promote and sustain local identities, traditions and cultural heritages by focusing on local content that serves the needs and interests of local communities, while assisting in establishing ownership of broadcasting structures to a diversity of communities that will encourage community participation and a diversity of voices and opinions as well as contribute to human resources development and job creation within the broadcasting sector¹⁹.

By the end of the year, 65 four year community sound broadcasting licenses had been granted by the IBA to stations throughout the country on the prerequisites that stations had to have independent elected board of directors representative of the community, be registered as section 21 non profit organizations and comply with the local content quotas provided by the IBA.

XK fm was granted a four year community sound broadcasting license under the auspices of the SABC. However, the number of community radio stations granted licenses had declined rapidly from the previous four years in which the IBA had been granting one year licenses. This, according to Tleane (2001), was the result of backlog problems in the application process of community broadcasting licenses, lack of funding and financial sustainability and the lack of managerial and technical skills.

In addition, many of the policies in terms of station governance have been criticised as too broad and lacked specific guidelines for how stations should comply in terms of governance, control and ownership (Bosch, 2010). Many of these 65 community radio stations found it impossible to remain sustainable in the competitive

¹⁸ According to Tanya Bosch (2010:149), in *An Overview of Community Radio Fifteen Years into Democracy*, most community radio station license applications in the IBA act of 1999 indicate that stations are quoted to produce 70% talk, 30% music content with 60% of the music being local.

¹⁹ Quoted from the Broadcasting Act of 1999, accessed on May 31st 2007 <http://www.icasa.org.za/tabid/90/Default.aspx>

environment they found themselves in, competing for audiences with the SABC and its expansion of a globally competitive and commercial broadcasting industry (Chiumbu, 2010). Some of the regulations and policies of the Broadcasting Act of 1999, in terms of the community broadcasting sector, have been viewed as impractical and inefficient in the context of local community radio stations (Van Zyl, 2001). Research conducted in the early years of 2000 on community radio stations in the greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg area indicated that many stations such as Highway Radio, Radio Phoenix, Radio Maritzburg, and Durban Youth Radio had become professionally and commercially orientated in their operations or 'jukeboxes' of popular music due to the failures of ICASA in providing supportive structures of financial sustainability in a globally competitive and commercial industry (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Telkemicael, 2004; Mjwacu & Teer-Tomaselli, 2004; Dalene, 2004). Only Highway Radio is still in operation in 2010 as a professionally orientated radio station operating for the purposes of serving a geographical community.

Therefore, after going through a period of democratization within the South African broadcasting industry based on cultural discourses of pluralism, nation building and reconciliation, broadcasting policy and legislation was redefined in the period between 1996 and 1999, towards a more economic, globally competitive and commercial industry that was aligned with President Thabo Mbeki's vision of an African Renaissance²⁰. Although this period of broadcasting policy and legislation did provide means of expanding the broadcasting sector for reasons of pluralism, economic growth and development, it also led to the breakdown of the IBA's independence, financial sustainability and power over the broadcasting industry as well as the public and community broadcasting sectors. This period of broadcasting policy and legislation has been viewed as converting the broadcasting industry, especially the public broadcaster, into a 'profit before people' operation of production and commerce (Banda, 2006; Duncan 2001; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001). With the growing importance of the ever expanding telecommunication sector which was becoming highly profitable and an essential part of South African economic development and growth, government took steps in 1999 towards addressing the need for convergence within the telecommunications and broadcasting industry for reasons of digitalization, global competitiveness and efficiency. This led to the dissolving of the IBA in 2000, into a converged Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) with the Telecommunications Regulatory Authority.

²⁰ Refer to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's speech at Gallagher Estate in 1998 for more information: <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/1998/mbek0813.htm>

The Formation of ICASA and the Crisis within the SABC: A Movement towards a Managed Broadcasting Industry

ICASA was established as an independent institution with the aim of smoothing out the rapid technological convergence of the broadcasting and telecommunications industries.

ICASA took on the IBA's tasks such as the granting of licenses, formulating, regulating and monitoring broadcasting policy, limiting cross-media ownership and the enforcement of local content quotas while also enforcing the Broadcasting Acts of 1993 and 1999. It was also proposed as a solution to the financial, licensing and management problems the IBA had been experiencing through the late 1990s. It was designed to cope with a range of problems arising from the technical effects of convergence of the broadcasting and telecommunication industries (Sparks, 2008). Like the previous IBA, ICASA falls under the category of Chapter 9 of the Constitution in which institutions are only accountable to the National assembly and are argued to be seen as independent and only subject to the constitution and the law (Duncan & Fokane, 2008; Moyo & Hlongwane, 2008). In addition, the Access to Information Act (AIA) of 2000 was passed by Parliament, to reinstate the constitutional right of all South Africans to have access to any form of information, be it held by the State, public institutions or another person, in order to "foster a culture of transparency and accountability" (Access to Information Act, 2000). However, in reality these practices of independence and the right of access to information to all South Africans are questionable due to the profit-before-people approach of broadcasting mentioned in the previous section and creeping influences and control of the government and the ANC in the regulation and policy legislation of broadcasting, especially in terms of the country's public broadcaster.

The emergence of an ICT sector, in addition to the broadcasting and telecommunications sectors, meant that ICASA needed to make space and adjustments to regulatory policy and legislation in order for markets to run efficiently. There was also a feeling in government that South Africa needed to move towards the ideals, principles, and practices of a 'developmental state'²¹.

²¹ According to Thandika Mkandawire (2001: 295) in '*Cambridge Journal of Economics 2001 paper: Thinking About the Developmental States in Africa*, a developmental state is a "state whose ideological underpinning are "developmentalist" in that it conceives its "mission" as that of ensuring economic development, usually interpreted to mean high rates of accumulation and industrialization. This is done through a strategy of massive state interventions in all fields of the economy as part of their ideological commitment to development". Accessed on January 25th 2010: http://www.yale.edu/anthro/people/Michael%20McGovern%20Files/State_in_Africa.pdf

In 2002, the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA)²² Act was established for the purpose of addressing problems associated with community media such as inadequate funding and the lack of technical support and skills as well as creating sustainable infrastructure so that disadvantaged communities could have the opportunity of accessing the media as owners, producers and consumers (Banda, 2003). It has provided over the years a channel for financial, technical and trained support for community stations in place of the country's lack of structural support for the community broadcasting sector. Thus, the agency's willingness to provide financial and technical support was a growing sign of the South Africa's initiative to tackle the problems of community broadcasting by developing support structures within the sector.

In 2005 the Electronics Communication Act was passed, giving way to a whole new system of license classifications, granting procedures and signal distribution channels as well as new social obligations. The objective of the Act was to promote and facilitate the convergence of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, the Broadcasting Act of 1999 and information communication technologies sector into one Act. It provided legislation and policy that prescribed connectivity for all South Africans, the universal provision of electronic communications networks, the promotion of empowerment among historically disadvantaged people of South Africa and the provision of broadcasting services and electronic communications services to a diverse range of populations in South Africa.

However, in relation to the above Acts, developmental states tend to be inherently authoritarian in their manner of national economic development of the country and its citizens. Many developmental states have implemented their national agendas of economic and structural development in top-down institutional approaches of implementation and operation. Thandika Mkandawire (2001: 295) suggests that the ruling elite of developmental states usually establish an "ideological hegemony" over national agendas and objectives of socio-economic development as a means of achieving the commitments and underpinnings of modernization. The promotion of South Africa as a developmental state has resulted in the state imposing its influence in all institutions associated with the country's global, national and local markets through both the private and ruling neo-liberal elite of South Africa that exist in the executives of these institutions. This has resulted in a lack of policy ownership and participation in the processes of socio-economic development within the country among the public and ordinary citizens of South

²² The Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) Position Paper (2001: 05), states that: "Media development involves promoting an enabling environment to help redress exclusion and marginalization of groups and interests from access to media - as owners, managers and producers of media. Media diversity is an important factor for promoting sovereignty, cultural expression, education and development. It ensures that all sectors have affordable access to a range of sources". Accessed on the 4th of December 2008 <http://www.gcis.gov.za>

Africa (Fokane & Duncan, 2008), thereby allowing the independence of state institutions such as ICASA and the SABC to be compromised by the ruling elite and the processes of participatory democratic production within the public and community broadcasting sectors being reduced.

One of the major problems compromising the independence of ICASA lies in the fact that the Minister of Communication as well as the Department of Communications has legal influence in the financial and operational matters of the Authority through the legislation of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 that gives the Minister control over the telecommunications sector (Moyo & Hlongwane, 2008). This policy glitch allows the government to have significant influence in the regulation of the broadcasting industry. The industry's dependence on the government for funding results in the Department of Communication having control over the financial affairs and management of ICASA's administration and implementation of regulation and policy (Fokane & Duncan, 2008: 20-22). This undermines the regulator's independence and allows the Minister of Communication and the Department of Communication to influence policy making, administration, licensing and financial management of the regulator.

The contradictory state of ICASA also had an impact on the SABC's mandate as a public broadcaster. The Minister of Communication's control of the telecommunications sector of ICASA allowed for influences of government to creep into the selection of the SABC board. As the sole shareholder of the SABC, the Minister has the power to appoint the three executives of the SABC board including the SABC's Group Chief Executive Officer who has the power of determining the content of programmes broadcast by the SABC (Fokane & Duncan, 2008; Ndlela, 2007). This means the Minister has a direct line to the content of the public broadcaster, thus tainting the content of programmes with government influence. The government has been repeatedly criticized for meddling in the appointments to the SABC, being too pro-government and not objective enough (Wanneburg, 2005; Ndlela,). Furthermore, according to Nkosi Ndlela (2007: 71), the privatization of many of the SABC's radio stations and the commercialization of its financial structure "undermined the public broadcaster's quest to reach non commercial geographic areas, thus alienating the poor and disadvantaged". This corporatization and commercialization of the SABC prescribed the public broadcaster into viewing its audiences as consumers rather than citizens. Brilliant Mhlanga (2007, 2009, 2010) in his research of XK fm practices of governance, ownership and control, consequently argues that the circumstances of XK fm serve the interests of the ruling elite in controlling national agendas of development rather than in the interests of the !Xun and Khwe.

In terms of the community broadcasting sector, there has been much research that indicates the potential of community radio stations in contributing and addressing issues of development within disadvantaged communities around South Africa (Hadland & Thorne, 2004, Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Mjwacu & Teer-Tomaselli, 2004; Van Zyl, 2001; ABC Ulwazi, 2003). However, the extent of the sector's growth and intended impact of empowering and uplifting the disadvantaged from the shackles of poverty have been hampered by the problems of a weakened ICASA under the pressures of government, lack of funding and a new neo-liberal developmental strategy of economic development. Since the merger of the IBA and SATRA into ICASA at the end of 2000, the Authority has been criticized for its lack of support in terms of licensing procedures, funding and the problems faced by many community radio stations in paying tariffs for signal distribution (Bosch, 2010; Hadland & Thorne, 2004; Tleane, 2001). The requirements for community sound broadcasting licenses under ICASA and the EC Act of 2005 have become a daunting task for the sector, restricting many community radio stations from ever starting or becoming fully operational. Despite funding from the MDDA and the Department of Communication, many community radio stations cite financial sustainability as their greatest threat to their operations and productivity (Hadland & Thorne, 2004)²³. In addition, ICASA's lack of power over the Sentech, a government owned commercial enterprise, in providing lower tariffs on signal distribution or subsidies for the sector, has forced many community radio stations to either close down, become commercially orientated or dependent on state institutions and organizations for funding. As a result, many community radio stations such as Bush Radio, Jozi FM, and Highway Radio have had to reposition their operational structures towards professional corporatization where board members and staff management are distinctly different from the production and broadcasting staff.

Many board members and staff management are now classifying themselves as the CEOs, managing directors and executive producers instead of non-professional classifications that are almost blurred in their roles between management and production. Furthermore, due to the lack of policy clarity provided by ICASA in the Broadcasting Act of 1999 and the Electronic Communications Act of 2005 regarding ownership, community participation and the roles of board members and the staff of community radio stations, community and citizen participation in the production and managerial processes of many stations have decreased and are absent in some cases (Bosch, 2010:). This has led to the alienation of the community broadcasting sector from civil society. One is yet to hear any community radio stations today being involved in workers' struggles, service delivery protests, or any citizen

²³ According to Hadland and Thorne (2004: 4), in their publication, *The People's Voice: The Development and Current State of the South African Small Media Sector*, many community radio stations around the country are either struggling to survive or were barely covering costs. None of the case studies indicated they had reached a position of sustainability.

mobilizations against government corruption and mismanagement. For many disenchanted citizens of South Africa, the service delivery protests being witnessed throughout South Africa over the last three years have actually become the voice of the marginalized and neglected instead of the community broadcasting sector. Community radio in South Africa is therefore in a time of identity crisis where it has lost its activism for quantity and quality and as a result has detached itself from civil society (Chiumbu, 2010).

Therefore, in relation to the above, it can be stated that the community broadcasting sector as an alternative socio-political force of progressive activism within the media industry of South Africa does not exist. This is because the commercialization, expansion and digitalization of the industry is pressurizing community radio stations to become more professional and market orientated, while government is pushing for the sector to be more aligned with the services of public broadcasting and its national agendas of socio-economic development as a developmental state.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined South African public and community radio broadcasting policy and legislation. Since the transition to democracy, the South African broadcasting industry has moved through a number of contested moments of broadcasting policy and legislation, evolving from a democratic participatory policy environment with the IBA, to a top-down, state managed liberalization of the South African broadcasting industry with the establishment of ICASA and state intervention towards a developmental state. With the amendment of the Electronic Communications Act of 2005, it is clear that South Africa is practicing a form of developmental broadcasting that is edging closer towards state managed, top-down and prescriptive approaches of operation and regulation in order for the implementation of national agendas of economic development, competitiveness and convergence to be achieved. As a result, this has led to ICASA and the SABC being subjected to greater direct executive control from the government, while the community broadcasting sector has been pushed towards a more public broadcasting approach of operations in order to fill in the gaps of the SABC which has left behind its mandate of public broadcasting for a commercialized state-managed approach to broadcasting. This makes XK fm look like a public relations initiative on behalf of the SABC due to its loss in public broadcasting services meant for the development of disadvantaged communities in South Africa. Furthermore, the state of the community broadcasting sector today suggests that XK fm is not much of a stand out case from the rest of the sector with many stations being aligned and repositioned towards operations of professionalism, commercialization and public

broadcasting meant for the national agendas of development and growth. Thus, XK fm should be viewed in both paradigms of community radio and development broadcasting.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGIES ON THE STREETS OF PLATFONTEIN

This chapter discusses the methodology applied in investigating the processes of strategic communication, production and transmission involved in the development programmes broadcast by XK fm. The review of literature indicates that most studies on community radio either focus on the processes of structural and organizational operation within specific radio stations (i.e. production), or investigate the reception and impact of community radio on communities. Researchers view these two units of study on community radio as separate. It is suggested that most studies on community radio lack a systematic understanding of what is involved in the entire process of delivering community radio (Ilboudo 2000). This research focuses on the strategic processes involved in delivering the programmes to the two communities, and in the reception of these programmes among the two communities.

Introduction

Most media studies derive from two specific paradigms: the positivist and interpretivist²⁴. This research is embedded in the interpretive paradigm, where the focal point is in understanding what people interpret at a particular point in time and in a particular context through the use of verbal and non verbal methods of data collection and analysis. This paradigm is inductive, in that the processes of data collection are usually for the purposes of building concepts, hypotheses, or theories rather than deductively deriving postulates or hypotheses to be tested, as in positivist research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In attempting to understand the meaning a phenomenon has for those involved, qualitative researchers build toward theory from field methods. These include participation, observations, interviews and documents. Interpretivism views reality as not the fixed or measurable phenomenon as in the positivist paradigm of research, but as a multiplicity of constructions and interpretations made by people in everyday life (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). This means that, not only are the subjects the focal point of understanding a specific phenomena of interest, but the researcher includes his or her own subject position in the

²⁴ Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 3) define the term *paradigm* as a “systematic set of beliefs, and their accompanying methods, that provide a view of the nature of reality”. Positivism is a scientific approach that involves the testing of hypotheses. It perceives the social world as being organized by universal laws and truths which make human behaviour predictable and seeks to explain this human behaviour through cause and effect (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 5).

observer-observed relations that characterize the study. As a result, researchers usually enter the social setting of their subject/s as participants or social actors in order to understand phenomena from an insider's perspective rather than only an outsider's perspective (Jankowski, 1991; Denzin, 1997; Holloway, 1997; Creswell, 1998). This subjectivizes the relationship between the researcher and subjects of research. The research methodology of choice in interpretive studies is qualitative.

Qualitative methodology offers methods of interpretation that retain descriptions of uniqueness as part of a particular context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). This enables the researcher to develop a level of descriptive detail from being highly involved in the actual experiences for the purposes of describing, explaining, and interpreting collected data. Thus qualitative research can be seen as:

...an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting (Cresswell 1994: 13).

Through these various methods of data collection that operate on a descriptive basis, the social reality of the phenomena being studied is revealed. This revelation enables the researcher to provide rich narrative descriptions of the respondents' perspectives on the construction of reality in relation to their social world (Beard, 1989: 38). Thus the strengths of qualitative research are its abilities to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue.

Additionally, qualitative methods permit flexibility to follow unexpected findings. This means that the researcher becomes a part of the study by interacting closely with the subjects of the study in attempts to be open to the 'subjects' perceptions of "what is" (Cresswell 1994: 14). That is, researchers are bound by the values and worldviews of the subjects. It also allows for the participation of subjects in question to be part of the research process as either the voices quoted in the textual findings of studies or research assistants (Servaes, 1997; Jankowski, 1991; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Miles & Huberman, 2002). The researcher seeks to discover and understand a phenomenon, a process, the perspectives and worldviews of the people being studied. The data is inductively analyzed to identify the recurring patterns or common themes that cut across the data which creates a rich, descriptive account (Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The perspectives of respondents and

participants of this research are thereby kept intact by conveying the feelings, experiences and interpretations of both the respondents and the researcher during the process of research and the textual write up.

Why a Case Study Design of Research?

This study in XK fm adopts a case study approach as a means of investigating the radio development programmes broadcast by the station and their reception among the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein.

This method has long been the favoured approach in the study of community media because it can account for the diverse experiences that take place in local contexts (Berrigan 1977; Downing 1990; Girard 1992; Howley 2005; Jankowski, 1995; Rodríguez 2001), as well as in investigating the different processes in development. A case study is an enquiry that investigates a phenomenon within the context of real life and utilizes multiple sources of evidence in order to construct various views of this reality (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). For Creswell (2003: 15), a case study is an approach where the “researcher explores in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process, an experience or one or more individuals” as a means to observe, understand and establish the cause and effects of the determined phenomena or problem in real life contexts. Since the case study seeks to capture people as they experience their natural, everyday circumstances, it can offer a researcher empirical and theoretical gains in understanding larger social realities of the phenomena being studied (Stake, 1995).

Case studies strive towards a holistic understanding of cultural systems of action (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1990). Another characteristic of case studies is that they offer multi-perspective analyses, meaning that the researcher considers not just the voice and perspective of the actors, but also of the relevant groups of actors and the interaction between them (Creswell, 1998). They are also multi-methodological in that they can utilize both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. Thus processes of data collection in a case study can be extensive and draw from multiple sources such as direct or participant observations, interviews, archival records or documents, physical artefacts, and audiovisual materials (Creswell, 1998; Yin, 1994).

Ethnographic Methods of Data Gathering

In order to understand the social processes of decision making, production and transmission in the development radio programmes broadcast by XK fm, and the reception of the programmes among the two communities,

ethnographic methods of data collection were utilized. Different methods of data collection reinforce each other in different ways and provide a wide range of data necessary to construct a deep understanding of the development radio programmes and their reception (Jankowski 1991; Gathigi, 2009). In addition, ethnographic data collection is useful in building relationships of trust with subjects in order to facilitate access and reduce reactivity. Generally, ethnographic case studies consist of three kinds of data collection strategies: open-ended and semi-structured interviews, direct and participant observation and content analyses of field notes, documents, program records and personal diaries (Denzin, 1997).

In this study, semi-structured interviews guided by questions of research, in-depth interviews, and participant observation using a video camera are used to record in-depth interviews and dialogue with both the staff of the radio station and members of each community. Bearing this in mind, interviews and reflexive ethnographies were my main source of information. Documents such as programme policies, scripts and records were also included into the process of understanding the regulations, policies and factors affecting XK fm Radio and the development programmes it broadcasts. Below, I will discuss these ethnographic techniques of data collection in more detail.

Interviews

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), in interviews people elicit an understanding of their perspectives on the topic at hand. They retrieve experiences from the past and gain insight or information: to obtain descriptions of events or scenes that are normally unavailable for observation; foster trust; provide an understanding of sensitive relationships; and analyze certain kinds of discourse (Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Neuman, 2000). My study uses both semi-structured interviews based on research guidelines and open-ended interviews. The semi-structured interviews based on research guidelines were used to provide background data on the two communities' perceptions and use of the development programmes and as a way of finding and arranging willing participants for the in-depth interviews. The use of open-ended interviews provides textually enriched data of what respondents feel, express and believe about the topic of concern that is being researched (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Through the use of interviews it was possible to explore the role of the radio as perceived by the station staff and the station's audience among the !Xun and Khwe.

Participant Observation

Observation is useful in getting a better understanding of context, assessing the quality of relationships and gaining new insights (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Observation is not limited to the process and technique of observance - it is also a social interaction process (Mason 2004). In the fieldwork setting, one is “variously involved in observing, participating, interrogating, listening, communicating as well as a range of other forms of being, doing and thinking” (Mason 2004. 87). As a result, the role of the researcher is less clear-cut than in other methods such as interviewing, and involves processes of negotiation and renegotiation (Lofland & Lofland 1995; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Mason, 2004). Thus participant observation is a form of observation in which researchers need to view and experience the situation from the perspective of the people themselves to get a better understand of relationships, events, interaction and causes and effects.

Observation in this study comprises a limited participant form of observation that was recorded by videotapes, where I, the observer, shared in at least some of the activities and discussions to get a better understanding of insider views and experiences. Observation was used particularly in offices and studios of the radio station. The data collected from observation consisted of detailed description of programme activities, participants’ behaviour, staff actions, and the full range of human interactions that can be part of the programme under investigation. Observation notes were made at the end of each day, based on the format outlined by Spradley (1979) who recommends three different types: the condensed account, the expanded account, and fieldwork journal accounts. In field notes, it was difficult at times to write so I did a lot of analysis and note taking by talking to the camera and recording it as a video journal.

Auto-ethnography

My concern regarding the representation of the station and the two communities is how to avoid *Othering*. Questions of representation arise when researching marginalized people. Thus, in order to blur the distinctions of researcher, researched and the avoidance of *Othering*, I used an auto ethnographic/reflexive tool of data collection. Auto ethnography blurs the line between subject and object research and research participation in the mirror of fieldwork. In reflexive ethnographies the researcher’s personal experiences are critical in illuminating the culture under study. According to Ruby (1982) reflexivity involves continued monitoring and reflection on one’s research process where the researcher tries to assess the extent of his own role in the process of data collection and how the

data was affected by the social context in which they were collected, thus providing a reflexive account of their work.

Video in the field – self reflexive, collaborative and elicitive

Researchers who utilize the ethnographic method of data collection may record the interviews onto video according to the objectives of the research or to underlying circumstances that provoke the researcher to use video in the documentation of interviews (Pink, 2004). This enables the documentation of entire processes of investigation, as well as both verbal and nonverbal behaviour of subjects, and provides more complete and accurate records of data. These can be used to supplement or check data records produced by research as well as assessing the validity of data recorded (Banks, 2001). This study utilizes video recording as a means of documenting interviews, verbal and nonverbal behaviour and the processes involved in the everyday running of the radio station, as well as the everyday listening habits of the station's audience. Furthermore, the use of video documentation was appropriate because of the problems I encountered while in the field such as language barriers, the loss of words in the processes of translations and the limited access to the domestic lives of the two communities and their participation in the processes of this study. Most members of the !Xun and Khwe predominantly speak their ethnic/mother tongue when talking to other members of their ethnic community, while conversing in Afrikaans when interacting with members of the other ethnic community residing in Platfontein. However, I am an English-speaking South African who is partially deaf and cannot speak or understand Afrikaans or either of the ethnic languages of the !Xun or Khwe. Thus, most of my interactions were dependent on translations from representatives of the two communities appointed to help me in doing my research. This language barrier between the people of the two communities and me meant that dialogue was not always possible. Translations were at times also very limiting where loss of information and meaning were inevitable with the simplification processes of translation. Thus words, meaning and information were often lost in translation.

In order to transcend this obstacle, I used three forms of video documentation: observational, self-reflexive and a collaborative (Banks, 2001, Pink 2001, 2004). The use of participant observational video documentation was to record in-depth interviews with the staff of the radio station and their daily interactions and activities in the processes of programme development. The use of self-reflexive video documentation was to record my interpretations of the processes on which this research is focused, the limitations and the challenges I faced in the field.

The use of a collaborative form of video documentation was to accommodate the voices and opinions of the people being studied so that they are not seen as mere subjects of the research project but as participants who add to the research with their own understandings of the development programmes and community participation (Banks, 2001; Wang et al. 1996, 2000a). This allows for deeper understanding of the problem or phenomena being studied by involving the communities and takes into account the traditional knowledge of the communities (Wang et al. 2000a, 2000b). For Pink (2004), by giving the camera to informants to video record and document the lives, or by conducting interviews with informants in the format of video or film elicitation interview, allows informants to tell us about their lives using not only words but images. This collaborative form of video documentation consisted of lending the camera to two of the station's producers. They acted as the link between the two communities and the station. Thus I engaged two radio producers as collaborative research assistants.

This solved some of the access limitations I had as a researcher in terms of the private and domestic lives of the two communities and the limitations of the language barrier and the loss of meaning and words in the processes of translation. Both of the producers had experience in gathering data and research through their training at the SABC. These recordings were digitalized, edited and translated by the producers. I also interviewed them in the form of video elicitation on their thoughts, feelings and reflections while video recording in the field. In these video elicitation interviews, they talked about the significance and meaning of what they captured on video and what they thought was useful and not useful to the research. The technique of film elicitation can be used at any stage of the research, providing a means of 'getting inside' a programme and its context, allowing the combination of visual and verbal language; and providing a component of multi-methods triangulation to improve rigour (Banks, 2001: 135). Translations were systematically categorized into date, place, time, the person speaking and their dialogue. At all times of filming, consent was asked before interviewing or observing respondents. Participants were always asked if they were comfortable with being recorded. This was practiced by the two producers whenever they went into the fields of their own communities

Secondary Data

Secondary data was derived from available literature, books, journals, newspapers, Internet, publications, government documents and ICASA documents. Document analysis refers to an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving and analyzing documents for

relevance and meaning to the subject of research and its associated questions of analysis (Althedide, 1996). Station documents were analyzed to identify policies of the station and to understand how internal and external factors shape the station policies. I also considered several sources of historical and secondary data such as public and internal reports, scripts and stations licenses, objectives and mandates. The station manager made this data available, allowing me to borrow reports and other documents. This reflected my close relationship with the station after four years of visiting Platfontein at least 3 times a year.

Approaches of Data Collection

As a routine process in my fieldwork, I started off my research with an introductory excursion to the place of research, Platfontein. The purpose of was to familiarize myself with the settings where I would be immersing myself for some time, and create research relationships with local leaders, the NGOs working in the area, and the management of the radio station itself. The introductory trip to Platfontein in May 2007 was for the purpose of getting a background study to my research and introducing the outlines of my research to the leaders of the two communities, civic organizations, the station management and community representatives in order to create collaboration, understanding and access to the radio station and the !Xun and Khwe communities. Access into the research field of XK fm radio and the communities of Platfontein came through Regina Beregho, the station manager and SASI who notified the !Xun and Khwe leaders and members of the two communities of the purpose of my presence within Platfontein in the next year to come. The communities were also notified of my presence when I was there during the times of research. Staff members were briefed on my research during a staff meeting and Regina Beregho put me in touch with two producers of the station's development programmes, one a !Xun and the other a Khwe, who would help me in conducting my research, the translations of interviews with members of the two communities, and to collaborate and participate in the evaluation of the development programmes that they produce. Their names were Fresto Mangumbu (!Xun) and Piorro Mushavango (Khwe) who were most helpful in introducing me to the operations of the radio station and allowing me access to the listeners of the station. SASI, through Billies Pumo (SASI's programme director) was instrumental in gaining me access to the leaders of the two communities as well as the staff of the local clinic.

My original field trip took place from the 15th of August to the 12th of September 2007, but unfortunately all my video recordings, transcribed interviews and fieldwork notes and their backup files were stolen along with my car in December that year. I had to start my fieldwork from scratch in 2008. However, this allowed me to correct mistakes

from the previous fieldwork and tighten my data collection and analysis. Thus this study was based on a year of fieldwork that took place between April 2008 and July 2009. It consisted of a 4 week period of fieldwork from the 21st of April to the 14th of May and then five three day outings to Platfontein during the year. The target sample of programmes broadcast by XK Fm consist of the development programmes aired from Monday to Sunday between 6am and 9pm and were based on developmental objectives. These programmes were documented through the use of semi-structured interviews that were guided by research questions and the use of a video camera to record the interviews and document the processes involved in the decision making, productions and transmission of the programmes.

In terms of the production analysis of the station and its programmes, I spent a considerable amount of time in the radio station, conversing with members of staff and management and observing daily routines, practices and operations of the station. I also interviewed them during interactions in the station's foyer, producer's office, music library, or outside the station on its sidewalks. There were also many conversations in the on-air studio with presenters and technical producers when they were either not live on air or playing music off the station's prescribed play-list for the day. Over the period from April to May 2008 and the 5 separate outings I did after that, I carried out 16 semi-structured interviews with members of staff and management and eight open-ended interviews with mainly members of management and the producing staff that offered more in depth information and knowledge of the procedures linked to the development programmes (see Appendix One for outline of interview schedule). There were also many unstructured open-ended interviews or conversations that I had with staff in more relaxed settings. These conversations were not recorded, but decoded onto paper while writing in my fieldwork diary.

In terms of this study's reception analysis, I spent a lot of time with Piorro and Fresto in their two respective communities within Platfontein talking, interacting and interviewing, while they video recorded interviews, interactions and reflections of the family, friends and neighbours on their receptions of the development programmes. My fieldwork consisted of watching Piorro, Fresto and staff from the station play soccer and sometimes joining in the games, playing with children and talking with elders of the two communities while they sat under the shade of the trees. I also joined Fresto and Piorro in meeting friends and family and engaged in community activities such as going to church, watching B grade action films at somebody's house and drank Thombo, the local brew, or Black Label at social gatherings hosted by local shebeens. Thus, walking through Platfontein during the day and evening proved to be valuable in establishing acceptance and relationships.

According to Bosch (2004), the qualitative ethnographic researcher is always actively participating in the events of the studied community of interest. These activities enabled me to meet new people and to observe experiences from a participatory point of view.

To get a better understanding of individual radio listening choices, I conducted forty semi-structured interviews where the two communities are equally represented, meaning I got 20 interviews from each community (see Appendix Two for outline of interview schedule). The semi-structured interviews were used as an initial icebreaker into background data on the two communities' perceptions of the development programmes broadcast by XK fm. I used a non-random convenience sampling method for the semi-structured interviews that were based on the study's guiding questions of research. I conveniently focused on natural clusters of social groups and individuals who were listening to the targeted programmes of investigation during the time they were being broadcast. I also used non-random snowball sampling when with either Piorro or Fresto in the field walking the streets and on the soccer fields of Platfontein. Snowballing is a method of expanding the sample by asking one informant or participant to recommend others for interviewing (Babbie, 1995; Crabtree & Miller, 1992). Observational data collected from within the two communities consisted of field notes and collaborative forms of video documentation. Piorro and Fresto were given a camera to video their perspectives on the impact and issues of development and community participation in the selected development programmes broadcast by XK fm. Both were given guiding research questions as a base for gathering data related to the issues of study. Both of the producers were selected for their experience in retrieving content from both the communities. Footage was selected on the basis of its importance to the issues of study and the producer's insights through the technique of film elicitation. It was then translated.

Research Limitations

With the aid of the translators and an open and free environment, the research was not particularly hindered by language. The in-depth interviews were recorded and there will always be a risk that people constrain themselves when they know what they say is being taped. They all agreed to the recording. However, according to Lofland and Lofland, (1999) people may, consciously or unconsciously, change the way they behave because they are being observed and therefore observational accounts of their behaviour may be inaccurate. While immersing myself into the everyday lives of the two communities, walking the streets, playing and watching soccer and visiting people, I did witness a number of different responses to my presence within the settings of two specific and different

communities. Responses to my presence as a white South African male and the presence of a camera in my hand ranged from not even noticing me to small children running away from me when I approached them.

One incident I experienced when the electricity of the Khwe community had gone off at dusk, was a large group of youths participating in traditional song and dance around a fire to occupy time and have fun while there was nothing to do in the darkness of the night. With the video camera in hand and Piorro alongside me, we approached the group of youths to ask if we could film and interview them. Somebody outside of the dancing circle shouted out that it was fine and that I should join in. So I filmed the group of youths for more than half an hour as they danced and sang traditional trance and folk songs around the fire. I was then invited to dance with them and I handed Piorro the camera. This made me an active participant-observer in this spontaneous and culturally sacred event. I was able to conduct some open-ended interviews with some of the youths from this innovative group when the electricity came back on and people started to disperse. Following this, a few days later the presence of the video camera in the field led to a number of requests from traditional dance groups in the Khwe community to be filmed in order to have visual records of their trance dances. This led to a number of interesting unstructured interviews and conversations with members of these groups who consisted mostly of elderly women. Most of the filming of these dancers was done by Piorro, while at times he allowed one or two of his friends to take the position as the cameraman while he interviewed the dancers. As the researcher, I was also actively participating in these spontaneous activities as the cameraman, but mostly I was facilitating Piorro in filming the dancers and interviewing the dancers.

However, I also witnessed reactionary responses and interactions to my presence and the presence of a video camera in the field of the two communities that could be seen as having negative effects to the collection of my data. For instance, a number of incidents occurred where the presence of a camera in the process of interviewing and observing, consciously or unconsciously changed the behaviour of respondents. There was one interview I did with Fresto where the presence of me interviewing a !Xun couple while documenting the interview was so overpowering that they chose not to switch on the lights of the house when it became too dark to see anybody as night fell. Other negative responses to my presence and collection of data were more of the politically and economically reactive nature. As a white male I was often seen by members of the two communities as a person with money, income and wealth due to the post-apartheid stereotypical perception of a white English South African being of a higher economic class. Thus there were a number of incidents where I felt that respondents often approached my interviews with them as a means of obtaining money. Some answered questions in a way that they felt would please me enough for them to receive something in return.

I received many complaints from respondents about their living conditions, the lack of service delivery by the government, the exploitation of the two communities by people (white and black) that come from outside Platfontein, and about the other ethnic community living in Platfontein (the ethnic strife between the !Xun and Khwe seems to be still present). Sometimes these respondents who approached me were intoxicated and sometimes not. Thus in order to counteract these limitations in the processes of observing and interviewing, I decided to utilize more auto ethnographic techniques of data collection in collection of data where I often noted down my thoughts, feelings, theoretical inputs and insights in the processes of observations and interviews.

I also gave the role of the interviewer and observer to Piorro and Fresto as part of a collaborative initiative where they would video their observations and thoughts of the two communities as well as their use of the development programmes broadcast by XK fm. This collaborative initiative was to be linked with my observations and interviews in the field of the two communities, investigating their reception of XK fm and the use and perception of development programmes by the two communities. This triangulation of ethnographic techniques of data collection was useful in the validation of my data.

Thematic Data Analysis

To analyse data, I chose a thematic approach, where qualitative data begins as raw, descriptive information from interviews, observations, and documents and then is refocused into identifiable themes and patterns of living or behaviour through the systematic interpretation of the researcher (Aronson 1994:). Coffey and Atkinson (1996: 9) regard analysis as the “systematic procedures to identify essential themes and relationships in the data a researcher has collected during his or her research”. Thematic analysis is highly inductive, that is, the themes emerge from the data and are not imposed upon it by the researcher. In this type of analysis, the data collection and analysis take place simultaneously. Braun and Clarke (2006) and Miles and Huberman (1994) propose six steps to thematic analysis where one starts off first by transcribing the data obtained in the field, coding the data, searching for potential themes; reviewing the codes in relation to the themes; defining and naming the themes and finally writing up the analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), in the first phase of coding called open coding, the researcher locates themes and assigns initial codes in a first attempt to condense data into categories. The second phase, axial coding, is where the researcher organizes each set of initial codes into category clusters and then makes connections among themes so he or she can elaborate one of the specific concepts that the themes represent (Braun

& Clarke, 2006). This stimulates linkages between concepts and themes and establishes the cause and effects conditions, interactions, strategies and processes of these relationships. From here the researcher takes these major themes and concepts into writing, where they guide the findings and conclusion of the study.

For my study, I transcribed my raw data first into codes, and then categories and themes which were further analyzed in terms of the linkages and relationships of causes and effects with each other in order to investigate established variables in terms of my theoretical framework and guiding research questions. At first I started off organizing my data into a systematic structure and then familiarizing myself with data by reading through the data and transcribing all the interviews I had acquired in the field into textual form on the computer where I put transcriptions into certain schemes in relation to the contexts of the data. From there I reread the transcripts and started noting down topics or categories to which the data related and which were relevant to the focus of my research and guiding research questions. As I established certain themes within the categories of data, I started clustering these segments of data from various parts of my overall data collection that were relevant to the same theme. This led to patterns arising in causes and effects and relationships between the different themes of data. I triangulated these findings with my own experiences and that of Piorro's and Fresto's experiences portrayed in their video documentations. Thus different methods complement and reinforce one another, allowing for a multifaceted consideration of the issues that emerge.

The Nvivo software package was used to assist with coding themes and concepts which emerge from the interviews and focus groups and will be constantly compared and contrasted.

CHAPTER 6

MACRO AND MICRO OPERATIONS: PUBLIC OR COMMUNITY?

This chapter discusses the findings from the in-depth interviews with the management and staff of XK fm, observations of content creation and production within the station, and examination of the station's license and associated documents. It focuses on the macro structures that govern the station and the production of the station's programmes, and considers them in relation to the two models of development communication (and the two specific forms of development radio broadcasting that follow these models discussed in Chapter 3). By doing so, it addresses how XK fm functions in terms of its definition as a community broadcasting service under the control of the SABC, what approaches of radio development broadcasting emerge from this relationship and whether processes of production are consistent with the principles of community radio.

Accordingly, the chapter is structured into two sections, namely XK fm's macro operations which regulate the governance, management and production of the organization (Macro Operations: Public or Community?) and XK fm's micro operations of production in relation to content and programming practices (Democratic Decisions, Participatory Processes and Dominant Discourses). Within the macro section, I discuss whether XK fm is a public or community broadcasting service in terms of its structures of governance, management, administration and license requirements. I also discuss the benefits of the station's financial structures and the dualism of the station's management and staff structures. The micro section of this chapter examines the decision-making processes associated with the station's micro and production operations, the two approaches of content creation and programme production and the discourses that arise from these two different approaches of production in the station's daily programmes.

Macro Operations

Public or Community?

The SABC logo is displayed on the outside wall near the entrance of the building housing XK fm radio station (figure 4). A framed SABC mission statement is displayed on one of the walls of the station's entrance hall, as are several SABC corporate posters and the logos of SABC Education and Radio Broadcasting Facilities (RBF) in

offices and in the on-air studios of the station and yet XK FM is constituted as a community radio station. This is not the only signifier of the existence of a relationship between the national broadcaster and XK fm. It was established (earlier in Chapters 1 and 4) that because of the small size of the two communities and the lack of sustainable funding for XK fm, the radio station is under the financial management and governance of the SABC. This introduces a complex relationship; while being enabling at the level of funding, it results in a series of constraints for XK fm.

Figure 4. Entrance to XK FM radio station with its large SABC logo

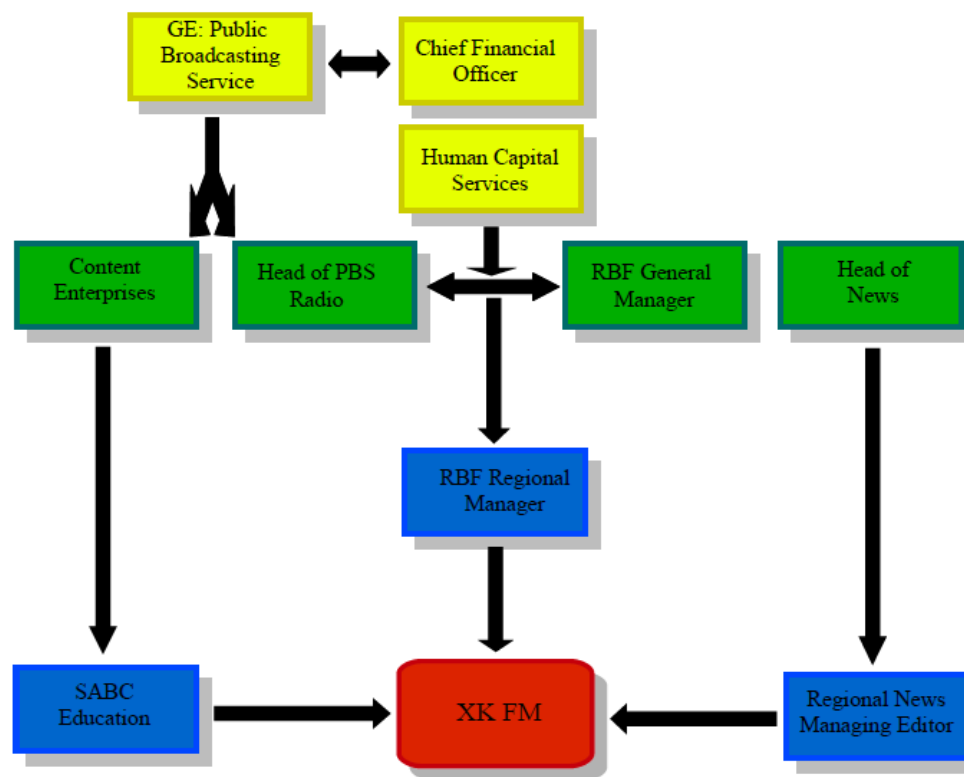


Governance and financial management

Under the regulatory legislation of ICASA, XK fm is constituted as a public radio station of the SABC in line with the requirement of clause 4.1 of its license (see Appendix Three). This means that XK fm has the same 10 year lease of license to broadcast as a public broadcast service rather than the regulated 4 year community broadcasting license; its audience is thus categorized as public and not community. This in turn imposes institutional structures, obligations and strategic objectives of public broadcasting on the organizational structures of XK fm and constructs the !Xun and Khwe communities as a homogenous audience rather than a segmented audience with separate and different cultures, backgrounds, histories and languages.

As was established in Chapter 4, the SABC consists of a Board of Directors and a Group Executive (GE) body which is divided into eight separate executive positions that each head up their associated division within the SABC. The governance of XK fm in terms of the station’s financial, administrative and managerial operation is controlled by the SABC Group Executive. The GE divisions that are influential in the governance and management of XK fm are the Head of News, the Head of PSB Radio under the supervision of the Chief of Operation, the Chief of Finance, the general manger of Radio Broadcasting Facilities (RBF) under the supervision of the Chief Technology Officer and the SABC’s Human Capital Services. In terms of the station’s management of finances, the SABC (through the head of PSB Radio, the Chief of Finance and the general and regional managers of RBF) controls the allocation of funds for the station. They determine XK fm’s annual financial budget, which particular operations are allocated funds, and the amounts they receive. The !Xun and the Khwe do not have a voice in the allocation of funds to the station and there is no transparency in relation to decisions about the station’s budget on the part of the SABC.

Figure 5. Flow chart of SABC corporate divisions that have an influence on the macro operations of the station



The SABC has regional managers of radio broadcasting facilities for each province who fall under the management of the RBF general manager and the head of PBS Radio. It is to these regional managers that the management of public radio services have to report on a weekly basis to present progress reviews and for approval of programming schedules. They are in charge of supervising all radio facilities and operations of stations in their province. XK fm's station manager, Regina Beregho, is managed by the Free State regional manager to whom she has to report at the end of each week. In addition, the SABC has control of the station's news department and XK fm receives templates of the SABC's national news from the central new offices in Johannesburg via the Kimberly studio where the station's presenters translate them into !Xutanli and Khwedam for broadcast to the general population of Platfontein.

In this way, the role and function of the station's board of directors is determined by the SABC's regional manager of the Free State, the head of Public Broadcasting Service Radio, the Group Executive and the RBF division and not the management of the station or the two communities and their associated leadership bodies and organizations. This limits the participation of the two communities in the ownership and governance of the radio station and ensures a form of communication and operation that is top-down, from the GE of the SABC to the station's managerial and production staff.

The SABC's institutional governance of XK fm is also evident symbolically in the dominant display of SABC advertising in and around the station and the adoption of the public broadcaster's core values and principles into the station's core objectives and mission statement. Values of competitiveness, professionalism, technical advancement, nation-building, transformation and national development are incorporated in the station's macro goals and mission statement that states the promotion of "public centred, content driven, technology enabled, strategically focused and sustainable public broadcasting"²⁵. It is also reiterated in the station's objectives that XK fm "will compete vigorously in a growing broadcast market to retain and increase their listeners and to integrate the !Xun and Khwe into a modern society"²⁶. Thus the SABC's governance of XK fm can be viewed as having a competitive, professional and institutionalized influence on the macro operation as well as the everyday operations of the station.

²⁵ Quoted from the SABC website: <http://www.sabc.co.za/wps/portal/SABC/SABCABOUT>

²⁶ Quoted from the XK FM's 2008 Annual Report, see Appendix Four

Because of political and state interference in ICASA and the SABC, the SABC in some form, can be viewed as a state broadcaster in its purposes to provide services for state initiatives of development as South Africa transforms into a developmental state (see Chapter 4). The institutionalization of XK FM conforms to what Stephen Riggins describes as an integrationist model of community media that subsidizes the station to allow for better integration of ethnic minorities into national life (Riggins 1992: 8–9). This cultural assimilationism is critiqued as having “double standards” (Riggins, 1992; Castells-Talens, Ramos Rodríguez, & Chan Concha, 2009). In this instance, the SABC draws on a discourse of multiculturalism in support of promoting its services as catering for all the languages of South Africa and promoting nation building while implementing authoritative and unidirectional control over the administrative operations of the station and the policies regulating it. XK fm is therefore critiqued as incorporating a proselytising model of regulation that advances the SABC’s own interests of cultural control (Mhlanga 2006) in its branding itself and its corporate identity as pro multi-culturalist, pro poor, and developmental. Thus one could argue that XK fm also serves as a public relations initiative of the SABC and the State aimed at presenting and bettering its image as a multi cultural service of nation building. This integrationist model might suit the SABC’s mandate, but it also limits the abilities of the two Platfontein communities to make decisions over the existing structures of macro operations and regulation within the station.

Beyond the SABC, ICASA has jurisdiction over XK fm in terms of content quotas and the requirements of its license as a public broadcasting service. Regina Beregho states that:

ICASA tells us how much quotas we must have, how much education programmes we must broadcast and how much news and information content we must produce. We must meet our quotas (Beregho, Interview, April 2008).

These requirements make explicit how ICASA imposes strict top-down license conditions. Clause 6.12 and Clause 6.1.3 of the license states that the station should provide programme material that caters and has due regard for the interests of all sectors of South African society and stipulates provision of programming on health related issues, gender issues, and education relevant to all age groups (see Appendix Three and Four). The station’s ability to incorporate these policies and regulations in its daily operation is checked quarterly by ICASA, the SABC’s regional manager and the head of SABC PSB Radio. This ensures that the station complies with the state’s national agenda of multi culturalism and national development in the first instances rather than the development of the two communities.

At the same time, the regulatory authority stipulates that the station should take reasonable steps to provide programming that reflects the local cultural, linguistic and community needs of the audience in its public broadcasting license. This legislation effectively constitutes XK fm simultaneously as a community service broadcaster in according with the Broadcasting Act of 1999. It also effectively locates the station within the geographical, social, economic and cultural settings of its audience. These ICASA policies aim to ensure that community needs are put first to try to ensure participation by the community (ABC Umlawzi; 2004: 15)

ICASA's relationship with XK fm consists of a regulatory partnership that determines its re-licensing (and thus the existence) of the station and what the station can and cannot broadcast. However, it is also the institution that advocates for the promotion of community based processes of production and operation within the station and the creation of informal knowledge based content that reflects the cultures, languages and traditions of the two communities. Thus it can be argued that ICASA is simultaneously enabling and constraining for XK fm.

Financially enabling

The relationship with the SABC is not merely restrictive. The funding provided by the SABC and the consequent financial stability is enabling in terms of providing growth in human resources, technical advancement and sustainability.

Many South African community radio stations have faced considerable financial challenges because they do not possess the economic, technical and human resources required for sustainability in the remote and marginalized places in which they operate (Hadland and Thorne, 2004). XK fm is situated in remote Platfontein with a very small population and very high unemployment rate with no sustainable economy to support a radio station. However, XK fm is one of the only growing community stations in the Northern Cape because of its financial and technical association with the SABC. It has grown from a community radio station situated in a container box at Schmidtsdrift with one manager and 6 staff, to one located in a modern broadcasting facility with a station manager, programme manager, two producers, two part time producers, two technicians, eight presenters, four news reporters/presenters and one music compiler. With a total of 26 staff, XK fm is the biggest source of employment in Platfontein. Although the station does not provide a space for volunteers, it does hire on a contract basis voice actors from the two communities for its edutainment and children's programmes. Furthermore, the upgrading of the station with a state-of-the-art music compiler and the creation of database system that is linked to the two on-air

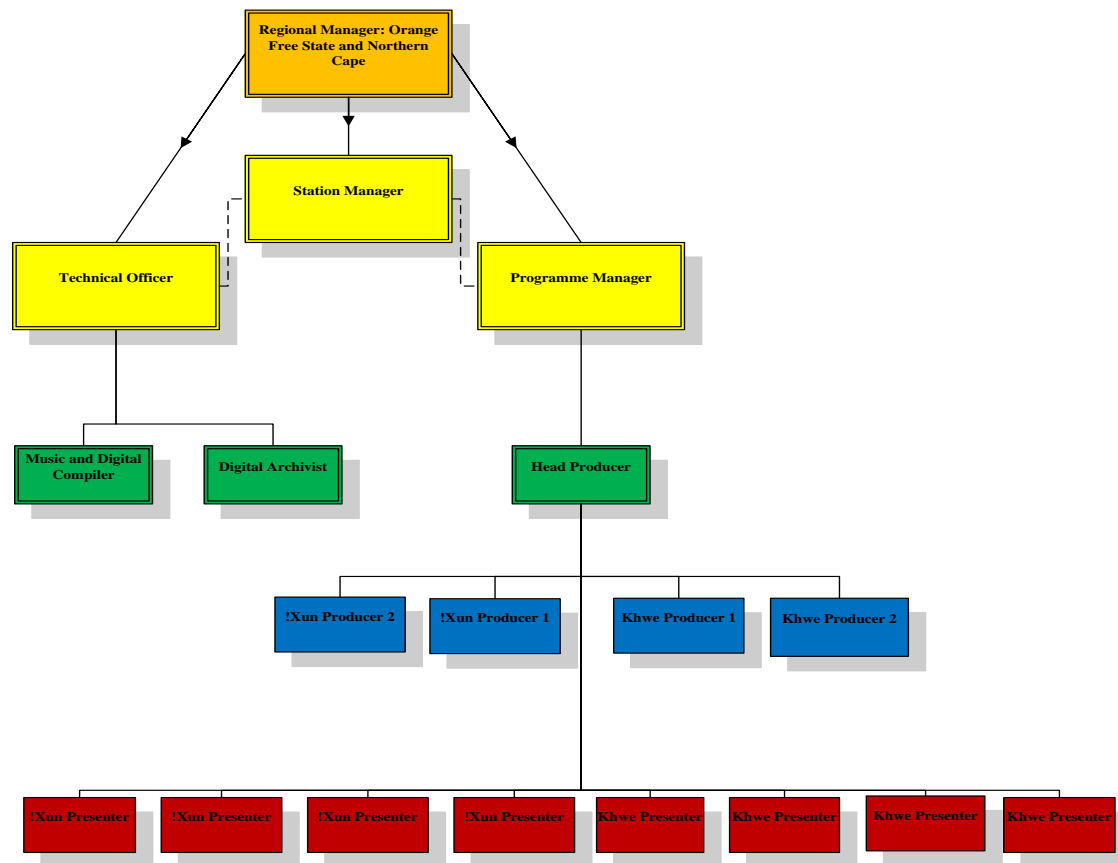
studios has been possible as a result of the financial support of the SABC. By providing more computers and post production editing suites to the station, as well as providing professional training to members of its staff, it also has been able to produce high quality radio dramas that few stations can afford to produce.

Thus, the financial and institutional management by the SABC has enabled the growth of XK fm to succeed beyond the operational capabilities of most community radio stations. At the same time, however, there are limitations. The two communities lack decision making power or transparency on the financial issues and operations of the station. Their lack of power was evident in the cutting of the station's budget in 2009 due to SABC's state of near bankruptcy restricting the station's marketing operations, broadcasting of outside events and employment and training of new staff. This incident illustrates the two communities' dependence on the SABC for the financial funding and support of their radio station.

Management and staff structures

As mentioned above, the station manager (Regina Beregho) is managed and supervised by the SABC's regional manager of the Northern Cape, who relays operational and administrative decisions and commands from the RBF, Human Capital Services and PSB (Radio) divisions of the SABC to her. However, Regina Beregho is independently responsible for the daily running of XK fm, while under her supervision the programme manager (Martin Edburg), is responsible for the management of the station's production and broadcasting staff, content creation and post production processes. Answerable to both these managers are the station's technician, archivist and digital compiler who are responsible for the technical aspects of the station that include managing the station's editing, broadcasting and transmitting equipment (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Organization Chart of XK FM



In addition to the staff located at the Platfontein station, there are two news correspondents who act as both news journalist and presenters at the SABC offices in Kimberly, under the management of the regional news managing editor. As a result, there is a hierarchical arrangement in which the station’s managerial team and production staff are managed by the SABC’s regional manager, the SABC’s Human Resources Division and content hubs such as SABC Education. This contributes to a vertical chain of command in the macro operations of the station.

While billed as a community station, all members of staff are trained professionals, rather than volunteers, who are employed by the SABC. While literature on community radio advocates a need to provide a platform of volunteerism so all sectors of a community have access to participate in that station, no structures of volunteerism exist at the station. The station’s staff is contracted as full time radio broadcasting professionals, paid competitive corporate salaries, and are contracted to act in accordance with the ideals and values of the SABC as a corporation. In terms of the station’s human resource responsibilities, the SABC Human Capital Services wing of the SABC is

in charge of contractual agreements, staff training, salaries, and the human resource management decisions associated with XK fm as well as the SABC regional manager of the Free State. As contractual employees of the SABC, the station's managerial and production staff are thus professionalized where their relationship with the listeners of the station is viewed as formal, creating at times an us/them situation instead of usual community radio 'prodsumer'²⁷ dynamic. Furthermore, media practitioners are usually shaped or influenced by the organizational culture of the media outlet they are employed by or are part of (du Gay et al; 1997). This means that the station's staff are influenced by the institutional ideologies, discourses and knowledge frameworks of the SABC and the reproduction of the SABC's emphasis on national development agendas of the state (but not determined necessarily).

As a result of this arrangement, XK fm operates within a corporate mould with professional staff who are regulated according to the institutional structures of the SABC. Because of this and the corporate control and administration of the station by the SABC executive, XK fm operates in a situation where there is a unidirectional flow of power that characterizes a sender-receiver relationship of control and dominance by the SABC as executive over the station and its staff that is consistent with structures of radio for development broadcasting within a modernization paradigm.

At the same time, however, the managerial and production staff of XK fm are all members of the two communities, as are the voice actors that the station utilizes. Principles of democratic participatory media theory advocate that station staff of community or alternative based media should consist of members from the communities (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2001). By being both members of the two communities and the audience, the staff of the station re-articulate certain levels of the station's operations into local structures of discourse and power that reflect the blurred relationship between staff members and members of the two communities and the localization of meaning. This enables staff members to counter certain levels of the SABC's institutional power over the station and be independent in local and micro operations of the station (which will be discussed in the following section). It also results in creating a continuous cycle of local content, ideas and information and provides a direct link with the community.

²⁷ Prodsumer was coined to refer to the blurring and breaking down of barriers between producers and consumer where an individual who becomes both a producer and consumer of media content (Akerberb et al 2008, cited by Dockey, Tomaselli & Hart, 2010: 79)

Unlike many other community radio stations, whose management and staff are generally male dominated, SABC policies advocate gender equality which has allowed for the empowerment of women within the station. This has resulted in increased respect for female staff involved in the decision making processes and their role in the everyday operation. Regina Beregho recognizes how this has been enabling and feels that as a result of her appointment as station manager by the SABC, she is now ‘respected by the men in both communities’.

Although members of staff are professionalized by the institutional culture of the SABC, the localization of the staff enables the station to counter certain levels of the SABC’s institutional power over it. In contrast to arguments of opposing professionalism in community based media, Kitty van Vuuren (2006) argues that professionalism should be an “intrinsic element of community broadcasting where certain tasks require qualified and experienced personnel and serves as discursive tools that defines boundaries to organisational membership”. van Vuuran (2006: 382), argues that community radio stations should “not set up to encourage access to anyone who wanders in off the street due to its role in addressing certain needs” of operation such as professionalism, integrity, and functionality. XK fm is said to be professional and limited in terms of volunteerism due to the complex issues and structures of programming, the lack of funds to continuously train people and “members of the two communities might exploit the station for their own political agendas” (Rena Maghundu, Interview, September 2008).

Conclusion

In summary, in terms of XK fm’s macro operation (i.e. institutional structures, governance and regulatory practices), it can be argued that XK fm is a decentralized public broadcasting service that views the !Xun and Khwe as collaborative stakeholders and not owners. As a result, there is limited community participation in the governance and ownership of the station, constraining the station’s independence and ability of the !Xun and Khwe to have a say in decisions of governance, administration, funding and policy. However, as Milan (2009: 604) has argued, “reframing community radio as a public-interest issue can legitimise new demands and give legal status to requests for access to scarce resources, such as public funding and signal distribution”.

Paradoxically, as argued above, the financial and legislative governance over XK fm can also be a positive factor in relation to the organizational structures of the station as it benefits in technological and staff expansion, development, and growth. Thus institutional forces of the SABC and ICASA can act as both facilitators as well as pose constraints on the social structure of the station, its operations and its ability to provide community based

development for the communities. This situation could create competing forms of discourse that could resonate among the wider operational network of XK fm such as the station's micro levels of operation. This will be addressed in the section on the station's micro operations.

Micro Operations:

Democratic Decisions, Participatory Processes and Dominant Discourses

It has been argued that XK fm follows a corporate and institutionalized structure consistent with the SABC which makes it conform to a public broadcasting service. However, the station's management, its staff and its audience, refer to the station as a community radio station. When questioned about whether the station was a community or a public radio station, all of the station's staff voiced their belief that XK fm can only be viewed as a community station and nothing else because of its commitments to serve the needs and interests of !Xun and Khwe communities in Platfontein. "If the station is not a community station then what is its purpose, what are we then?" was the response from Piorro Mushanvango. "By broadcasting in the languages of the !Xun and Khwe, telling stories of our ancestors, pasts and traditions, playing our traditional music and informing the communities of HIV/Aids, how to save and spend money, etc, XK fm serves the two communities and is thus a community radio station" (Mushanvango, Interview, April 2008).

In addition, the station's internal mission statement and objectives, often found on the front pages of their weekly programme schedules and on the walls of the station's office, clearly portray a community based and democratic system of operations. There is also a recognition that the !Xun and Khwe communities are separate audiences with specific interest groups and not a homogenous and public audience. This is evident in the station's staff policies of having equal ethnic and gender balances within the station and the objective of broadcasting in the languages of the two communities. Thus in contrast to the macro operations, I argue that at the micro level of production XK fm operates according to community radio practices.

This section, then, examines the micro operations of the station. It focuses on production practices in relation to programme content in order to consider why the station's management, staff and audience view XK fm as a community based broadcasting service for the two communities. To do this, I will first discuss the station's monthly staff and programme meeting; secondly, its production processes and sourcing of content; and finally the outcomes

of these meetings and the content creation in terms of the station's weekly programme schedule and the various themes of development in the programmes.

A Participatory Democratic Gathering

At a fortnightly meeting the station's staff and management gather at the large table in the centre of the entrance hall to discuss the programme schedule for the next two weeks, its objectives and the roles producing and presenting staff will take on in the construction, production and broadcasting. During the period of research at XK, Regina Beregho as station manager would head the meetings and direct proceedings in terms of managerial, staff and facility administration. She would start by summing up the performance of the last two weeks, outline what was anticipated for the next two weeks and raise staff issues. Thereafter, Martin Edburg would discuss content and programming needed for the next two weeks in terms of the developmental theme of the month. (The themes during April and May 2008 were A Better Lifestyle and the Previous Life, while in June 2009 it was HIV/Aids). Then the meeting was opened to all the producers and presenters to discuss content creation and programme production. Dialogue at this stage of the meeting became more participatory with producers and presenters voicing their opinions on programmes that they were involved in. Producers usually discussed who was going to be responsible for gathering audio material outside the station, who was going to script and structure the gathered audio material, and who would edit it into a digital format for transmission. Presenters were also given the opportunity to discuss what they were going to air on their prescheduled time slots of live broadcast each day, and the material and content for the broadcasts. Thus, as Regina Beregho states, while the station manager and programme manager give input about content, the station's presenters and producers decide what will be included (Beregho, Interview, April 2008).

Following the meeting, the station and programme managers with the head producer produced a programme schedule which was forwarded to every staff member at XK fm, the SABC regional manager of the Northern Cape and the SABC offices in Johannesburg. During the time I was present at these meetings, and in the time spent at the station, no SABC's regional or corporate management were present. These meetings were managed solely by the managerial and production staff of the station all of whom are members of the two communities²⁸. Thus it can be argued that the station is reasonably independent of the SABC in its internal micro processes of decision making and production.

²⁸ The only time SABC regional management or a division of the group executive were present at the station during the period of my fieldwork, were for employee contractual meetings and SABC regional and corporate management meetings with Regina.

Figure 7. Station manager (Regina Beregho), programme manager (Martin Edburg) and presenter (Markus Jetembo) preparing programme schedule



These weekly meetings are interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, the manner in which the meetings were conducted, where procedures of discussion and decision making by the managerial, producing and presenting staff indicates a participatory and democratic process of communication. Decisions were made independently of SABC on content creation and programming. This conforms to the characteristics of community radio advocated by Fraser and Restrepo Estrada (2001) and Gumucio Dagron (2001) in that community radio brings a democratic and participatory structure to the processes of communication. This operation allows the station's management and staff, consisting of members from each community, to participate in the production operations, independent of the SABC executive, ensuring a form of self management (Urgoiti, 1999), another characteristic of community radio and the UNESCO model of participatory development communication. According to White et al. (1994: 361) participation is "a developed form of self management".

This participation and self management in the decision making processes of production and content creation is evidence of the power to make decisions concerning the station's micro level of operations and the development of its own community. This arguably is empowering for the station's management and staff because they have the authority to take control and to produce representations that resonate with the lived experiences of the communities

(Hamelink, 1995; Milan, 2010). By giving them the opportunity to independently take initiatives on the micro level of operation within the station, the SABC has allowed the possibility of the station's staff to raise issues of importance.

By contrast, the procedure of forwarding programme schedules every two weeks to the regional SABC manager of the Northern Cape for approval points to the controlling and potentially authoritarian role played by the SABC in the organization's operations, despite what has been discussed above. As a result, although there are processes of democratic communication and participation within the station's micro decision making structures, these structures are still institutionalized and regulated by the SABC. Thus, although XK fm provides a participatory and democratic environment, these constructs are regulated by macro forces inherent in the SABC's governance over the station. As a result, I argue that these factors of the station's micro decision making process of production conform to the principles of the UNESCO model of participatory development communication which advocate for community access, participation and self management of development initiatives on an institutional level that is regulated.

On-the-ground Operations of Production: Content and Programming Creation

The focus here moves to the procedures followed by the station's producers and presenters in sourcing and creating content for programmes. First, I discuss the educational and formal information programmes and then consider the cultural and informal knowledge building programmes.

A challenge that South African community based radio stations face is the production of high-impact educational dramas because of the large amounts of funding and human resources needed to produce these programmes (Van Zyl, 2003) It is expensive to produce radio documentaries and dramas which require professionalism, technical expertise and financial support and structured frameworks of theory and methodology. As a result, it is common practice that separate production houses or NGOs produce these theoretically informed and strategically based educational programmes, dramas and features and then distribute them to community radio stations around South Africa in CD formats (Van Zyl, 2003). The SABC's financial and institutional governance over XK extends in this way to content. Regina Beregho states:

There are some programmes that come from Johannesburg, from the SABC offices. They send us the State Your Mind program, Heartlines, and these are already recorded by people from there. They are just CDs that we need to play on air. It's already recorded in Afrikaans, we just play it back on air and sometimes the presenter translate it to Khwe and !Xun. Sometimes they send it along with a script, then we translate it before it comes on air (Beregho, Interview, April 2008).

Thus the station takes these audio CDs or pre-scripted radio talk show and drama templates from SABC Education and translates them into Afrikaans for presenters and voice actors to then present in either !Xutanli and Khwedam (see Appendix Seven for outline of SABC Education programmes and Appendix Eight for a transcript of SABC Education's *State Your Mind*). It also receives CDs and scripts for edutainment programmes based on HIV/Aids campaigns, health promotion initiatives and issues of the youth from agencies such as LoveLife, Heartlines and Soul City.

Of particular relevance to the concerns of this thesis is the fact that the pre-scripted templates and audio CDs are constructed by development specialists and agencies outside the two communities, allowing production to be institutionally structured according to the constructs of outside organizations and not the station, where listeners are viewed as passive recipients of the national social marketing campaigns, health behaviour change initiatives and edutainment projects. Furthermore, the way in which production is conducted in a top down and unidirectional manner of communication and flow of information highlights characteristics of radio for development broadcasting modelled on principles of the modernization approach of development communication. As a result, as most of these programmes are conceived as part of national development initiatives and campaigns, content can frequently be irrelevant to conditions and realities that the two communities face in Platfontein.

However, Regina Beregho states that when these CDs and scripts from SABC Education, Love Life and Heartlines are received, the management and production staff decide at their weekly meetings whether these CDs and scripts have relevance for the two communities (Beregho, Interview, April 2008). Depending on their decision, these CDs and scripts are either translated into the two local languages and aspects of content adjusted to the local settings or are not used at all. This is evidence of a degree of authority and power that station staff have in terms of content.

Re-appropriating local names and places into the contents of pre-scripted templates and audio helps the talk shows and radio dramas to be more relevant to the two communities²⁹.

Figure 8. Producer's office where producers and presenters are preparing programmes for the next week in front of a SABC Education logo



The second approach to content creation and programme production practiced within the station is a more live and community based approach of development radio broadcasting that includes the stories, music and voices of the two communities in the processes of production and broadcasting. It is a participatory form of production that focuses on local and indigenous acquisition of knowledge and skills which 'searches for solutions based on the settings, resources and cultures of a specific public' (Bessette, 2001: 28). This form of programming is commonly referred to as informal knowledge based (IKB) programming by ICASA because of the manner in which content creation and programme production are based on local and indigenous knowledge systems and communication that records and disseminates personal and local experiences, broadcasts local languages, cultures, values and customs. IKB programming at XK fm has both cultural and informational focuses.

²⁹ The Youth and Educational producer, Sonia Nthoho, for example, produces the *Youth koranna* and *State Your Mind* programmes, where she translates the scripts from English to Afrikaans and adjusts character names and places to local settings and signs and then arranges for young kids and teenagers from the Platfontein school to present the script in studio in either !Xutanli or Khwedam (see Appendix Eight for a transcript of the *State Your Mind* programme).

Within the context of the station's micro aims and objectives of operation, it appeared that the producers worked with their community in mind when they were developing content for their shows. According to their accounts, the station's producers aspire to incorporate the feedback of listeners in the content of the subsequent programmes through the recording of personal experiences and stories. I often witnessed producers of these programmes going into their communities with a microphone and tape recorder to interview members of the communities about certain issues of interest, or to record local traditional story tellers and musicians' renderings of folklore or songs and stories of the past. These recordings would be edited at the station and broadcast the following day or week. The producers also invited members of the two communities and associated community organizations to participate in the production of programmes as voice actors, information givers or participants in certain talk shows. The partnership with local community organizations such as the South African San Institute (SASI)³⁰ also provides the station with a platform for alternative sources of informal knowledge to be broadcast to the two communities³¹. Live events happening within the two communities such as celebrations on Human Rights Day, Women's Day and Heritage Day as well as community meetings and gatherings were recorded or streamed live using the station's sound and broadcasting equipment.

This method of content creation enables community participation in the process of production in the form of audience feedback and producer/audience interactions. It also highlights that the station does work within the geographical and cultural context of the !Xun and Khwe communities, focusing on indigenous knowledge, culture and tradition as an ongoing process of community-based development. These practices of production are consistent with those advocated by Tamminga (1989), and Fraser and Restrepo Estrada (2001) as important elements of community radio.

The station's presenters also played a large part in the content production of the station's IKB informational programmes. Content for talk shows and informational programmes were individually created, produced and broadcast by the presenters of each show. Content was usually sourced from a range of external resources such as Love Life and other health magazines, the Internet, books, manuals, health specialists and doctors at the clinic and information packages provide by NGOs, as well as the resources of their own community and surroundings. Once

³⁰ SASI is a non-government organization that mobilizes resources for the benefit of the San peoples. It was established to improve the San's economic situation and build up communal independence and self-reliance in South Africa. For more information go to: <http://www.sasi.org.za/who-is-sasi.php>

³¹ The organization in 2008 produced a TB radio campaign where they provide information on the disease TB through a live round table discussion on air that was then transmitted to the two communities. After the programme, members of SASI then backed up the radio campaign with door to door visits and interactions with members of the two communities.

gathered, formatted and edited, content was then translated and adapted to the local and cultural settings of the presenter and their geographical location. Regina Beregho described this process as follows:

The content and information presenters' sources are mainly from books, magazines and newspapers. This information is then re arranged by the presenters and translated in !Xun or Khwe so it can be broadcast to the community in their own languages (Beregho, Interview, April 2008).

The contents of these programmes are based on the informal knowledge systems of each presenter who translates and codifies external informational materials to their own settings so that listeners can understand and perhaps identify with the content of the programmes and experience a sense of belonging to the cultural systems of their community.

In addition, presenters often source material and information for their programmes from members within their own communities. The presenter for the woman's programme, Estealla Kambinda notes:

The people who help me and give me information are old people. They tell me how they lived in the past, as women and, how they took care of the children and made sure they got medicine (Kambinda, Interview, May 2008).

This illustrates that community participation is a feature of the presenters' talk shows, providing a means of self representation in the programmes. By allowing members to come and speak on the talk shows and express their opinions, the station is actively involving the members of the two communities in the processes of production and shaping them as 'subjects' of development.

In conclusion, with the station's staff being members of both communities and possessing independence in relation to content creation and production, they are able to follow participatory communication methods and so articulate knowledge based on the cultures and languages of the two communities. According to Tamminga, (1989: 74),

The use of local language, culture and knowledge to confront the specific reality faced at a community level would imply a higher level of confidence and trust in grass-root development

processes than in development projects based on alien knowledge and cultural values and implemented by external agencies.

Such programming promotes the use of indigenous languages, cultures and knowledge in participatory processes of production that allow communities to create their own shared spaces of culture based on linguistic, ethnic, traditional and modern identities. Advocates of participatory development communication argue that with self representation in programme content, one is able to become one's own storyteller, regaining one's own voice; and an opportunity is granted to reconstruct the self-portrait of one's own community and one's own culture according to one's own knowledge systems (Rodriguez 2001: 263). Consistent with this, I argue that this approach of content creation and production at XK fm can be referred to as community based broadcasting or 'development radio' broadcasting and in this way it can be viewed as a community radio station.

The Programme Content: Modernist Discourses vs Traditional (Indigenous) Preservation

By considering programme scripts, the objectives of programmes and data obtained from in depth interviews with the station's producers and presenters, this section establishes that the two approaches to content creation and production result in contrasting sets of representations that even articulate contesting discourses. Representations are said to be mediated by the media in the processes of production and offer particular subjective views of reality (Reid, 2007) They are theorized as signifying practices and symbolic systems through which meanings are produced and position audiences as subjects of knowledge (Woodard, 1997; Hall, 1997). The meanings of these representations, in the processes of production, are shaped and influenced by producers, organizations and institutions who construct knowledge through discourse from which they offer audiences preferred subject positions to take up or occupy. From what has been discussed on the macro levels of operations, XK fm as an organization is mandated by the institutional protocols of the SABC and ICASA as a public broadcasting service that must promote nation building, multi-culturalism and national development. However, on the micro level of operation, although producers within the station have to follow institutional protocols, they are also influenced by the station's micro objectives of promoting and reflecting the cultures, languages and traditions of the two communities as well as being members of the communities. Thus, in the processes of production, programmes produced and broadcast by XK fm are articulated with a number of discursive and ideological positions of representation. These discourses can often be in conflict with each other in their explicit or implicit claims to define "the truth of things" (Marris &

Thornham 1996: 267), appropriate forms of behaviour or knowledge deemed as important in the development of the two communities.

From my findings I argue that there seems to be two different and often contesting discourses of development in the programmes created and broadcast by the station; the one being the modernization of the two communities and the other being the revival of cultural and traditional identities. To support these findings, I at first highlight the daily programme template, the shows within it and time allocated to certain programming and then I discuss each show and the programmes within them in a more in-depth analysis.

The daily weekday programme schedule for XK fm consists of seven differently themed shows; namely a breakfast show (6am - 10), a mid-morning show (10am - 12pm), a community information show (12pm - 1pm), news and current affairs (1pm - 2pm), a youth show (2pm - 4pm), a traditional story time show (4pm - 6pm) and the late drive show (6pm - 9pm). On Saturdays the station has a morning show (6am – 9am), ‘It’s the Weekend’ show (9am – 1pm), a mid-day slot show (1pm – 4pm) and a late slot show (4pm – 9pm). On Sundays there is a morning show (6 am – 8am), an ‘erediens’ show (8am – 9am) and a late slot show (9am – 9pm). See Appendix Five and Six for the station’s template programme schedules.

For each show there is either a !Xun or Khwe presenter that is on air. To provide equal coverage of both Khwedam and !Xutanli languages, the station has a policy of rotating its presenters so that for a specific show, its Khwe presenter will present on a certain day, while the show’s Xun presenter will present the following day or following week in their own language. However, when their audience is envisaged as more than just their ethnic communities, that is the geographical community of Platfontein, they present in Afrikaans which both communities understand and use to communicate across ethnic lines.

When analyzed, the station allocates an average of eight hours per day to development radio broadcasting, with Saturday and Sunday providing five and half hours and four hours each. This was done by examining the amount of time allocated to each programme in the station’s weekly programme schedule and the results of ICASA’s 2008 Compliance Report³². Within those eight hours of daily developmental programming broadcast during the week, three hours consists of culturally based programmes that revive past traditions, customs and lifestyles of the !Xun and Khwe while also seeking to reconcile these cultural identities with the modern world. Two hours of

³² See Appendix Four for reference to ICASA’s 2008 Compliance Report.

developmental programming are dedicated to the broadcasting of externally created and produced programmes provided by SABC Education, Love Life, and Heartlines. Of this, 45 minutes relay formal educational programming dedicated to educating the youth of the two communities. The remaining three hours are allocated to IKB informational development programmes including the women's programme, the weekly themed informational programme, the youth programme, the disability programme and the informational health programme. When this is measured against other forms of content, it is notable that the station pre-dominantly broadcasts IKB and cultural programmes that are community focused and use participatory methods of production. Outside of these eight hours of development based programmes, there is also an hour and a half of programming dedicated to the broadcasting of community notices. On weekends there are five hours dedicated to broadcasting cultural based programmes, three hours of IKB informational programmes and one and half hours of educational programmes.

During the breakfast show³³, a cultural programme and IKB programme are broadcast, namely *So Outhou Ons* (*This is what we remember*) and *Hashakara Kxuin* (*A Better Lifestyle*) which are both 45 minutes long. *So Outhou Ons* is dedicated to providing both communities, especially the youth, with reflections, memories and stories of traditional !Xun and Khwe life in the past, while *Hashakara Kxuin* presents information that teaches the two communities how to adapt to the modern life and its technologies (e.g., how to save water, how to use an ATM and save money, and how to use electricity safely). The cultural programme seeks to act as a channel to indigenous knowledge and self representation through which the two communities are presented with narratives of cultural, ancestral and traditional Bushman-ness that propose an ethnic identity for listeners (see Appendix Nine for a script produced for the programme). It uses participatory methods of production as discussed in the micro production section of this chapter. In the Better Lifestyle programme, which is dedicated to household and child carers of both communities, primary and secondary information on modern practices and technologies were negotiated with the self realities of the presenter and that of their community³⁴. By sharing enough experience and history similar to their listeners, representations produced by the presenters promote understanding.

However, although programming was participatory and self reflective, this does not mean that preferred meanings of development (modernization) were absent. Due to institutional discourses of development inherent in the SABC's governance of the station, content often produced representations of development that assumed values,

³³ The breakfast show is hosted by Joe Mpungo & Riano Nduve

³⁴ The two presenters assumed that their own social-cultural experiences and narratives coincide with those of their listeners because they are members of the communities who also face the daily challenges of Platfontein.

beliefs and practices of modernization³⁵. This results in a contestation among discourses where they compete against each other about what counts as truth or as normal. This is evident in the broadcasting of the two morning programmes with their opposing discourses of modernization and traditionalism, giving rise to symbolic boundaries/identities that define who is modernist and who is traditionalist and maybe even occupy both of these positions.

The mid morning women's programme³⁶ (*Gxakhwe/Dame Journal*) provides information and dialogue on the issues considered relevant to women in Platfontein. The presenters would negotiate issues of womanhood according to their experiences as woman and circumstances within Platfontein³⁷. Content included issues of traditionally feminine roles, health issues relevant to women and ways of bettering life as a mother and wife. However, although produced consistently with IKB methods of production that support community participation in voicing opinions³⁸, the programme articulates ideas and practices consistent with being modern and thus seeks to recruit women in the two communities to modern practices. Estella Kambinda confirms this when she describes the contents of the programmes as about:

life of women in modern times, where I try to uplift them with information and advice on how to take care of children, what they must do at home and how to handle diseases such as HIV/Aids and STDs as a woman (Kambinda, Interview, May 2008).

As gender relations in Platfontein are defined by the patriarchal and militaristic society of the two communities, it was not unusual for the programme to articulate positions and present representations in line with dominant roles of gender. As a result, the gendered representation in the women's programme at times reinforces rather than challenges the gender stereotypes by mediating women's role to caretakers and housewives and not bread winners or leaders in their specific communities.

³⁵ Listeners were viewed as needy recipients of modernization that needed the station for assimilation into a modern lifestyle in order to improve their lifestyles.

³⁶ The woman's show is hosted by Anna Ndao & Estella Kambinda

³⁷ The programmes' presenters also assumed that their own social-cultural experiences and narratives as women living in Platfontein, coincide with those of their listeners.

³⁸ Women from both communities were sometimes invited to contribute to the programme where they are allowed to voice their concerns and participate in discussion.

In the station's *Informational programme* from 11am to 12pm the development theme is based on the station's theme of the week and the presenter's choice of what issue of development is best suited for that period and day. This programme is produced mostly for young adults, the elderly, mothers/housewives and community members who are at home during the day. The programme conforms to both development radio and radio for development approaches of content and broadcasting and is predominantly information based. The most common themes presented during the research period were health related matters such as HIV/Aids, tuberculosis (TB), sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and modern innovation issues (such as business start-ups, agricultural based issues, sanitation practices, waste disposal and financial planning). These programmes tend to be intent on the dissemination of particular information to the two communities in order to create awareness of particular issues related to the conditions and settings of Platfontein. In terms of this programme, primary and secondary information was re-codified to be mindful of the experiences and contexts of the two communities. Notions of development in the research period were usually in line with the dominant ideologies of the public broadcaster (nation building, national development and multi-culturalism), after all the presenters had acquired their professional codes as a result of their training. Thus programmes foregrounded national development agendas in terms of issues on family planning, HIV/Aids, TB, youth education, alcohol and drug abuse and skills development even though the presenters had control over their own self representations.

The midday time slot between 12pm and 1pm consists of an informational programme (*Akaku'am – what the community must know*) in which community announcements and notifications such as meetings, jobs and events are read out and discussed in terms of promoting community life in Platfontein. In contrast, for the news (*Borrie*) the station switches over to the Kimberly SABC studio where the XK fm news team reads out the national news provided by SABC's central offices in Johannesburg in two five minute news clips, the first in Xutanli and the second one in Khwedam. Thereafter, the XK fm news crew discusses and debates the current issues of the world and South Africa in a 45 minute currents affairs programme (*Morosani*) presented in either !Xutanli and Khwedam or Afrikaans. As all news is produced at the central news department of the SABC in Johannesburg and the debates of the current affairs programme are regulated by the regional news office, representations of local, South African and global society are constrained by the institutional frameworks of the SABC's national news agenda.

The afternoon show between 2pm and 5pm consists of two different themed shows. The first show (*Ngewo I'am*) between 2pm and 3:30pm is dedicated to the youth of the two communities and consists of talk shows and formal educational programmes such as LoveLife, State Your Mind and Youth Koranna. They are produced by the

station's producer and presenters and external agencies such as SABC, Redcross and LoveLife³⁹. Content usually consists of entertaining and informational based narratives that incorporate local and national discourses of youth development and education aimed at promoting behaviour change amongst the youth of the two communities. However, these representations tend to assume the audience to be South Africa's urban youth and thus addresses the youth of the modern urban society. To combat this, producers and presenters of the show usually inserted live commentary into the broadcasts in order to translate concerns to fit the contexts of the two communities and allowed members of the youth to come and talk in studio about the issues raised⁴⁰.

The 3:30 pm to 4pm sub programme (*Gxaraka I'am*) is dedicated to music requests and dedications, followed by a *Traditional Story Time* show for the children of the two communities from 4pm to 5pm in which pre recorded traditional folklore stories are told by the elders of the !Xun and Khwe. The content to this programme relates to the cultural systems of both communities where, through participatory measures of production, elders of the two communities were able to express traditional stories of folklore and the past associated to their ethnic communities. These traditional stories provided the young generations with a 'shared cultural space' (Hall, 1997: 10) from which they were encouraged to appropriate the meanings into their everyday lives as a means of preserving the cultures and histories of the two communities. From 5pm to 6pm there is a repeat of the *So Outhou Ons* programme from the morning show.

The evening late drive⁴¹ show from 6pm to 9pm consists of a community informational programme and two development programmes. The community informational programme informs the two communities of community meetings, notifications and announcements for the following day. The development programmes promote awareness of disabilities and health through broadcast of IKB discourses of information. One focuses on disabilities and how to adapt to them especially in the local Platfontein settings. The other is a *Health Programme* that discusses issues of disease, modern and traditional treatments, diets, sanitation, and how to access advice and support. Both programmes are designed to provide information on certain topics chosen by the presenter in which they discuss issues according to outside sources and their own experiences and knowledge of issues.

³⁹ The youth show is hosted by Fania Fanistra & Reinhart Kampunda

⁴⁰ See Appendix Eight for an illustrated example of the SABC Education's State Your Mind Programme that has been restructured and contextualized to allow for community participation and the self representation/localization of the programme's content.

⁴¹ The irony of referring to this show as the late drive show is that there is no transport service within Platfontein (i.e. taxi services), most members of the two communities never leave Platfontein and members who actually own cars are few and far between. This illustrates how the formatting and titling of some radio shows on the station are derived from mainstream formats aimed at urban audiences who are often on the road after work. This show is hosted by Markus Jetembo & Jeta Manuel

On the weekends, Saturday has a one and half hour cultural programme, *an Kuri Xodje I'am* (In the past), that presents oral histories of the two communities and their cultural backgrounds. Like the weekly morning shows, there is also an IKB informational programme (*Ons wil beter leef*) that follows the cultural programme. It, like the weekly Better Lifestyle programme, presents discourses attached to the modernization of the two communities. There is another IKB informational programme later in the day in the 'It's the Weekend' show that is also focused on issues of modernizations, but mostly for the youth. There is also an educational programme that is participatory and for the youngsters of the two communities. The 'Late Slot' show dedicates itself to mainly cultural programming with 2 hours of traditional storytelling that has a focus on traditionalist discourses both from the past and the present. Finally, on Sundays, most programmes are dedicated to the broadcasting of religious and spiritual content. However, there is an educational programme for all age groups and a 'community speakers' corner' programme intended in allowing members to voice their concerns and debate issues.

From the above analysis of programme content, one can conclude that the station aspires to reflect the two communities' everyday lives to themselves while incorporating solutions to issues and problems relevant to Platfontein using discourses of development that promote both modernization and traditionalism. It is evident in the station's formal and IKB information based programmes that the institutional governance of the SABC over XK fm and the wider socio-political environment in which the station's producers and presenters live, influences the construction of representations, where they naturalize the world within a modern discourse in terms of behaviour, values and beliefs in a South African context (du Gay et al, 1997). This discourse promotes a set of ideas associated with the national ideals of development which aims at assimilating the !Xun and Khwe into South African society through adopting modern innovations⁴². However, by recodifying certain places, names, locations and ground settings in these programmes and translating content into the ethnic languages of the two communities, the station's producers and presenters are able to re-appropriate the meanings and representations imbedded in the programmes to better suit the realities experienced by the communities and make the content more relevant and understandable to the local knowledge systems of the !Xun and Khwe. This gives rise to a more culturally, indigenous and community based discourse and in return provides contesting discourses, creating competing narratives of identification that resonate better with the two communities.

⁴² This construct of knowledge was even more pronounced in the content of programmes produced by outside organization which the station broadcasts.

It is clear that there is contestation of the mentioned discourses in the station's programmes and content, which can lead to a form of convergence of the discourses into a new form of knowledge that is accepting of both modern and tradition systems and practices.

Conclusion

The participatory processes of decision making in XK fm's weekly internal staff meetings and their independence from external forces within the SABC executive and regional management informs the station's production operations. A sense of empowerment exists among the station's management and staff when it comes to their ability to take control of the micro operations and production processes of the station and to generate solutions to problems in the creation of culturally based and relevant content and programming according to their own terms. By being community focused, practicing participatory methods of content creation and production and being able to self manage operations of production under the distant guidance of the SABC, one can argue that XK fm is a community based broadcasting service on the micro level of operation.

However, due to the SABC's governance and the presence of top down, authoritarian forces of power over the station, there are also processes of production that tend to create and reproduce the dominant narratives of the SABC within a modernization paradigm of development for the purposes of promoting discourses of nation building within a modern state. Programmes, produced by both outside agencies and the station's producers, that were based on educational and informational purposes, tended to articulate 'modern' discourses that aim at producing subjects who will adopt modern values, practices and the values attributed to nation building that are deemed acceptable by the SABC. This social development implemented by the 'other' implies adaptation and assimilation into a modern consumer lifestyle which can cause tension with the notions of cultural preservation advocated by the two communities.

This contestation and weaving between discourses of the modernization and discourses of cultural and community development within the content of programmes broadcast by XK fm, potentially creates an environment of convergence. Modern and culturally essentialist ideologies are intertwined into one single framework of development that tries to be both celebratory of the past traditions and heritages of the two communities and the need to assimilate in the modern structures of society in order provide opportunities for a better future in this ever changing and growing world. Thus, one could argue that listeners within the two communities have to negotiate

either the modern and traditional subject position in programmes into a hybridized discourse or into of two subject position of identity. In retrospect, this pattern can be aligned to Escobar's deconstruction of development, in which he advocates a culturally hybrid model of development that involves traditional and modern discourses as the key to new forms of knowledge that provide multiple identities to occupy at local, regional, national and global levels (1995: 290).

Therefore, although institutionalized in its macro level of operation which allows for dominant discourses to be articulated in programmes, the station is still bound by the socio-cultural spaces and realities of the two communities and their indigenous systems of knowledge, through the use of participatory and community based methods of production. In relation to this phenomena, XK fm's micro processes of production and operation are characteristic of community radio in South Africa and can be theoretically associated with the principles advocated in the UNESCO model of participatory development communication that is not concerned with re-ordering of power relations but with implementing participatory democratic forms of communication that utilize local institutions such as the media to initiate community and public access, participation and self management in the processes of production, information dissemination and problem solving.

CHAPTER 7

RECEPTION PRACTICES: RADIO AS A BACKGROUND COMPANION, INFORMER AND CULTURAL PERFORMER

This chapter explores the listening and reception practices of the !Xun and Khwe communities in relation to the development programmes broadcast by XK fm. It focuses on the manner in which the listeners of the two communities negotiate the meanings in the radio programmes in relation to their own lived worlds. The analysis is based on data acquired using three methods of data collection, namely semi-guided interviews, observations and in depth interviews conducted with the assistance of two of the station's producers recorded on video.

The chapter considers issues of listener access to radio and XK fm. It outlines listener preferences to listening times, programmes and content as well as the reason they gave for their choices of consumption. Three issues relating to consumption emerge and are discussed in relation to the context of the programmes, the station itself and the two communities. I then reflect on the findings in terms of how the two communities negotiate this dualism of the traditional and the modern. Lastly, I conclude by raising issues about the illusion of social change, participation and the dualism of listenership.

The sampling methods to identify respondents for these methods of data collection are described in Chapter 5. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 39 listeners between 2008 and 2009, 19 from the Khwe community and 20 from the !Xun. These were used as preliminary findings in relation to listener perceptions, preferences and consumption habits. Of these 39 interviews, 17 (44%) participants were young adults and teenagers, 13 (33%) were between the ages of 30 and 44 and 9 (23%) from an older adult age group, that is above the age of 45. It is evident that a high proportion of the respondents were relatively young, but as Platfontein has a high percentage of people under the ages of 30, this is not inappropriate. Furthermore, the fact that my two translators were young adults below the age of 30 themselves may have had an affect on the sampling procedure and led to a relatively high number of young interviewees. These groups are referred to as youths, adults and older adults in the discussion that follows. In terms of the gender balance of the interviewees, 16 (41%) of my respondents were female, while 22 (59%) were males. The slightly higher percentage of male respondents might be due to the choices made by the two translators who assisted me in my research and who were both male.

Table 1: Semi structured interviewees by age and ethnicity

Age Group	No* of !Xun Interviewees	No* of Khwe interviewees	Total Interviewee Sample - Platfontein
15-29 (youth)	8	9	17
30-44 (adults)	7	6	13
45 - (older adults)	5	4	9
Total	20	19	39

Table 2: Female semi structure interviewees by age

Age Group	No* of Female !Xun Interviewees	No* of Female Khwe Interviewees	Total Female Sample of Platfontein
15-29 (youth)	3	4	7
30-45 (adults)	3	2	5
45- (older adults)	3	1	4
Total	9	7	16

Table 3: Male semi structure interviewees by age

Age Group	No* of Male !Xun Interviewees	No* of Male Khwe Interviewees	Total Male Sample of Platfontein
15-29 (youth)	5	5	10
30-45 (adults)	4	4	8
45- (older adults)	2	3	5
Total	11	12	23

Observational data consisted of field notes and collaborative video documentation which were used to gain a better understanding of how listeners perceived the station and its programmes and negotiated their identities. Twelve in-depth interviews, six Khwe and six !Xun, were conducted with members from both communities who had been identified in the semi-structured interviews as subjects who potentially would provide rich and descriptive data. Participatory methods of video documentation were used in these interviews (see Chapter 5).

Listening practices:

Using the findings from field observation and the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix Two), the following section considers how listeners interacted with their radios, what times they listened to the station, their programme preferences, and their reasons for listening to the station and particular programmes.

Access

Most people living in Platfontein own or have access to radios. All respondents declared that they listen to the radio, most commonly at home. Radios were located in a communal space in the homes either as the main form of entertainment or in competition with TV. For example, on one occasion while in the Khwe community at night, a family watched the *Bold and the Beautiful* on TV while their radio, on top of the TV, blasted the voice of one of the station's presenters who then switched to some local traditional music. People also listened to radios outside their houses where they were turned up for all to listen to. Although men owned the radio sets women listened to the radio more because they spend much of their time at home engaged with household chores and looking after their children. However, from observations and responses from interviewees, there were also factors that limited their access to their radios such as work, school, household chores and the lack of electricity in some cases.

Radio Use

Observations confirmed that members of both communities seemed to have a kind of companion relationship with their radios. According to Crisell (1994), one of the fundamental and many characteristics of radio is that it offers a form of companionship to listeners. In terms of the two communities, women were observed using their radios as a background companion while doing their household chores or looking after their children, either in their homes or outside at the traditional cooking areas. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 1, at times women carried small radios with them as company when they went into the bush to collect wood. Men listened to their radios as background entertainment either while they worked, did chores or socialized inside and outside of their homes. Many young people would listen to the radio station on their cell-phones using ear phones as they walked through the streets of Platfontein. In this way, XK fm has also become mobile and more individualized. However, members of the two communities were observed usually listening to the radio with friends or family in a collective listening space where everybody interacted. Thus the act of listening to the station tended to occur as a background social activity along side the daily activities and chores of everyday life where it acts as a form of companionship.

Listening times

Data findings from the semi structured interviews suggest there are certain times of the day in which listeners switch on the radio and listen to the station. See the Tables 4 to 6 as illustrated.

Table 4: Bar chart of the number of Khwe respondents who listen to XK FM at certain times of the day

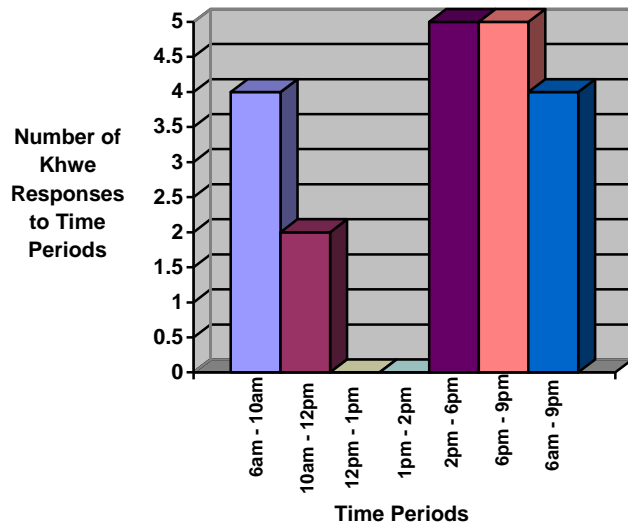


Table 5: Bar chart of the number of !Xun respondents who listen to XK FM at certain time of the day

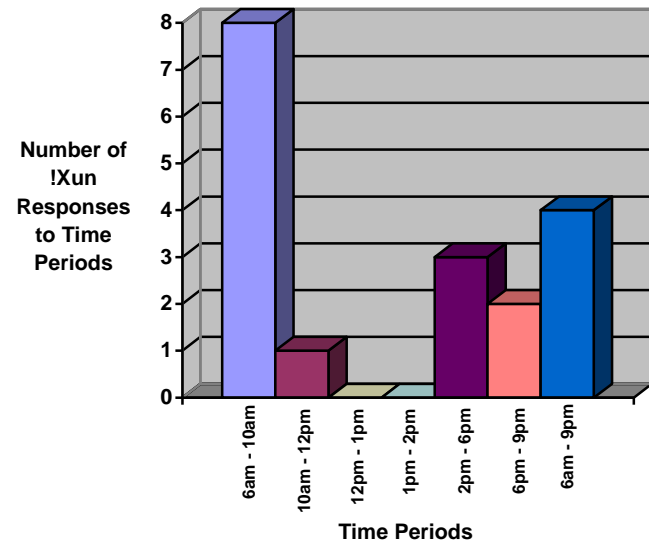
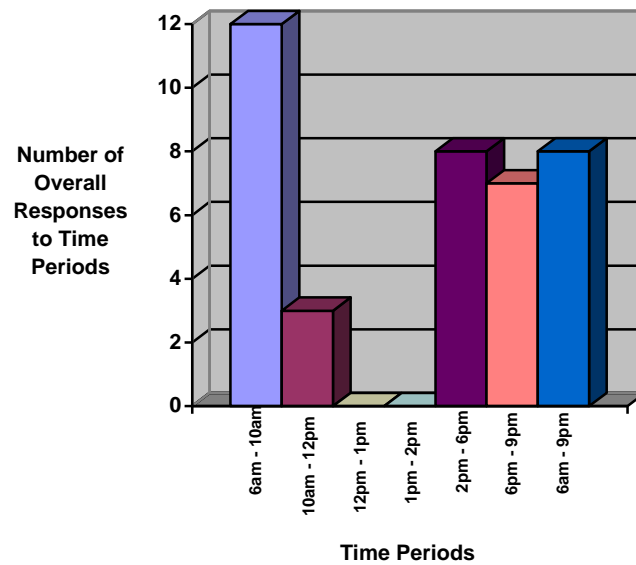


Table 6: Bar chart of the overall number of respondents who listen to XK FM at certain times of the day



The data represented in Tables 4 and 5 above, establishes that the !Xun and Khwe communities have different listening habits, although there is a common trend of listening to the morning and night shows. As a geographical community, the most popular and common time that members of the two communities listen to the station is during the morning show when most members are still at home before school, work or busy with household chores. All

three age groups listen to the station equally. The second most popular listening period was between 2pm and 6pm, the time when the township's school is over for the day and most of the township youth are out and about in their separate communities. Thus, listeners during this time consisted mostly of youth. Lastly, the other popular listening time was the late night 'drive' show between 6pm and 9pm when most members of families are back at home together and cooking supper. All three age groups were equally represented. From this it appears that the most popular times for listening are when all members of families are together in their homesteads either preparing for the coming day or relaxing and cooking at the end of the day.

As a consequence of this listening pattern, the popularity of the station's presenters was linked to their time-slot on air. Because most listeners tune in between 6 am to 10 am and 6pm to 9pm, the station's most popular presenters at the time were Raino Duve and 'Papa' Joe Mpungo who present the morning show and Jeta Manuel and Markus Jetembo who present the evening show⁴³.

The lack of listenership between 10am and 2pm is clear. The three respondents who listen to the station between 10am and 12pm were women. The reasons for this low listenership might be that the only people at home at this time would be women of the families doing their household chores and looking after their children, while most men are busy (or at shebeens) at these times. Thus the station chooses to target housewives during this period. Furthermore, most of the youth during this time of the day were either at school, at work or socializing. One could also argue that content during most of this time (see Chapter 6) was directed at housewives and thus most of the male population of the two communities was less interested in the programmes during this time period.

Programme Preferences

When questioned on what programmes they listen to, respondents indicated that they prefer programmes that offer information in relation to their modern lives, as well as content that is culturally relevant in relation to their traditions, histories and ethnic identities. See Tables 7 to 9 below.

⁴³ An interesting finding on the popularity of the station's presenters was the crossing of ethnic lines in terms of listeners choices of their favourite presenter. This indicates that audiences from the two communities do not align themselves to certain programmes because of the ethnicity of the presenter.

Table 7: Bar chart of the most preferred programmes indicated by !Xun respondents

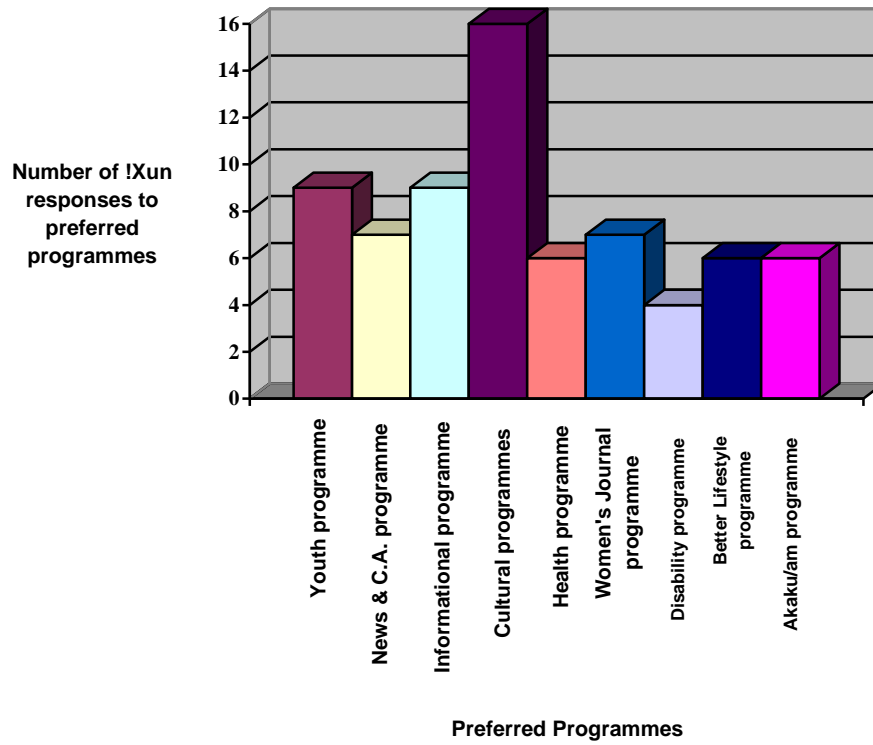


Table 8: Bar chart of the most preferred programmes indicated !Xun respondents

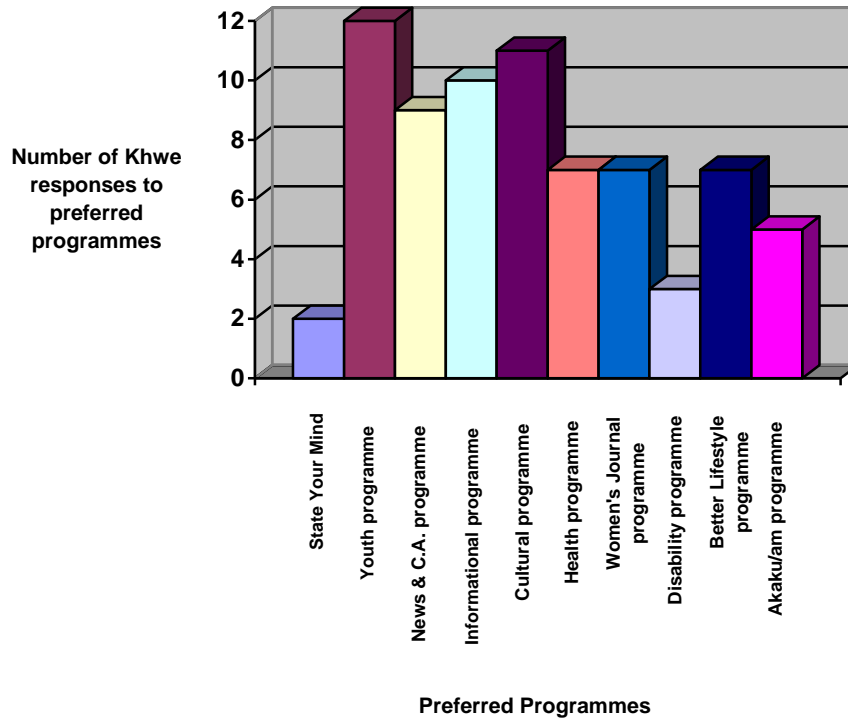
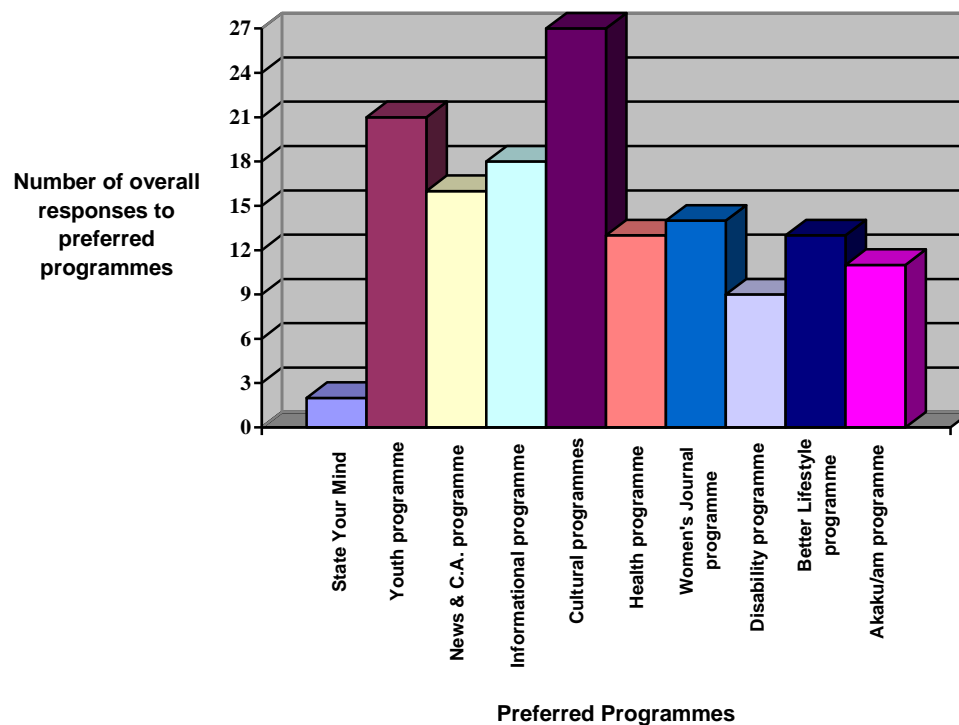


Table 9: Bar chart of the most preferred programmes indicated by overall sample of respondents



Again it is evident from this data that the different communities have different tastes and preferences in relation to XK fm’s programmes. When considering the two communities as a single entity (Table 9), it is evident that the most popular programmes were the two ‘cultural’ programmes, *So Outhou Ons*, and *Kuri xodje I’am*, and the traditional stories programmes for children and adults. Most respondents in fact tended to refer to them collectively as the cultural programmes. Their popularity is especially apparent among the !Xun respondents. All of the older adults (above 45 years) identified these as the programmes they preferred and listened to most. By contrast, only 53% of the youth interviewed identified them as among their preferred programmes. Instead, most identified the youth programme as their preference. Unsurprisingly then, the youth programme was identified as the second most popular with twenty one respondents listening to it. Of these, twelve were youth, while only three respondents were in the older adult group (over 45). These findings suggest a marked discrepancy in programme choice between the youth and older members of the two communities.

The next two most popular programmes were the informational programme and the news and currents affairs programme. The respondents who preferred the informational programme were members of the youth and adult (30

to 45 years) groupings, while the news and current affairs programme was preferred by members from the adult and older adult groups. Other programmes selected were the health and disability programmes during the late night drive show to which all age groups responded equally; the better life programme; the *Akaku/am* programmes; and the women's journal programme which 71% (10) of female and 13% (3) of male respondents mentioned. When one considers the informational, youth, health, disability, better life and women's programmes together on the basis of being information based programmes, they make up 61% of respondents' preferences.

By contrast, there was hardly any mention of programmes produced externally such as *State Your Mind* from the SABC Education, *Heartlines* and *LoveLife*. Only two youth respondents referred to *State Your Mind* which is usually aired on the youth show. This suggests that programmes produced by external production agencies are less popular among the station's listeners, especially among the adult age groups. A number of respondents from the three age groups, especially the older adults, mentioned that some of the externally produced programmes are broadcast in Afrikaans making it hard for them to understand.

The findings suggest that the most popular programmes amongst listeners are those broadcast in the languages of the two communities. They prefer programmes that offer localized, informal and culturally relevant content and also those that provide information related to modern life. Programmes broadcast in Afrikaans and produced outside of the radio station have less relevance for the listeners of the two communities, and are consumed less frequently. In addition, findings indicated different tastes in programming among the three age groups, although they all engage with some form of information based programming.

Content Preferences

In relation to programme content on XK FM, respondents were asked which themes were broadcast the most and which themes they identified with most in terms of their individual and community's development. The data is represented in Tables 10 to 15 below.

Table 10: Bar chart of what are the most broadcast topics of content provided by XK fm recognized by !Xun respondents

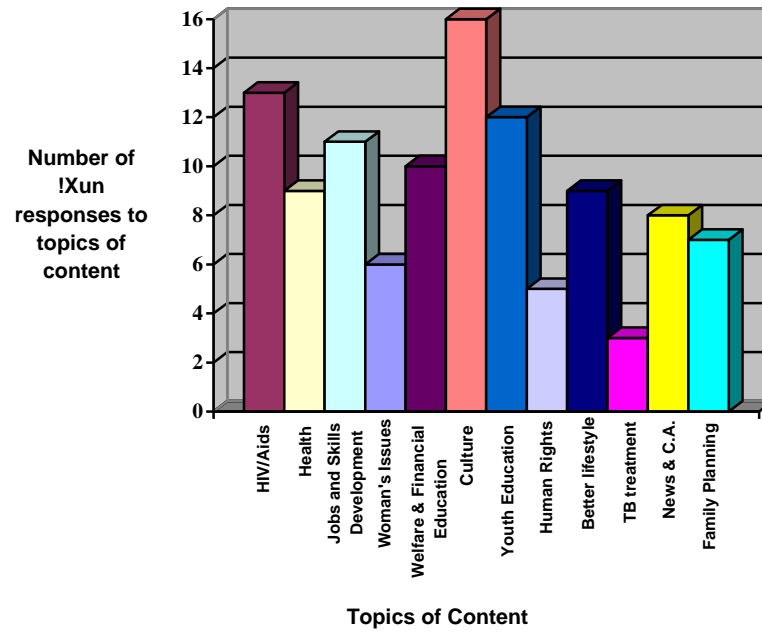


Table 11: Bar chart of what are the most broadcast topic of content provided by XK fm recognized by Khwe respondents

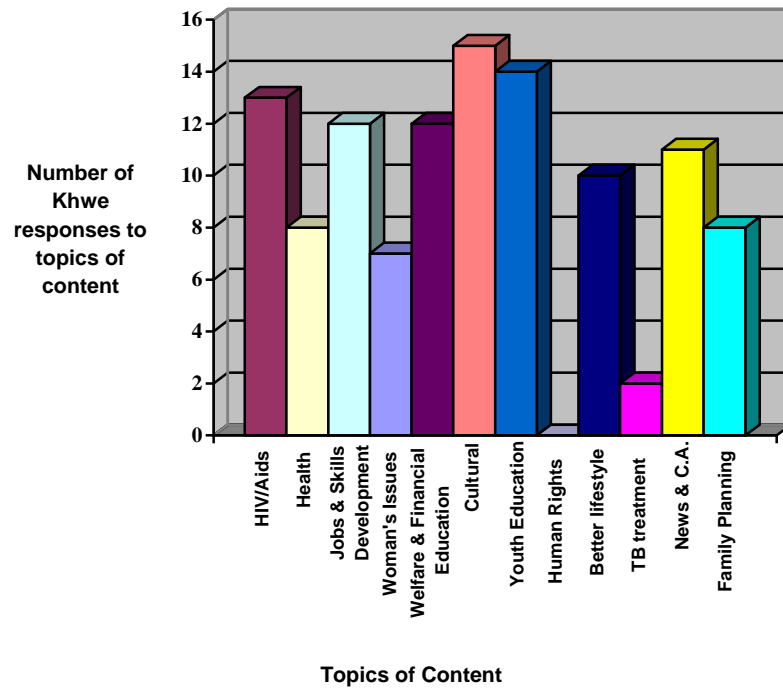


Table 12: Bar chart of overall responses to what are the most broadcast topics of content provided by XK FM

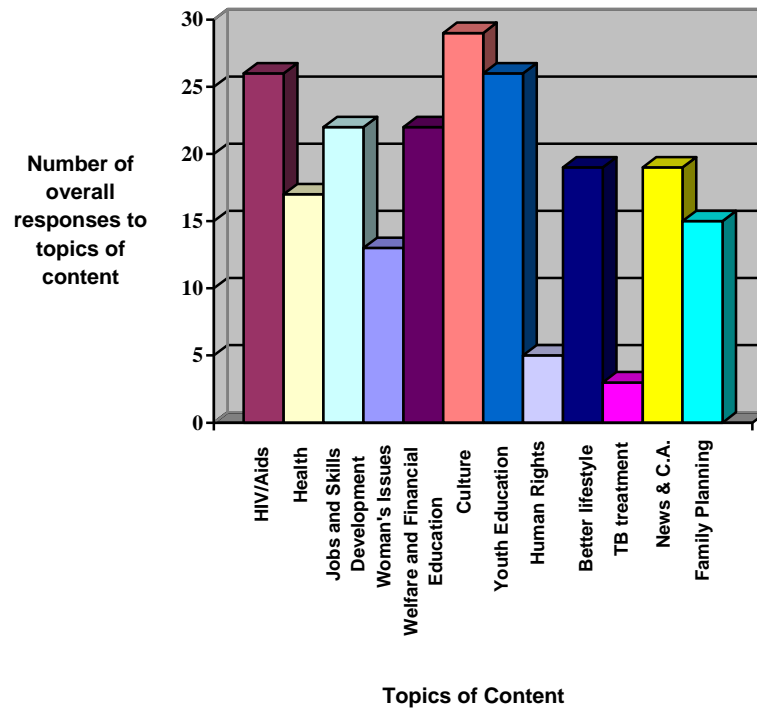


Table 13: Bar chart of !Xun responses high-lighting key themes of content associated with individual & community development

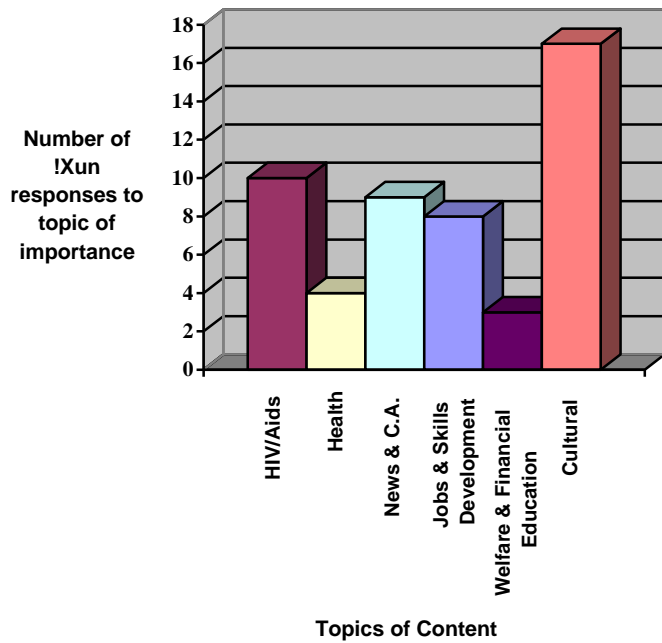


Table 14: Bar chart of Khwe responses high-lighting key themes of content associated with individual & community development

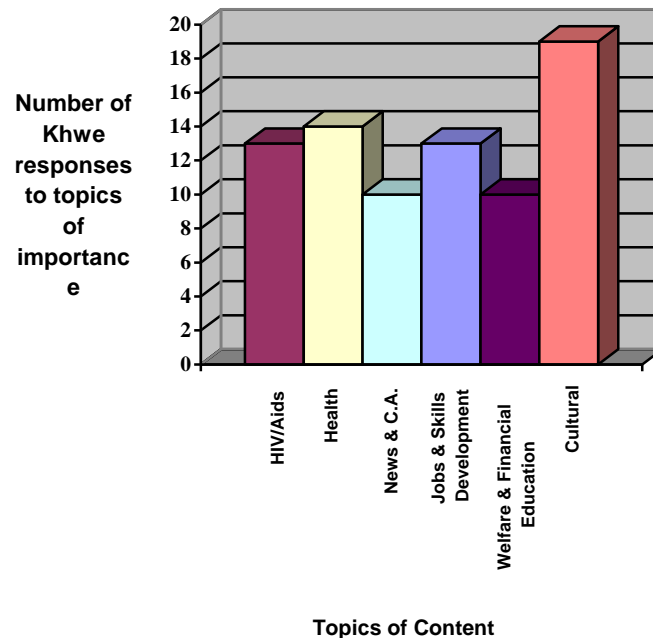
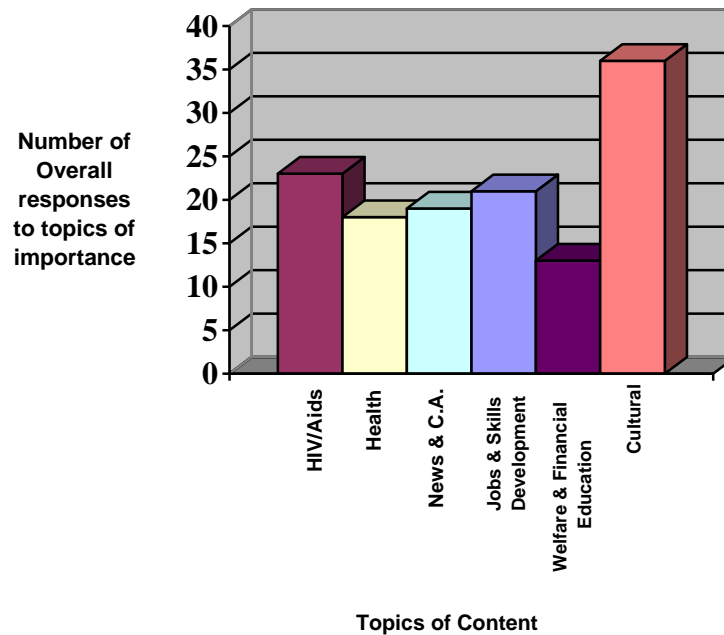


Table 15: Bar chart of overall responses highlighting key themes of content associated with individual and community development



There is a clear recognition among respondents from both communities that much of the content broadcast within the programmes provided by XK fm addresses the issues of HIV/Aids and the ‘cultural’ preservation and development of the two communities. This may be due to the fact that during the period of my fieldwork during April 2008 and March 2009, the station was airing content on the monthly theme around HIV/Aids awareness and on the lifestyles of the two communities’ ancestors. Furthermore, these two themes were also identified by respondents as the areas of greatest importance in their individual and community’s development.

Content related to modern practices, behaviour and values was also popular as many respondents named the topics of health, youth education, jobs and skills development, better lifestyle education and welfare and financial education as of key importance in their individual and community’s development. However, most respondents who identified with content topics related to modern practices and issues such as HIV/Aids, youth education, better lifestyle education and job and skills development as key to their and their community’s development were youth. Adults both in the 30 to 45 age group and those above 45 years tended to identify cultural development as most important, alongside family planning, welfare, financial education, and news and current affairs.

Therefore, the above tables suggest that the focus of content is mostly on issues of cultural revival, HIV/Aids and the modernization of the youth. However, the youth and the two older age groups differ in their selection of topics and issues as central to their individual development and that of the community; the youth see topics of modern practices, behaviours and innovations as important while the adults and older adults of the two communities see cultural preservation as imperative to the survival of the two communities' traditional ways of life.

Reasons for listening to specific programmes and content

When asked about their reasons for their programme and content preferences, a number of themes emerged. These themes were then clustered into three specific groupings related to programme content. These being: to be informed on how to live a modern and better life; the broadcasting of one's language; and to be informed on issues and events outside of Platfontein. See Tables 16 to 18.

Table 16: Bar chart of !Xun responses to why they listen to development programmes

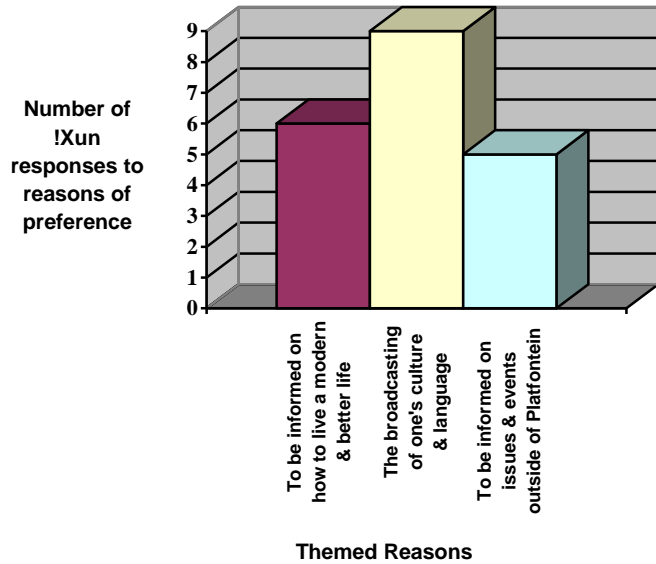


Table 17: Bar chart of Khwe response to why they listen to development programmes

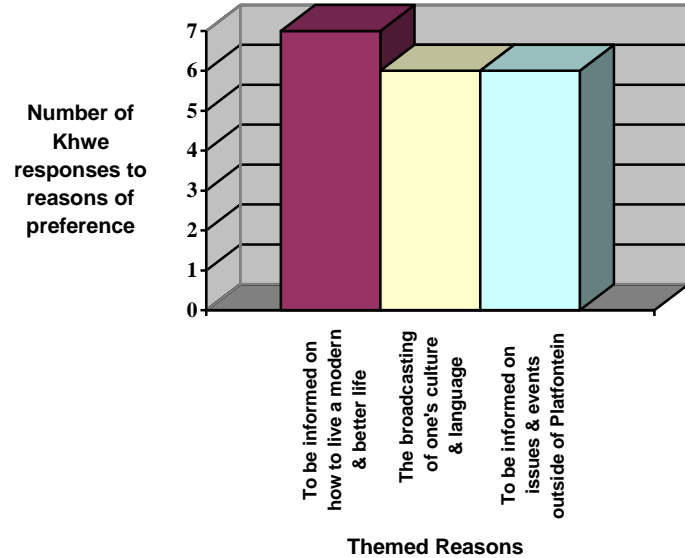
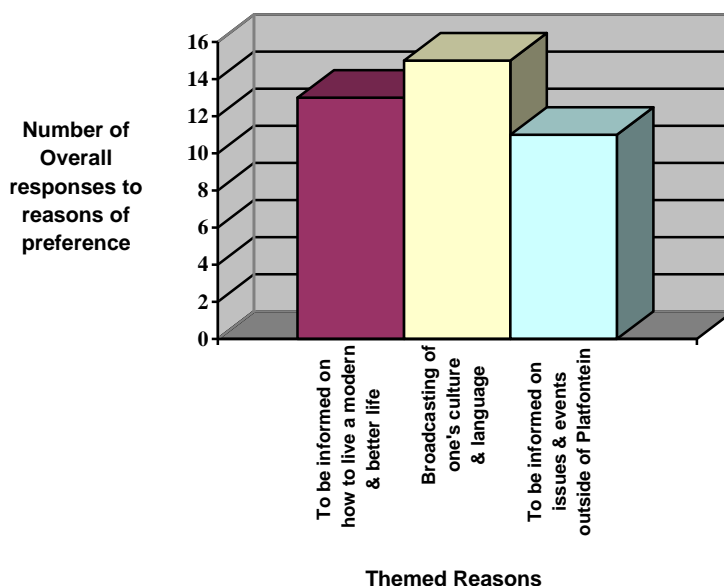


Table 18: Bar chart of overall responses to why they listen to development programmes



The most frequent response (see Table 18) as to why respondents preferred specific programmes and content was that the programmes and their contents were broadcast in the languages of the two communities and were culturally relevant to the ethnic backgrounds of each community and circumstances within Platfontein. The broadcasting of linguistically and culturally relevant content enabled listeners to better understand programmes and the issues raised in them. A second theme to arise out of data was that respondents listened to their preferred programmes and their contents in order to obtain information that would create change within individuals and their community in creating a better life in South Africa as South African citizens. This theme of consumption was mostly associated with the informational programmes. The last theme to arise, which is related to the second one, was the need to be informed about issues, events, current affairs and news within Platfontein and the outside world beyond it, in order to participate and identify with the world outside their isolated township.

To sum up this section on listener practices, I have observed that members of the two communities interact with their radios as background companions to everyday activities. They listen to their radios according to times in the day when they are not pre-occupied with work or school and are within their homes, thus making the mornings and evenings very popular amongst members to listen to the radio. In terms of listening tastes, preferences and habits, it can be argued that the most popular programmes amongst members of the two communities are ones that broadcast

in the languages of the two communities, are culturally focused and provide information on modern life that is contextualized to the conditions, settings and circumstances of Platfontein. The reasons for these various preferences relate to listeners' desires to preserve and celebrate their ethnic culture and language; to be informed in relation to how to live modern lifestyles; and to be knowledgeable about issues and events outside Platfontein. However, findings also indicated that the !Xun and Khwe communities have different listening habits. Similarly, the youth of the two communities have different preferences to the programme and content choices of the older age groups. The youth prefer programmes and content that engage with modern practices, behaviour and innovations as key to their development, while the older age groups preferred programming that promotes their ethnic culture and traditions.

XK fm as the listener's cultural and linguistic protector and channel to the past

The three themes of listener preferences identified above are discussed here in more depth using data from the semi-interview schedule, the in-depth interviews with selected listeners from the latter, and observations from the field.

As mentioned above, the most popular programmes chosen by all age groups of the !Xun and Khwe were the station's two cultural programmes that affirmed and represented positive images of two communities' cultures, pasts and traditions in their contents. In relation to this, findings from in-depth interviews conducted in collaboration with Piorro Mushanvango and Fresto Mangumbu suggest that listeners viewed XK fm in terms of its cultural programmes as their cultural facilitator and protector because the programmes air their languages, cultures and traditions. In addition, when questioned on whether the cultural programmes were helping the members, especially the youth, to re-establish their pasts and cultures, respondents from both communities stated that the cultural programmes provided a means of keeping alive their languages, traditions, stories and music.

Many respondents also referred to a feeling of pride in their ethnicity when the station broadcast in their specific language and told stories of their cultural past in the cultural programmes. This is illustrated in comments from respondents of the older age groups:

Khwe male 33:

I am proud in programmes that broadcast in our own language and the ones that talk about our daily life in Platfontein and about our past and culture (Khwe Respondent 3, Interview conducted by Hart & Mushanvango, May 2008).

!Xun female 48:

When XK fm broadcasts in my language and about my culture and past in the cultural programmes, it makes me feel proud and confident about myself (!Xun Respondent 5, Interview conducted by Hart & Mangumbu, October 2008)

These comments suggest that the station has become a source of identity-formation and pride in their language, culture and past as it creates a sense of identification with their ethnic group and community. This results in a sense of strengthened ethnic consciousness and difference among the two ethnic groups living in Platfontein.

It was observed that many listeners or members of the two communities often enacted traditional customs or rituals in their everyday settings. This was witnessed among all, from the youth to the elders of the two communities, where many participated in trance dances at events such as Women's Day and Heritage Day and at other random gatherings as a means of entertainment or cultural practice. Also, most households in both communities still use traditional means of cooking over a fire away from the main house. The reaffirmation of cultural and traditional practices on air encourages listeners to identify strongly as members of cultural communities. Although this has not led to cultural cohesion among the two communities, it has led to ethnic cohesion within each. Each community now has a cultural village and there are many events within each community to bring together people across age groups to celebrate their ethnicities, spiritualism and traditionalism.

XK FM as the listener's informer and notice board

The station's informational programmes were stated as being popular among listeners because content provided information that was in the interests of the !Xun and Khwe in becoming modern citizens. These programmes consist of the Better Lifestyle programme, the women's journal programme, the informational programme, the

health programme and the disability programme. Findings from in-depth interviews conducted in collaboration with Fresto Mangumbu and Piorro Mushanvango suggest that these programmes were viewed by members of both communities as motivators of self esteem in their ability to help listeners to strive for better lifestyles and personal growth. Most respondents who identified a preference for information programmes expressed a desire to change their lives through the adoption of modern practices, values and innovations which are validated in the informational programmes.

This was notably the case with youth who identified the IKB information based youth programmes as their preference because they presented educational and informative content relevant to modern life such as banking, career guidance, and skills development. This is evident in the following response by a 21 year old male !Xun:

The youth programme has helped the youth to develop their talents and live positively, developing the skills they have. I am now trying to find a job because of information I received listening to the youth programmed earlier (!Xun Respondent 1, Interview conducted by Hart & Mangumbu, April 2008).

In addition, an older male !Xun artist claims he has learnt something from the IKB information based programmes provided by XK fm:

Information broadcast by XK fm has changed my life as an artist. XK fm informed me how to develop my talent and how to generate income from my art. I have learnt a lot through the informational programmes such as how to start my own shop and how to budget for it. (!Xun Respondent 4, Interview conducted by Hart & Mangumbu, May 2008)

In this way respondents view the IKB information based programmes of XK fm related to the modern as opposed to the traditional world as valuable to their growth and access to modernization as individuals and as a community.

Respondents also viewed the information broadcast in these programmes as responsible for creating awareness of certain issues that stifle the development of the two communities and providing public discussion on how to deal with these issues in terms of modern practices, innovation and behaviours. This is illustrated in the following

comment by a 23 year old Khwe female on HIV/Aids and how information provided in the health programme creates awareness of issues amongst listeners:

By broadcasting in my language I now understand the issues of HIV/Aids. Without the station, we would struggle and get infected. It makes us aware on how to protect ourselves from such diseases (Khwe Respondent 5, Interview conducted by Hart & Mushanvango, October 2008)

This perceived creation of awareness amongst listeners was also evident in their responses to the women's journal programme, where female respondents referred positively to this programme in creating awareness on women's rights, issues, and modern practices. Even a few male respondents suggested that they listen to the programme in order to become aware of the rights of women and sensitive issues among women. In an open-ended interview, a 19 year old female !Xun respondent states that through the women's journal programmes she has learnt about the female menstrual cycle and what to do during menstruation (!Xun respondent 3, Interview conducted by Hart & Mangumbu, May 2008). She goes on further to suggest that she has now developed a sense of pride in herself and has confidence in being a woman because of the information within this programme (!Xun respondent 3, Interview conducted by Hart & Mangumbu, May 2008).

Lastly, besides the radio station being perceived as providing information about health, lifestyle, youth and issues related to women, it doubles as a community centre where notices are broadcast from the station and where people meet to apply for jobs, wait for lifts or arrange meetings. This arrangement of the stations as the audio community notice board provides a valuable service by informing members of activities happening within Platfontein and Kimberley. Its value is evident in how members of the two communities come to the station after announcements to apply for jobs, meet somebody or get a lift to somewhere.

XK FM as a channel to the world outside of Platfontein

The news and current affairs programmes were identified as popular among the two older age groups for reporting on current events outside of Platfontein in their languages. The popularity of this sort of content illustrates the two communities' interest in events beyond their cultural knowledge systems. The news and current affairs programme broadcast by XKfm was viewed by respondents as beneficial to their need for information from outside Platfontein and their involvement, on a discussion basis, in national issues of the country and events occurring across the

world. Individuals and groups were often observed discussing and debating current affairs issues such as the Israel and Palestine conflict and the ANC leadership battle, in relation to circumstances in Platfontein. They are able to re-appropriate dominant meanings and discourses into the interpersonal and community processes of communication. One male 38 year old Khwe responded to a question on why he listened to the news and current affairs by stating that it provided him with information of affairs outside of Platfontein which he would never have had access in the days before XK fm (Khwe Respondent 1, Interview conducted by Hart & Mushanvango).

In addition, an interesting example of listeners re-appropriating the meanings of content broadcast in current affairs programmes is the musical story told by a 57 year old !Xun male traditional musician and storyteller who was interviewed by Fresto, where the story teller adapts the political story of the ANC infighting between the Zuma and Mbeki camps for the top position of the ANC into the cultural settings of his ancestral past⁴⁴ According to Thompson “the appropriation of globalised symbolic materials”, such as the news and current affairs programme or any programme produced outside of the station, *‘involves the compression of symbolic distancing from the contexts of everyday life where individuals are able “to take some distance from their everyday lives and gain some conception, however partial, of life conditions which differ significantly from their own”* (Thompson, 1995: 175 cited by Stelitz, 2005: 105). This distantisation enables listeners to think critically about their own lives and life conditions within their own settings in contrast to places else where. The illustrated example of contextualizing ANC infighting within local and cultural setting is an example of this.

Perceptions of XK FM

In relation to the above three analyses, I argued that XK fm is consequently viewed by its listeners paradoxically both as a communication channel to the outside world of modern society as well as the ancestral worlds of the past. It is acknowledged as an informative community based radio station that acts as a storyteller (social actor) that disseminates information and advice to them so they can move towards becoming modern and part of South African society, while simultaneously protecting their languages and cultures. As a result, the station has become,

⁴⁴ The respondent (!Xun respondent 1, Interview conducted by Hart & Mangumbu, April 2008) told a story of how one day a hyena found a crocodile stranded and exhausted in the bush far away from any water hole. The crocodile pleaded with the hyena to carry him to the nearest water hole or else he would die out in the bush. The hyena said yes but on condition that the crocodile does not eat him and rewards him with meat. The crocodile agrees to this. So the hyena puts the crocodile on his back and drags him to the nearest waterhole. Upon arriving at a waterhole as the day turns to night, the hyena pushes the crocodile into water. The crocodile rejoices by splashing about in the water and reviving himself. The hyena shouts at the crocodile to reward him. The crocodile swims a shore and says that it is now night and thus offer does not stand anymore. And with that the crocodile gobbles up the hyena and lives to fight another day.

in the opinion of its listeners, a source of cultural and linguistic pride and a channel to modern information and distant worlds. As one Khwe male 33 year old respondent stated, the station is the “heart beat of our souls” (Khwe Respondent 2, April 2008, Interview conducted by Hart & Mushanvango), mimicking the station’s tag line. It was said that it gave them hope in their everyday lives of residing in Platfontein, a township in poverty and isolated from the outside world. This celebration of the station by respondents and listeners can be attributed to the localization of staff in the operations of the station, the geographical positioning of the station, the broadcasting of the two communities’ languages and cultures and the communal feeling of ownership over the station.

Reflective section: The negotiation of traditionalism and the modernism

In the above section which discusses the consumption preferences of listeners within the two communities and as a geographical collective, it is clear that there is an experience of multiple readings between modernity and traditionalism in the reception of the development based programmes broadcast by XK fm, amongst listeners. In relation to this Chris Mpesi, the programme director of SASI in 2008, stated that the juxtaposition of modern and traditional practices in the programmes broadcast by XK fm provides members of the !Xun and Khwe with the possibility of intersecting between the two discourses and maintaining a balance between the two as they go through everyday life (Chris Mpesi, Interview April, 2008). Consistent with this position, this section reflects on how !Xun and Khwe listeners negotiate programmes and programme content broadcast by XK fm in relation to how they identify with representations of a modern citizen in South Africa, or as an ethnic subject who values past traditions and practices. Arguably, there can be a degree of tension within the negotiation of these two subject positions, with both overlapping and opposing identities, creating a multiplicity of identities at various different levels as well as hybridization. This is because in the process of consumption (or decoding), audiences either accept the preferred meanings of the text, or they oppose the meanings, or they can negotiate a position somewhere between assent and opposition, where they adapt the meanings of the text to suit their local experiences and values (Hall 1980a). Consequently, programmes and programme content can be interpreted in different ways. Just as they are polysemic, listeners can negotiate different identities simultaneously and at different levels (O’Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner, 1998; Gillespie, 1995; Howley, 2002; Thompson, 1992).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the two communities live separate lives as self-conscious ethnic groups whose traditional structures, practices and values are still in place. From findings in this chapter it also appears that both communities have a strong sense of affiliation to what is considered to be San/Bushman. For cultural and socio

political reasons, both communities reconstruct symbolically a piece of the hunter-gatherer image into their everyday lives in Platfontein. However, the San identity can be static and restrictive for communities who want to have access to modern resources and be viewed as modern citizens (cf. Tobias, 1998; Simoes, 2001; Tomaselli 1993, 2005; Dyll, 2004; Hitchcock, 1998, 2002). Findings suggest that the above 45 age group of adults have no problem in identifying with discourses related to being San or positioned as a hunter-gatherer. However, the youth as well as many of the mid-life adults find this identity of the hunter-gatherer very restrictive in terms of living their lives in South Africa. This creates conflict in the process of identification where the youth feel confined and restricted by their ethnicity and the associated ideology of what it is to be San/Bushman, while the elders feel that the youth's pursuit of modern lifestyles is eroding the survival of the two communities' cultures and languages.

However, Riggins (1992) argues that ethnicity is a matter of negotiated self-identities and imagined communities that are socially constructed through people's lived experiences in the private and the domestic spheres where the process continuously unfolds and intersects with other experiences and identifications. According to Roza Tsagarousianou (2001: 163), this makes ethnicity empirically diverse and characterized by paradox:

On the one hand, one encounters highly durable ethnicities that trace their origins over several centuries. However on the other hand, one also observes the rise of new ethnicities and the dissolution of older ones, as well as the many transformations of culture that existing ethnicities have undergone.

Furthermore, according to Marie Gillispie, (1995: 17) the compression of time and space in the media provides a channel for the juxtaposition of very distinct cultural and social practices, which in turn may reinforce social and cultural boundaries while also creating shared cultural spaces in which ideas, values, knowledge and institutions undergo processes of hybridization. This helps break down and rearticulate global and traditional themes into the local private environments of the audience, where they are 'globalized' according to the preferences and identifications of the listener (Lull, 1995; Tomlinson, 1999; Hall, 1991; Strelitz, 2001). The outcome of this creates the possibility of multiple and overlapping individual and collective forms of cultural identity (Lull, 1995; Gillispie 1995; Hall, 1996b; Tomilison, 1999; Curtin & Gaither, 2006).

Members of both communities said that they identified with a range of identities even though they might identify with them at different stages in their everyday lives. Although, members of the two communities stated that their

loyalties lie with South Africa and their ethnic backgrounds, a lot of them (especially the older generation) felt a sense of patriotism with the countries of their origins, Namibia and Angola (see Chapter 1). In addition, with the presence of the SABC as the governing authority over XK fm, routine absorption of modern and institutional discourses within the macro media and micro levels of operation at the station arguably introduce and extend values, beliefs and practices of modern South African society, nation building and multi-culturalism. This is evident in the popularity of the station's news and current affairs programme where listeners consume and negotiate its national and global discourses of content in order to feel a part of South African society as citizens, as well as the global community.

In addition, as mentioned in the previous section, the youth of the two communities seem to prefer programmes and programme content that promote modern innovations and practices. For example, a Khwe teenage girl stated that she listens to the informational programmes as well as consuming other forms of media to “feel Westernised, contemporary and fashionable” (Khwe respondent 4, May 2008, Interview conducted by Hart & Mushanvango). Furthermore, there is a desire among the youth for Western products such as ghetto fashions, clothing, popular music and mobile devices. Frequently youth were witnessed parading their fashion styles ranging from American R&B and hip-hop to the local Kwaito, or practicing break dancing moves in the dusty streets of Platfontein.

However, on a more local level, the station through its cultural programmes has enabled members of the !Xun and Khwe, especially the older generations, to have one foot in modernity and one foot in the past. As mentioned in the previous chapters, respondents often expressed their pride in their language and culture when listening to XK fm. It was also established that members of the two communities participated in certain traditional customs in the private spheres of their homes or in the collective sphere of the community. However, this negotiation of the traditional into everyday life is simultaneously paralleled with the modern. Consider how people now depend on the radio for traditional stories and music rather than on family or community members; or the fact that traditional musical instruments are now made out of modern materials; or that women in the two communities practice traditional trance dancing in modern clothes and for reasons of competing in cultural events and entertainment instead of healing or marital reasons. Thus the negotiation of tradition becomes fused with the practices and structures of modern society. It is effectively a hybrid process whereby people negotiate discourses of the modern and the traditional.

On another level, there were often times when members of !Xun and Khwe would affiliate themselves to their Afrikaans backgrounds whenever communicating with people from the other community or people from outside Platfontein or listening to Afrikaans music. One 29 year old Khwe female respondent stated that she was “proud of being part of the Afrikaans nation and its language” because the language helped her to communicate with people outside of her community and her knowledge of the language allowed access to information (Khwe respondent 6, Interview conducted by Hart & Mushanvango; October 2008). Thus through their identification as Afrikaans too, the two ethnic groups are able to find common ground in which they communicate and see each other as being related and connected to each other. However, as mentioned in Chapter 1 and previously in this chapter, at the same time members of both communities still view Afrikaans as a threat to the survival of their languages. This was articulated by some older respondents who expressed disinterested in programmes broadcast in Afrikaans.

Lastly, respondents also stated that the continuous supply of modern information on development and social issues has brought the two ethnic groups to work together and understand each other. The !Xu and Khwe now share resources provided by XK fm that assist them to better understand issues facing them and to better understand each other. By networking as a collective through the station, the two communities have come together to better their circumstances, thus creating a certain sense of community. Although these two communities still operate on ethnic lines, XK fm provides them with the means to come together to try to work as a geographical community. As advocated, a community radio station can only be sustainable and a source of community development if there is a “sense of internal cohesion and consciousness” among members of a community on the problems they face and their ability to address them through dialogue, debate and participation (Fraser & Restrepo Estrada, 2002; 71).

As a result of the above analysis, the !Xun and Khwe can be seen as ethnic groups that are made up of a multiplicity of cultural and ethnic identities that intersect with one another. They display resourcefulness and skill in their consumption practices of the programmes broadcast by XK fm, articulating discourses according to ethnic and cultural backgrounds but also claiming inclusion in South African society and the global public sphere. Listeners use the station and other forms of media to navigate a multitude of different 'worlds' or realities, by negotiating the modern and traditionalist discourses according to their own senses of identity and development (Thompson, 1992). This provides means for members of the two communities, especially the youth, to overcome ethnic differentiations and form new identities that are not related to their ethnicities.

According to Gillipsie (1995), audiences view the global environment from their local perspectives, but their mentalities are split between the concrete closeness of their home and the fascinating closeness of a distant global world. In this light, according to Howley (2002: 18), community media such as community radio

“...can be understood as contributing to the creation of global villages: communities of significance and solidarity that recognize difference and acknowledge mutual responsibility on a local, national, regional, and global level.”

For the !Xun and Khwe of Platfontein they still view life from the streets of their two separate ethnic communities. However, through XK fm and other forms of media, they have been able to envision a global world from the isolation of Platfontein where their identities are hybridized and blurred in their negotiation.

In addition, with the ability to mediate between multiple identities, the listeners of XK fm are in a sense empowered in terms of their freedom to choose their own path of individual and community identity and development. Many respondents stated that they felt uplifted and empowered by the content and programmes broadcast by the station. This is illustrated in respondents stating that the continuous supply of culturally relevant information on development and social issues has helped provide inspiration and moral support to the two communities in being able to define themselves as modern South Africans and carriers of the San ethnic identity. According to Howley (2002: 7),

“...audience pleasures and freedoms are empowering in that they enable people to create their own meanings and ultimately, their own culture, through their interactions with media texts and technologies.”

Thus, the !Xun and Khwe through the station and access to other forms of media are empowered on a symbolic level, in their negotiation of a wide range of identities according to their own choosing and expression on who they are individually and collectively.

In conclusion, these two ethnic groups have their own separate notions of nationhood and diasporic feelings of identity that are present in their strengthened sense of pride in the broadcasting of their languages and representations of their cultures, which creates ethnic difference and consciousness from one another. However,

these two communities do affiliate with each other on another level according to their identification with a movement to solve problems within the geographical location of Platfontein as modern South Africans and their association with Afrikaans and its language. Furthermore, with the presence of cultural artefacts such as the radio station, television, magazines and mobile content being consumed there is also the appropriation of national, foreign and global cultures into the everyday lives of the Khwe and !Xun which are articulated with local cultures and identities, creating hybrid forms of identity, especially in the youth of the two communities. These hybrid forms of identity provide members of the !Xun and Khwe with a sense of belonging and identification outside of their sometimes confining ethnicities, traditions and customs, creating new avenues to communicate and understand each other. In return, this seems to be reinforcing the social tissue of the two communities as a movement towards bettering their circumstances as both modern South African citizens and as people of the San.

Therefore the discourses of modernization and traditionalism that are articulated from the macro and micro operations of production within XK FM into consumption preferences and identifications of listeners from the two communities are not negotiated as defined and opposing paths of individual and community development, but are complex in their articulation into the everyday lives of the !Xun and Khwe. They are viewed as interconnected/interlinked with one another in the pursuit of members within the two communities to bettering their lives and the conditions of their communities, yet different in their approach to development. Thus there is a duality as opposed to a tension or dualism between the two discourses/subject positions.

Critical Reflection on the role of XK fm

The perceptions of XK fm presented above are notably celebratory and need to be contextualized within the economic, social and political settings of Platfontein and the regulatory environment of the station. I consider the problematic issues of viewing the station in a celebratory manner, as the sole reason for the revival of traditional customs in !Xun and Khwe communities, and as a tool for development. I also link some of the negative responses to the station to its lack of proper feedback platforms.

The views of respondents on the station tend to be deterministic in their emphasis of programme impact in their individual and respective communities' development, when in fact their perceived cause and effects are debatable. According to Bausinger (1984: 349), the behaviour of audiences in their consumption of the media "cannot be reduced to the correlation between content and effect or to usage inside a clearly defined field". Literature in

Chapter 2 and 3 has shown that “while groups of the public could obtain information from impersonal sources such as radio, this information is argued to have relatively little effect on behavioural changes” (Servaes & Malikhaio, 1989: 96). Decisions in the consumption of media texts “are constantly crossed through and influenced by non-media conditions and decisions” (Bausinger 1984: 349). Thus to look at XK fm by itself as a tool of development and behaviour change is too limited as other factors come into play in the reception of the station’s programmes.

When asked about where they had learnt traditional trance dances they had just danced and the songs they had just sung, female !Xun respondents from a group of trance dancers I had filmed stated that they had learnt these specific traditional and cultural performances from relatives and the female elders of the community. Furthermore, when witnessing a group of older Khwe teenage girls performing traditional games and dances with a group of young children, these female teenagers took up positions of cultural educators and facilitators to the group of young children. While these teenage girls mentioned that they had heard similar dances, stories and games on the radio station, they stated that they had learnt them from older people, e.g. their relatives and elders of their community. Thus, arguably the cultural revival of traditional customs within the two communities and the sense of ethnic pride is more the influence of non media entities such as private and community initiatives facilitated by family members, the leaders and elders of the two communities and SASI, than the station itself.

In terms of the women’s journal programme, I found that rather than challenging conventional gender stereotypes and power dynamics, listener perceptions of content based on gender relations reinforce the stereotype. The discourses represented in these programmes tend to confine women to the stereotype of housewife, one that is restrictive if it disallows opportunities of employment, respect and leadership within their families and communities. In relation to the issue of woman’s rights, Chris Mpesi, argues that oppression of women continues within the two communities, a relationship that has historical roots in their military histories and the experiences of hardship, suppression, alienation and dislocation mentioned in Chapter 1 (Chris Mpesi, Interview, April 2008). Gender inequalities were also evident in responses received by male respondents that still viewed woman as housewives whose lives are determined by the man of the house.

While information and education based programmes produced by XK fm and outside agencies may have resulted in an awareness of issues such as health, HIV/Aids, family planning, human rights, women and child abuse, and alcohol and drug abuse, these issues have not translated in listeners adopting or assimilating new behaviour practices in their everyday lives in Platfontein. Chris Mpesi elaborates on the perceived impact of the station’s

information based programmes by arguing that although members of each community do mention a sense of awareness on certain issues and there is discussion of these in the public domain, there has been no indication in previous studies conducted by SASI or the station that the content of programmes results in behaviour change among members of the two communities (Mpesi, Interview, April 2008). It can only be viewed as a promoter of discussion and development instead of a tool of behaviour change among members of the two communities.

For community development to flourish it is advocated that subjects of development should be able to participate and be provided access to give feedback on development initiatives meant for them. When questioned on the aspects of community or listener participation in the production of programmes and channels of feedback provided by the station, respondents stated that there is limited community participation at the radio station. 72% (29) of respondents stated that there were no mechanisms available for listeners to provide feedback on programmes, except for phoning the station with music requests and the visits by the SABC and ICASA every four years. Of the 28 % (10) of respondents who did mention that the station does provide community access for feedback and participation in the production of programmes, the conflated participation with the broadcasting of the two languages, the location of the station and the employment of staff from the two communities were mentioned. This is inconsistent with the fundamental characteristics and principles of participation and participatory communication outlined in Chapter 2. XK fm provides its listeners with restricted access to its facilities and limited means of providing constructive feedback to programmes and discussion, resulting in a lack of listener participation with the station

The lack of participation limits listeners' critique and debate of the issues raised in the development programmes as a community. Respondents complained that the station did not provide opportunities for certain groups such as the youth and elderly to participate in production operations of the station⁴⁵. Most respondents stated that they would like the station to provide more access for members of the two communities to participate in the operations of the station, other than its staff. They suggested that the radio station should provide workshops, meetings and interactive exercises with community members or groups within the communities where programmes, the issues that are transmitted and the successes and challenges of the station itself could be discussed.

⁴⁵ Although, responses from staff of the station suggest that at times members of the two communities were also unwilling to get involved or participate in recording stories unless they are paid for their services, thus leading to a hindering of community participation.

With the SABC only allowing access to the use of the station's facilities to professional employees from !Xun and Khwe and restricting structures of volunteerism within the station as well as limiting channels of feedback, it regulates how the two communities might interact with the station and the programmes. This at times creates conflict between the listeners and the SABC as evident in the number of complaints I received from respondents.

In spite of claims to the contrary, there does exist a form of feedback which exists between the station producers and listeners in the form of social interactions and conversations presenters have with members of the communities. As community members, staff actively participate with listeners everyday, enabling them to identify listener needs and to address them. Thus, although the station has limited community feedback initiatives in place, the fact that the station's staff come from the two communities provides a form of participatory development communication.

Conclusion

In conclusion of this chapter, it has been argued that XK FM is viewed by the two communities as their channel to both modern society and the traditional past (as the San) which they experience and remember while living out their everyday lives in Platfontein, South Africa. Reasons for listening to the station mainly consisted of wanting to preserve and revive their ethnic culture, traditions, history and language and to be informed and provided with information on how to live modern lifestyles. However, instead of being in opposition to one another, these discourses of development are viewed as interconnected in a duality to develop the !Xun and Khwe as modern citizens of South Africa in a socio-cultural manner associated with their own systems of knowledge as people of the San. This duality provides multiple avenues of identification, where members navigate multiple identities at different levels simultaneously according to their own individual and collective preferences of belonging and development.

However, although respondents view the station as having a positive role in their lives as modern citizens and appreciate the revival of cultural traditions and practice within the communities, the fact that there is limited listener feedback opportunities or participation in production processes of programmes means that the station loses some ability to really create community based development in relation to theories of participatory development communication discussed in Chapter 2. Thus I argue that in order for the station to become more of a social agent or tool of community based development, it needs to provide more accessible and participatory channels of listener feedback and participation in programmes such as radio listening groups (see Chapter 3).

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION: THE CIRCUIT OF XK FMM

This study has been concerned with the potential of a community radio station under the ownership of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) to be a facilitator of community-based development. It critically questions whether XK fm under the control of the SABC is a public or community broadcasting service, what role it has in the development of the !Xun and Khwe and how the two communities negotiate identities within programmes and their everyday lives in order to better their circumstances. The focus of research has been on XK fm's macro structures, micro operations and decisions of production, and the outcomes of these structures and processes on the reception of programmes among listeners. This chapter provides an overview of the study's main issues that have been discussed, by first elaborating on the theoretical framework within which this research has been situated, describing the methodology and methods of research conducted and then pointing out some of the main issues discussed. It concludes by providing an overview of findings from the three levels of analysis of XK fm in the form of a five moment circuit of the station's communicative culture.

As a means of critically analyzing the multi-layered aspects of operation within the radio station and the listening habits of its audiences as a whole, this study employed a Cultural Studies framework of theory based on du Gay's (1997) Circuit of Culture. However, it also provides an overview of the modernization and participatory theoretical approaches of development communication as a means of understanding the station's role in the development of the !Xun and Khwe communities. Within du Gay's Circuit of Culture, this study has analyzed the five different moments of the circuit (regulation, production, consumption, representation, and identity) within the macro and micro operations of the station and the reception of the station's programmes. Du Guy et al (1997:9) argue that through the articulation of meaning in these moments, each moment is connected to each other, forming a meaningful whole that foregrounds the context in which communication takes place as the object of analysis, and thus no moment can be studied in isolation from another as they are interdependent on the other moments of the circuit. This has allowed me to conclude the findings of the station's macro, micro and reception analyses as a complete whole within a circuit of culture and critique similarities and divergences of meaning.

As a case study of XK FM and its development programmes, this research has been based on qualitative methodologies. It has conducted methods of data collection using ethnographic tools of research from semi-

structured and in-depth interviews to passive and participant observations that are recorded on video. In-depth interviews with the station's management and staff as well as observations of their daily activities were conducted to obtain data on the station's macro and micro structures and operations. In obtaining data on the reception of the station's development programmes among listeners of the two communities, semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the communities with the assistance of two of the station's producers. These eventually led to more in-depth interviews and observations recorded on video among selected respondents of the semi-structured interviews.

In a review of literature, it was established that radio dedicated to the development of people is referred to as Radio Development Broadcasting. It consists of two approaches to broadcasting and programming; namely Radio for Development and Development Radio. These two approaches have often been advocated as being either 'instruments' or 'tools' of social change and development. Radio for Development is linked to modernization models of development communication, while Development Radio is more a community, participatory and grassroots approach of broadcasting. Because of Development Radio's purpose of serving the needs and interests of a community, it is commonly referred to as community radio. Literature on community radio advocates that a radio station can only be referred to as a community broadcasting service and a tool of development if the radio station is owned by the community and provides participation and self-management at all levels of operation.

However, I have argued that there is no standard or generic definition of community radio and that different socio-political contexts dictate different approaches to community radio, making each station unique and different in its purpose, creation and form. Thus I proposed the use of Myers's definition of community radio as a "small-scale, decentralized, broadcasting initiative that has some elements of community ownership or membership that is easily accessed by local people to encourage their participation in programming" (2000: 90). Furthermore, I point out it is unrealistic to view community radio as a tool of development only if stations embrace full community participation and ownership. This is because principles of community participation and ownership are often unattainable, contradictory and problematic.

In an analysis of South African public and community broadcasting policy and legislation, I argued that the broadcasting industry is edging closer towards state-managed, top-down and prescriptive approaches of regulation in order for the implementation of national agendas of economic development, competitiveness and convergence to be achieved. This has led to the community broadcasting sector being pushed towards a more public broadcasting

approach of operations. This case of dual radio broadcasting becomes a defining feature in the findings of this research. As result, I conclude that XK fm is not much of a stand out case from the rest of the sector with many stations in South Africa being repositioned towards operations of professionalism, commercialization and public broadcasting instead of progressive activism and anti commercialization and professionalism.

XK FM's Circuit of Culture

Regulation

As discussed in Chapter Six, XK fm is institutionalized by the SABC and can be viewed, on a macro level of operation, as a decentralized public radio broadcasting service. This institutionalization of the station into the corporate structures of the SABC is both enabling and constraining for that station. Control by the SABC is accompanied by a top down, authoritarian and hierarchical flow of power from the SABC Executive to the station, in terms of its administration, financial and management operations. As a result, this constructs a relationship between the SABC Executive and the station, characteristic of structural and institutional operations within Radio for Development initiatives that are influenced by dominant approaches of development communication. However, the SABC's governance over the station is also argued to be a positive in relation to funding and equipment that provides a means of sustainability within the station and for opportunities in other areas of operation to arise.

Thus on the macro level of the station, although the SABC is restrictive in allowing XK FM to perform as a community radio station, it is also enabling in its financial and infrastructural support. Furthermore, the legislation imposed upon the station by ICASA also counteracts the SABC's restrictiveness in providing broadcasting policies that reflect the interests, demographics and backgrounds of the !Xun and Khwe. This situation creates competing systems of operation (public vs. community) that resonate down into the micro levels of station and into the discourses of programmes where ideologies of nation building are constantly represented. It also influences the practices of consumption and identification among listeners where it tries to regulate listeners according to constructs of citizenship within South Africa and where the SABC's corporate institutionalism and professionalism limits the stations ability to provide opportunities of volunteerism and restricts listener feedback.

Production

Findings in the micro analysis of Chapter Six suggest that production is guided by the station's localized goals and objectives and the socio cultural systems of knowledge within the station's production staff. However, the station's macro institutionalization and regulation by the SABC and ICASA also articulates the processes of production according to structures of the public broadcaster. As a result there are two approaches of production within the station's micro operations. The one is conformed by the characteristics of development radio that promotes community based broadcasting and discourses, while the other is defined by the characteristics of radio for development practices that advocate State objectives and discourses of national development and behaviour change. These two approaches are important focal points in establishing XK fm's role in the development of the two communities as well as influencing the articulation of meanings within programmes in the moments of representation, consumption and identification.

There is evidence that the two communities do indeed exercise a certain amount of influence and ownership in the decisions of content creation and production. With independence from the SABC Executive in terms of micro decisions and processes of production, the station operates in a democratic and participatory manner between management and staff as well as its processes of production. Furthermore, due to the station's production staff being members of their audience too, their identification with the socio-political, socio-cultural and economic conditions of Platfontein as well as the needs and interests of the two communities, allows them to reconstruct representations according to realities of their local settings, cultures and histories and that of their listeners. By doing so they are able to shape content to suit the identities of their listeners and construct them as subjects and not objects or passive recipients of development (Hollander et al. 2002: 23; Milan, 2010). This participatory process of production has considerable influence in the moments of consumption and identification, where programmes such as the station's cultural and IKB programmes have provided listeners with resources to cultivate and protect their languages and cultures as well as provide solutions to issues within Platfontein

However, according to Chitnis (2004: 241), although participatory communication seeks to empower people, "in doing so it has to work within the existing power structures", which are controlled by the people in power in the case of XK fm. Programme content is also influenced by the institutional ideologies of the SABC by professional staff being contracted to the SABC. Dominant ideologies of the SABC such as nation building, multi-culturalism, and national development are mediated into the contents of some programmes, especially ones based on the

dissemination of information on modern practices. These programmes are produced in a unidirectional manner of communication from development specialists, to producers for translation and then aired to listeners, which brings back constructs of the modernization models of communication. As a result, these programmes are mere extension tools of the SABC's agenda to promote and facilitate national development and growth among the many different ethnic groups and races in South Africa.

Due to these findings in the micro operations of the station, it can be argued that with these two competing approaches of production and the institutionalization of XK fm, the station follows a UNESCO approach of participatory development communication in its processes of production. In addition, these two competing approaches of production tend to articulate different discourses into the contents of programmes where they either compete with each other or overlap with one another.

Representation

Programme discourse comprises of a series of "discursive practices" (Foucault, 1971), which are usually determined by organizational structures of a media outlet and the lived experiences of programme producers (du Gay, 1997). Findings suggested that there are three different discourses broadcast by the station; one is based on the modernization of the two communities, another on traditionalism and cultural preservation of the two communities, while the third emerges from the articulation of both these discourses in the processes of production.

Due to participatory approaches in the moment of production, the cultural based programmes tend to promote/mediate the language and knowledge systems of the two communities, where representations in programme content reflect conditions within Platfontein and the cultures, languages and traditions of the communities. Through participatory processes of production, producers and presenters construct representations within their programmes to suit the realities experienced by the communities and make the content more relevant and understandable to the local knowledge systems of the !Xun and Khwe. As a result, the cultural programmes tend to offer members of the two communities subject positions of knowledge related to being ethnicities, histories and their association with the 'traditional' San identity.

In terms of the station's more formal information and educational programmes, dominant ideologies of the SABC are articulated from the moment of regulation (the station's macro operations) into programme content due to the

SABC's institutional influence over the station. These programmes tend to unite the two communities usually in the form of common values and language, as a homogenous and public audience. Ideologies of the modernization, nation building, multi-culturalism, and national development are mediated into the content of informational programmes, where they try to offer the two communities knowledge of better behaviour practices associated with the ideals of the modernization paradigm of development. Thus representations within these programmes subjectively position listeners towards identities of modern South African citizenship.

These two competing discourses also gave rise to hybridized forms of knowledge that created a narrative of identification that resonate with the socio-cultural realities of the two communities as well as the modern world. This discourse of development usually runs through the contents of IKB programmes produced by the station. Thus, these discourses tended to subject the two communities as both modern citizens of South African and traditionalists of the Bushman identity.

In circulating these multiple meanings, XK fm has attempted to achieve synergy through combining both the discursive systems of radio for development and development radio. However, these discourses may radically differ from the produced messages, depending upon the listeners interpretations. This is because these discourses are mediated within the moments of consumption and identification where they are consumed according to the preferences of listeners and negotiated according to members' identification and use for them in their everyday lives within Platfontein.

Consumption

It is established in Chapter Seven that both the !Xun and Khwe listeners have a companionship relationship with their radios where the act of listening takes up a social role in the everyday lives of individuals, families and groups within the two communities. This social role conforms mostly as a cultural protector and actor for the two communities' languages, cultures and histories, but it also acts as the two communities' informer of local, global, and modern information.

From patterns of consumption it can be argued that the !Xu and Khwe prefer to listen to programmes in their languages and content that reflects their daily experiences and histories. The station's cultural and IKB programmes demonstrated that language and the cultural relevance of programme content were major determinants in listener

preferences to programmes. The popular consumption of these programmes also highlights the influence of participatory processes of production in the moment of consumption. The appropriation of the cultural based discourses within everyday life has given rise to a social movement of culturalism and traditionalism that is celebrated by both the elders and the youth of the two communities in the continued re-living of traditional customs. Thus it is evident that the participatory processes of production in the development radio based programmes have helped in providing systems of knowledge that re-live the experiences and cultural spaces of the two communities, creating a sense of collective identification and ownership over their culture and ethnicity. At the same time, global experiences and modern discourses within the information programmes as well as the news are accepted as a natural part of their media consumption (Lull, 1995: 121).

However, differences of programme preferences among the youth, adults and older adults of the two communities suggest that listeners have different consumption habits based on the demographics of age and gender. Most adults and older adults preferred listening to the programmes based on their pasts, their cultures and the community as well as the news and current affairs programme, while the youth preferred to listen to informational programmes that were entertaining and provided information on modern lifestyles and global affairs and trends.

Although these findings suggested that XK fm and its development programmes, in terms of the views of listeners, are facilitating and promoting community based development according to both the cultural and modern interests and needs of the !Xun and Khwe communities, it has to be noted that these assumptions in the context of realities on the ground and observations are contradictory. With the station regulated by the institutional structures of the SABC, the mandate of professionalism within the station's macro and micro levels of operation restricts volunteerism and listeners from participating in the creation of content and providing multiple platforms for listener feedback on programmes. This has resulted in a number of criticisms of the station and its programmes and limited the station's role in properly facilitating community based development through its programmes.

Identification

The extent to which listeners take up the offer within the contents of programmes is dependent upon the extent to which they identify with the discursive formations and practices within the programmes (Delate, 2004; Howley, 2002). As mentioned before, the station operates on two different levels of production and because of this encodes multiple discourses within programmes that either promote local and indigenous cultural development,

modernization or hybridization of both. When listeners identify with these discourses they appropriate their meanings within everyday life and in doing so encode meaning about themselves that makes them symbolic subjects of that particular discourse (Du Gay et al, 1998 Delate, 2004). However, as this study indicates, listeners bring their own semantics into play where they are able to negotiate dominant connotations by either identifying with them, contesting them or are producing them (Grossberg et al, 1998, Hall, 1998). This creates a multiplicity of identities that either overlap with one another or are in conflict with one another.

Findings in Chapter 7 suggest that members of the !Xun and Khwe who listened to XK FM, used its programmes to “navigate a multitude of different worlds or realities” (Thompson, 1992; Tufte, 2001), by negotiating the modern and traditionalist discourses according to their sense of identity. By appropriating global identities into local contexts, and celebrating indigenous cultural forms and practices within the same space and time, listeners undermined the binary oppositions of "local"/"global" and “traditional”/“modern”, creating a “shared consciousness” among listeners that has “strengthened local and indigenous forms of organization, tradition, culture and language while facilitating the integration of new national, global and modern elements” of cultural behaviour, knowledge and practice (Gumucio Dagron, 2001: 34-3). This allows members of the two communities to establish a sense empowered in terms of their freedom to choose their own path of individual and community identity and development. Howley (2002: 7) establishes that it is this choice or freedom in creating one’s own identity and ultimately, one’s own culture, through interactions with media such as XK fm that are dedicated to the individual and community development of its listeners, that creates empowerment among members a specific community. Thus, the !Xun and Khwe through the station are empowered on a symbolic level and with duality of discourses with in the programmes of station are able to create a sense of belonging and identification outside of their sometimes confining ethnicities, traditions and customs, creating new avenues to communicate and understand each other. In return, this seems to be reinforcing the social tissue of the two communities as a movement towards bettering their circumstances as both modern South African citizens and carriers of the San ethnic identity.

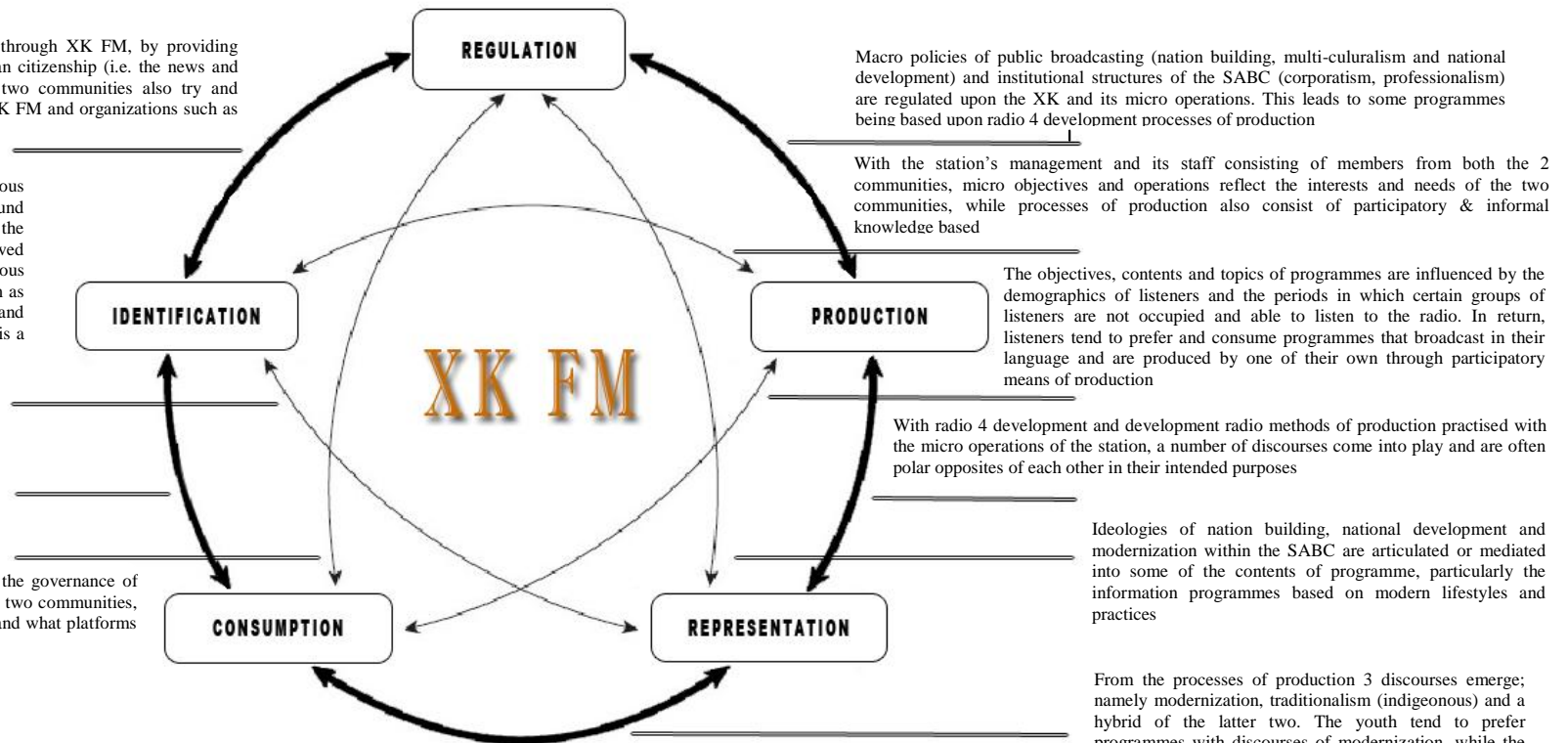
Figure : Diagram of XK FM's circuit of culture

The SABC tries to regulate the identities of the two communities through XK FM, by providing programming with discourses that promote attributes of South African citizenship (i.e. the news and current affairs programme). Simultaneously, the leadership of the two communities also try and regulate the assimilation of traditional and ethnic identities through XK FM and organizations such as SASI

The consumption of programmes with traditional and indigenous discourses has promoted pride in one's ethnicity and cultural background among members of the two communities. However at the same time, the consumption of programmes with modern discourses has allowed members to transgress beyond their sometimes static indigenous identities, and provided means to interact with the world around them as members of the Afrikaans nation, citizens of South African and participants within the global market and cultural sphere. Thus there is a dual negotiation of modern and traditional (indigenous) discourses.

Listeners tend to consume programmes that are identifiable to their values, beliefs, ethnicities, age group and interests. Consumption preferences of the youth were based their aspirations to be modern, South African and apart of global culture, while preferences of the older generations were based on one's affiliation to the past, traditional customs and South Africa. The gender of listeners were also influential factors

By positioning XK FM as public broadcasting service under the governance of the SABC, a level of regulation is imposed on listeners of the two communities, in terms of who can participate in the production of content and what platforms of feedback are allowed



Reflection and Recommendations

Throughout the station's macro and micro levels, there is a contestation between the modernization and participatory approaches of development communication. However, when one looks at processes of communication within the station and the reception of its radio broadcasting programmes from a circuit of culture perspective, these two paradigms of development communication actually merge or overlap to form a discourse of development communication that is institutionally based in terms of structure, but participatory in implementation and production and promotes both the cultural development and the assimilation of modern innovations in coordination with local settings. As a result, I argue that XK fm operates along the lines characteristic of the UNESCO model of participatory development communication and serves the !Xun and Khwe communities as a community based public broadcasting service. This proves to be a unique study of public and community broadcasting sectors working together in running a sustainable community based service for the purpose of catering to the development needs of two disadvantaged communities. However, although the station and its development programmes have promoted indigenous knowledge systems and created awareness of issues, they have not directly altered behaviour and there still is an atmosphere of relived despair, poverty, and disempowerment within Platfontein. This was owing to the lack of listener interaction and feedback within these programmes. Institutional structures of the SABC tended to regulate listener participation within these programmes. More needs to be done in the processes of production and reception to include community participation to move from just being an informer that creates awareness, to a tool of the two communities that engages development in every aspect of everyday life in Platfontein.

Thus I recommend that the SABC provides access for members of the two communities to actively engage in programming by allowing constructive listener feedback on programmes through multi-platforms of the media and interpersonal face to face communication. One suggestion mentioned previously is to implement radio listening clubs for certain programmes broadcast by the stations. Furthermore it is also recommended that the SABC also provides resources and training for producers of the station to carry out, monitor and conduct evaluation research on their own programmes and those of others in order to provide more strategically focused, professional and culturally relevant programming that promotes and facilitates constructive community development.

In terms of the community broadcasting sector and its future in South Africa, further research is suggested on the relationship between the public broadcaster (the SABC) and the community broadcasting services in facilitating development among disadvantaged people and communities. In the current situation, I have argued (in Chapter 5) that the competitiveness of the broadcasting industry within South Africa and certain objectives within broadcasting policy and legislation has led to the two broadcasting sectors competing against each other for funding, air time, audience loyalty and a role in facilitating the growth and development of the nation, instead of working together. Thus there is a need to examine what implications of future broadcasting legislation such as the new Electronic Act are going to have on the community broadcasting sector in relation to the public broadcaster and whether there are ways in which to get the two sectors working together on levels of content creation and production, as well as creating sustainable partnerships in terms of financial support and management and technological and distribution infrastructure. There is also an opportunity in terms of XK fm of a more focused investigation on the role of programming in the facilitation of development. One could look into the relations of power, communication and development of a single programme broadcast by XK fm.

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APPENDIX ONE

Guiding Questions for staff of XK fm

1. What is your job in the radio station?
.....
2. Do you have any role in the production and broadcast of the development and informational programmes between? If yes what role do you have?
.....
.....
3. What type of development programmes and development themes does the radio station cover in its broadcasts?
.....
.....
4. In your opinion what is development?
.....
.....
5. Where do you/your presenters get your/their sources of information from for the development programmes?
.....
.....
6. Are the issues and topics broadcast in the development programmes related the development issues in Platfontein?
.....
.....
7. Are the development programmes broadcast by the radio station helping the two communities resolve issues related to Platfontein? Please explain how
.....
.....
8. Are their any challenges that the radio station is facing producing these development programmes? Name them
.....
.....
9. Are there any development workers, NGO's, government officials or people who are specialized in specific fields of development involved in the programming?
.....
.....
10. Do any members of the two communities of Platfontein help as volunteers in the production of the development programmes?
.....
.....
11. What mechanisms are there given to the two communities for them to participate in the programmes and provide feedback?

.....
.....
12. Do you have any further comments?

Guiding Questions for XK Fm producers

1. What are people saying about the development programs you produce? What stories are most frequently told? How have these stories changed over the past year

.....
.....

2. Is XK fm and the development programs you produce contributing to how people think about development? How? Why do you think that

.....

3. Are the development programs produced by you influencing the way people act in this community? How?

.....
.....

4. What signs or evidence do you have of such change?

.....
.....

5. Do you see changes in public beliefs, opinions and values among community members in terms of the development issues raised in your programs? How and why you think this is happening.

.....
.....

6. What is the purpose or mission of each development program you produce? Do you think it is living up to its stated purpose? Why or why not?

.....
.....

7. Please could write up a short summary of each development program that you produce and discuss what they are about, what are their purpose, what issues of development do they raise, what time and day they are broadcast and what is involved in making the programs such as do they involve community members in the process of production and broadcasting and are the contents of the programs created by you or the SABC. You just need to tell how you create the development programs that you produce and brief summary of experiences in your communities that you have witnessed that show that your programs are having an effect on developing the community. You can do this by writing down a dairy of events in a time period of a month if you want.

.....
.....
.....
.....

Guiding Questions for SASI staff

1. **Name:**
2. **Role in SASI:**
3. **What role did SASI play in the creation of XK fm and what role does it have in furthering the stations development into the future?**
.....
.....
4. **Do any members of SASI have a role in the production and broadcast of the development and informational programmes broadcasted by XK fm? If yes what role do you have?**
.....
.....
5. **Do you think the development programmes broadcast by XK fm serve the needs and problems of the two communities and thus can be seen as an agent of development? If yes, please explain**
.....
.....
6. **How relevant are the contents and topics of the development programmes broadcast by XK fm to the two communities of Platfontein?**
.....
.....
7. **What is your opinion on the SABC's role in the affairs of XK fm and its role in the broadcasting of the development programmes?**
.....
.....
8. **What are the challenges that the radio station is still facing in being an agent of development for the two communities of Platfontein?**
.....
.....
9. **Do any members of the two communities of Platfontein help as volunteers in the production of the development programmes? And if not do you think there should be more access to the radio station for volunteers?**
.....
.....
10. **Does XK fm provides means for community members from both communities to actively give feedback on the development programmes broadcast by XK fm?**
.....
.....
11. **What role does XK fm play in the development of the !Xu and Khwe in Platfontein?**
.....
.....
12. **Any further comments?**

Guiding Questions for Community Leaders

1. Name:
2. Ethnicity:
3. Role in community:.....
4. What role have the leaders of both communities played in the creation of XK fm and its further development into the future?
.....
.....
5. Do any of the community leaders have a role in the production and broadcast of the development and informational programmes broadcasted by XKm? If yes what role do you have?
.....
.....
6. Do you think the development programmes broadcast by XK fm serve the needs and problems of the two communities and thus can be seen as an agent of development? If yes, please explain
.....
.....
7. How relevant are the contents and topics of the development programmes broadcast by XK fm in relation to the two communities?
.....
.....
8. What is your opinion on the SABC's role in the affairs of XK fm and its role in the broadcasting of the development programmes?
.....
.....
9. What are the challenges that the radio station is still facing in being an agent of development for the two communities of Platfontein?
.....
.....
10. Do any members of the two communities of Platfontein help as volunteers in the production of the development programmes? And if not do you think there should be more access to the radio station for volunteers?
.....
.....
11. Does XK fm provides means for community members from both communities to actively give feedback on the development programmes broadcast by XK fm?
.....
.....
12. What role does XK fm play in the development of the !Xu and Khwe in Platfontein?
.....
.....

APPENDIX TWO

Semi Structured Interview Schedule for !Xun and Khwel Listeners

1. Ethnicity:
2. Gender:
3. Age.....
4. Do you listen do XK fm?
5. What is the purpose of XK fm in your opinion?
.....
.....
6. What times do you listen to XK fm?
7. Who are your favorite presenters and why?
.....
.....
8. Do you listen to any development programmes broadcast by XK fm? Please name the programmes
.....
.....
9. Why do you listen to these development programmes?
.....
.....
10. Where about do you listen to the development programs broadcast on XK fm and who do you listen to them with?
.....
.....
11. Are the !Xu and Khwe communities represented in these development programmes and are they servicing your needs and interests as well as solving problems in your community? Please explain your answer.
.....
.....
12. What type of topics of development does the station cover in its development programmes?
.....
.....
13. Of these topics, which ones have helped you in your life and everyday activities and are of the greatest importance to you and your community?
.....
.....
14. What do you like or dislike about the development programs broadcast by XK fm?

.....
.....
15. What would you like to hear more of in terms of development and why?

.....
.....
16. What would you like to hear less of and why?

.....
.....
17. In your opinion, what are the purposes of the development programmes broadcast on XK fm?

.....
.....
18. In your opinion have the development programmes broadcast by XK fm made a positive contribution to the development of your community and culture?

.....
.....
19. Have you learned anything in the last week from listening to your favorite development programme?

.....
.....
20. Have you learned anything in the last 6 months from listening to your favorite development programme?

.....
.....
21. Are there mechanisms in place in your community to give feedback to the radio station on the development programmes? If so, does the station act upon your suggestions?

.....
.....
22. Do you participate in this station or any of its development programs? If you do not, have you ever been approached to do so and how would you like to be involved in then station?

.....
.....
23. What should be done to allow more access for the community to be involved with development programmes broadcast by XK fm?

.....
.....
24. Do you have any further comments?

APPENDIX THREE



Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
Fynsil Street, 164 Sandton Street, Sandton
Private Bag 810002, Sandton, 2146

INDIVIDUAL BROADCASTING SERVICE LICENCE
No. 018/PBS/R/SEPT/08

GRANTED AND ISSUED

TO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
XK FM

FOR THE PROVISION OF
A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS
AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

AT SANDTON ON THIS ^{18th}.....DAY OF DECEMBER 2008


Paris Mashile
Chairperson

1 LICENSEE

The Licence is issued to:

- 1.1 Name of Company/Entity: The South African Broadcasting Corporation
- 1.2 Shareholders: The State: 100%
- 1.3 Ownership held by persons from historically disadvantaged groups: N/A

2 CONTACT DETAILS

2.1 The contact person for the Licensee shall be:

2.1.1	Name	Philly Moolwa
2.1.2	Tel	(011) 714 3708
2.1.3	Fax	(011) 714 4816
2.1.4	Cell	082 903 2544
2.1.5	Email	pmoolwa@sabc.co.za

2.2 Should the Licensee propose to replace the person so designated, the Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing within seven (7) days after appointing the new designated person.

3 NOTICES AND ADDRESSES

The Licensee chooses the following addresses as its principal addresses.

- 3.1 Postal Address: Private Bag x1
Auckland Park
2006
- 3.2 Physical Address: Radio Park
Henley Road
Auckland Park
2006

SCHEDULE

1. **Name of Station**

XK FM

2. **Geographic Coverage Area**

The geographic coverage area is as defined in the map attached to the radio frequency spectrum licence.

3. **Language(s)**

Principal Language: iXun and Khwe

4. **Format**

4.1 The service authorised by this licence forms part of the public service division of the Licensee.

4.2 The licensed service shall be a full-spectrum service.

5. **Local Content Obligations**

In each licence year, the Licensee shall, within thirty (30) days of end of the quarter, submit to the Authority written records indicating the extent of

5.1 the different genres, and

5.2 the South African music content,

in programme material broadcast on the licensed service during that quarter, in each instance, distinguishing between genres, providing the relevant details in relation to prime time and the period between 05h00 and 23h00 daily (the South African broadcast period), and expressing the relevant details both as an aggregate in minutes and as a percentage of the total of all such programming material

6. **General Programming Obligations**

6.1 General

- 6.1.1 The Licensee shall ensure that its programming adequately reflects the diversity of South Africa's religions.
- 6.1.2 The Licensee shall take reasonable steps to provide programming that reflects the cultural and traditional needs of its audience.
- 6.1.3 The Licensee shall, during the South African performance period, provide programme material that caters and has due regard for the interests of all sectors of South African society and shall provide programming on health related issues, gender issues relevant to all age groups

6.2 News and Current Affairs

- 6.2.1 The Licensee shall broadcast at least sixty (60) minutes of news programming each day during the South African performance period.
- 6.2.2 The Licensee shall broadcast at least sixty (60) minutes of current affairs programming each day during the South African performance period.
- 6.2.3 The Licensee shall in the production of its news and current affairs programming:
 - (i) exercise full editorial control in respect of the contents of such programming;
 - (ii) include matters of international, national, regional and where appropriate, local significance;
 - (iii) meet the highest standards of journalistic professionalism;
 - (iv) provide fair, unbiased, impartial and balanced coverage independent from governmental, commercial or other interference; and
 - (v) provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to receive a variety of points of view on matters of public concern.

6.3 Programming targeted at Children

- 6.3.1 The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least one (1) hour of programming targeted at children (as

contemplated in section 10(1)(g) of the Broadcasting Act) per week during the South African performance period.

6.3.2 In the production and presentation of its children's programming, the Licensee shall ensure that such children's programming is:

- (i) broadcast at times of the day when children are available to listen;
- (ii) target at and appropriate for children between the ages of nought (0) to six (6) years and seven (7) years respectively; and
- (iii) educational and is made from children's point of view.

6.4 Educational Programming

The Licensee shall broadcast at least five (5) hours of educational programming (as contemplated in section 10(1)(e) of the Broadcasting Act) per week within the South African performance period.

6.5 Drama

The Licensee shall broadcast at least two and a half (2 ½) hours of drama per week within the South African performance period.

6.6 Informal Knowledge-Building Programmes

The Licensee shall broadcast at least three (3) hours of informal knowledge-building programming per week within the South African performance period.

7. Training and Skills Development Obligations

7.1 The Licensee must adopt and implement equal opportunity employment practices.

7.2 The Licensee must ensure that its management and staff are representative of South African society and that its human resource policies take into account the development of managerial, production, technical and other skills and expertise, particularly with regard to the historically disadvantaged persons.

7.3 The Licensee shall endeavour to achieve fair and reasonable participation by historically disadvantaged persons with respect to:

- (a) its management and control structures;
- (b) skills development;
- (c) enterprise development; and

(d) procurement.

7.4 The Licensee must, within thirty (30) days of the end of each financial year, provide the Authority with written information regarding its compliance with the above requirements.

8. Provision of audited financial statements to the Authority:

The Licensee shall provide the Authority with the audited annual financial statements of the licensed service within four (4) months of the end of the Licensee's financial year, provided that the Licensee may on good cause apply to the Authority for an extension.

ICASA

Independent Communications Authority of South Africa

RADIO FREQUENCY SPECTRUM LICENCE

No. 018/PBS/RF/SEPT/08

GRANTED AND ISSUED

TO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
XKFM

FOR THE PROVISION OF
A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS
AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

AT SANDTON ON THIS ^{18th} DAY OF DECEMBER 2008


Paris Mashile
Chairperson

1. LICENSEE

The Licence is issued to:

- 1.1 **Name of Company/Entity:** The South African Broadcasting Corporation

- 1.2 **Shareholders:** The State shall hold one hundred (100%) percent of the shares of the Corporation

- 1.3 **Ownership held by persons from historically disadvantaged groups:**
N/A

2 CONTACT DETAILS

2.1 The contact person for the Licensee shall be:

- 2.1.1 Name: Philly Mofwa
- 2.1.2 Tel: (011) 714 3708
- 2.1.3 Fax: (011) 714 4816
- 2.1.4 Cell: 082 903 2544
- 2.1.5 Email: pmofwa@sabc.co.za

2.2 Should the Licensee propose to replace the person so designated, the Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing within seven (7) days after appointing the new designated person

3 NOTICES AND ADDRESSES

The Licensee chooses the following addresses as its principal addresses:

3.1 Postal Address: Private Bag x1
Auckland Park
2006

3.2 Physical Address: Radio Park
Henley Road
Auckland Park
2006

SCHEDULE

1. **Name of Station**

XK FM

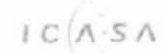
2. **Geographic Coverage Area**

Kimberley

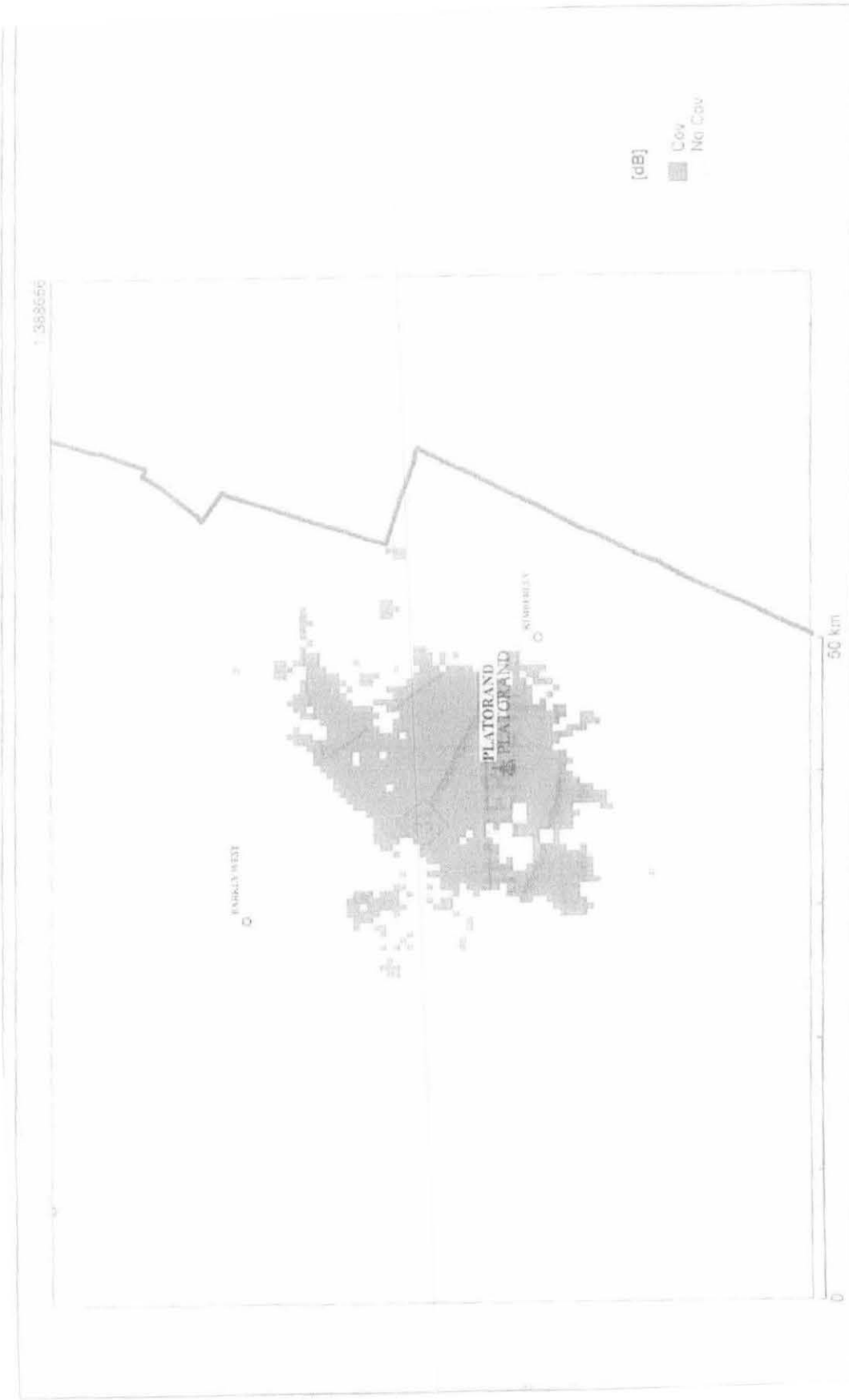
3. **General Conditions**

The Licensee must at all times observe the provisions of international telecommunications conventions, such as those governing the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and as they apply to the Republic of South Africa.

SCHEDULE B2



COMMERCIAL SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE LICENCE TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS	
LICENSEE	X-K FM
TRANSMITTER SITE	PLATORAND
SIGNAL DISTRIBUTOR	SENTECH
ASSIGNED FREQUENCY	107.9 MHz
GEOGRAPHIC CO-ORDINATES	24E39 18 28S42 26
PHYSICAL ADDRESS	PLATFONTEIN, SENTECH
SITE HEIGHT	1116 m above sea level
MID-ANTENNA HEIGHT	20 m above site
MAXIMUM EFFECTIVE ANTENNA HEIGHT	1131 m above ave. terrain
DESIGNATION OF EMISSION	250KF8EHF
FREQUENCY STABILITY	2 kHz
SPURIOUS EMISSION LEVEL	60 dB / 1 mW
MAXIMUM DEVIATION	75 kHz
MAXIMUM EFFECTIVE RADIATED POWER (ERP)	0.2 kW
ANTENNA HORIZONTAL RADIATED PATTERN	DIRECTIONAL
ANTENNA POLARISATION	VERTICAL
PROGRAMME SOURCE	STL
RDS SERVICE	YES
SST SERVICE	NONE



SCHEDULE B3 (COVERAGE AREA)

X-K FM

ICASA



APPENDIX FOUR

COMPLIANCE REPORT

XK FM

Licence Period : 18 December 2008- 17 December 2018

1. PREFACE

The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (“the Authority”) has a statutory mandate in terms of the Constitution¹, the ICASA Act² and the Electronic Communications Act³ (“EC Act”) to regulate broadcasting activities in South Africa in the public interest. In this regard, the Licensing and Compliance Division (“LCD”) of the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (“ICASA”) is tasked with ensuring compliance by broadcasters with the terms and conditions of their License, the Electronic Communications Act (“EC Act”), the ICASA Act and any relevant legislation.

The following report is intended to give account of XK FM’s performance for the period 2009 – 2010. Aspects of compliance that are measured comprise of geographic coverage, languages, format, local content obligations, general programming obligations, training and skills development obligations, finances South African music content regulations and regulations regarding standard terms and conditions.

2. BACKGROUND

XK FM is a public radio station of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (“the SABC”) as per the requirement of clause 4.1 of its licence. The radio station’s

¹ The Constitution of the Republic no 108, 1996

² ICASA Act no 13 , 2000 as amended

³ Electronic Communications Act no 36, 2005

mandate is to provide a full radio spectrum service to the public community of Schmidtsdrift an area lying in the north furthest parts of the Northern Province. The radio station's principal languages of broadcast are: iXun and Khwe (see *broadcasting service licence and spectrum licence attached as Appendix A*).

3. COMPLIANCE ASSESSMENT

3.1. Geographic Coverage Area

Clause 2 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

According to the frequency spectrum licence, the radio station's coverage area is Schmidtsdrift an area lying in the north furthest parts of the Northern Province.

The radio station complies with clause 2 above.

3.2. Language(s)

Clause 3 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

"Principal language: iXun and Khwe".

The radio station's principal languages are iXun and Khwe. It is worth-noting that during monitoring of the radio station's programme recordings, Afrikaans (bridging language) was identified as another language of broadcast.

The radio station complies with clause 3 above.

3.3. Format

Clause 4.1 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

"The service authorised by this licence forms part of the public service division of the Licensee".

Clause 4.2 stipulates that:

"The licensed service shall be a full-spectrum service".

XK FM is categorised as a public radio station of the SABC and offers a full-spectrum service to its audience as outlined in the licence.

The radio station complies with clauses 4.1 and clause 4.2 above.

3.4. Local Content Obligations

Clause 5 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

“In each licence year, the Licensee shall, within thirty (30) days of end of the quarter, submit to the Authority written records indicating the extent of:

5.1 different genres; and

5.2 South African Music Content, in programme material broadcast in the licensed service during that quarter, in each instance, distinguishing between genres, providing the relevant details in relation to prime time and the period between 5h00 and 23h00 daily (“the South African broadcast period”), and expressing relevant details both as an aggregate in minutes and as a percentage of the total of all such programming material”.

Although the SABC submitted its quarterly reports for the period under review, the reports are reflective of a week’s sample for each quarter. The SABC is of the view that it is unlikely that programming would change in a week.

The figures below show a breakdown of XKFM’s compliance with the quotas set out by the Authority. These figures were verified during the Authority’s monitoring exercise, as detailed under paragraph 3.5 of the report.

First Quarter April – June 2009

Content/ Genre	ICASA Quota (Minutes Daily/Weekly)	XK FM's Provision (Minutes Daily/Weekly)	XK FM's Compliance (%)
<i>News</i>	<i>30 min (Daily)</i>	<i>66min (Weekdays) 50min (Saturday) 65min (Sundays)</i>	<i>220% 167% 167%</i>
<i>Current Affairs</i>	<i>30min (Daily)</i>	<i>99min (Weekdays) 55min (Saturday) 55min (Sundays)</i>	<i>330% 183% 183%</i>
<i>IKB</i>	<i>180 min (Weekly)</i>	<i>1580min (Weekly)</i>	<i>878%</i>
<i>Educational</i>	<i>300min (Weekly)</i>	<i>425min (Weekly)</i>	<i>142%</i>
<i>Children's</i>	<i>15min (Weekly)</i>	<i>785min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>5233%</i>

Second Quarter July – September 2009

Content/ Genre	ICASA Quota (Minutes Daily/Weekly)	XK FM's Provision (Minutes Daily/Weekly)	XK FM's Compliance (%)
<i>News</i>	<i>30min (Daily)</i>	<i>66min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>220%</i>
		<i>55min (Saturday)</i>	<i>167%</i>
		<i>50min (Sunday)</i>	<i>167%</i>
<i>Current Affairs</i>	<i>30min (Daily)</i>	<i>99min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>330%</i>
		<i>55min (Saturday)</i>	<i>183%</i>
		<i>55min (Sunday)</i>	<i>183%</i>
<i>IKB</i>	<i>180min (Weekly)</i>	<i>1580min (Weekly)</i>	<i>878%</i>
<i>Educational</i>	<i>300min (Weekly)</i>	<i>425min (Weekly)</i>	<i>142%</i>
<i>Children's</i>	<i>15min (Weekly)</i>	<i>785min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>5233%</i>

Third Quarter October – December 2009

Content/ Genre	ICASA Quota <i>(Minutes Daily/Weekly)</i>	XK FM's Provision <i>(Minutes Daily/Weekly)</i>	XK FM's Compliance (%)
<i>News</i>	<i>30min (Daily)</i>	<i>66min (Weekdays)</i> <i>50min (Saturday)</i> <i>50min (Sunday)</i>	<i>220%</i> <i>167%</i> <i>167%</i>
<i>Current Affairs</i>	<i>30min (Daily)</i>	<i>99min (Weekdays)</i> <i>55min (Saturdays)</i> <i>55min (Sundays)</i>	<i>330%</i> <i>183%</i> <i>183%</i>
<i>IKB</i>	<i>180min (Weekly)</i>	<i>1580min (Weekly)</i>	<i>878%</i>
<i>Educational</i>	<i>300min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>425min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>142%</i>
<i>Children's</i>	<i>15min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>785min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>5233%</i>

Fourth Quarter January 2010- March 2010

Content/ Genre	ICASA Quota (Minutes Daily/ Weekly)	XK FM's Provision (Minutes Daily/ Weekly)	XK FM's Compliance (%)
<i>News</i>	<i>30min (Daily)</i>	<i>66min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>220%</i>
		<i>50min (Saturdays)</i>	<i>167%</i>
		<i>50min (Sundays)</i>	<i>167%</i>
<i>Current Affairs</i>	<i>30min (Daily)</i>	<i>99min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>330%</i>
		<i>55min (Saturdays)</i>	<i>183%</i>
		<i>55min (Sundays)</i>	<i>183%</i>
<i>IKB</i>	<i>180min (Weekly)</i>	<i>1545min (Weekly)</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Educational</i>	<i>300min (Weekly)</i>	<i>425min (Weekly)</i>	<i>142%</i>
<i>Children's</i>	<i>15min (Weekdays)</i>	<i>785min Weekdays</i>	<i>5233%</i>

The above is indicative of the fact that XK FM complied with the set quotas during 2009/10 fiscal year.

3.5. General programming obligations

These obligations are found in clause 6 of the schedule attached to the licence and stipulate as follows:

3.5.1. General

Clause 6.1.1 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

“The Licensee shall ensure that its programming adequately reflects the diversity of South Africa’s religions”.

The SABC’s editorial policy stipulates that:

“Religious programmes should take account of regional factors, target audiences, language and cultural preferences, and the devotional needs of specific groups”.
(see an extract on SABC’s editorial policy attached as Appendix B).

Clause 6.1.2 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

“The Licensee shall take reasonable steps to provide programming that reflects the cultural and tradition needs of the audience”.

Clause 6.1.3 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

“The Licensee shall, during the South African performance period, provide programme material that caters and has due regard for the interests of all sectors of South African society and shall provide programming on health related issues, gender issues relevant to all age groups”.

Although monitoring of iXun and Khwe posed a challenge for the Authority, the radio station’s programme schedule and the programmes broadcast in Afrikaans indicated that the radio station complies with clause 6 of its licence.

3.5.2. News and Current Affairs

Clause 6.2.1 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

“The Licensee shall broadcast at least thirty (30) minutes of news programming each day during the South African performance period”.

The quarterly reports submitted by the SABC indicate that the radio station broadcasts 66 minutes of news programming each day during performance period.

The Authority’s monitoring exercise from 01 October 2009 - 05 October 2009 revealed that XK FM broadcasts 60 minutes of news each day during performance period.

The radio station complies with the clauses 6.2.1 above

Clause 6.2.2 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

“The Licensee shall broadcast at least thirty (30) minutes of current affairs programming each day during the South African performance period”.

The quarterly reports submitted by the SABC indicate that the radio station broadcasts 99 minutes of current affairs programming each day during performance period.

The Authority’s monitoring exercise revealed that XKFM broadcasts 60 minutes of current affairs and is in compliance with clause 6.2.2 of its licence.

Clause 6.2.3 of the schedule to the licence stipulates as follows:

“The licensee shall in the production of its news and current affairs programming:

- (i) Exercise full editorial control in respect of the contents of such programming;*
- (ii) include matters of international, national, regional and where appropriate local significance;*
- (iii) meets the highest standards of journalistic professionalism;*

- (iv) provide fair, unbiased, impartial and balanced coverage independent from governmental, commercial or other interference*
- (v) provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to receive a variety of points of view on matters of public concern”.*

The SABC’s editorial policy provides that the licensee must exercise full editorial control in respect of contents of its programming. The editorial policy further indicate that the licensee endeavours to meet the highest standards of journalistic professionalism. Further, the policy provides for fair, unbiased and impartial coverage independent from government, commercial or other interference. Furthermore, in its news and programming content it includes matters of international national, regional and local significance.

During monitoring, the radio station broadcast matters of international, national, regional and local significance. In its current affairs broadcast, the radio station provides an opportunity for the public to receive a variety of points of view on matters of public concern.

The radio station complies with clause 6.2.3 of its licence.

3.5.3. Programming targeted at Children

Clause 6.3.1 of the schedule attached to the licence stipulates that:

“The Licensee shall in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least fifteen (15) minutes of programming targeted at children (as contemplated in section 10 (1) (g) of the Broadcasting Act) per week during the South African performance period”.

Clause 6.3.2 stipulates that:

“In the production and presentation of its children’s programming the Licensee shall ensure that such children’s programming is

- (i) broadcast at times of the day when children are available to listen;*
- (ii) targeted at and appropriate for children between the ages of nought (0) to six (6) years and seven (7) to twelve (12) years respectively;*

(iii) *educational and is made from children's point of view*".

The quarterly reports submitted by the SABC indicate that the radio station broadcasts 785 minutes (13hours 08 minutes) of programming targeted at children on weekdays during performance period.

The recordings monitored and evaluated revealed children's programmes are broadcast daily. Most of the programmes are broadcast when the children are home. The programmes are interactive. One of the programmes identified is 'Story Time', where children's stories were told.

XK FM complies with clause 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 of its licence.

3.5.4. Educational Programming

Clause 6.4 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

"The Licensee shall broadcast at least five (5) hours of educational programming (as contemplated in section 10 (1) (e) of the Broadcasting Act) per week within the South African performance period".

The SABC's quarterly reports indicate that the radio station broadcasts 425 minutes (6hours) of educational programming per week.

The Authority's monitoring exercise revealed that the radio station broadcasts formal educational programmes such as 'Let's Learn' which features book reviews and relevant educational and cultural issues. Educational programmes are broadcast every day of the week and amount to six (6) hours of educational programming

The radio station complies with clause 6.4 above.

3.5.5. Informal Knowledge-Building Programmes

Clause 6.5 of the schedule to the licence stipulates that:

"The Licensee shall broadcast at least three hours of informal knowledge building programming per week within the South African performance period".

The SABC's quarterly reports indicate that the radio station broadcasts 1545 minutes (26hours) of informal knowledge building programming weekly.

At least 3hours of informal knowledge building programming was monitored during the South African performance period.

Even though there is a difference between the Authority's findings and the SABC's submission, the radio station complies with the clause 6.6 of its licence

3.5.6. Training and Skills development Obligations

Clause 7 of schedule attached to the licence stipulates as follows:

"7.1 The Licensee must adopt and implement equal opportunity employment practices;

7.2 The Licensee must ensure that its management and staff are representative of South African society and that its human resource policies takes into account the development of managerial, production, technical and other skills and expertise, particularly with regard to the historically disadvantaged persons;

7.3 The Licensee shall endeavour to achieve fair and reasonable participation by historically disadvantaged persons with respect to:

- (a) its management and control structures;*
- (b) skills development;*
- (c) enterprise development; and*
- (d) procurement*

7.4 The Licensee must, within thirty (30) days of the end of each financial year, provide the Authority with written information regarding its compliance with the above requirements".

The SABC submitted a training and skills development report indicating that its management and staff is representative of South African society. The report further

indicated that for the period under review there was reasonable participation by historically disadvantaged people in management and skills development.

The Authority confirms that the licensee has complied with the provisions of this clause (*see skills development report attached as Appendix C*).

3.7 Provision of Audited financial statements to the Authority

Clause 8 of the licence stipulates that:

“The Licensee shall provide the Authority with the audited annual financial statements of the licensed service within four (4) months of the end of the licensee’s financial year, provided that the licensee may on good cause apply to the Authority for extension”.

The SABC submitted their Audited statements for the 2009/10 financial year.

The Licensee has complied with clause 8 of its licence.

4. REGULATIONS

4.1 South African Music Content Regulations

The Regulations on South African Music Content as published on 31 January 2006 stipulate that:

“All public sound licensees must play a minimum 40% South African music”.

The monitoring conducted indicated that the radio station plays more than 50% South African music.

The radio station complies with the regulation on South African Music Content (*See Regulations on South African Music Content attached as Appendix D*).

4.2 Regulations regarding Standard Terms and Conditions for individual broadcasting licences

During the year under review, the Authority did not identify any non compliance by the Licensee with the standard terms and conditions for individual licensees (See *Regulations regarding Standard Terms and Conditions for Individual Licences attached as Appendix E*).

5. CONCLUSION

The radio station provides an essential service to the public community of Schmidtsdrift. During the period under review, XK FM sufficiently complied with the licence terms and conditions.

6. APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sound broadcasting service and frequency spectrum licences

Appendix B: SABC's Editorial Policy

Appendix C: Skills Development Report

Appendix D: Regulations on South African Music Content

Appendix E: Regulations regarding Standard Terms and Conditions for Individual Licences

APPENDIX FIVE



PBS Radio 2008/9

Station Programming Weekly Plan

Name of the Station : X-K fm

Period/Dates : 28 April - 4 May '08

Corporate Goal

Ensure the SABC promotes democracy, non-racism, nation building, and empowerment through news, current affairs and innovative programming, in all official languages, which is informative, educational and entertaining.

Key Strategic Objective for the Month

Previous lifestyle & AFCON (Soccer).

Culture to the youth / memory to the Eldest.
Youth development as well as the whole community.

Monday Content

Time Channel	Theme	Genre/Format	Topics	Projection Total no. of Episodes & Hours
06h00-10h00	Culture	Talk show	Traditional-house	25 min
10h00-13h00	Health	Talk show	STD transmission 10H00-11H00- "" 11H00-12h00- simptoms/factors 12h00-13h00- test/treatment	35 min 35 min 35 min
13h00-14h00	CURRENT AFFAIRS	CURRENT AFFAIRS	CURRENT AFFAIRS	1 HOUR
14h00-16h00	Freedom	Live /talk show	Human rights	30 min
16h00-18h00	Stories	Pre-recorded	Life in the past	19 min
18h00-21h00	Leadership	Live/talk show	Lion	1 hour

Tuesday Content

Time Channel	Theme	Genre/Format	Topics	Projection Total no. of Episodes & Hours
06h00-10h00	Drug abuse	Talk show	Causes /prevention/treatment	30 min
10h00-13h00	Rape	Talk show	10h00-11h00-cause 11h00-12h00-effect 12h00-13h00-prevention	30 min 30 min 30 min

13h00-14h00	Current	affairs	Current affairs	1 hour
14h00-16h00	Development	Live/talk show	Creating new skills	30 min
16h00-18h00	stories	Pre-recorded	Hate	20 min
18h00-21h00	Bursary	Talk show	18h00-19h00 Application/w here/when	30 min
	Disability		19h00-20h00-sport	35 min
	Street children		20h00-21h00-support	35 min

Wednesday Content

Time Channel	Theme	Genre/Format	Topics	Projection Total no. of Episode & Hours
06h00-10h00	Housing	Talk show	Application of RDP houses	45 min
10h00-13h00	Human	Talk show	10h00-11h00-basics skills 11h00-12h00-voet vrou 12h00-13h00-basic first aid	30 min 30 min 30 min
13h00-14h00	Current	Affairs	Current Affairs	1 Hour
14h00-16h00	Abuse	Live/talk show	Emotional/physical/drug	30 min
16h00-18h00	Stories	Talk show	Friendship	30 min
18h00-21h00	Leadership	Talk show	Owl	1 Hour

Thursday Content

Time Channel	Theme	Genre/Format	Topics	Projectio Total no. of Episode & Hours
06h00-10h00	Abortion	Talk show	Effects of abortion	25Min

10h00-13h00	Job creation	Talk show	10h00-11h00-starting own business 11h00-12h00-your market 12h00-13h00-news breast cancer	45 min 45 min 45 min
13h00-14h00	Current	Affairs	Current Affairs	1 hour
14h00-16h00	Culture	Talk show	Puberty/inherit	30 min
16h00-18h00	Stories	Pre-recorded	Family support	30 min
18h00-21h00	Bursary	Live talk	18h00-19h00-study (business)	30 min
	Street child		19h00-20h00-learning (business)	30 min
	Disability		20h00-21h00-career	30.min

Friday Content

Time Channel	Theme	Genre/Format	Topics	Projection Total no. of Episodes & Hours
06h00-10h00	Housing	Talk show	Housing subsidies	35 min
10h00-13h00	Women	Talk show	10h00-11h00-new breast cancer 11h00-12h000-factors 12h00-13h00-cause	45 min 45 min 45 min
13h00-14h00	Current	Affairs	Current Affairs	1 hour
14h00-16h00	Youth	Talk show	Hobbies/reading/music	30 min
16h00-18h00	Stories	Pre-recording	Hunting expedition	35 min
18h00-21h00	Bursary	Talk show	Application/who gets/when/where	1 hour

Saturday Content

Time Channel	Theme	Genre/Format	Topics	Projection Total no. of Episodes

				& Hours
06h00-10h00	Culture	Pre-recorded	In the past/hunting/marriage	40 MIN
10h00-13h00	Education	Talk show	10h00-11h00-learning methods 11h00-13h00-planning new future	35 min 1 hour
13h00-14h00	Current Affairs	Affairs	Current Affairs	1 HOUR
14h00-16h00	Sport	Live talk	Training/practice/exercise	30 min
16h00-18h00	Education	Live talk	Reading & writing	25 min
18h00-21h00	Stories	Pre-recording	In the past	2 hour

Sunday Content

Time Channel	Theme	Genre/Format	Topics	Projection Total no. of Episodes & Hours
06h00-10h00	Religion	Pre-recording	Faith, prayer	45 min
10h00-13h00	Community news	Talk show	Local soccer/meetings	3 Hours
13h00-14h00	Current Affairs	Current Affairs	Current Affairs	1 hour
14h00-16h00	Religion	Talk show	Faith in God	30 min
16h00-18h00	Religion	Live talk	Believe	30 min
18h00-21h00	Disability	Talk show	Sport/career/job hunting	1 hour

APPENDIX SIX

			
Time	Program	Dur	Content/Description
06:00 - 09:00 ũ Kxam l'am (Breakfast show)			
6:00	Station identification	5'00	Morning service(prayer) in Afrikaans, Xun and Khwedam
6:10-7:00	ũ Kxam l'am (Breakfast show)		Wakes learners and workers up
7:00	Khung Barrie /News headlines	08'00	News headlines in Xun and Khwedam
7:13	Weather in Xun en Khwe(sport update)		International, national and local Sports results/Sportsnews
08:00-8:10	Barrie/Xhũm (Newsbulletin) Khwe & Xun	8'00	
08:10-09:00	Se onthou ons		In the past (what we can remember)
9:10-10:00	Better lifestyle(hashakara loxun) (IKB)	45'00	Teach the community how to improve their lifestyle
10:00-12:00 Mid morning show			
10:00-10:10	Barrie / Xhũm ma'tuo(News bulletin)	8'00	News in Xun and Khwedam
10:10-11:00	Gxakhwe/dame journal (Women program)	1hour	Touch issues around Women empowerment, catering, washing and child care
11:00-12:00	Information's program (IKB)	1hour	Information about eletrisity, alcohol, women and child abuse
	Monday		Dept. of Health\ H.I.V and AIDS
	Tuesday		CPA and leaders
	Wednesday		Decode speaks
	Thursday		Upliftment of the San people
	Friday		Alcohol, women and child abuse
12:00 - 13:00 Ā java l'am (What the San must know)			
12:00-13:00	Alaku l'am (what the community must know)	1hour	Meetings, workshop, shure bori
13:00-13:05	News in Xuntali	5'00	News jingle
13:05-14:00	Current affairs/jingle		
	Marosani(current affairs)		Marosani in Xun & Khwedam(Afrikaans)
	Marosani(current affairs)		Marosani in Xun & Khwedam(Afrikaans)
13:35-14:00			
14:00-14:05	News	5:00	News in Khwedam
14:00-16:00 Ngewo I'am (Youth program)			
14:05-15:00	Ngewo I'am (Youthprograme) (Education)	1hour	Intertrain, educate, inform the youth
15:00-16:00	Gxaraka I'am (requests program)	1hour	Didications
16:00-21:00 (Storytime and late drive show)			
16:00-16:10	Bori (news bulletin in khwe Xun)	8'00	
16:10-18:00	Storytime for the kids (Education)		Play pre-recorded story, (Educational , Traditional)
18:00-19:00	Informations program	1 hour	Reminding listeners of meetings, workshops that is going to take place
19:00-20:00	Disability hope(Information) IKB	1hour	Touches issues around empowering people with disabilities
20:00-21:00	Health information (IKB)	1hour	Focus on health issues in general
			
Saturday			
06:00-09:00 MORNING SHOW			
06:00 - 08:00	šam Kuri xodje l'am (In the past)		Station identification and Oral history
08:00 - 8:10	Barrie/Xhũm (Newsbulletin)	8'00	News in Xun&Khwedam
08:10 - 9:00	Ons wil beter leef	30'00	
9:00-13:00 IT'S WEEKEND			
09:00-9:10	Barrie/Xhũm (News bulletin)	8'00	News in Xun&Khwedam
09:10-11:00	Let's learn (education)	45'00	Education for youngerstons
11:00-11:10	Barrie\Newsbulletin	8'00	News in Xun&Khwedam
11:10-13:00	modern life		Talk to young people about the new lifestyle, about H.I.V and AIDS

13:00-16:00 MID DAE SLOT			
13:00-13:10	Borrie\Newsbulletin	8'00	News in !Xun Talli
13:14:00	World Today (current affairs)		
14:10	Borrie \News bulletin	8'00	News in Khwedam
14:40	Sport /om	60'00	community sports
15:00-15:10	Borrie News bulletin	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
15:10-17:00	Geneenskapsnuus	60'00	
16:00-21:00 LATE SLOT			
17:00-17:10	Borrie News bulletin	1hour	
17:00-18:00	Traditional Stories	3 hour	Educate the youth and Adults. About the history of the San
18:00-20:00	Traditional Stories	1hour	Educate the youth and Adults. About the history of the San
20:00-21:00	Para /am	1hour	prepare for the church
			
Sunday			
06:00-08:00 GOOD MORNING			
6:00	Open with prayer		Station identification
06:00 - 08:00	Gospel tunes	2hours	Local, national, gospel songs
8:00 - 08:10	Borrie/Xhùm (Newsbulletin)	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
08:00-09:00 EREDIENS			
08:10 - 09:00	Erediens (Worships)	45'00	!Xun&Khwedam and Afrikaans
09:00-21:00 LATE SLOT			
09:00-9:10	Borrie\News headlines	8'00	News in !Xun Talli &Khwedam
9:10-11:00	Geneenskapsnuus(community news)		Provides listeners with local community news and events
11:00-11:10	Borrie/Xhùm (Newsbulletin)	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
11:10-13:00	sport: I'am(sport programme)		
13:00-13:10	Borrie/Xhùm (Newsbulletin)	1hour	News in !Xun&Khwedam
13:10-13:30	Nhuuhe nci I'e(Current affairs)	30'00	
15:00-15:10	Borrie/Xhùm (Newsbulletin)	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
15:10-17:00	Vund'la I'am		Aftrenoon service with Pastors, Church leaders
17:00-17:10	Borrie/Xhùm (Newsbulletin)	8'00	News in !Xun&Khwedam
17:10-18:00	Education	45'00	Educate listeners in general
18:00-20:00	Sopelela (lets talk)	60:00:00	Talk about anything in the community
20:00-21:00	Avashika I'am (preparation time)		Help listeners prepare for the week


SABC
EDUCATION
 RADIO PROGRAM SCHEDULE 2007/08

STATION	PUBLIC EDUCATION			FORMAL EDUCATION				TEENS & YOUTH DEVELOPMENT			
	CIVIC	HEALTH	SCIENCE & TECH	COMMERCE & FINANCE	FINANCIALY SMART	LEARNER SUPPORT	BEYOND THE CLASS	YOUTH KE	ISPAK	ISPEP	STATE VO MINO
Umhlobo	Mondays	Mondays	Sundays	Thursdays	Saturdays	Mon-Thurs	Tuesdays				
Wenene fm	21:30-22:00	10:05-10:35	20:30-21:00	21:30-22:00	14:00-14:30	17:30-18:00	21:30-22:00				
Thobela fm	Thursdays	Mondays	Wednesday	Tuesdays	Saturdays	Wed-Thurs	Saturdays				
	21:30-22:00	21:05-22:00	21:30-22:00	21:05-22:00	13:30-14:00	21:05-21:30	07:05-08:00				
Phalaphala fm	Fridays	Tuesdays	Thursdays	Wednesday	Saturdays	Tues&Thurs	Mondays				
	19:05-19:30	19:05-19:30	19:05-19:30	19:05-19:30	14:05-14:35	19:30-20:00	19:05-19:30				
Munghana	Wednesday	Tuesdays	Fridays	Mondays	Saturdays	Thurs& Fri	Thursdays				
Lowena fm	19:05-19:30	19:05-20:00	19:30-20:00	19:05-20:00	13:30-14:00	19:30-20:00	19:05-19:30				
Ukhuzi fm	Wednesday	Wednesday	Thursdays	Tuesdays	Mondays	Mon-Wed	Mondays				
	21:30-22:00	22:30-23:00	21:30-22:00	21:30-22:00	22:05-22:30	21:05-21:30	21:30-22:00				
Lesedi fm	Sundays	Fridays	Thursdays	Tuesdays	Tuesdays	Mon-Thurs	Tuesdays				
	21:05-22:00	10:30-11:15	21:05-22:00	11:05-11:45	11:15-11:45	18:20-18:30	22:05-23:00				
Ugwala fm	Tuesdays	Mondays	Wednesday	Thursdays	Fridays	Mondays	Mondays				
	21:30-22:00	21:05-21:30	21:30-22:00	21:30-22:00	11:15-11:45	14:30-15:00	21:30-22:00				
RSC	Sundays	Wednesday	Sundays	Sundays	Fridays	Tues-Thurs	Sundays				
	19:00-19:30	11:05-12:00	11:30-12:00	18:30-18:00	11:10-11:45	20:00-20:45	19:30-19:00				
Motsweding fm	Tuesdays	Wednesday	Thursdays	See	Tuesdays	Wednesday	Mondays				
	22:30-23:00	21:05-21:35	16:05-17:00	BFB	21:05-21:35	16:05-17:00	21:05-21:35				
Ikawkwazi fm	Thursdays	Mondays	Wednesday	Tuesdays	Saturdays	Mon-Thurs	Mondays				
	21:05-22:00	10:05-11:00	21:30-22:00	21:05-22:00	13:30-14:00	15:15-15:30	21:05-22:00				
SAFM	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A				
	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A				
CKJ fm	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Tuesdays	N/A				
	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	15:05-15:30	N/A				
X-K fm	Saturdays	Mondays	Fridays	Wednesday	N/A	Saturday	N/A				
	11:10-11:40	18:00-18:30	18:00-18:30	15:00-15:30	N/A	10:50-11:00	N/A				

APPENDIX EIGHT



STATE YOUR MIND - AN SABC EDUCATION PROJECT

STORY BEATS

WEEK 16: HIV AND AIDS

OBJECTIVE: To educate Tweens about HIV & AIDS.

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

- Tweens will learn about different ways of HIV/AIDS infection, and
- Learn how show compassion towards people infected with, and affected by HIV/AIDS

GUEST: Department of Health

CONTACT: 082 444 9503 (Nombulelo Legalatladi)

Signature Tune

Welcome to State Your Mind, an SABC Education Project where we, young people aged between 8 and 12 years discuss issues affecting us.

Welcome to our world and see things through our eyes.

Segment	Scene
1. INTRO	<p>Presenter:</p> <p>Hello and welcome to State Your Mind, the only show that gets our tweens talking and expressing their views. I am ... (Presenter's name), your host for the next twenty minutes.</p> <p>Today the world is focussing on HIV and AIDS, and that is another big subject we need to talk about. We have heard that AIDS affects all of us. The truth is almost every one of us knows someone who is infected or affected by this disease. The key question is how informed are we as tweens about HIV and AIDS.</p>



INTRO CONT...	To help us deal with this and other questions we have and are happy to welcome ... (guest 1), please say hi to the tweens, ... (guest 2), please say hello to tweens. We also have from the Department of Health. Welcome to our world.
2. STUDIO DEBATE	<p>Presenter:</p> <p>I know most of you are probably thinking, oh no... we hear so much about HIV and AIDS it's enough. Truth is it can't be enough. We have to keep on talking until the fight has been won. And we have to keep on talking to make sure that we all have correct information.</p> <p>Now, before we start with the debate, I want to know from you ...(Guest 1) How much do you know about HIV and AIDS?</p> <p>Guest one speaks...</p> <p>Presenter:</p> <p>(comment) And ... (guest 2) What do you know about HIV and AIDS?</p> <p>Guest Two responds</p> <p>Presenter</p> <p>.... Guest 1. Can you be friends with somebody who is HIV positive or whose family member is HIV positive? Why?</p> <p>Guest 1 Responds</p> <p>Presenter</p> <p>We are told that to prevent HIV infection is as easy as ABC. Abstain, Be Faithful and Condomise. I believe that as tweens we are not yet ready for sexual relationships, but we need to have this information now so that when we are older, we are able to make smart decisions. And I have to emphasise that we need to get correct information because there is a lot of wrong information out there.</p> <p>Now... (Guest 1) Do you think children our age should be given messages about HIV prevention? Why?</p>



STUDIO DEBATE
CONT...

Guest 1 responds

Presenter

Your view ... Guest 2

Presenter

Now Guest 2, How do you think you will respond should a friend, a family member or so, tell you they are HIV positive?

Presenter

Thank you all for your inputs. Now Expert You have the views of our tween guests. Now we need to hear from you.

- What is the impact of HIV and AIDS on children our age?
- What can we as tweens do to reach out to our friends who are either infected or directly affected by HIV and AIDS?
- What is going to be the focus of World Aids Day campaign this year?

Expert talks...

Presenter:

Thank you very much for your advice. When we come back, we are going to invite tweens from home to state their minds on the topic.

Tweens please think about these questions in the meantime:

- What do you know about HIV and AIDS?
- Do you know someone who is infected with HIV? What are you doing to support them?
- What can you do to make sure you don't get infected with HIV?
- What else can be done to make tweens more aware of HIV and AIDS?
-



BREAK - SONG OR AD	
CALLS FROM LISTENERS	<p>Presenter:</p> <p>Welcome back, tweens it is now time for you to state your mind. Let's hear from caller one...</p> <p>Caller</p> <p>Presenter to interact with callers</p> <p>Take as many calls and interact with callers...</p> <p>Presenter</p> <p>Thank you all for your contribution today.</p>
DID YOU KNOW (facts)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HIV and AIDS affect all of us • We are all able to help those infected and affected by HIV • Statistics indicate that more and more young people get infected with HIV • You cannot get HIV from playing or going to school with somebody who is infected with HIV • There are many ways of giving support to those infected with or affected by HIV and AIDS • Contact your local AIDS organisation to find out how you can help • National AIDS Helpline number is 0800-012-322
REFERENCES & CREDITS	<p>Thank you for listening to State Your Mind brought to you by SABC Education in partnership with... We hope you enjoyed today's programme and look forward to further interactions in the coming weeks. Let's keep contributing towards the development of our country by talking.</p>



APPENDIX NINE

XK FM Traditional Drama

Wedding and return to husband's family

Drama Jingle

Presenters Intro - Last time we heard how wedding arrangements and procedure worked.

Today we will hear how they get married.

Drama Jingle

The Afternoon

Grandpa: (tired) Good afternoon !Xani, how was last night?

!Xani: (stressed)Afternoon. I couldn't close my eyes last night.

Grandpa: I want to ask, do we fetch her tonight?

!Xani: How would we find her? She runs away whenever we try speak to her.

Grandpa: We can have a dance night and catch her if she goes there.

!Xani: That;s a good idea, but if she doesn't go to the dance...

Grandpa: We could try during the day, if she goes into the field we can send people to catch her

Xani: I think the best idea would be to catch her when she's sleeping. Come around 12..

Grandpa: Thanks for lending me your time. We'll do that. Let her grandmother know.

-sound effects- It's around sunset and the children are calling each other to go out and play

Grandpa: (addressing Gindu) don't sleep too tightly, you're and your brother's friends are going to go fetch your brother's bride tonight.

Gindu: What will I have to do?

Grandpa: You'll carry her clothes and walk with her.

Gindu: I won't be able to oversleep.

-sound effects- Hut's door opening and closing. Cock crows and footsteps walking away. Footsteps coming closer, door opening.

Grandma: (sleepy) She's sleeping, go in there quickly before she wakes up.

Grandpa: Remove her blanket quietly and pick her up.

Grandma: (addressing Gindu) take her clothes and start walking in the meantime.

Mutango: (Crying and screaming) Let go of me! Let go of me!! I won't get married to Tame, I'm still a child..

-sound effects- Hut's door closing, footsteps fading out.

Dogs bark and footsteps come closer and the door opens.

Grandpa: (to Gindu) Put out the the blanket so she can sit there.

Gindu: Where, grandpa?

Grandpa: Next to the bed.

-sound effects- Blanket gets put out and the door closes.

Grandma: Mutango, sit down now, Tame will look after you well. He's the right man for you. He'll provide you with everything you need. You are no longer a child. Your parents won't take care of you any more, he will. You need to listen to him and do as he says.

-Sound effects- Door opens and closes

End.

Drama Jingle