

*Community Radio as Dialogic and Participatory: A critical analysis of governance, control and community participation, a case study of XK FM radio.*



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I, **Brilliant Mhlanga**, do hereby declare that this is my own work, and that all other people's works have been fully acknowledged. I further declare that I have never before submitted this work for an award of a degree to this university or any other university. This work is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of a Master of Arts Degree in the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Development at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Graduate Programme in Culture, Communication and Media Studies, Howard College Campus, Durban-South Africa.

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## **Dedications**

This study is dedicated to Arnold Shepperson, whose untimely death shall always be reproached for taking away the good heart he displayed while walking and working among us on earth. During his life, he traversed on a thin line between genius and insanity; such was the caliber and intensity of his philosophical mind. A Scholar of notable attributes. Arnold left a big scar in my academic career whose healing so far is proving to be too slow to imagine.

As a rejoinder to my other works, I also dedicate this work to all the children and the suffering masses of Zimbabwe in general, and in particular to the people of Matabeleland to whom I am indebted for the cause they entrusted me with. I stand firm.

## List of Abbreviations

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.
ANC	African National Congress
AMARC	World Association of Community Broadcasters
AVF	Afrikaaner Volksfront
CCMS	Culture, Communication and Media Studies
CPA	Communal Property Association
FM	Frequency Modulation
FNB	First National Bank
FNB	First National Bank
HIV	Human Immune Virus
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
MDG	Motsweding FM Radio
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
NCRF	National Community Radio Forum
NKCC	National Khoisan Consultative Council
NP	National Party
NRF	National Resources Foundation
PSALB	Pan South African Language Board
PSB	Public Service Broadcasting
RBF	Radio Broadcasting Facility
RSG	Radio Sonder Grense
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
VASS	Association for Social Affairs
XK FM	Xuntali and Khwedam radio station

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## Abstract

This study is based on an assessment of XK FM as a community radio station for the !Xû and Khwe ethnic communities. Various political under-currents and factors are examined: the refusal to accept the two groups as separate ethnic communities, the anomalous creation of XK FM as a community radio station under the auspices of SABC. This anomaly has created an ambiguity of what a community is within a community radio station, what are the historical and present complexities encompassed in considering the !Xû and the Khwe as a single 'minority ethnic media community' and awarding them a radio licence, what is the nature and governance of community radio in general?

The study followed a qualitative research paradigm whose epistemology is phenomenological, using case study method, theories of the public sphere and ethnicity. According to this frame of reference XK FM radio station is seen as a case study of ethnic minority media.

Community radio is therefore described as the expression of a small population, and a third voice between the state and private commercial radio. It also has the ability to correct the distortions inherent in the majority-controlled media by acting as the alternative media. The alternative element is associated with its potential to challenge the establishment, and in giving people an independent voice which is often perceived as alternative and free speech. Its major characteristics are; independence, equality, community participation, and representation.

XK FM as a community radio is likely to consolidate the sustenance of beliefs in collective will, participatory approach to communication and citizen input. This enhances language as both a means of communication and expression of cultural identity for the local communities. This study concludes that the !Xû and Khwe are two different ethnic communities, with varied worldviews and aspirations. This assertions surmises that the issuing of the licence by ICASA merely focused on their cultural distinctiveness, and allowed for a localised form of public broadcasting, thereby entrenching ethnic cleavages most probably with the aim of manipulating the two communities. By implication, XK FM is not a community radio station in the strict sense, but an extension of SABC in a decentralised version.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

The history of community radio in South Africa dates back to the politics of the struggle against apartheid in the 1980s. Community media at the time acted as the 'voice of the oppressed,' and played a significant role in mobilising and informing communities against apartheid (Teer-Tomaselli 2001:233). The history of community radio is not peculiar to that of exclusion and discrimination against one group by the other (Olorunnisola 1995)<sup>1</sup>. Anthony Olorunnisola adds that the evolution of community radio in South Africa can be traced back to Radio Vryheid, Radio Donkerhoek, Radio Koppies, Radio Volkstem and Radio Pretoria. These radio stations were established in 1994 by the *Pretoria Boerkommando* and the *Afrikaaner Volksfront* (AVF). They operated without licences, and were labelled by the new South African government as pirate stations set to oppose the government.<sup>2</sup>

Using 500 FM transmitters linked by Intelsat satellite, the SABC controlled almost thirty radio stations by the early nineties (Hachten and Giffard 1984).<sup>3</sup> Amongst these were Radio South Africa, Radio 5, Afrikaans Stereo, Radio Metro and other regional stations like; Highveld Stereo, Radio Oranje, Radio Port Natal and Radio Algoa (cf. De Villiers, 1993; Olorunnisola 1995). These included stations which broadcast in local African languages, such as Radio Sesotho, Radio Venda, Radio Swazi and Zulu Stereo (cf. De Villiers 1993

The 'Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves' Conference held in Netherlands in 1991, organised by the Radio Freedom (the ANC radio in exile), contributed significantly to discussions which resulted in the IBA Act (IBA) (Teer-Tomaselli 2001:234), which removed responsibility for broadcast policy away from the direct control of the state and the SABC. The IBA Act number 153 was promulgated in 1993, by the Convention for a

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<sup>1</sup> From Olorunnisola's (1995) *Community radio as participatory communication in post apartheid South Africa*. <http://www.comminit.com/evaluations/eval2006/evaluations-195.html>

<sup>2</sup> For more information on these Afrikaans-languages stations see:  
<http://www.radionetherlands.nl/features/media/dossiers/hateradioafricame.html>

<sup>3</sup> This information can also be found at the Central Statistics Offices, on the population figures of 1984.

Democratic South Africa (CODESA). It was charged with powers to: (a) formulate broadcasting policy; (b) licensing; (c) regulate and monitor broadcasting activities, and (d) limit cross-media ownership and the enforcement of local content quotas.<sup>4</sup>

The IBA Act was amended in 1995 and 1996, subsequently leading to the formation of the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) in 2000. This followed the dissolution of IBA and the South Africa Telecommunications Regulatory Authority (SATRA) (Teer-Tomaselli 2001; Berger 2000:162). ICASA was mandated to incorporate the functions of the IBA, and those published in the Telecommunications Act (1996) and the Broadcasting Act (1999) (Berger 2000). The ICASA Council is constituted through a board of seven members which runs the affairs of the body, with the help of the secretariat.<sup>5</sup> This Council is appointed by the State President on the recommendations of the National Assembly.

In 1995 the National Community Radio Forum (NCRF) was formed with the aim of addressing imbalances many communities had in relation to access to media (Teer-Tomaselli 2000:234). Community radio in South Africa developed into a three tier broadcasting system: public service, commercial, and community.

### **The !Xu and Khwe**

This study deals with the XK FM radio station, established in August 2000 as a development project under the auspices of the SABC. It is unusual for a community radio station to be managed as an independent entity connected to a national public broadcaster. The station broadcasts in Xuntali, Khwedam<sup>6</sup> and Afrikaans. Its footprint covers a radius of 50km and reaches 4500 Xuntali and 2000 Khwedam speakers. I will analyse XK FM as an “ethnic minority medium” (Riggins 1992) with reference to ownership, participation and station governance. The study will examine the complexities

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<sup>4</sup> For more information on the Independent Broadcasting Authority of South Africa see: <http://www.info.gov.za/acts/1993/a153-93.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> For more information on the act refer to the ICASA website: <http://www.icasa.org.za/Documents.aspx?Page=69>

<sup>6</sup> !Xû is the name given to speakers, the language they speak is called !Xuntali, for the Khwe, the later is the reference to the speakers, whereas the language is referred to as Khwedam.

and contradictions encompassed in the SABC's assumption that the !Xû and Khwe, communities in often violent conflict, are a homogeneous group (cf. Douglas 1996). One objective will be to explain what qualified the !Xû and Khwe, immigrants from Namibia and Angola respectively, rather than the South African ≠Khomani and the broader and much more numerous South African Khoisan, for a radio station? The majority of Xuntali and Khwedam speakers who did not migrate to South Africa live in southern Angola, western Zambia, and along the Namibian–Botswana border of the Caprivi Strip.

Station policy requires two simultaneous presenters for each language.<sup>7</sup> Where only one presenter is available the broadcast language is Afrikaans. The concept of “ethnic minority media” will be applied to assess the basis for the SABC's classification of XK FM as a community radio station. The discourses of cultural/linguistic survival and development underpin the station's formation.<sup>8</sup> These discourses link to the objectives of the National Khoisan Consultative Council's (NKCC) work across the Khoisan as a whole. As a social movement, the Council's work can be characterized as shared activities and beliefs directed toward the demand for change in some aspect of the social order (cf. Gusfield 1970:02). Riggins (1992) defines ethnic minority media as being engaged in two parallel objectives: preserving or weakening social identities.

The Angolan-based !Xû and Khwe were recruited to the South African Defence Force (SADF) and relocated to South Africa at the end of the war (1976-1990) between South Africa and the liberation armies of Angola and South West African People's Liberation Army (cf. Douglas 1996, Chamberlin 2003, Lee and Hitchcock 2001:13). Some members of the two ethnic groups chose to remain in Angola and Namibia while others were settled at Schmidtsdrift, an army base, and later moved to their present location in Platfontein near Kimberly (see the map in the appendices). These migrants lived in tents and promised proper housing by the SADF and the National Party (NP) government after 1990. The !Xû and Khwe move to South Africa fulfilled: (a) the SADF promise of safeguarding the two communities in a country governed by their previous enemies; and (b) protection from

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<sup>7</sup> Information was obtained from Regina Beregho, the station manager.

<sup>8</sup> For more information see:

<http://www.sabc.co.za/portal/site/menuitem.01b93ed679dcd7e48891f2e75401aeb9/>

liberation governments in Angolan and Namibia. The two communities were immediately granted citizenship on arrival in South Africa (Douglas 1996:8).

The !Xu and Khwe migrants were caught between the old regime and the new government. Their linguistic and cultural distinctiveness worsened their situation in that neither of the two dominant groups, black nor white, was prepared to absorb them. This forced them to remain in Schmidtsdrift where they lived in temporary military bivouac until 1999 (Lee and Hitchcock 2001). While stationed at the Schmidtsdrift tent camp they were divided into separate residential sections (cf. Voster 1994). In 1999 the base was returned to its legal owners (the Tswana and Griqua people) following a land restitution case. The !Xû and Khwe were now landless. The !Xû and Khwe Trust was established by the two communities in 1993, and was instrumental in obtaining land for the displaced communities at Platfontein, 10kms from Kimberly, much closer than was Schmidtsdrift (Lee and Hitchcock 2001).

The Khwe are socially mobile and are better educated than their !Xu counterparts, a stratification which aggravates inter-group conflict (Douglas 1996; Archer 1995). Khwedam is a Khoe dialect, and related to a cluster of languages including Naro and Khoekhoegowap (Voster 1994:70). The !Xû belong to the Zhu language family. These languages are not mutually intelligible. The languages are mainly spoken in military bases outside Kimberley, Platfontein and some parts of the Northern Cape (Vorster 1994). A sizable number of Xuntali-speaking homes also use Khwedam as a second language. However, this relationship is not reciprocal, since Khwedam is dominant linguistically. Most Khwedam speakers are multilingual, speaking Afrikaans, English, Portuguese, Mbukushu, Otjiwambo and Silozi (cf. Archer 1995).

The speech communities within the Kimberley area are heterogeneous, including majority languages such as Afrikaans (69,3%) with Setswana constituting 19,9%. Xuntali and Khwedam are recognised in Article 6.5(a) (ii) of the South African Constitution which states that the Pan South African Languages Board (PSALB) must promote and

create conditions for the development and use of the Khoi, Nama and San languages.<sup>9</sup> It facilitated the formation of an Association for Social Affairs (VASS) for the two languages<sup>10</sup> and the radio station was set up to provide a media channel for them.

### **Reasons for choosing topic**

No published research on XK FM has been carried out, despite the anomalous location of the station as an independent community broadcaster unusually connected to the SABC. The legislative framework which locates XK FM within the community radio sector is also yet to be critically examined. I am well positioned to undertake the research as some of my previous projects for credit have been done under the auspices of Professor KG Tomaselli's long-term NRF-funded Kalahari project entitled: *From Observation to Development: Method, Cultural Studies and Identity* (cf., e.g., Tomaselli 2006). My own sub-project builds on and widens this research into radio for the first time and expands it to two new groups, the !Xû and Khwe. The relevant community organizations, especially the South African San Institute (SASI), and the station itself, indicated a need for the project. They also provided me access to the station and to the community.

### **Broad problems and issues to be investigated**

Community participation tends to be predicated by the state's overarching influence on development programmes. This tends to create a 'dependency syndrome' with communities adopting a 'wait and see' approach (cf. Chambers 1983, Long 1992, Hancock 1994, Madeley 1991, Midgely 1987, Korten 1987). Two fundamental questions must be asked on the nature of participatory communication and community radio: first, in what ways do the roles and association between political actors, the media and the public change in a participatory communication environment? Second, what are the notable dividends of participatory communication (White 1994:8)?

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<sup>9</sup> For more information on language policy and constitutional guarantees see the following websites:  
[http://www.dac.gov.za/reports/unesco\\_report/unesco\\_world\\_languages\\_survey.htm](http://www.dac.gov.za/reports/unesco_report/unesco_world_languages_survey.htm)  
<http://www.lac.org.na/lead/Pdf/sanintro.pdf>  
<http://www.channelviewpublications.net/cilp/002/0361/cilp0020361.pdf>

<sup>10</sup> [http://www.dac.gov.za/reports/unesco\\_report/unesco\\_world\\_languages\\_survey.htm](http://www.dac.gov.za/reports/unesco_report/unesco_world_languages_survey.htm)

Following a Freirian (cf. 1973) analysis the notions of 'extension' and 'communication' play major roles in detecting basic contradictions for development (Masilela 1996). This compounds the fact that genuine dialogue with peasants within community radio stations can be compatible with extending to them (as listeners) technical expertise.

The creation of community radio as a local development project seeks to tackle paternalism, social control and non-reciprocity as found in the old 'mass media' order and in transmission communication models (cf. White 1990, Teer-Tomaselli 2001, IBA 1997, UNESCO 1997). This shift was originally premised on lack of faith in the people, an unjustified underestimation of their power of reflection, and of their supposed inability to take on the role of seekers of knowledge (Freire 1973:117). I will test the proposition that community radio enables people to be involved in the task of codifying reality into signification which generates critical consciousness and empowers them to alter their relations with nature and other social forces. The Freirean approach implies both codification and decodification; these are strategies to achieve that praxis amongst listeners/producers which is based on naming, reflecting and acting (Masilela 1996:106).

Community radio attempts to redefine relations between informer and the informed and to enhance, through the acquisition of simple technology, the feasibility of people intervening in the process of information production (Masilela 1996:107). The success of XK FM in this regard hinges on ownership, management structures, financing, regulation, programming and its policy and practice on issues of access and participation. Community radio is supposed to carry community-oriented programming produced by the community for the community. I will assess this in the light of the state's support of the station (cf. (Matsepe-Casaburri 2000)).<sup>11</sup> The key research questions to be addressed are:

- a) What is the content of the concept 'community', as applied in 'community radio'?

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<sup>11</sup> This follows a press release of the address by the Communications Minister Dr Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri on the occasion of the launch of XK radio station, on August 18 2000. For further consultation this information can be obtained in the following website:  
<http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2000/000820001010a1004.htm>

- b) What are the historical and present complexities encompassed in considering the !Xô and the Khwe as a single 'minority ethnic media community' and awarding them a radio licence?
- c) What is the nature and governance of community radio in general?
- How have the rules of governance been applied to XK FM?
  - What structures of governance have been put in place to involve the community, and how have the resultant tensions been managed?
  - What kind of programming is produced by the station; whose interests does it promote; from where is the content sourced?

Chapter One has introduced the study and provided background information about the two communities. Chapter Two comprises the literature review discussing the idea of community radio. Chapter Three details the research methodology and explores the data gathering techniques applied. Chapter Four provides a conceptual framework with an analysis of theories to be used. Specific focus is given to the philosophical constituents of the theories concerned. Theories in this case are used to read into the case study being investigated. Chapter Five then forms the presentation of findings. Chapter Six provides a discussion and conclusion.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **Defining Community Radio**

Community radio is a station built by the community, is used by the community and serves the interests of the community. Emphasis is on community ownership, autonomy, participation and representation. Programmes in a community radio are produced by the community, while in a public broadcaster programmes are imposed (MISA 2000:56).

The imposition of programmes in a public broadcaster is due to minimal feedback as opposed to a community radio with a definitive radius as a sphere of influence. Community stations serve the interests of smaller populations (Lewis 1993a:201; McCain and Lowe 1990) and have the ability to correct the distortions inherent in the majority-controlled media (cf. Lewis 1993b). One key definition describes community radio as neither the expression of political power nor of capital (Delorme 1990:3). However, as Teer-Tomaselli (2000:233) argues, community radio is the expression of the population, and is a third voice between state and private commercial radio.

#### **Unlocking the Paradox of a ‘Community’ in a Community Radio Station**

One of the major problems of community radio identified by most media scholars is the question of what constitutes a community and what its role is in a community radio project (cf. Teer-Tomaselli 2001:232; White 1990; IBA 1997; UNESCO 1997). Teer-Tomaselli (2001:231) asks the question: Who is the 'community' in community radio? This study seeks to engage this question from a media political economy perspective. The advantage of embracing such an academic angle is that one is able to explore structure, audience reaction/ action towards the radio station, thus bringing in issues of community participation (Phiri 2001). The discernment of what a community is can be gleaned from a geographical and a sociological sense, implying that a community is a basic unit for “horizontal social organisation” (Teer-Tomaselli 2001:232).

### **The Emergence of Community Radio as a New Paradigm: The case of South Africa**

Lisa Taylor and Andrew Willis (2000:136) suggest that, “an ideal of independence has been the driving force behind the development of the community radio movement”. To them, independence entails not depending on the authority of another, to avert subordination and external control. However, they acknowledge the paradox brought about by the concept of independence in media. In view of this ideological shift and dilemma, Francis Kasoma (1995) and Paul Ansah (1988) argue that the question of independence when relating to media has to be qualified by attempting to answer the question: independent from who and what? This is an acknowledgement of the sweeping assumptions of the notion of ‘independent media.’ In order to qualify this view, independence in community media would relate to autonomy outside the parameters of the public service broadcaster (PSB) and state influence. It also presents reclamation of the label ‘local’ from the public broadcaster (Taylor and Willis 2000:136).

The definition of community in the South African case would refer to a geographically defined group, or people with a specific and equally ascertainable common interest (IBA 1997). Community broadcasting encompasses four categories: (a) fully controlled by a non-profit entity and carried on for non-profitable purposes; (b) it serves a particular community; (c) encourages members of the community served by it to participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast in the course of broadcasting services; and (d) may be funded by donations, grants, sponsorships, advertising and membership fees, or by a combination of the above (Teer-Tomaselli 2001).

These descriptions are “slippy and tautologous” as they fail to answer the question of what constitutes a community? (Teer-Tomaselli 2001). The Act further provides for community broadcasting to cater for either a geographic community, or a community of interest. In a geographic definition broadcasting caters for a community whose commonality can be traced to a particular geographic area of residence. A community of interest is a community with specific ascertainable common interests (Teer-Tomaselli 2001). Four types of community radio stations have been described: (a) one serving a geographical area; (b) campus-based radio stations operation in colleges and university

campuses; (c) religious radio stations; and (d) cultural and ethnic communities (IBA 1997, Teer-Tomaselli 2001).

### **Significant Features of Community Radio: An overview**

Community radio redefines the communication realm as a way of re-invigorating relations between the informer and the informed. The use of simple technology enhances the possibilities that people have of intervening in the production of programmes (Council for the Development of Community Media 1977:397). Masilela (1996:107) argues that the above conception focuses on the potential of alternative media to alter the conditions of possibility in redefining various schemas that distinguish alternative community media from the public and commercial media. Alternative media can be distinguished through ownership and management structures, financing, regulation, programming, and policy stance on issues of access and participation (Masilela 1996:108). Community owned media often belong to the ambit of alternative media, and are usually managed through duly elected representatives (a board) or directly with voluntary community participation as another factor. The major feature of alternative media is 'independence' from the mainstream media, such as the state controlled media. Similarly, Masilela (1996:108) argues that the alternative factor in alternative media is usually associated with the media's potential to challenge the establishment, and in giving people an independent voice which is often perceived as alternative and free speech. In terms of programming, community radio tends to broadcast community oriented programmes produced by community members, for community members. In view of their policy stance on issues of access and participation, Majid Tehranian (1990:108), suggests that community radio is generally responsive to targeted audiences and often use highly targeted interactive methods.

Community radio from a critical perspective entails the delineation between two different forms of media; the first is state run media concerned with institutional politics. This form of media struggles over the power to govern and regards receivers of messages as potential side-takers. Second, community radio is concerned with cultural politics (the functions of which are widely disseminated symbolic forms), struggles over meaning

(ideology, hegemony, encoding and decoding). The latter also regards the audience as meaning makers (Riggins 1992:13). Masilela (1996:107) concurs by suggesting that these two traditions are replicated in conceptions of the significance of alternative media for political change. Community radio as alternative media is characterised by independence, equality, community participation, and representation. The overarching broader problem therefore becomes deciphering the 'community' whose interests are being served in a radio station. The rationale for most community radio is that deep-seated participation by beneficiaries gives impetus to the station as the mouthpiece of the local community (Teer-Tomaselli 2001). The programmes are aimed at satisfying community aspirations, thereby identifying with the interests of the local population (Boeren 1994:144).

Community radio uses local languages to ensure effective dissemination of information. Banda (2004:138) argues that based on the research carried out in Zambia most respondents saw community radio in the following way: (a) run and managed by the local people with financial support from the local businesses; (b) Existing for the local people; (c) located in the community; and (d) non-profit. Banda (2004:139) further delineates community radio into three categories: (a) community radio as a geographic imperative; (b) community radio as a socio-cultural phenomenon; (c) community radio as a developmental initiative.

Physical nearness constitutes an important element for the 'community.' Ad Boeren (1994:144) states that the formation of local radio is based on the notion that people are encouraged to visit the studio and that the community participates in the management of the station. A radio station which is within the reach of the community ensures effective participation by the community in the management and programming.

However, Michael Laflin (1989:6) suggests that the legitimization of local languages and identities through the formation of community radio stations is sometimes destructive to national unity and integration. But, if coined within the ambit of a conscious policy to promote the expression of local opinion and to mobilize local communities, then it can be a tool for unity. This implies that governments concerned must sustain, control and

protect national broadcasting systems at the expense of local radio stations (Lafin 1989:6). Charles Husband (2000:201) also suggests that within the development of democratic media theory there is a discussion on how and through what means shall the ruled communicate their views and wishes to the ruler? Community media therefore plays a central dialogic role in mobilizing the people, especially in light of the social complexities and need for social mobility. In order to understand the feasibility of public access and deliberation in an unfettered manner, the question of whether it is possible to create democratic practices whereby people are able to participate in community ideation as equals has to be posed. Attempting to address this question is seen as a panacea to national unity (Skogerbo 1996:105).

Community radio is often viewed by way of the role it can play as an agent and medium of development. Boeren (1994:140) argues that many development practitioners and communications specialists have tended to consider radio to be the most useful medium for development, the reason being that when compared to television, radio can be accessed by a large section of the population. It is an important source of information for the illiterate and also that it is less prestigious than television even if it lacks the visual dimension. Community radio provides impetus to mobilize local development initiatives and projects. Boeren (1994:141) suggests that:

Radio too, is an excellent medium to inform people with, to make people aware, to stimulate interest and to influence opinions ... discuss development issues, acquire relevant information and learn new techniques. The main source of information is the radio programme to which they listen collectively.

### **Participation and Community Radio**

Development as a process of change set in motion principles whose objective is to eradicate poverty, injustice and exploitation. The pursuit of development with the participation of various players must therefore become the central pillar upon which policies are built. The concept of participatory communication as a development initiative

lacks a definition capable of enabling understanding of the processes and outcomes involved. Dagon Gumucio (2001:01) suggests that the most interesting work of a participatory nature often defy the written word. Similarly, Shirley White (1994:08) observes that the word participation is kaleidoscopic, it changes its colour and shape at the will of the hands in which it is held. Neither the absence of an accurate means of capturing the essence of participatory communication nor the fluid nature of participation has reduced the realization that the differing forms of both appear to have gained usefulness in the contexts with histories of exclusion and discrimination. Olurunnisola (1995)<sup>12</sup> adds that in many American, Asian and Latin American countries, participation and communication are often bedfellows in the movement towards engaging the previously disenfranchised populations in social dialogue. Two fundamental questions appear in this notion of participatory communication as it relates to community radio. First, in what ways do the roles and association between political actors, the mass media and the public change in a participatory communication environment? Second, what are the notable dividends of participatory communication? In view of community participation McKee (1996:218) states:

...Community participation is a very vague and open concept and is used to mean very different things. It often subsumes other concepts and approaches (such as 'self-help', 'self-reliance', 'user-choice', 'community involvement' and 'participatory planning and development', which are themselves ill defined. In connection with community participation people will often talk of 'felt needs', 'local perceptions', 'bottom-up planning', 'motivation', 'latent development potential', 'catalytic development inputs,' 'integrated development at the village level'... Yet all these concepts are highly complex and diffuse and their meaning in any particular context is often obscure.

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<sup>12</sup> For more information on this scholar and the evolution of community radio in South Africa visit the following website: <http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/a/x/axo8/Joburg/manuscript.htm>

Community radio therefore provides information and knowledge on the need for participation. This further compounds the fact that genuine dialogue with locals in a community radio station can be compatible with extending to them (listeners) technical expertise. The other issue in this study is seeking to explore the cohesive nature and consensual realities created by this development project in bringing two often conflicting communities together. This forms the basis for media's social responsibility role, a feature which is inalienable to community radio stations.

### **Ethnic Minority Media**

The concept of ethnic minority media forms a major aspect to be explored in locating XK FM in the ambit of community radio. It is also meant to aid cultural survival and encourage development from the view of community media as part of social movements. Social movements refer to shared activities and beliefs directed towards the demand for change in some aspect of social order (Gusfield 1970:02). Community stations therefore consolidate the sustenance of beliefs in collective will, participatory approach to communication and citizen input. They enhance language as both a means of communication and expression of cultural identity for the local communities (Riggins 1992:13). Consideration has to be taken of various characteristics of ethnic minorities concerned, the degree of homogeneity, self-organization, oral culture, degree of assimilation and integration, repression and persecution experienced. The political structure and prevailing ideological fixations within which the process of participation or domination is taking place must be investigated.

Local or community media play a key role in defining, preserving and weakening ethnic identities. Mass media can be read from the perspective of what is revealed about ethnicity (Riggins 1992:02). The advent of community media, particularly radio, is due to biases usually displayed by the mainstream media as they ignore ethnic minorities or present them essentially in terms of social problems they create for the majority. This stems from the assimilationist influences that mainstream media exert on ethnic minorities. In this instance, the term ethnicity will be conveniently applied to majority and minority communities alike.

Ethnicity requires two groups in interaction because social isolation tends to hinder people from perceiving their commonality and identity (Riggins 1992:02). Two major concepts will also arise at this stage; ethnic identity and ethnic origin. The former refers to the level of identification within a culturally defined collectivity (Husband 2000; Riggins 1992:2; Davidson 1992:99; Anderson 1983:15; Young 1997). This implies the feeling and sense of belonging to a particular cultural community. Ethnic origin refers to a sense of ancestry and nativity on the part of the individual through parents and grandparents. The !Xû and Khwe as different ethnic groups are products of the later classification. They have also been subjected to some form of disdain, derived from their collective historical reference and also the sense of uniqueness and centrality on their part as off-springs of 'Bushman', a derogative term (Mhlanga 2005:7, Smith *et al* 2000).

The !Xû and Khwe fall within the ambit of ethnic communities following the modernized epistemological foundations of the two groups, as separate communities (cf. Douglas 1996). This classification is hinged on the factor of permanence, a physically bounded territory, over and above its political organization. Similarly, John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith (1996:6) suggest that there is a tendency towards deliberately perceiving ethnic community as a synonym of a nation. In an ethnic community people interact regularly and have common interests or organizations at a collective level. Richard Schermerhorn (1978:12) state:

An ethnic group is defined here as a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are; kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group.

Following Shermerhorn's (1978) definition and qualifying factors, Hutchinson and Smith (1996) select some symbolic elements in defining ethnicity; a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, a link with a homeland and sense of its members. These features are evident among the !Xû and Khwe, who often refer to their ancestors, whose sense of art in passing information through generations is still evident to this day, through rock engravings, instead of paintings (cf. Weinberg 2000). Rock engravings mark the historical period of artistic and spiritual greatness and forms a strong source of identity on their part as a collective of the first people (cf. Tomaselli 1999). In addition, "the destiny of the community is bound up with its ethno-history, with its own understanding of a unique shared past" (Hutchinson and Smith 1996:7).

XK FM as a community radio station for minority ethnic groups hypothetically contributes to ethnic cohesion and cultural maintenance. This approach has created a media imperative which seeks to view community media as contributing towards the upkeep of cultural traditions in a way which is congruent with modern requirements. Following Riggins' (1992:05) classification of various minority ethnic groups the !Xû and Khwe would belong to the group which consists of indigenous people who remain committed to traditional values. Their struggle for identity and linguistic survival is obviously informed by varied socio-political contexts and has raised its own type of problems. Such a group has a political advantage in that as indigenous residents their claims for language and cultural protection are likely to be seen by other groups as more legitimate. Therefore for their survival the sustainability of a community radio station is also dependent on the supportive attitude of the wider population.

### **Conclusion**

The above discussion provides a stencil on which community radio stations are based. Some key features include stations run and managed by local people with financial assistance from either local businesses or the non-governmental organisations, existing for the local people, owned, controlled and managed by the local people with the help of a board set up and composed of the local people. Community radio bears the picture and

emblem of the community, and becomes the community's source of identity, with their hopes and aspirations broadcast on radio in local languages. It provides the alternative voice to the communities concerned and celebrates independence as the main feature. A community radio is a non-profit making social arrangement. Imperatives for community radio have also included the following: a) community radio as a geographic imperative, b) community radio as a socio-cultural phenomenon, c) community radio as a developmental imperative. The underlying features of community radio are difference, equality, representation, autonomy and independence. These are paramount features that also determine the focus of various radio programmes and policy formulation and implementation.

The thrust of the next chapter is to show how the public sphere and theories of ethnicity impact in the study of community radio station.

## CHAPTER THREE

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework for this study includes theories on two concepts; the public sphere and ethnicity. In order to understand Jurgen Habermas' (1989)<sup>13</sup> theory of the public sphere, this study will focus on the community radio station (XK FM) as a case study in which the community as the public is expected to engage freely to discuss matters that affect them. Tom Bottomore (1984:76) suggests that Habermas forms the last seal of critical theory.<sup>14</sup> This study will attempt to use this theory as a lens for reading into the community radio station, and most probably provide a stencil for our understanding of community media in the light of liberalisation of airwaves. Theories of ethnicity will also be employed, taken from John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (1996) and Stephen Harold Riggins (1992). Citizenship will be discussed as a major factor in the discourse of ethnicity (Husband 2000).

#### **The Public Sphere and its Primary Constituents**

The community radio station in this study is located in terms of Jurgen Habermas' (1989) discussion of the public sphere, within a micro scale, as people in a community radio station are expected to engage freely in dialogue and debate about issues affecting their community. Similarly, John Keane (1996:35) suggests that,

The coffeehouse, town-level meeting, and literary circle, in which the early modern public spheres developed, today find their counterparts in a wide variety of local spaces in which citizens enter into disputes about

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<sup>13</sup>The Frankfurt School was formed in 1923, February 23, initially directed by Carl Grunberg up to his retirement in 1930. Thereafter it was under the leadership of Max Horkheimer. It also included critical theorists like Leo Lowenthal, Friedrich Pollock, Erich Fromm, Henryk Grossman and Herbert Marcuse. Later Theodor W. Adorno, Otto Kirchheimer, Franz Neumann joined, together with Jurgen Habermas who started as Theodor Adorno's research assistant in 1955 (George Ritzer 1996:283, Rolf Wiggershaus 1994:537).

<sup>14</sup> This follows earlier suggestions by Harvey Griesman's (1986:273) who had labelled critical theory as "the paradigm that failed". These views have been discredited following more scholarly work based on Habermas' work as the "seal of rapprochement" for the critical theorists (Ritzer 1996).

who does and who ought to get what, when and how. John Fiske's *Power Plays* have created an indelible mark in the discussion of bottom up, small-scale locales in which citizens form their identities, often in top-down 'imperialising' powers that are focused on regulating, redefining, and extinguishing (or 'stationing') public life at the local level.

As I will demonstrate below, this is exactly the role for which the !Xu and Khwe radio station was evolved.

Habermas envisaged an organisation of social relations rooted in the principle that the validity of every norm of political consequence be made dependent on consensus arrived at in the communication free from domination. His approach was a critique of the eighteenth century bourgeois institutions of the public sphere (Calhoun 1996:453). Denis McQuail (2000:157) defines the public sphere as a notional "space", which provides an autonomous and open forum for debate. Access to this forum is free, with guarantees of freedom of assembly, association and expression. Mahmood Mamdani (1996) refers to this space as constituting the genesis to civil society, citizenship and subject. This space is the 'public realm', commonly referred to as the 'public sphere'. In support James Curran (1991:2) states that:

According to Classical theory, the public sphere (or in more traditional terminology, public forum) is the space between government and society in which private individuals exercise formal control and informal control over the state: formal control through the election of governments and informal control through the pressure of public opinion. The media are central to this process. They distribute the information necessary for citizens to make an informed choice at election time; they facilitate the formation of public opinion by providing an independent forum of debate; and they enable the people to shape the conduct of government by articulating their views. The media are thus the principal institutions of the public sphere or, in rhetoric of nineteenth century liberalism, 'the fourth estate of the realm.

Similarly, McQuail (2000:157) states that media facilitate this process by providing a platform for debate and allowing private citizens to constitute a public body in a bid to form public opinion. The notion of public sphere therefore is evident in the formation of community radio as a move to buttress civil society. The interesting aspect of the public sphere in the establishment of community radio stations is that the idea of a 'public' here is one of inclusion and not that of exclusion. Community radio stations as a new conduit to localized forms of communication and social interaction provide a protection for citizens in their relations with the state. Such an arrangement creates space for non-coerced human association, characterized by a set of rational networks (Walzer 1992:89).

This public forum therefore occupies the space between the structural base and the top of society (superstructure), with mediation taking place between the two. McQuail (2000:157) adds that the basis for the private sphere is where individual life is concentrated for citizens, while the political institutions like the media are at the centre of public life (superstructure). This approach is easily discernible throughout Habermas' work (Ritzer 1996:292). In his views on communicative action and its link with the public sphere Habermas adds that:

The actions of the agents involved are coordinated not through egocentric calculations of success but through acts of reaching understanding. In communicative action participants are not primarily oriented to their own success; they pursue their individual goals under the condition that they can harmonize their plans of action on the basis of common situation definitions (1984:286).

Habermas (1984) further argues that this is aggravated by purposive-rational action (work), aimed at achieving a common goal. This is opposed to Marx's approach whose focus was on the role of labour within the class structure or social formation as a whole. Habermas is concerned with communication and its role in society. He argues that communication leads to the rise of the critical sphere, over the social world, where the regulation of public opinion is antagonistic with public power created by the ruling elite.

This is also seen as leading to a shift in the political tasks of the citizenry who in turn acting in unison re-align their civic tasks and begin to actively engage in the critical public sphere, a move aimed at causing human emancipation (Habermas 1989).

Habermas (1989:43) originally had examined critically the developments and the degeneration of the political institutions that made up what he called the “bourgeois democracy”, that were also active at the time. Curran (2000:38) describes the public sphere as a space where private individuals come together as members of the society in an independent fashion. This description removes the ties to the state, state-organs (such as state broadcaster) and economic factors. Habermas (1989:194) further suggested that the notion of “public” implied that private individuals critically reflect as they engage each other freely. Habermas (1989:82) refers to the non-coercive nature of the composition of the public sphere:

Since the critical public debate of the private people convincingly claimed to be in the nature of a non-coercive inquiry into what was at the same time correct and right, a legislation that recourse to public opinion thus could not be explicitly considered domination.

The original bourgeois public sphere consisted of private individuals who came together to debate among themselves the regulation of civil society and the conduct of the state. The new public forum was not part of the state, but was on the contrary a sphere in which the activities of the state could be confronted and subjected to criticism (Thompson 1995:70). It meant the creation of public reasoning, as articulated by private individuals engaged in debate that was in principle open and unconstrained. This led to either an acceptance or rejection of an idea or product. Habermas’ discourse in the public sphere is mainly based on the principle of rational critical argumentation, in which the best argument was decisive, rather than the identity of its proponents.

Initially, the public sphere was composed of the elite who were admitted from various backgrounds and statuses. These debates could influence affairs of the state and society

as a whole, even if they emanated from the civil society. Craig Calhoun (1996:453ff) suggests that citizens usually enter the public sphere on the basis of autonomy afforded them both socially and economically by their private lives and non-state civil relations. The importance of the public sphere for Habermas was that it afforded a model of public communication which potentially could realise the rational guidance of society. The community acts as public when dealing with matters of general interest and also when being subjected to coercion. This is usually with the guarantee that they may assemble and unite freely, express and publicise their opinions (Bernstein 1995:37; Habermas 1989). Habermas also agrees with Isaiah Berlin's (1969:132) characterisation of the classical political conception of liberty. It is understood as a structure of unimpaired inter-subjectivity brought about by unconstrained communicative action. In seeking to reconstruct historical materialism, Habermas (1979:95) posited that there are two distinct components in life: work (labour), which he referred to as purposive-rational action, and social interaction, referred to as communicative action. In his earlier work Habermas writes, "I take as my starting point the fundamental distinction between work and interaction" (1970:91). To Habermas this leads to creation of a public space where people gather and share ideas on issues affecting their lives.

The communicative space formed leads to the maintenance of reciprocal speech (Berlin 1969:133). Political freedom and communicative action is a typical feature of a progressive human community (cf. Arendt 1958). They shape modern social and political relations of the "private sphere", a phenomenon which leads to public awareness in terms of the rise of "social" consciousness (cf. Habermas 1970:91; 1979; 1989:19). Social life informs mutual interdependence for the sake of life and nothing else assumes public significance. Issues concerned with the survival of members of society are permitted to appear in publicly protracted discussions and debating platforms (Berlin 1969:135). For Habermas the subject matter became ways of changing social life, with its major goal being the creation of a citizen capable of virtuous action. Bernstein (1995:37) concurs by basing the concept of "public" as the equivalent of the notion of "community". This view suggests that a community can only afford the state of being autonomous when the individuals concerned are capable of engaging in virtuous actions. The philosophical

foundations of this approach were rooted in Kantian<sup>15</sup> teachings, which stated that the world is coherent because it is an organic whole, no part of which can exist without the existence of the rest (Smith 1971:32; Arendt 1958). This dialectical approach is aimed at offering an understanding of social totality by way of combining individual consciousness, cultural superstructure and the economic structure. In view of the above Paul Connerton (1976:12) argues that: “No partial aspect of social life and no isolated phenomenon may be comprehended unless it is related to the historical whole, to the social structure conceived as a global entity”.

The image deduced from the Habermasian approach is one which is rooted in the classical doctrine, which sees the formation of praxis or action and a political community operating in the ambit of unconstrained communicative action. This is considered a necessary ingredient for the formation of reciprocal speech. It also forms the basic feature of cultural life, the only space of appearance engendered by this form of reciprocity that human beings can reveal themselves as citizens. Habermas therefore referred to the goal of forming a public opinion as opposed to striking a balance as a major distinguishing factor for the development of the public sphere.

In conclusion, the public sphere bases its argument on the fact that differences tend to be ignored as people engage in these debates. This has been seen as a major illusion and weakness of liberal discourse. And will be seen in our discussion of the community radio station, made up of two ethnic groups. Habermas’s theory reflects an assumption of equality of membership in a given society organised on democratic lines of deliberations (Held 1980). This forms a major weakness of the assumptions of the public sphere. The argument raised has been that the public sphere will empower different people to different degrees. Calhoun (1996:460) concludes by suggesting that all these discussion groups have different discourses; therefore it would be a fallacy to presume a situation that one group can only be rationally critical about affairs of the state and economy. The importance of this discussion relates to the still open question of whether the public

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<sup>15</sup> For further reading in this area see Karl Popper (1962). *The Open Society and its Enemies*, and *The Poverty of Historicism* (1961).

sphere remains a useful and appropriate conceptual framework for the study of community relations, specifically with regard to the establishment and use of community radio. This thesis argues that the public sphere remains an important conceptual rubric, and the thesis will utilise it as a framework for analysis in the study of XK FM radio

### **Theories of Ethnicity**

To Stephen Harold Riggins (1992:01) ethnicity refers to people who perceive themselves as constituting a community because of common culture, ancestry, language, history, religion or customs. However, these features do not always apply uniformly; therefore one or more can still be applicable and can be used as a feature of identity. The above characterization of the term ethnicity shows the difficulties most scholars face in this ambit. The term ethnicity first appeared in the 1950s (Hutchinson and Smith 1996:4). In its early stages, the term was used as both a feature for classification between groups in the contexts of 'self-other' distinctions and identity.

The term ethnicity is a derivative of the commonly used adjective 'ethnic,' and can be traced back to the Middle Ages. Consequently, the word can in turn be located in the ancient Greek term 'ethnos', a synonym for gentile, non-Christian or non-Jewish pagan (Hutchinson and Smith 1996:4). The French version of the Greek noun 'ethnie', whose adjective is 'ethnique', has no English equivalent. The French term, therefore is used to denote an 'ethnic community or group'. The English usage of this term has always been marred with inconsistencies and sometimes used for convenience. The common usage of the term refers to a number of people or animals, who share some cultural or biological characteristics and who live and act in concert. However, Hutchinson and Smith (1996) argue that these uses refer to 'otherness', people who like animals belong to some groups unlike one's own. The outcome is the creation of distinctions of the peripheral (excluded) ethnic 'other,' and inclusive non-ethnic 'us'. In Latin a similar reference is made to nationalism, whereby the term 'natio' means barbarian people, with the term 'populus' referring to 'us' (themselves). An ethnic group is not a synonym for minority. All human beings are ethnic, but what counts is the fragility of what is then termed 'minority' or 'majority'.

Having scrutinized the definitions of ethnicity with a view to investigate the notion of identity, ownership and control of the radio station by the two communities, !Xû and Khwe, it can be concluded that ethnicity in this case is seen as an unalterable reality determined at birth. However, recent research understands ethnicity as a social construction, or a negotiated self-identity and imagined community (Husband 2000:200; Anderson 1983). Previous academic expositions on ethnicity and issues of identity have been perceived as alien to the African interpretations of ethnicity; as a result they have failed to provide detailed accounts of the contextual factors (cf. Mary-Lewis 1987; Saugestad 2001; Nyamnjoh 2005:26; Davidson 1992; Hobsbawm 1995). Some of these views will be alluded to in the section below.

In view of the above, Hutchinson and Smith's (1996) views on ethnicity have their weaknesses due to the failure to acknowledge that ethnicity is an identity ascribed at birth and also an achievement at both individual and group level. Their views on ethnicity tend to create an unmitigated juxtaposition of the latter with nationalism. Ethnicity can be rediscovered or reclaimed. In some situations, ethnicity operates in conflict with issues of citizenship. This happens a lot in countries marred with various ethnic groups competing for resources (Ake 2000:92).

### **Citizenship issues**

Citizenship can be defined as a status bestowed upon members of a political community (Skogerbo (1996:94; David Held 1992, 1991). Similarly, Bottomore (1992:18) suggests that citizenship entails the possession of equality with respect to rights and duties as a form of endowment. This status can be obtained either by birth or a procedure of "naturalization" (Bottomore 1992). It entitles citizens to a set of rights and obligations (Held 1991:23). The concept of citizenship in this case creates a distinction between consumer and citizen's roles and rights (cf. Garnham 1986).

The media plays a significant role of providing citizens with a substantial part of information needed to navigate and develop informed opinions on an increasing number of issues, and consequently, political decisions concerning the structure and the

performance of media institutions. Active citizens' participation in community issues is often seen as leading to contemporary democratic theory (Mamdani 1996). Michael Walzer (1983:304) suggests that: "Democracy puts a premium on speech, persuasion, rhetorical skill. Ideally the citizen, who makes the most persuasive argument, lures the largest number of citizens."

Furthermore, within the ambit of active-participatory citizenship is also a strong reliance on rational communication, in the sense that one has to believe that opponents are capable of judging and deliberating. Skogerbo (1996:90) says citizens are not only supposed to persuade each other, more over they have to operate within a communicative situation in which participants adhere to norms of truthfulness and sincerity.

The problem with citizenship issues is that if conferring citizenship status and rights were that simple then the making of citizenship status would not be a major issue in South Africa and most African states. In view of this weakness Bottomore (1992:21) further distinguishes between formal and substantive citizenship. He says the former refers to membership in a nation-state, and the latter consists of an array of civil, political and social rights. This includes participation in the business of government. The two major distinctions introduced by Bottomore (1992) show that formal citizenship does not guarantee substantive citizenship rights. This analysis would apply in the case of !Xû and Khwe, who are conveniently accorded the status of South African citizens and in some cases, conferred the much lower status of Bushman. In a parallel analysis, Charles Husband (2000:200) says such ethnic stereotypes are readily evident to inform the perception of ethnic minorities. He adds that: "The reality would seem to be that all majority populations have exploited their national identity in order to ... police access to formal citizenship and qualify ethnic minority citizen's access to substantive citizenship rights" (Husband 2000:200).

The other key to the democratic theory regarding citizenship is that citizens have to enjoy some modicum of autonomy (or liberty). Autonomy in this case implies that citizens are capable of making judgments based on their interests (Skogerbo 1996:91). The belief in

autonomy holds that citizens have the capacity to always improve their judgments. In response to this assertion, Dewey (1988:154) posits that citizens, if properly educated, are capable of remaining autonomous in formulating judgments informed by public interests. Furthermore, Dewey holds that the education of citizens is fundamental to the development of the community, because only by doing so can they learn and develop their qualities as citizens and human beings. Hence his assertion that: “Everything which is distinctively human is learned, not native....to learn to be human is to develop through the give and take of communication and effective sense of being an individually distinctive member of a community” (1988:154). This confirms the prerequisite to participation and consequently for the creation of democracy. In addition to this, four main aspects have to be considered; discussion, voting, participation and equality (cf. Ake 1996; Mamdani 1996).<sup>16</sup> David Held (1991:19) concurs that the initial dismissal of citizenship as a “bourgeois fraud” and the shift towards accepting and even embracing it raises the issue of context and scope of democracy. He further delineates between balancing liberty and equality, thereby raising questions of where to delimit between the public and the private, and also the political and private spheres. This view leads to the creation of analytical and normative aspects of citizenship. Lafferty (1988:1) says: “As an analytical concept, citizenship focuses our attention on the dialectic interaction between man and the state, and as a normative concept, it advises us to what that interaction should be”. This statement points to the uniqueness of the private-social being who has been replaced by citizenship in the public realm, the characteristic of which shows that there is no formal distinction between the two worlds. This calls for equality as a major factor. In attempting to explain equality Raymond Williams (1989:118) traces it to its classical usage which he labels as a “fundamental condition”, implying that all men are created equal, with a set of specific demands. He adds that in its bearing on social thought, equality has two main branches; first, a process of “equalization”, from the fundamental premise that men are naturally equal as human beings, “though not at all necessarily in particular attributes.” Second, equality can be viewed as a process of removal of inherent privileges, from the premise that all men should start equal, though the purpose or effect of this may be that they become unequal in achievement or

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<sup>16</sup> See Mamdani (1996:21 & 99) on the concept of detribalization.

conditions of social mobility (Williams 1989:118). A continuum entails an overlap, in which the condition of inherited and created status sets some individuals above others, thereby conferring power asymmetrically. However, to diminish this gradual shift in private-social to public status entails embracing the normative principle, which is to bring equality and fraternity close, thus implying the use of the moral notion of equality on the whole limited to the notion of social conditions. This brings in the concept of citizen's rights as already introduced above.

In introducing the notion of rights Will Kymlicka (1995:26) states that the case of citizenship is an issue of differentiated rights, therefore it has to be seen from a three tier approach. First, self-government rights as the delegation of powers to minority rights. Second, poly-ethnic rights in tandem with financial support and legal protection for practices such as ethnic religious rights. Third, special representation rights, these guarantee seats for ethnic and national rights. The latter implies that a state affords the national minority leverage to have jurisdiction over its own nation. In the case of the !Xû and Khwe ethnic groups, self-government rights would apply in the formulation of resettlement policies and subsequently the move from Schmidtsdrift to Platfontein. The establishment of XK FM creates another level of complexity to the aim of the community radio station which is partly to retain traditional values, and the maintenance of local languages. Husband (2000:204) notes that these agendas within a multi-ethnic population provide guarantees for the media which is run by and for indigenous peoples, and also allows for community regulation of the flow of majority media into indigenous communities.

The explanation given above also shows that the essential linkage between the concept of differentiated citizenship and the explicit formulation of a model for a cultural coexistence lies in the fundamental recognition of the individual as social. Similarly, Husband (2000) suggests that group differentiated citizenship rights have their basis on the acceptance of social solidarity within ethnic and national minority identities as intrinsic to individual identities. This provides a sound platform upon which to plant a model of multi-ethnic public sphere. An example in this case is the right to communicate

which draws together the freedom of speech, the press, information and assembly. The inherent virtue therefore is the overarching assertion on the rights as special ingredients to interdependence. Furthermore, the right to communicate can be perceived as a framework upon which the model of the multi-ethnic public sphere is constructed. This view can be further located within the human rights generation discourse (Husband 2000:207); especially the third generation human right.

A much clearer view of these concepts is offered by Keba M'baye (1986:29) who observes that;

Civil and political rights are based on the principle of liberty, whereas economic, social and cultural rights derive from the principle of equality. In the case of the former rights, an abstention is required of the state: in effect the state must avoid preventing the exercise by individuals of the rights and liberties that are recognized as their ... Conversely, for the enjoyment of the second category of rights the state must make provision for their achievement. Such rights could be categorized by saying that civil and political rights are 'rights of', while economic, social and cultural rights are 'rights to'. These first and second generation rights are now completed by the third generation rights, the achievement of which can no longer be obtained merely by abstention or provision on the part of the state, but requires solidarity between people and states. These rights of solidarity are basically the right of peace, the right to the environment and the right to development.

The application of these rights to the !Xû and Khwe in conferment of citizenship status and subsequently the establishment of the community radio station (XK FM) indicated the right to communicate. This buttresses the point that the need for people to communicate in their own languages and to participate in fashioning their development is a right; hence it gave the impetus to the establishment of the station. These rights are further enunciated on in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) (cf. Evans and Murray 2002:353). Husband (1998:139) compounds the above assertion by adding that, "the right to be understood would place upon all a duty to seek

comprehension of the other. The right to be understood qualifies the right to communicate by rejecting and condemning egocentric and ethnocentric routines of engaging with the communicative acts of others”.

Most deliberations and issues of human rights lack a clearly defined interface with reality, hence the argument that they are theoretical abstractions. However, these matrices are quite informative, especially on how a society can organize itself in a bid to nudge the political elites for their rights and the quest for citizenship. They also lead to the discussion of ethnicity as an important ingredient in our theoretical understanding of community media.

### **Conclusion**

The focus of this chapter was to draw an interface between theory and practice. The imperative therefore, is set to create a synapse between theory and practice when analysing social phenomena. This theoretical chapter provides a synthesis to the literature survey on community radio stations, their features and characteristics, conducted on various academic renditions. The thrust of this chapter was to show that the public sphere as a theoretical framework is still applicable to the discourse of community media and that it can be used to read into community relations. Using the public sphere and its primary constituents community radio stations act as localised public spheres where community members freely engage and critically discuss issues affecting their lives. The constitution of these community arrangements in the form of community radio entails equality of members of the constituent body in status. Citizenship becomes another feature to be rigorously engaged in the analysis of the !Xû and the Khwe as different ethnic communities. Using theories of ethnicity I will be able to assess the impact of XK FM on the two communities, and whether following the theory of the public sphere they are able to engage each other freely as citizens with their group rights.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The present chapter focuses on research epistemologies and paradigms that inform the selection and use of the case study research method. Phenomenology forms the main epistemological stencil on which the qualitative research paradigm will be rooted. The chapter will discuss the philosophical foundations of the qualitative paradigm. Weaknesses in this paradigm will be highlighted paving way for the employment of other research methods and techniques in a bid to underpin the case study research method.

The data collection techniques used in the field include: in-depth interviews (face-to-face), with open-ended question guidelines; participant and non-participant observation and the desk-top technique, especially when using the Internet to access more information about community radio stations in South Africa. Simeon Yates (2004:133) argues that non-participant observation entails a situation where a researcher observes but does not take part in the social activity under study. A triangular sampling approach was employed in which simple random sampling, stratified random sampling and cluster (area) random sampling method were used.

#### **Philosophical underpinnings of the Qualitative research paradigm**

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. This approach cuts across three main epistemological foundations: phenomenological, hermeneutics and relativist (Yates 2004:135). This case study will partly borrow from hermeneutics and relativism, but fully ground itself in phenomenology. Phenomenology consists of material practices that make the world visible at the same time seeking to transform it through a set of interpretive practices (Heidegger 1962). Similarly, Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (2000:03) concur by suggesting that qualitative research transforms the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memoirs to the self. This implies that qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to human experience. A researcher in this ambit focuses on things in their natural settings, thereby attempting

to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln 2000:24). Nelson *et al* (1992:04) sum this up as follows:

Qualitative research is an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and sometimes counter disciplinary field. It crosscuts the humanities and the social and physical sciences. Qualitative research is many things at the same time. It is multiparadigmatic in focus.

The advantage of using qualitative research methods is that results are based on a strong and flexible research design which tends to yield to valid and reliable findings. Reliability of the findings is aided by the use of open-ended questions and verification; empirical observation (cf. Beard 1989; Sechrest and Sidana 1995:78). Furthermore, inadequacies of individual research techniques are minimized, such as threats to validity caused by internal and external factors. In view of the above suggestions, Corner (1996:299) calls for a tightly guarded research arrangement which assesses the interface of signification (entropy) and comprehension (this refers to all objects in the domain of interpretation and discourse or universal quantifier). In the assessment of entropy the overarching axiom is that influence is both a product of cause and effect. Hence causality in research cannot be perceived in isolation and from one direction, it is dialectical. This implies that comprehension entails a situation where all steps in any event or action would be linked, thereby influencing the outcomes either directly or indirectly. The same could be said for various social phenomena being researched; various factors at play influence our perception of social trends. Logically, comprehension means the same as universal quantifier (Carnap 1958:34), while signification refers to existential quantifier; in other words, research is value-bound therefore logic flows from specific to general. Explanations, for example, are generated inductively from the data, implying that the knower and the known cannot be separated because the subjective knower is the source of reality (cf. Guba 1990; Guba and Lincoln 1989).

Qualitative research tends to operate as a descriptive model in scientific terms; that is, fixing grammar, in logical terms. In this case a phenomenological paradigm which

focuses on interpretation, description and/or constructed multiple realities will be used to investigate the case study of !Xû and Khwe as minority ethnic communities benefiting from XK FM as a community radio station. This project therefore deliberately embraces a triangular approach (methodological pluralism) by embracing these three different approaches (qualitative as interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and sometimes counter disciplinary), (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:15). The phenomenological paradigm assists the researcher to avoid mimicking the station's organisational objectives. This would require a technical evaluative study rather than a critical analysis (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:16). Interpretation in the latter case operates at a higher logical level than description. This interpretation follows a critical phenomenological model which helps the communities being studied to create a sense of identity through the various realities conjured by the radio station in question.

Constructed multiple realities are contentious: for example, through different stimuli different constituencies may well conceive of their respective experience in terms of different interpretations of that which confronts them in life (cf. Shepperson 1995). Different interpretations of reality exist, not single interpretations of multiple realities. This also means that in any given reality the situational elements arising from the inherent limits to individual experience only mean that something in the situation is signalling (as a sign) that some communicable elements need to be uncovered and integrated into the collective representation that we interrogate (Tomaselli 1999:45).

The challenge to the researcher therefore is to embrace socially constructed meanings for clarity and greater precision before making conclusions; this at least can be achieved by giving the insider the benefit of the doubt. This position tends to oppose predilections, especially worldviews generated by the modern natural science (positivist paradigm) and technology, thereby justifying cognition with reference to Edmund Husserl's<sup>17</sup> concept of 'evidenz'. In view of the above Michael Sarakinsky and Noram Romm (1994:25) add that the phenomenological paradigm, a variation of the humanist and interpretive

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<sup>17</sup> See the following website for a detailed analysis of the theoretical foundations of phenomenology and the concepts; 'epoche' and 'evidenz': <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/husserl/#1>

epistemologies, provides a framework upon which a researcher is able to follow the objectives of the study and also how the object should be studied.

Having discussed the philosophical underpinnings of the qualitative research paradigm the imperative now is to understand qualitative research in general. Beard (1989:38) proposes that qualitative research is a research method which focuses on real life phenomena. He further argues that qualitative methods consist of various data collection strategies: in-depth, open-ended interviews; direct observation, written documents, including such sources as open-ended written items on questionnaires or question guidelines, personal diaries, and programme records. In this regard, the data from an open-ended interview consists of direct quotations from people about their experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge. The data collected from observation consists of detailed description of broadcast programming, participants' behaviours, radio staff actions, and the full range of human interactions that can be part of the specific programme under investigation. Document analysis in this case, is expected to yield to excerpts, quotations, correspondence, and official reports.

Regarding data evaluation, qualitative evaluation of data begins as raw, descriptive information about programmes and the people involved. Those involved include the XK FM radio station and people involved, staff members and the general community. As researcher, I visited the community in order to make firsthand observations of the development programmes as an activity under study; I engaged personally in their activities such as training soccer. This sports activity broke the ice, and my intended informants became much more cooperative. This was done from a two pronged approach, as both passive and participant observer, at different times (cf. Deacon et al 1999). The research participants and staff were engaged on their experiences and perceptions on particular phenomena being studied. Records and documents were examined in an effort to concretize on the information being obtained from my informants. The data from the interviews, observations, and documents was then organized into major themes, categories, and case examples through analysis (Beard 1989: 45).

Qualitative data may be presented alone or in combination with quantitative. The validity and reliability of qualitative data depends on the methodological skills employed; sensitivity and training of the researcher. The other advantage of employing (Yates 2004:53) qualitative research is that the researcher manages to create rapport with his respondents and is therefore able to observe certain gestures and behaviour towards the whole notion of participation, representation and control of the community radio station by the community (cf. Cabanero-Verzosa 1993:10; Phiri 2000:37). The ontological reason for undertaking qualitative research together with an observation technique is that interaction with the people being researched shows the centrality of social life and provides the researcher an understanding of the communities being studied. Deacon *et al* (1999:249) suggest that the epistemological concern in observation rests on natural or 'real life' settings that can reveal social reality, which has to be experienced and shared by the researcher, as a way of enhancing validity. Qualitative research therefore offers access into the lives of those being researched (cf. Long 1992; Chambers 1983).

### **Case Study Research Methodological Approach**

The case study method seeks to construct various views of reality with the aim of comprehending phenomena in terms that are relative in place and time. Andreas Riege (2003:3) adds that qualitative methods such as case studies usually follow realistic modes of inquiry. The main objective is to "discover new relationships of realities and build-up an understanding of the meanings of experiences rather than verify predetermined hypotheses" (Riege 2003:3).

Various types of case studies can be identified; descriptive, illustrative, experimental, explanatory, exploratory and chance case studies. The two types of case studies to be used here are the exploratory and descriptive. A case study must show specificity-boundedness. Robert Stake (2000:436) identifies three types of case studies: intrinsic, instrumental, and collective. In intrinsic case studies research is undertaken primarily because the case illustrates a particular problem or trait. The instrumental case study chooses to make a case to advance an understanding of other interests (Stake 2000:437). Collective case study becomes an extension of several cases. Elements of an intrinsic

case study will also be applied here to permit the researcher to temporarily subordinate other curiosities to test the stories of those in the case study. The trait or problem being investigated is the establishment of a unique community radio station which was anomalously created as a subsidiary of the SABC. This feature transgresses the major characteristic of a community radio station, which is autonomy and independence (Taylor and Willis 1999:132), a characteristic which is a feature of the alternative media (Masilela 1996:107). The basis for this approach is that assumptions in this kind of a research are subjective, with the created knowledge dependent on the interaction between the researcher and the researched. The aim therefore is to increase our understanding of similarities and differences of social constructions. This informs the exploratory aspect of the case study.

A case study can be used to establish the validity of the subject under investigation rather than a variable, through which the researcher gains an understanding of a broader phenomenon (Molapo 2000:21). Jennifer Platt (1992:46) has problematised the history of case studies by tracing it back to the work of the Chicago School of Sociology, where participant-observation emerged as a major data collection technique. In her descriptive definition of a case study she notes that the case study strategy begins with logic of design as a strategy where preference for circumstances and research problems becomes appropriate rather than an ideological commitment towards other circumstances. The logic of design (Platt 1992:46) can be viewed in terms of the technical definition of a case study as an empirical inquiry (as opposed to empiricism in the positivist research) that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real context. This view shows the significance of contextual conditions to a phenomenon under study. Furthermore, on the logic of design, Yin (2003:14) states that a case study as a research strategy is an all-embracing method also covering data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis.

In view of the above Patton (1987:19) describes a case study as a qualitative research methodology used by the researcher who needs to understand some particular problem or situation in great depth (exploring). He further posits that a case study is used where one

needs to identify the case study's richness in information; rich in the sense that a great deal can be 'learned from a few exemplars' of the phenomenon under investigation. Patton provides an example and states that a great deal can often be learned about how to improve a programme by studying selected "failures, or successes." He adds that case studies are particularly important when the evaluation aims to capture individual differences or unique variations from one programme setting together, or from one programme experience to the other. More interestingly, a case study can be a person [announcer], an event, a [radio] programme, a time period, a critical incident, or a community (Patton 1987:19). Regardless of the unit of analysis, a qualitative case study seeks to describe that unit in depth, in detail, in context, and historically. It also seeks to create a dialectical analysis of a situation by referring to the past at the same time linking to the future. In this way, the more the program aims at individualized outcomes, the greater the appropriateness of qualitative case methods. In addition, the more the programme emphasizes common outcomes for all participants, the greater may be the appropriateness of standardized measures of performance and change.

Case studies as methodological approaches can establish cause and effect. One of their strengths is that they observe effects in real contexts, recognizing that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects (Cohen and Manion 2001: 181). Other researchers such as Miles *et al* (1994) define case studies in terms of phenomena occurring in a 'bounded context'. They also argue that if any phenomena under investigation are not "...intrinsically bounded, then it is not a case" (cf. Molapo 2002: 21). The most important ways in which researchers can assess the boundedness of the phenomenon is to assess the nature of case, amount of data to be collected, the case's historical background, the physical setting, as well as the informants through whom the case study will be known (Stake 2000:439). It follows that if the amount of data collected does not have an end and also the number of subjects to be researched, then such phenomena are not bounded enough to qualify as a case (Miles *et al*, 1994). In this regard, my study involves XK FM as a selected case study in which two ethnic communities, !Xû and Khwe, are seen as active participants and beneficiaries of a community radio station. This case will serve as a bounded community.

### **Data sampling and collection techniques**

A sample refers to a group of people or unit of analysis selected for study. There are two ways of choosing samples: random and non-random sampling (probability and non-probability sampling respectively) (White 2000:61). With random sampling, the population is split into layers or strata, on the basis of variables chosen by the researcher, such as gender, age and ability. Cohen and Manion (2001:101) state that random sampling is a useful blend in research as both randomisation and categorisation enables both quantitative and qualitative pieces of research to be undertaken by selecting a sample group. The sample for this study was chosen following three random sampling techniques: simple random, cluster random sampling, and stratified random sampling. The theoretical population for my study was four thousand six hundred people for the two communities. This refers to the total population to which generalisations will be made; the entire !Xû and Khwe population. Having defined my theoretical population I then identified my study population, which amounted to eighty-six respondents. The study population in this case is the group I finally sampled and settled on interviewing; it constituted the accessible population (Loue 1999:41; Deacon, *et al* 1999:47; Yates 2004).

The main questions to use in the process of navigation included the following: a) to whom do I want to generalize? b) To what population can I get access? c) How can I get access to them? d) Who or what is my study? The first question deals with my theoretical population (entire population). The second and third questions deal with the study population and sampling frame, respectively. Consequently, the last question attempts to identify the sample selected (cf. Trochim 2006)<sup>18</sup>. Furthermore, random selection had to be used in a bid to balance the study of two populations that have varying figures, with the !Xû having a much larger population of four thousand, than the Khwe whose population is two thousand. Random assignment would have helped in this study, however, financial limitations prevented long-term study. The other reason for leaving out random assignment was the magnitude of the study, time allocation, project requirements following the institutional arrangements and the purpose for which it was intended (Masters Thesis).

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<sup>18</sup> For further consultation refer to: <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/sampterm.htm>

The first criterion used in this study was that respondents should either be !Xû or Khwe. The second criterion was that respondents should be residing in Platfontein, the area within the legally defined XK FM footprint of fifty kilometres. This qualification created conditions conducive for the use of a cluster random sampling technique. Other listeners from the neighbouring villages like Galeshewe and outskirts of Kimberly could be sampled. But since the determinant factor was that they should be either !Xû or Khwe a cluster of people only residing in Platfontein had to be randomly sampled. The third criterion was that the sample should attempt to represent the whole !Xû and Khwe population gauging from the figures that the population size (theoretical population) is 4500 and 2000, respectively. This therefore implied that judging from the demands and requirements of this study, and time constraints as a major factor, the sample size had to be narrowed to eighty-six respondents.

Another cluster of all XK FM radio staff members was sampled. The advantage of using this technique is that all staff members also double as influential members of the two communities. Their views tended to reflect and border on the two communities' hopes and aspirations. In attempting to create population representation simple random sampling technique was used. The advantage of using this technique is that each sampling unit in the eligible population has an equal chance of being sampled. The sampled size also reduces "random (sic) err and increases precision" (Loue 1999:42).

A stratified random sampling technique was then used to deal with further delineating the accessible population. Stratified random sampling requires that the population be divided into pre-determined strata. Within each stratum, the sampling unit shares at least particular characteristics, such as gender and age. Randomness occurs when the study participants are selected within a sample (Loue 1999:42). This was meant to create parity among the groups being interviewed for the two ethnic groups and to avoid skewing the data. Sample groups based on gender and age intervals of ten years were selected. The sample age group ranged from 10-24 years, using the interval of ten and ended up with the 70-84 age groups. These were further stratified into male and female groups for the !Xû and Khwe respectively. Stratified random sampling tends to yield more precise

estimates of the population parameters, considering that the overall variance is rooted on the “within the stratum variance” (Loue 1999:42). Disproportionate stratification was used to handle the population whose figures are skewed towards one ethnic group, the !Xû. As a result various age samples do not show uniformity; this is partly due to differences in numbers of various age groups. This final research object was to ensure that there is sufficient number of people in the study

The main technique used in the collection of data included interviews with the use of research guiding questions. The purpose of the chosen method (face-to-face interviews) as well as the research instrument (research guiding questions-) used in the study was meant to uncover certain social constructions and facilitate immersing oneself in and understanding of the research context (Molapo 2002:25) (see appendices for examples of questionnaires that were used). Observation particularly at the radio station offices was employed. In this view, Winston (1997) refers to three types of observation styles, namely: privileged, active and limited. Amongst the three styles of observation techniques, I used the privileged and the limited observation styles. The former refers to a researcher who is known and thus trusted in the research setting and has an easy access to information about the context under investigation (Molapo 2002). This is due to the rapport which already exists between the researcher and radio station management.<sup>19</sup> In this situation, my role simply was to observe as they carry out their daily business with minimal participation. Due to lack of my active participation in the whole programming process, for example, my observation translated into limited observation as a form of passive observation (Winston 1997).

Considering that this study is a qualitative one, which allows for the incorporation of a range of techniques for data collection including interviews, with open-ended questions, Molapo (2002) suggests that there is no best instrument that can be methodically stated as the one and only for use. He adds that the researcher must decide on the most appropriate instrument that suites his or her own study. Face-to-face interviews and the employment

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<sup>19</sup> This is due to the contact and communication I created with the station management. The management included Regina Beregho, Malton and other members of the CPA I conversed with on the development and updates on the XK FM radio station.

of open-ended questions were used mainly during the research process. This was followed up with intermittent telephone interviews with selected members of the two communities, especially when verifying information obtained in the field and adding more data. Williamson *et al* (1982) suggest that it is crucial to create a relationship with those being interviewed or studied as this allows the researcher access some confidential information such as official records. This also helps interviewees to further open up since suspicion is always a major problem. Suspicion leads interviewees to sometimes lie, evade questions or feign ignorance (cf. van den Berghe 1967, Williamson et al 1982, Burgess 1984, Kimmel 1988). Another major source of data was access to other forms of documentation used in the radio station as secondary sources. These include materials from XK FM s, licensing and governing bodies like ICASA, and the former IBA and other community focused groups. Documents may vary in degree of structure and the purpose for which they were originally written, but they all provide valuable information (Teklemicael 2004:18; Mhlanga 2002).

Lastly, contacts and interviews with the management and community leaders initially were arranged by way of telephone bookings. Officials and leaders prefer appointments made in advance, and in some cases with draft questions sent. This tended to save time for them and was coupled with interviews with representatives from SASI and the Communal Property Association as specific clusters within the !Xû and Khwe communities. However, most of the research was carried out among community members in the field where the researcher was expected to create rapport with various key players and generally members of the community (audience) in an effort to understand the nuances that define ethnic differences and points of commonality between the two communities. The aim of this research was to address the question of community participation, and understand the issues of ownership among the people.

The first four week session was for data gathering.<sup>20</sup> The second session constituted research beneficence as an ethical obligation, commonly referred to as community plough-back (cf. Babie 2001). During this later period the researcher went back to the

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<sup>20</sup> Field was done starting from 15 July stretching to the month of October 2006.

field to confirm and test the validity and reliability of data gathered both from the official records and other sources in the field. The communities studied speak !Xuntali and Khwedam respectively, as their main languages. Afrikaans is used as an alternative (cf. Douglas 1996). Translators and interpreters were organized to facilitate communication in the field.

### **Conclusion**

The array of methodologies used in the preparation of this research was all phenomenological in its approach. It includes the use of qualitative research as the main paradigm, with the case study methodological approach as the guiding research principle. The exploratory and descriptive case studies are used as the major types of case studies fit for a research on this unique and unexplored community radio station, XK FM. The data collection techniques include: in-depth interviews (face-to-face and telephone contact), with open-ended question guidelines; participant and non-participant (passive) observation and the desk-top technique, especially when using the internet to access more information about community radio stations. Using these tools, I proceeded to collect my data, which is the subject of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CASE STUDY OF XK FM

Platfontein is part of the Northern Cape Province and is situated ten kilometres from the regional administrative city and legislature in Kimberley (see Appendix 1 for the location of Platfontein). The !Xû and Khwe moved to Platfontein between 1999 and 2003, while some remained at Schmidtsdrift where they continue to be in the employ of the army. The radio station is a fairly new development.<sup>21</sup> The two communities' speech languages are different. The general phenotype of the !Xû resembles that of any other member of the San communities in Southern Africa, whereas the Khwe and part of their language have fewer clicks and the limited use of the hard palatal. Their language shows striking similarities with the general Bantu languages which can also be gleaned from their surnames.<sup>22</sup>

The two communities were settled on a high level plateau with each ethnic group's settlement isolated from the other. Much as they follow the village life theirs' is a modernized one with electricity and brick houses. However, they seem to have retained some traditional ways, and these include their traditional dances: trance dance and traditional forms of consultation with the abode of ancestors. Furthermore, signs of social inequality can be observed through some community members who do not have access to electricity and proper sanitation.

The !Xû are located on the northern part, covering a wide area due to their numerical advantage. The Khwe are located on the southern part towards Kimberley and the main road, and are numerically fewer. In between the two communities there is the school, community radio station, and business centre. The primary school falls within the

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<sup>21</sup> The radio station was formed in August 2000, and according to information gathered from the interviews, people started settling in Platfontein from 1999 through to 2003

<sup>22</sup> This includes my own observation considering that most of their surnames were similar to those used in some communities in Zimbabwe where I come from. These surnames are: Kapungu, Kabwata and many others that are also found among the Nambia, Tonga and Shona people of Zimbabwe. Douglas also attempts to give a background of the two communities, in so doing he ends up linking them up with various Bantu groups found in Namibia, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

category of non-fees payment school. Next to it, is a centre which offers children and old people free food organized under the auspices of local government; although the recipients were complaining that the handouts are insignificant.

During my seven week stay in the field, I engaged in various activities in a bid to be part of the broader society. These activities included playing soccer with various teams and generally making visitations to different places as a way of mingling. Engaging in such activities was part of the research strategy of creating rapport with the two communities. There was an overwhelming response among the Khwe, with most people willing to participate in the research. On arrival the station manager together with her assistant helped me as research facilitators to the two communities. This arrangement had been organized in 2005 over the telephone when I first made preliminary enquiries and interviews about XK FM radio station. Subsequently, a number of interviews followed in the same vein, this time with various actors like the Communal Property Association (CPA), South African San Institute (SASI) and the Director of McGregor Museum.<sup>23</sup> The station managers further engaged four other people whose duty was to accompany me during the period of my stay in the field, at the same time canvassing for respondents for me as I was doing my interviews. Their task in particular was to facilitate access into the two communities by providing translation services. Following their social arrangements, of the four people; two came from the !Xû, and the other two from Khwe. On making an enquiry about this arrangement I was told that such a move was meant to cause ethnic balance. The same arrangement had to be followed at the station. This arrangement was agreed on by the CPA on how to balance ethnic representation in all their activities so as to avoid conflict. XK FM has six presenters, of which there are three !Xû and three Khwe presenters. The Acting station manager (Regina Beregho) is Khwe and the deputy station manger (Malton) is !Xû.

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<sup>23</sup> The CPA leaders who were contacted first were Mario Mahongo and his son. At SASI telephone discussions were made with Mary-Joy Windschatt, then at McGregor contact was made with David Morris who was also instrumental in providing more information about the morphology of the community and its development in general.

The reason for this social arrangement is the violent ethnic conflicts that marred these two communities ever since they settled in South Africa in 1989. The respondents also added that ethnic clashes were a common feature in their community up to the recent past; around 2003. However, they observed that the advent of a community radio station and the continuous churning out of information about the obtaining social problems had brought the two communities to work together. One of the community leaders from the Khwe ethnic group acknowledged that, “for the first in our history we have managed to work together and even share solutions to our problems even if we are two different communities”.<sup>24</sup> He added that the presenters have taught them lessons as models on how feasible it is for the two communities to work together and shape their future. Historically, they never had any interaction in their countries of origin. Observation revealed that the Khwe tend to look down upon the !Xû. Hence the use of derogative names like: *n#hã* used by the !Xû when referring to the Khwe, while the Khwe call the !Xû, *n!hae*.<sup>25</sup> The crisis of ethnic relations was also exacerbated by the selective treatment they received from the SADF favouring the Khwe at the expense of the !Xû. South African Defence Forces (SADF) favoured the Khwe by exposing them to educational opportunities more than the !Xû (cf. Douglas 1996)<sup>26</sup>. As a result the Khwe people tend to portray higher levels of literacy than the !Xû. This has further located the Khwe at a higher pedestal of the social mobility ladder.

Observation shows that the Khwe are more receptive to strangers than the !Xû. They were willing to participate and engage in research. Their communication skills are more polished compared to those of their !Xû counter parts. Most of my Khwe respondents

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<sup>24</sup> These were the views of one member of the Communal Property Association, a community structure created to address issues obtaining in their communities. This structure is blended with members from the two communities and operates like a secretariat with offices located 5km into the farms owned by the two communities. The views were expressed during my interaction with the CPA in the offices in August 2006.

<sup>25</sup> Information on the use of derogative names was obtained from the interviews I had with Erasmus Matesta, one of my research assistants from the side of the !Xû. He gave this information in emphasizing ethnic differences among the two communities. These terms can be pronounced in the following way: '*n!hae*,' used by the Khwe depicting the !Xû can be pronounced as '*ngcaye*.' It means people who come from the bush. Then the name '*n#hã*' given to the Khwe by the !Xû can be pronounced as '*nca*,' when probed on the meaning they said it has no meaning but depicts the way the Khwe speak.

<sup>26</sup> This information is also based on my discussions with people in the field. It also depicts ethnic cleavages that still exist in the community.

could at least understand English, although they had some difficulties in conversing fluently. On the contrary, the !Xû are a closed community and unwilling to talk to strangers. In some instances they would feign ignorance of Afrikaans when addressed in Afrikaans by my research assistants; a move meant to impede communication. Then when approached by my !Xû facilitators they would sometimes reproach them for being too accommodative. However, this only took place for a week after which they opened up although traits of suspicion remained.

The general observation made was that the !Xû people only enjoy numerical advantage as the majority but they belong to the socially excluded group even when considering access to resources. Stuart Douglas (1996) argues that this was aggravated by their willingness to be diligent foot soldiers and not seek to advance themselves socially. I further observed that all these traits of being a closed community, not being receptive and the general low literacy rate are relics of years of isolation and skewed treatment by the SADF. To compound the above observation, the two groups portrayed different views of their past, the !Xû gave a picture of a past full of abuse and exploitation by both the SADF and the Khwe. While the Khwe acknowledged that their past like that of the !Xû was characterised by exploitation by the SADF, they argued that moving to South Africa was a good move for them and that they would only be willing to visit their relatives in Namibia and Angola, than to return permanently.

The !Xû created a nostalgic picture of people who want to return to Namibia if given an opportunity. When probed as to why they would want to return, their response was that they feel that they are left out of most development projects, as a result they do not believe that they belong to South Africa. One member of the community, who spoke to me on condition of anonymity, and also in keeping with the ethical undertaking in my research to protect all my respondents, gave an allegory of the water which was flowing after the rains by suggesting the following;

You see the water flowing here, they do not mingle you can still see two lines within a single flow; one mixed with mud, and the other which is

clear. They act as a symbol of our two communities that are being forced to act as if they are one community. This flow of water will never mix; likewise we will never be one community.<sup>27</sup>

Due to high literacy levels favouring the Khwe, it was noted that they are always willing to engage in some development work. The youths who are not employed are also willing to constructively engage in any development project. However, unemployment levels are high for the two communities. The observation of the responses of the two ethnic groups' to vagaries of unemployment showed that they both have resorted to high levels of alcoholism and sometimes violence. As a result a few activities have been instituted to help them cope with their situation. These include playing soccer and listening to XK FM radio which broadcasts programmes for the youth. The other activities involved a drama group funded by the First National Bank (FNB) (see programme catalogue in the appendices). The plays produced by this group are recorded and then broadcasted on XK FM for the two communities as part of entertainment and education on various development issues.

The community radio station is located in proximity to the two communities. Interestingly, the radio station is situated in between the two communities, with the !Xû on one side and the Khwe on the other side of the station. This set up presents another symbolic portrayal of the radio station as contributing significantly in bridging the ethnic relations for the two communities. As one of my Khwe respondents confirmed, "this radio station is a symbol of progress and unity for us; at least we are now able to communicate. No one can ignore the messages churned on radio even if they are broadcasted in another language, they are meant for us all". In consonance with the assertion above the radio presenters are drawn from the two communities and trained in basic cadet radio presenting and programming. The general appearance of the building housing XK FM radio station is characterized by a big SABC logo (see Figures 1 and 2 below).

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<sup>27</sup> These were the views of one of my !Xû respondents, during an interview in October 2006.



FIGURE 1: A picture of XK FM community radio station showing the SABC logo, as seen from a close view.



FIGURE 2: Showing the SABC logo, taken from a distance.

The SABC logo as shown in the pictures above shows the influence of SABC. It also confirms the ownership of the community radio station by the state broadcaster. This creates a paradox as the community is portrayed as owners of the radio station following the social contract entered into by the community leaders (on behalf of the two communities) and the Communications Minister, on 18 August 2000. On the occasion of the launch of XK FM radio station held in Schmidtsdrift, the original location of the !Xû and Khwe, The Minister was also quoted as suggesting that;

The X-K FM will afford the people of Schmidtsdrift an opportunity to tell their story to South Africa and the world, not from our point of view

but their point of view ... In your<sup>28</sup> station we hope to hear about your language, culture and traditions. It is important for us to hear the stories of the !Xû and Khwe. Nobody else can tell that story except the old people and youth of this area.<sup>29</sup>

Observation on the radio station also revealed that XK FM is an SABC project. Staff members revealed that they are employed by the SABC and are answerable to it. They also revealed that programming is done without the consent of the two communities. No programme is broadcast without the sanction of SABC. This assertion by some members of the staff contradicted the Minister's statement that the community owned the radio station. My view of the situation on the ground also confirmed this assertion by some members of staff. By highlighting the possessive verb frequently used in the above quotation, I also observed that the statement by the Minister was like a social arrangement where a development project is offered to the community with the right hand and taken away with the other. This is tantamount to offering aid with a spoon and taking it away with a shovel (Mhlanga 2005). The scenario created by this arrangement is that the presence of the community in such a launching ceremony acts only as a political leverage to lend credence to the case of a community radio station whose reach exceeds the local people's grasp of the politics at play.

The community station also doubles as a community centre where community messages are broadcasted. Members of the community also have access to other facilities like telephone and printing facilities, particularly if the business organized is a community one. The criterion for access and use of the facilities by the two communities is that individual members have to be either !Xû or Khwe. Members of the community and visitors are expected to sign the log book on entering the radio station. Messages informing the communities about meetings are announced on radio and when a member

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<sup>28</sup> My emphasis- refers to the frequent use of the possessive verb used by the Communications Minister thereby creating an impression of XK FM as a community radio station which is owned, managed and administered by the local communities. This assertion is contrary to the situation on the ground as observed by the researcher.

<sup>29</sup> The quotation was taken from the following website:

<http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2000/000820001010a1004.htm>

of the community has visitors; a message is broadcasted on radio. The radio station therefore accomplishes various roles.

Community responses to the radio messages also depicted the impact this radio station has on the two ethnic communities. I observed that due to the communal nature of these two communities, it is quite difficult to discern who have or do not have radios to listen to XK FM. People are always prepared to share information or listen together as a group. Furthermore, the arrangement where there are always two presenters per programme has created an appreciation of the two main local languages of broadcasting (Xuntali and Khwedam) across the ethnic divide. At least, the two communities are beginning to tolerate each other; thereby learning each other's languages although the !Xû already enjoy the benefit of knowing Khwedam. This was said to be due to the social differences between the two ethnic communities caused by the SADF when they were still in Angola and Namibia. The other explanation is that the Khwe were always offered opportunities, as a result they rose through the social mobility ladder and began to look down upon their !Xû counterparts. The !Xû were recruited as foot-soldiers, whereas the Khwe could be sent to school.<sup>30</sup> This implies that when the final process of social integration takes place the !Xû will stand to benefit in social mobility than the Khwe.

#### **Case study: Presentation of data from face-to-face interviews**

Using the guiding-questions eighty-seven people were interviewed in total. These included eleven staff members, and seventy-six members of the two communities. From each ethnic group thirty-eight people were interviewed, respectively. Furthermore, using the gender variable, from each ethnic group with a total of thirty-eight respondents, nineteen females and males were interviewed, respectively (see Figure 3 below).

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<sup>30</sup> Part of the information was originally gathered from reading Stuart S. Douglas' (1996) thesis on the two communities. Douglas further highlights that these ethnic cleavages were further entrenched by the selective access to resources which seemed to be skewed in favour of the Khwe. Most of these assertions could be confirmed in the field as stated above. The Khwe are more open to strangers than the !Xû. This is another sociological explanation to issues of class and stratification brought about by access to resources.

! Xu

Age interval	Number of Respondents
10-24	17
25-39	13
40-54	3
55-69	3
70-84	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>38</b>

Khwe

Age interval	Number of Respondents
10-24	17
25-39	13
40-54	3
55-69	3
70-84	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>38</b>

! Xu Female Respondents

Age Interval	Number of respondents
10-24	10
25-39	5
40-54	1
55-69	3
70-84	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19</b>

Khwe Female Respondents

Age Interval	Number of respondents
10-24	10
25-39	5
40-54	1
55-69	3
70-84	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19</b>

! Xu Male Respondents

Age Interval	Number of Respondents
10-24	10
25-39	5
40-54	1
55-69	3
70-84	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19</b>

Khwe Male Respondents

Age Interval	Number of Respondents
10-24	10
25-39	5
40-54	1
55-69	3
70-84	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19</b>

FIGURE. 3: Tables representing the total number of respondents according to ethnicity, gender and age variables.

Following the question guidelines that were used uniformly across all the respondents, a number of patterns and observations were made using pie charts and column graphs. The responses varied from question to question; for question three, which focused on whether the respondents listen to XK FM or any other showed that at least all the respondents listen to XK FM. The follow up question which then requested the respondents to list the radio stations they listen to in order of their preference identified five radio stations: XK FM, Radio Sonder Grense (RSG), O-FM, Radio Motsweding FM (MDG FM),<sup>31</sup> 5-FM and the category of other. All the !Xú respondents stated that they listen to XK FM, only eleven respondents mentioned RSG, while six also mentioned MDG. One respondent added 5-FM, three also named O-FM, with four falling into the category of the other. This information was then presented in a pie-chart format as seen in Figure 4 below. Similarly, among the Khwe all the respondents stated that they listen to XK FM; with nineteen adding RSG FM, two for O-FM, five for 5-FM and MDG, respectively. Only seven fell into the category of other. The responses were then tabulated using Figures 4 and 5 below. The pie charts and statistics presented below show trends that are almost similar for the two ethnic communities. Then the few variations in terms of preferences for other radio stations can be alluded to the differences in exposure and social mobility ladder for the two communities.

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<sup>31</sup> NB\* these abbreviations are mine for purposes of data entry and diagrammatic presentation.

**!Xû Responses**

XK FM	RSG	O-FM	MDG FM	5 FM	Other
38	11	3	6	1	4

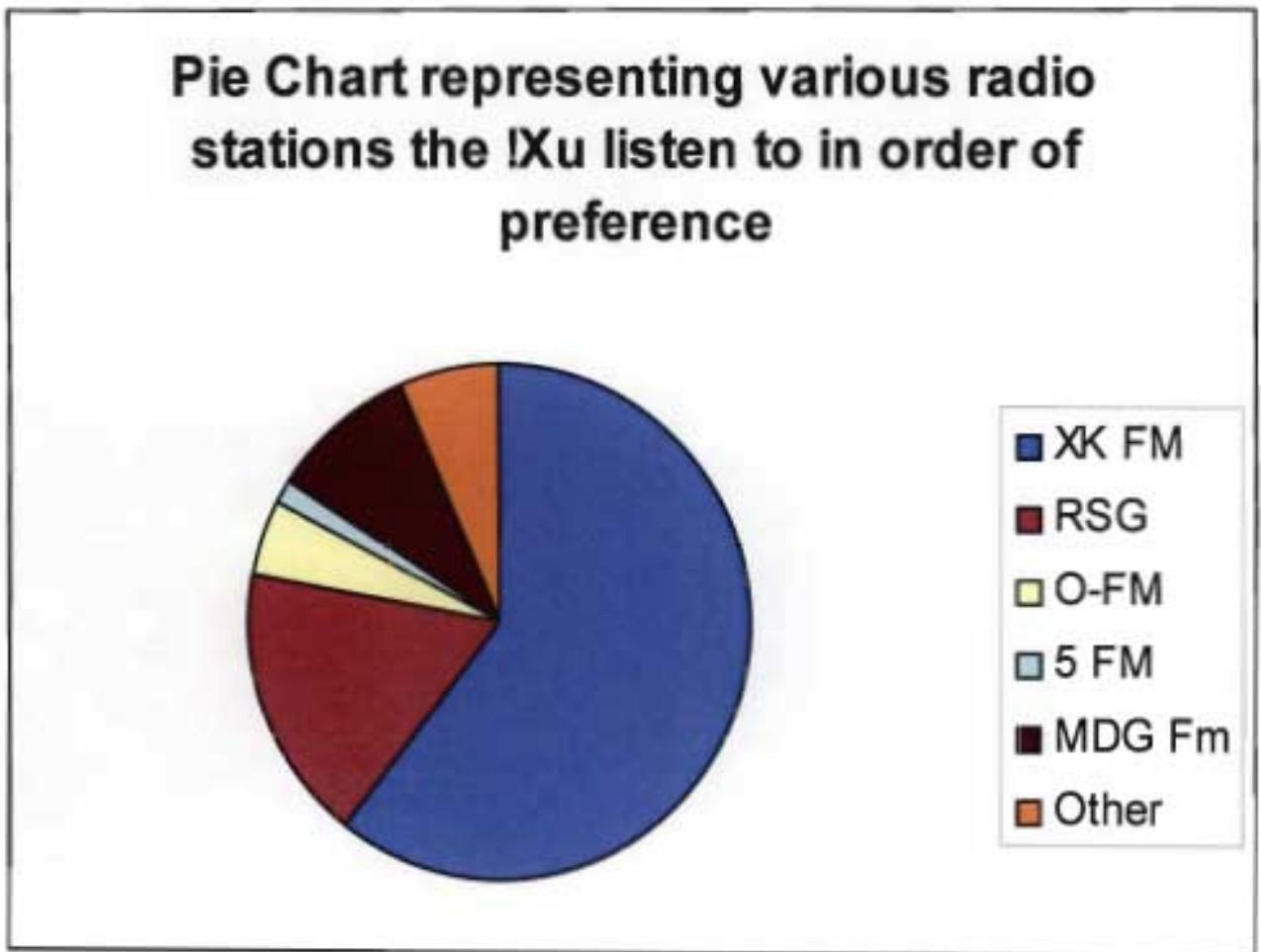


FIGURE 4: Pie Chart showing various radio stations listened to by the !Xû ethnic group in order of preference.

### Khwe Responses

XK FM	RSG	O-FM	SFM	MDG FM	Other
38	19	2	5	5	7

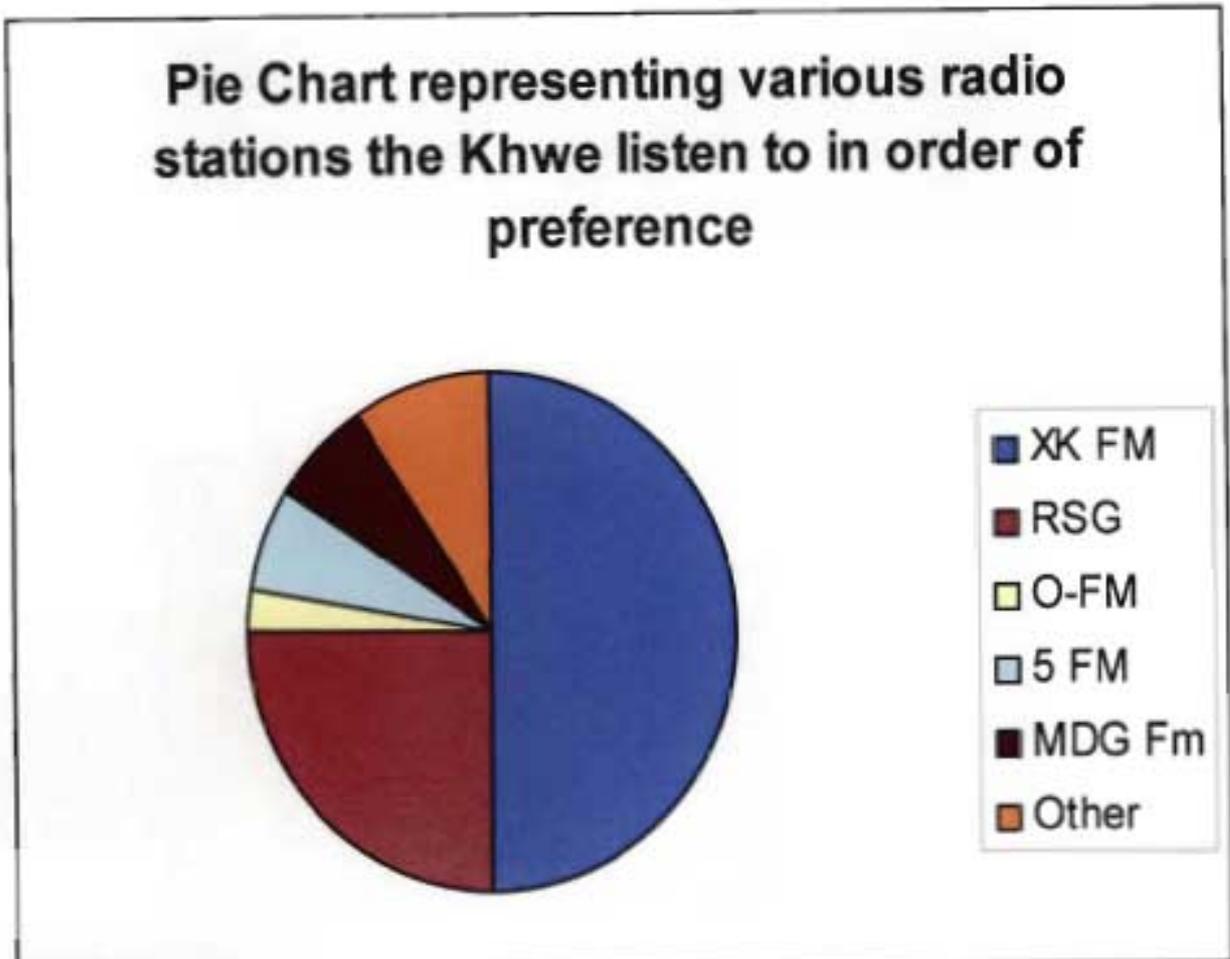


FIGURE 5: Pie Chart showing various radio stations listened to by the Khwe ethnic group in order of preference.

The following question focused on language and ethnic issues, mainly requesting the respondents to state their language preferences as listeners of XK FM. Four categories emerged for the two ethnic groups. Responses from the !Xô interviewees: fourteen mentioned Xuntali and Khwedam, seven, Xuntali, Khwedam and Afrikaans, while thirteen stated Xuntali alone, and eight added Xuntali and Afrikaans only. Of the Khwe respondents, twenty-three mentioned both Khwedam and Xuntali, while eleven said they

listen to Khwedam and Xuntali and Afrikaans, with seven for Khwedam alone and three for Khwedam and Afrikaans (Fig 6 & 7). The responses in Figures 6 and 7 show ethnic differences, especially with thirteen !Xû respondents preferring to listen to their language, while the same category for the Khwe only, is seven. This is also a sign that the !Xû are more inclined towards supporting their language. It can be assumed that this is due to the marked differences in terms of social development as can be seen on the ground, whereby the !Xû tend to be less developed and illiterate than their Khwe counterparts. This is also evident from the observations made above of the two communities' openness to other languages. The Khwe are more open to learning other languages, as shown in their interest in listening to Xuntali, Khwedam and Afrikaans, which is pegged at eleven. Seen from another angle this view it can be argued that the !Xû no longer feel the need to learn or listen to any other language since most of them are able to speak all the three languages, compared to most Khwe who are not able to speak Xuntali.

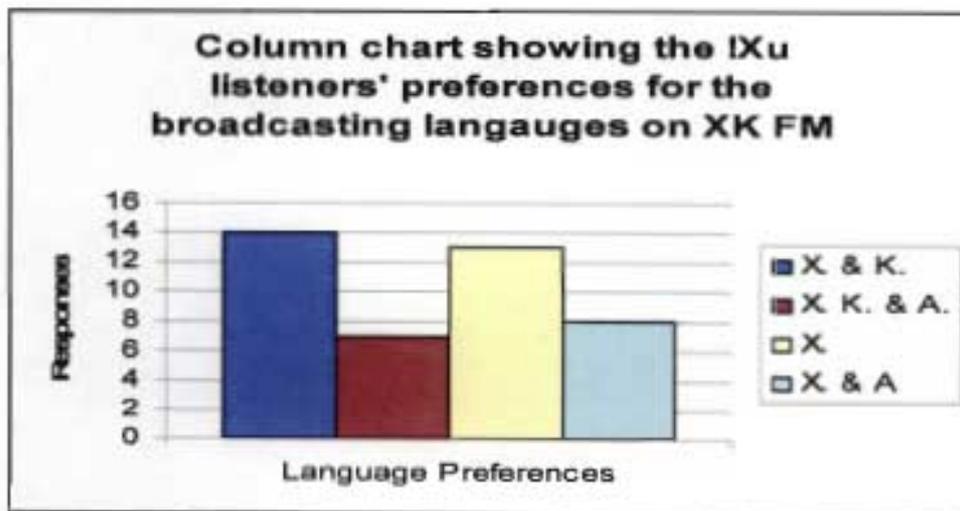


FIGURE 6: Column Chart showing the !Xû listeners' preferences for the broadcasting languages.

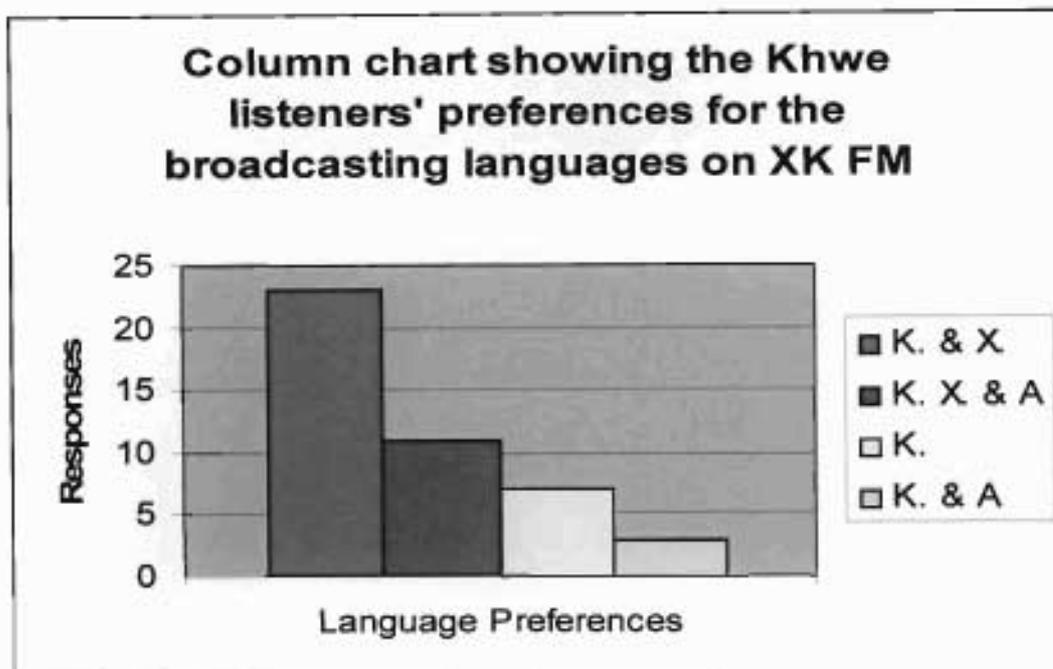
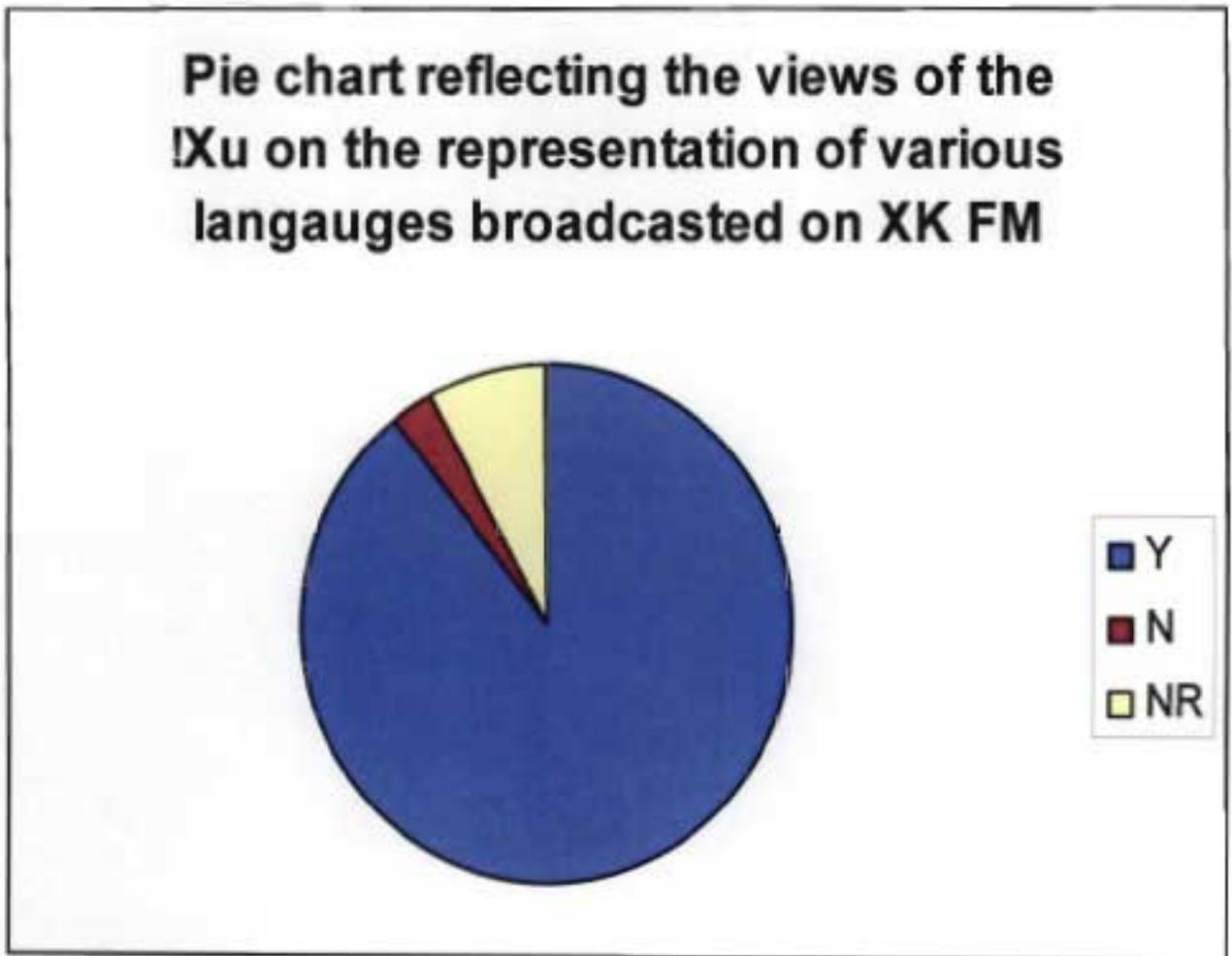


FIGURE 7: Column Chart showing the Khwe listeners' preferences for the broadcasting languages.

The other question on ethnic issues required respondents to specifically state their views on whether they felt that the two local languages (Xuntali and Khwedam) were equally represented on XK FM. Responses from the !Xû showed that thirty-four agreed, while only one disagreed, with three preferring to withhold their opinions despite being probed. The Khwe responses showed that thirty-six agreed with one disagreeing and the other choosing to withhold his views on the question (see Figs. 8 & 9). The responses presented in Figures 8 and 9 below, show similarities, this can be attributed to the general community ideation which views XK FM as a community radio station working towards bridging community relations for the two communities.

**!Xu responses**

Yes	No	NR
34	1	3



**FIGURE 8:** Pie chart showing views of the !Xu listeners on language representation by XK FM

**Khwe responses:**

Yes	No	NR
36	1	1

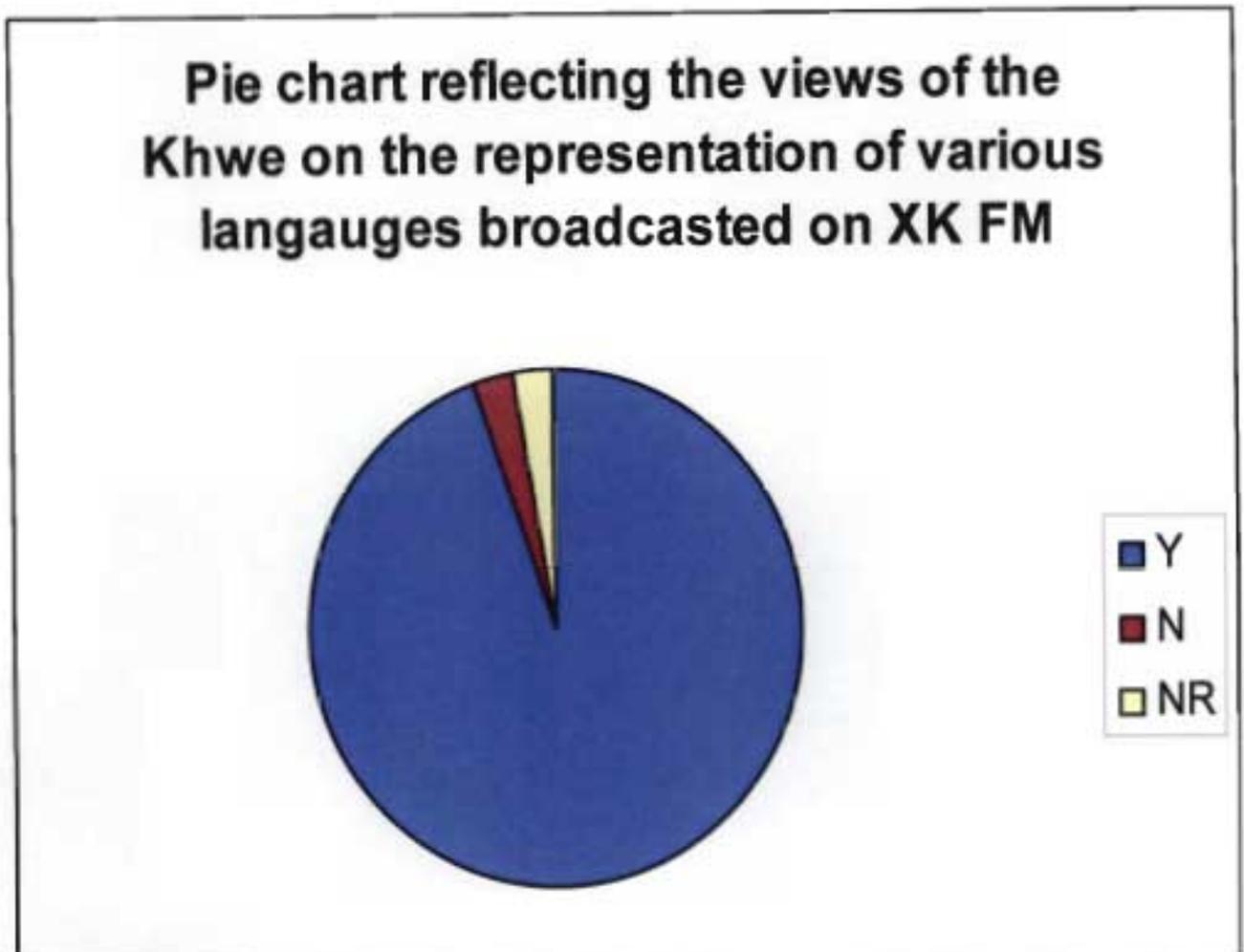


FIGURE 9: Pie chart showing views of the Khwe listeners on language representation by XK FM

Questions on community participation in XK FM as their local radio station among the !Xû showed that twenty-eight stated that there is need for community participation, with five disagreeing and non-responses respectively. For the Khwe on the same question twenty-five agreed, while five disagreed, with only eight not responding. The information

obtained was then depicted using pie charts to further give a visual illustration of the responses, as shown in figure 10 and 11 below.

!Xu responses:

Yes	No	NR
28	5	5

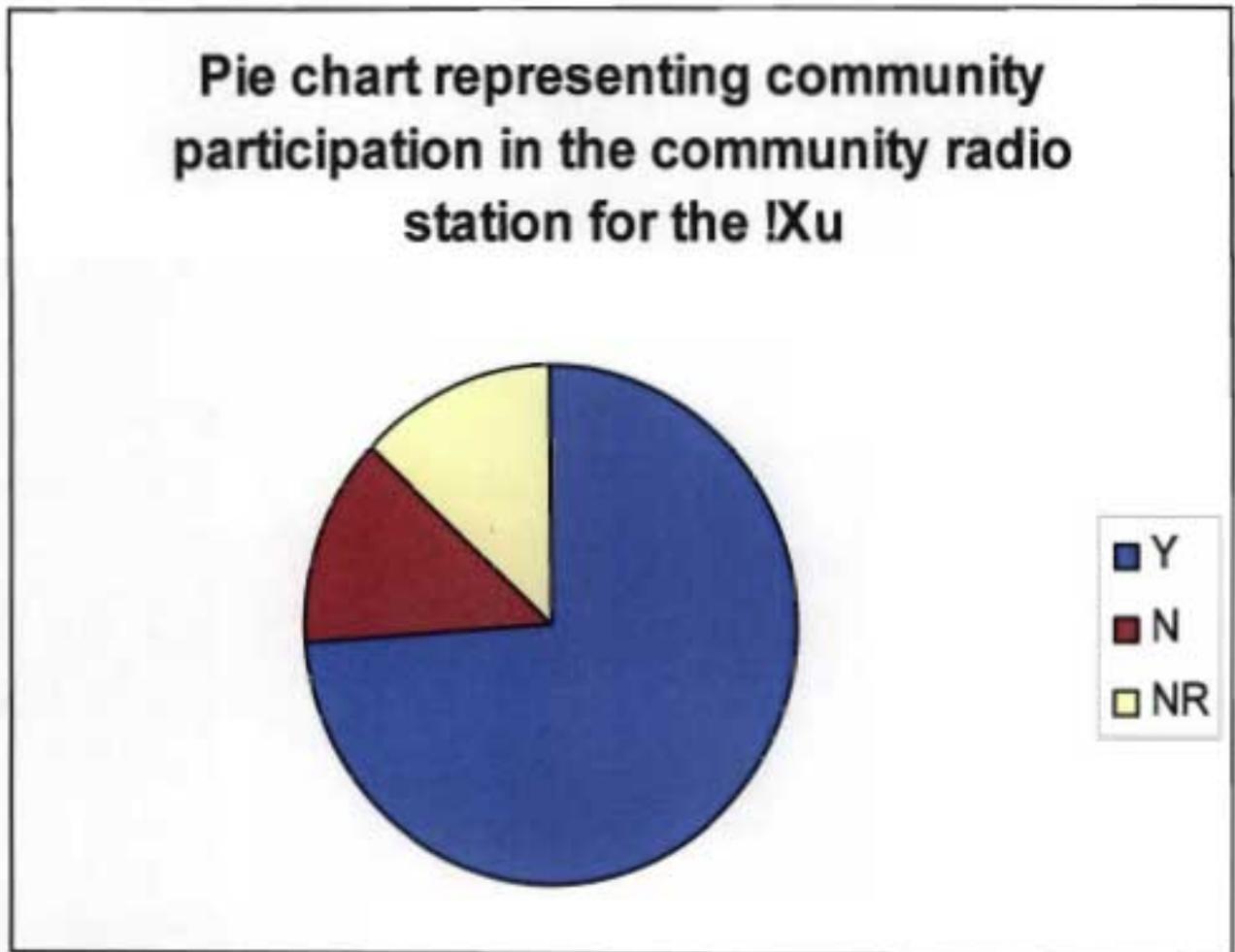


FIGURE 10: Pie chart showing views of the !Xu respondents on community participation in the community radio station.

Khwe responses:

Yes	No	NR
25	5	8

### Pie chart representing community participation in the community radio station for the Khwe

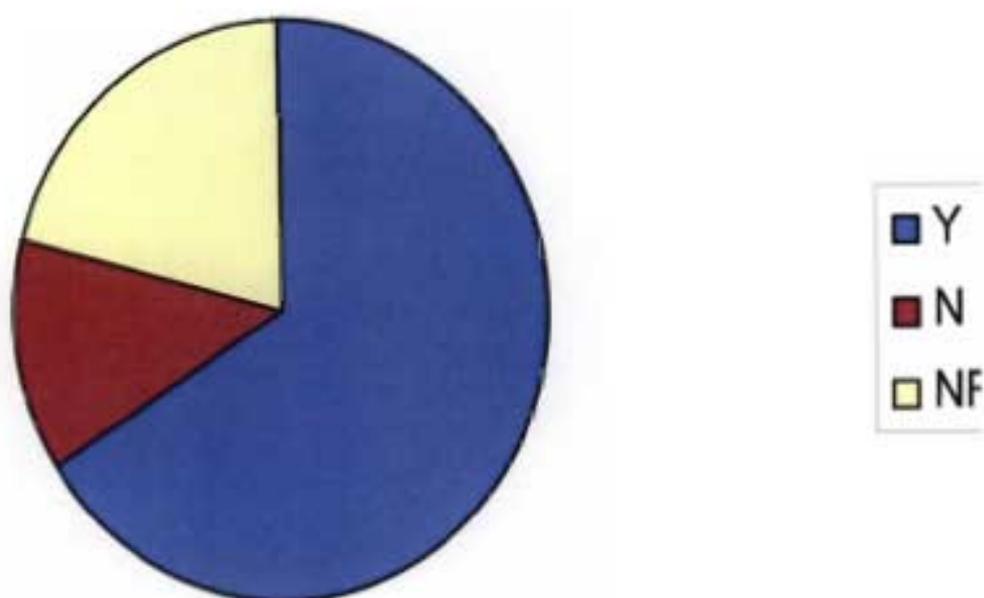


FIGURE 11: Pie chart showing views of the Khwe respondents on community participation in the community radio station.

Figures 10 and 11 present an overwhelming response by the two communities suggesting that there is need for community participation in the production programmes and management of XK FM. This can be interpreted to mean that the two communities acknowledge that they are not consulted when policies and programmes are being formulated and implemented. These views are also congruent with the observations made above that the two communities are not the rightful owners of the radio station. They also

confirm the need for communities to be engaged as equals in XK FM since the radio station is said to be a community radio station.

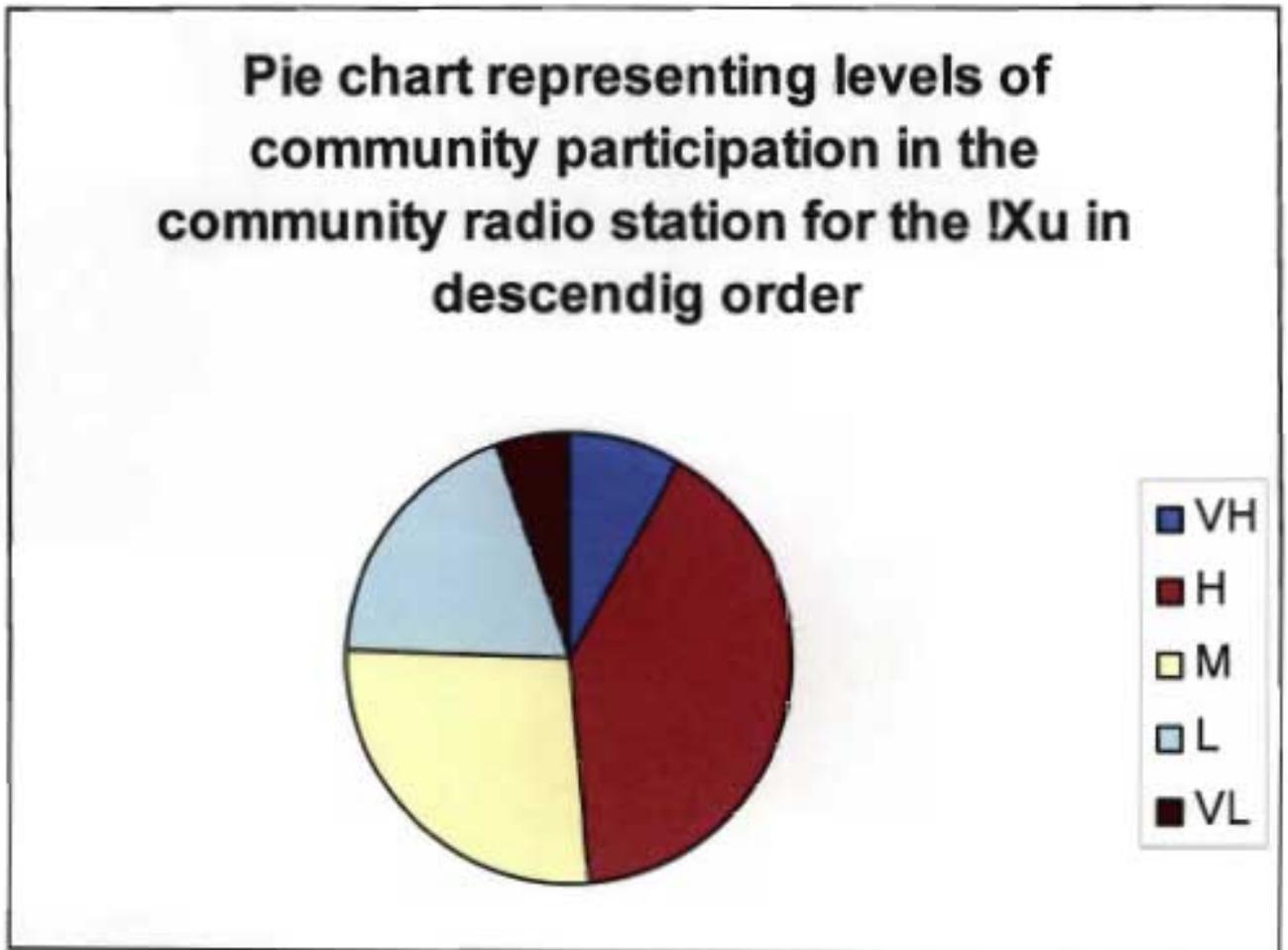
Question 14 emphasised the issues of community participation by requiring the respondents to rate the levels of community participation in the operation of XK FM (and also in programming). Five categories were drawn for the interviewees to illustrate their responses where appropriate. These ranged in descending order from very-high (VH), high (H), moderate (M), low (L) and very-low (VL). Responses from the !Xu had four (11%) who said community participation is very-high, with 15 (40%) as high, 10 (26%) moderate, 7 (18%) low and 2 (5%) very-low. The response from the Khwe showed that 10 (26%) said community participation is very-high, with 21 (55%) saying high, 6 (16%) moderate, nil for low and one (3%) very-low. These levels of community participation in the community radio station were also presented using pie charts (Figs. 12 and 13 below). An analysis of the views as depicted by the pie charts and percentages in the figures below show that a sizable number of people believed that participation was very high. For the !Xu if one combines the adds the figures from moderate to very low, the total obtained is that 49% respondents felt that the participation is not adequate. This shows that almost half of the people interviewed felt that there is need for participation. This assertion therefore would be in keeping with the above Figure 10 and 11 where the respondents called for a marked increase in participation.

The respondents did not have a clear understanding of what participation entails, especially in relation to community radio. This can be supported by the responses illustrated using pie charts in Figures 14 and 15, where the interviewees suggested that they need complete control (ownership) and running of XK FM as a community radio station. At least from the responses in the figures 14 and 15 we can further discern that the two communities acknowledge that they do not have a stake in terms of controlling the radio station.

**!Xu responses**

Very-High	High	Moderate	Low	Very-low
4	15	10	7	2
11%	40%	26%	18%	5%

**Pie chart representing levels of community participation in the community radio station for the !Xu in descendig order**



**FIGURE 12: Pie chart the !Xu interviewees' views on the level of community participation**

**Khwe Responses:**

Very-High	High	Moderate	Low	Very-Low
10	21	6	0	1
26%	55%	16%	0	3%

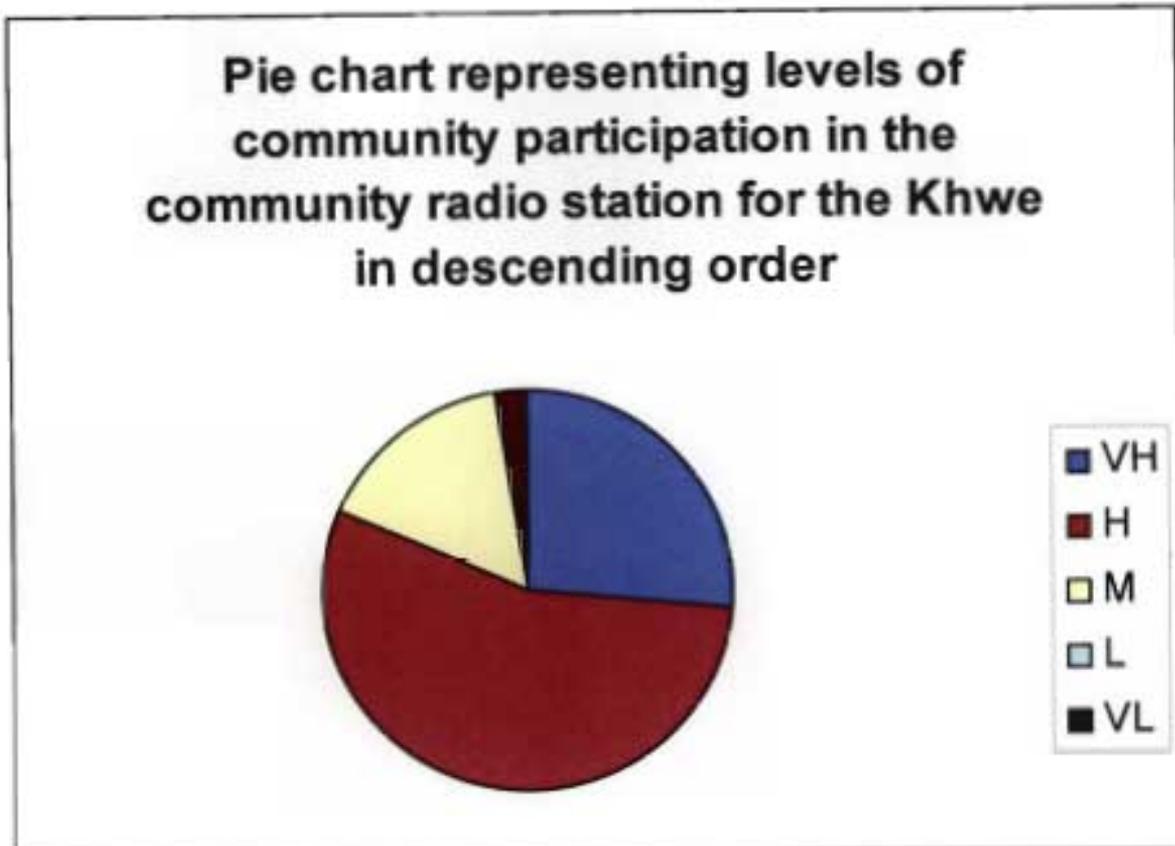


FIGURE 13: Pie charts showing Khwe interviewees' views on the level of community participation

Then the question on control (ownership) and participation in running of XK FM by the community similarly received a number of responses. Among the !Xú 27 (71%) agreed to have the community exercising complete control in running XK FM as a community radio station, with 10 (26%) disagreeing and only one (3%) not responding. Responses from the Khwe showed that 18 (48%) agreed to have the community exercising complete control in the running of XK FM. Only fifteen (39%) disagreed and five (13%) gave no responses (see Figure 14 & 15 below). The overwhelming response by the !Xu

respondents who want complete control (ownership) and participation in running XK FM can be interpreted in many ways. The first angle of interpretation is that their response could have been informed by the social exclusion they are facing considering that their literacy levels are lower compared to those of their Khwe counterparts. This would also explain the 48% response which supported the need for complete control (ownership) and participation of the two communities. However, their low response compared to that of the !Xu can also be interpreted as a sign that they feel a sense of belonging and being represented through the station manager who is Khwe. This implies that their hopes and aspirations are represented in the radio station by the station manager who belongs to their ethnic group. This assertion is informed by the clearly defined ethnic cleavages that exist between these two communities as discussed above.

**!Xu responses:**

Yes	No	No Response
27	10	1
71%	26%	3%

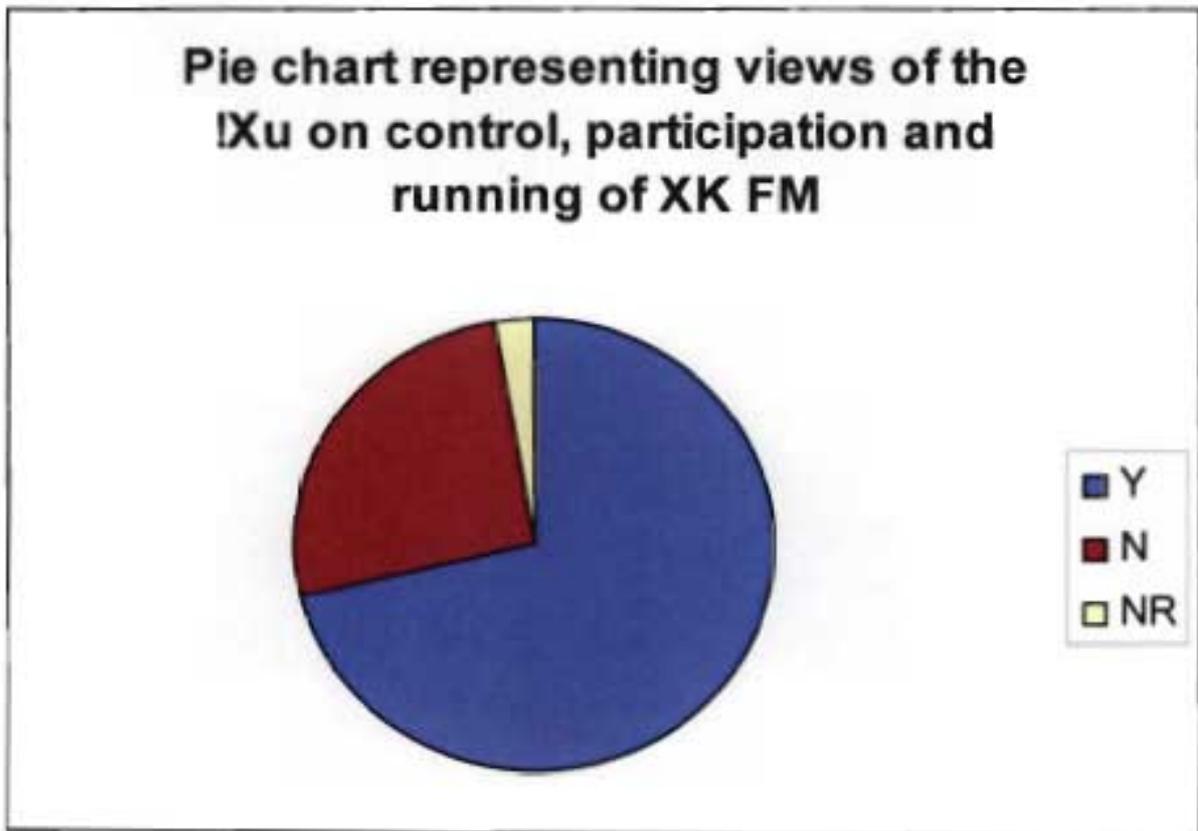


FIGURE 14: Pie chart illustrating the views of the !Xu regarding the need for their community to have a complete control (ownership), participation and running of XK FM

**Khwe responses:**

Yes	No	No Response
18	15	5
48%	39%	13%

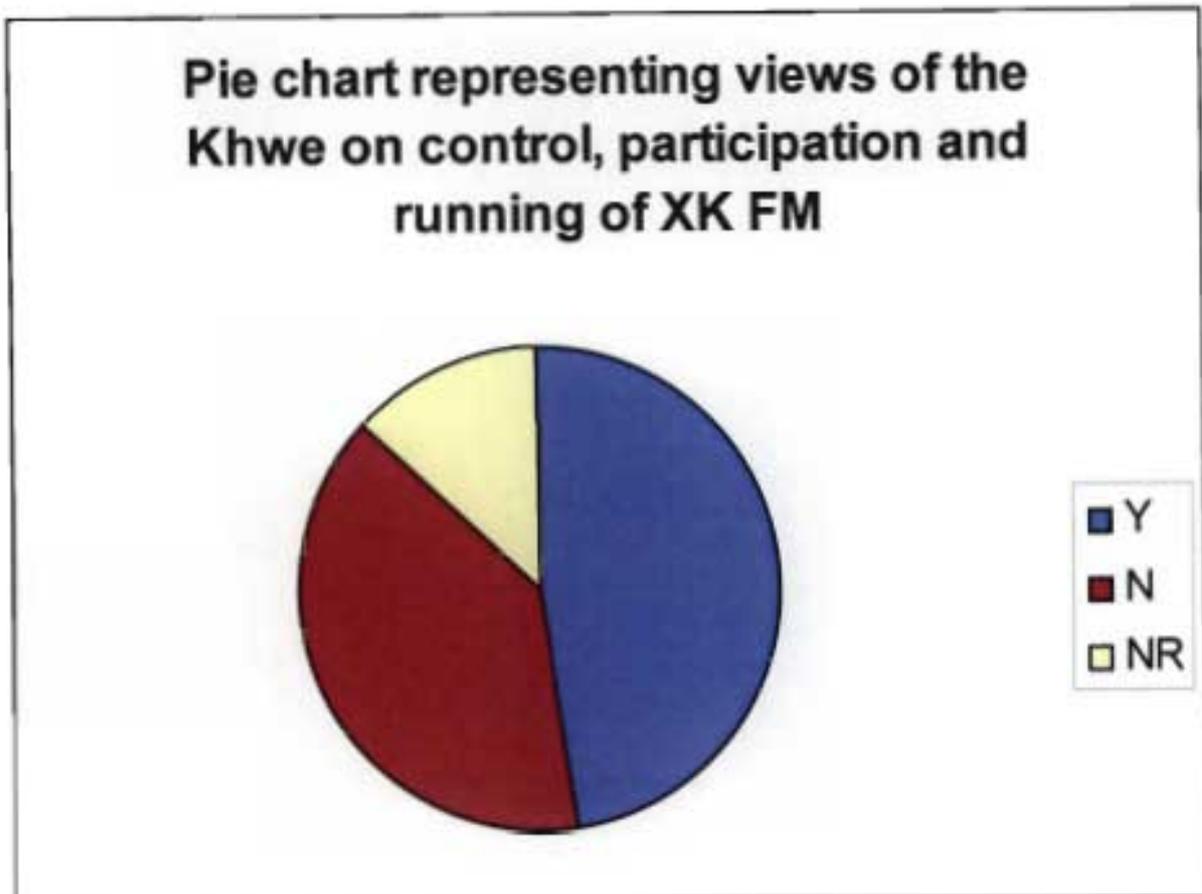


FIGURE 15: Pie chart illustrating the views of the Khwe regarding the need for their community to have a complete control (ownership), participation and running of XK FM

On the programmes, particularly, development programmes on XK FM, among the !Xû, 28 (74%) agreed that they know of the development programmes, 8 (21%) stated that they do not know of any development or related programmes, two (5%) did not respond. Among the Khwe, of the thirty-eight respondents, 30 (79%) professed knowledge of development or related programmes, 6 (16%) stated that they do not know of any, with only 2 (5%) not responding. Following this information pie-charts were also used to

illustrate the visual and percentage representation of community levels of knowledge of community development focused or related programmes (see Figures 16 and 17 below).

**!Xu responses:**

Yes	No	No Response
28	8	2
74%	21%	5%

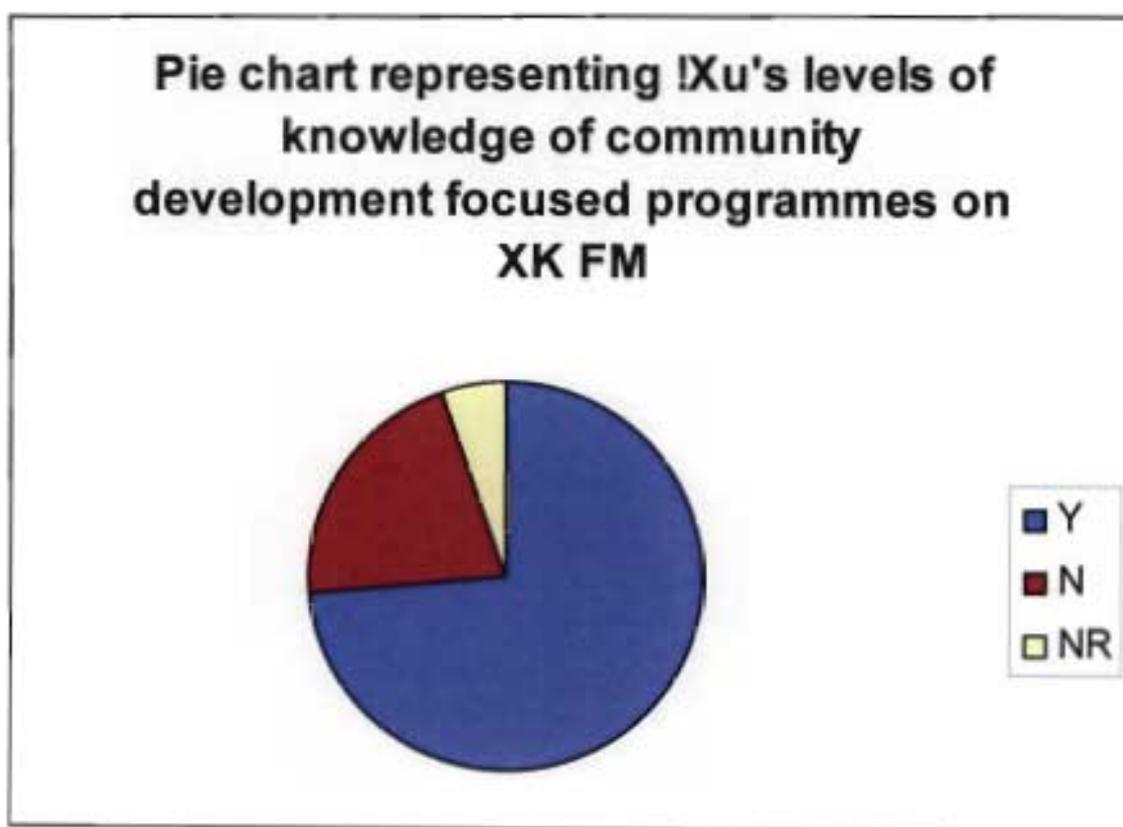


FIGURE 16: Pie chart representing knowledge levels from the !Xu respondents of development programmes.

**Khwe responses:**

Yes	No	No Response
30	6	2
79%	16%	5%

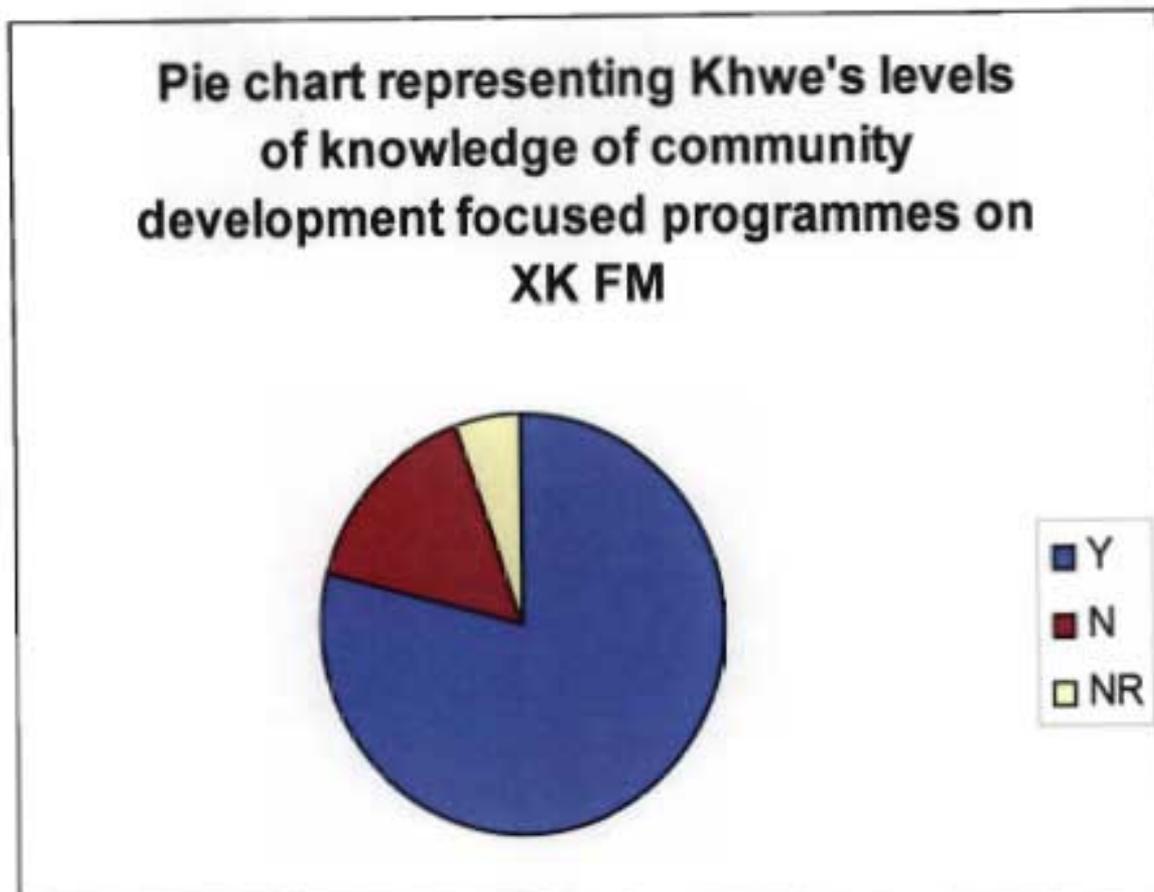


FIGURE 17: Pie chart representing knowledge levels from the Khwe respondents of development programmes.

Furthermore, the question on their views on whether XK FM has enough development and civic awareness programmes to satisfy community needs, responses were almost uniformly presented. Among the 38 !Xû respondents, ten agreed that there were adequate development and civic awareness programmes on XK FM, while twenty-eight disagreed. From the Khwe respondents thirteen agreed and only twenty-five disagreed. To further illustrate these responses column charts showing their views on community needs for development programmes on XK FM were used (Figures 17 and 18).

**!Xu responses:**

Yes	No
10	28

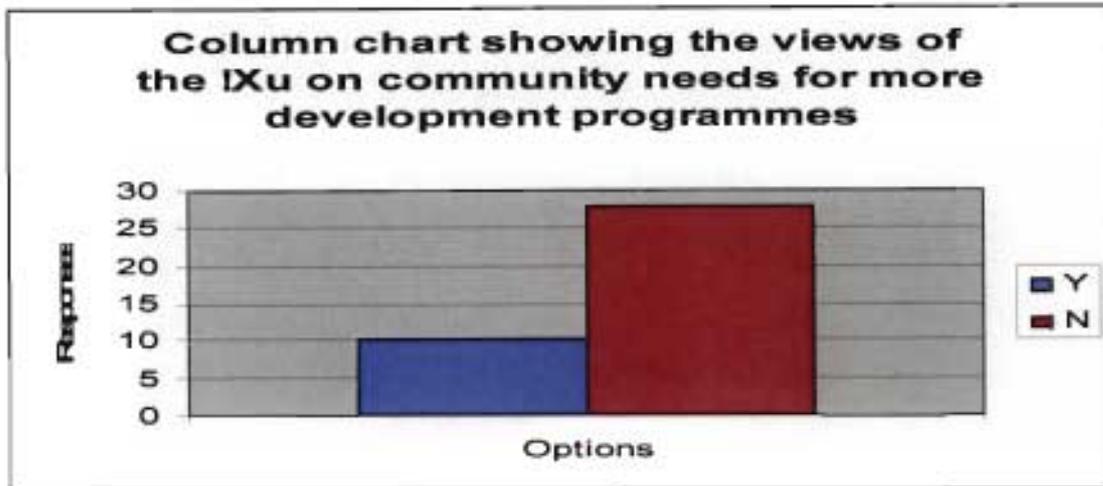


FIGURE 18: Column chart showing the views of the !Xú on community needs for more development programmes.

**Khwe Responses:**

Yes	No
13	25

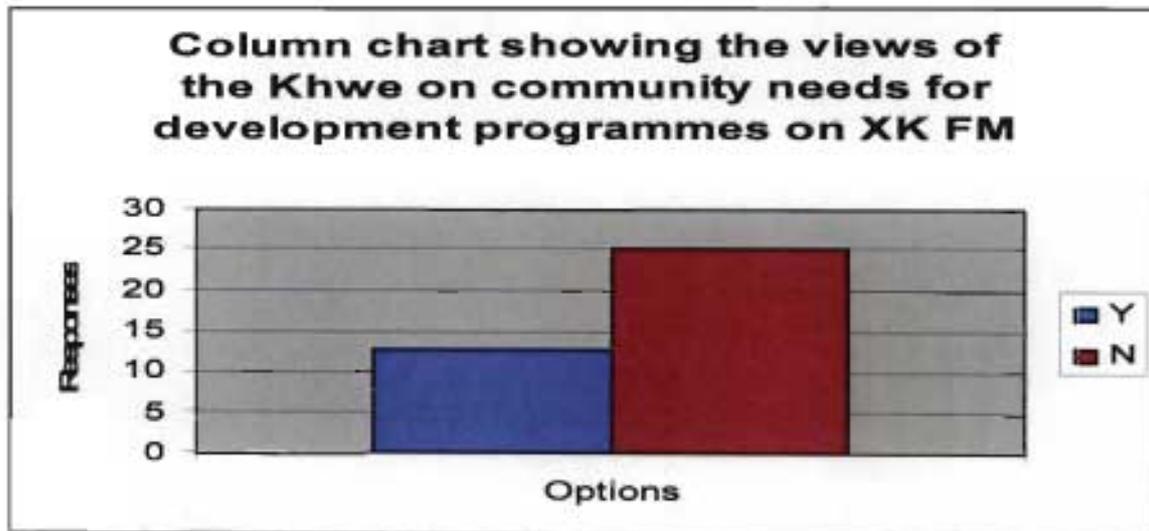


FIGURE 19: Column charts showing the views of the Khwe on community needs for development programmes.

### **Report from face-to-face interviews with XK FM staff**

Findings from the sample cluster involving staff members only revealed trends and patterns. There were similarities with responses from the listeners. The major differences were that each cluster had its own question guidelines with slightly different sets of questions meant to tap from an array of experiences. The object was to further interrogate context specific issues, especially from the presenters and managers who in this case are referred to as staff. Their varied and rich tapestry of responses added value to the research particularly on issues of ethnicity, community participation, ownership and control.

Eleven members of staff were interviewed. They included everyone from the station-floor (cleaner) to the manager. The SABC line manager for Radio Broadcast Facilities (RBF) was added as the eleventh respondent.<sup>32</sup> He was instrumental in the formation of the station and has technical knowledge on broadcast facilities. From the total of eleven staff members, five belong to the !Xû ethnic group while the other five are Khwe. Their ages range within the 20-35 years, with matric as the highest level of education attained. It was also noted that they have worked for the community radio station for varied periods but stretching from 2-6 years. They were appointed against semi-permanent contracts. The station manager and her deputy double up as presenters. Khwe presenters were always willing to interact and are almost fluent in English, while their !Xû counterparts always prefer to keep to themselves. One of the reasons for this is that they always have difficulties in communicating in English.

On the question of other key stakeholders and players who were involved in the formation of XK FM; RSG, community leaders (from the two ethnic communities) and SABC were cited as having played a pivotal role. However, SABC was portrayed as currently the sole player, and also instrumental in the attainment of the community radio licence (see Licence on the appendices together with the section on ownership of the radio station). Community leaders were said to have been influential in calling for the establishment of XK FM and also for espousing the societal yearning for a station as a

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<sup>32</sup> William Heath was interviewed as a member of the technical department and also considering the influential role he played leading to the formation and launch of the radio station on 18 August 2000.

means of preserving their local languages that were threatened by extinction at the expense of Afrikaans. They urged that a community radio station act as a social instrument in uniting the two ethnic groups, educate and provide entertainment while teaching the youths about their past.<sup>33</sup>

The question on who owns the radio station was asked. There was a general consensus from the responses that it is owned by the community. When probed they said it can be assumed from the community radio station's open-door-policy to the public. They added that XK FM derives its uniqueness from this policy; hence it operates as a community centre, which can be used by members of the community for various purposes other than being a community station. The station, as observed, offers telephone facilities for emergency cases, such as, calling police and ambulance services, and other various forms of socially vital activities. However, some respondents revealed that they their views are that XK FM is not owned by the community but SABC. One of the staff respondents even added that he believes that radio station was formed by the SABC on behalf of the government. When asked to explain further the respondent stated that judging from the SABC stance towards the government, it can be argued that XK FM as an SABC project would always work to serve the interests of the government. The respondent argued further that:

... I have a firm belief that the station is not a community radio, and also that the two communities are only being used to believe that they own the radio station when they do not even have a word in content production. To me this is a form of political manipulation, using the media for ideological re-aligning us. It is common knowledge that these two communities will never own this radio station.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> This information was obtained from my interview with William Heath, in September 2006. Heath is one of the people who were influential in mobilising for the establishment of XK FM as a community station.

<sup>34</sup> These are some of the views of one of my informants who also have to be protected following the guidance of my ethical clearance which calls for the protection of my sources.

The view that SABC owns and controls the community radio station was depicted by most responses especially from staff and some members of the community. Those who asserted for the latter further argued that SABC reserves the right to assess all the programmes before they are aired (this assertion is supported by the Licence in the appendices). SABC pays for the salaries, equipment and technical expertise for the community radio station. To ascertain autonomy and independence of the community radio as a key ingredient and feature of community broadcaster, and also meant to provide the alternative role, respondents were asked whether XK FM as a radio station had its separate board members and the criteria used in appointing them. The responses showed that there are no board members drawn from the community. The SABC board doubles as a board for the community radio station and is coordinated from Johannesburg. All the staff respondents professed that they have not met any member of the board before (see the Licence in the appendices).

In a bid to assess the issues of autonomy and independence, a question was asked on the procedures of acquiring community radio licences. The general trend showed that none of the staff members had knowledge of the procedure. They also alluded that SABC was prepared to acquire the licence on their behalf after being approached by the community elders. SABC had to do the application process through ICASA. The terms for awarding the community broadcasting licence as stipulated through ICASA are that local content has to be given eighty percent, with twenty percent for the other and international content. The respondents added that Xuntali and Khwedam should be given priority as the main local languages, with Afrikaans as the medium of cross-communicating for the two ethnic groups. This also implies that if there is one presenter Afrikaans becomes the language of broadcasting, so as to cause a balance of ethnic relations. A licence was then offered for a term of six years, subject to renewal. Another question was on the community radio's sphere of influence which the staff members said it stretched for a 50km radius.

The interviewees also stated that SABC sponsors all the programmes. Following this arrangement all forms of advertisement are barred. The radio station operates from six

o'clock to nine o'clock in the evening daily with SABC support. Their news bulletins are linked to the main SABC bulletin, and are coordinated from Kimberley SABC studios. First National Bank (FNB) has since launched a series of radio plays and competitions that are broadcast in the evenings.

On the question of receiving government grants and funding most of the respondents agreed that they indirectly receive assistance through SABC, while others indicated that they had no knowledge of this support. When probed they stated that there are no other sponsors except SABC since advertising is not allowed. Then the question on level of community involvement in production of radio programmes, responses unanimously affirmed that the programmes are planned and done by the programmers, some of whom are presenters, with minimal consultation with the community. Respondents also stated that in some cases programmes are taken to the community for endorsing and authenticating only, but SABC has the ultimate authority to sanction broadcasting of these programmes. However, it was acknowledged that in the future they will engage community leaders in every stage.

When asked whether they think community involvement in the production of programmes is necessary, the responses showed that there is need for deep-seated community participation since XK FM as a radio station is targeting the two communities as active audience and with a major aim of facilitating development, dialogue and participation. Some staff members suggested that such an approach empowers the communities with fully fledged rights to fashion the development they want and ensuring that the radio station stands to benefit the targeted communities. On the general community reaction to their programmes, responses from the staff were congruent to that of the listeners, displaying the particular trends depicting community yearning for more involvement in the running of the radio station.

Most staff members emphasized that the development focused programmes are not sufficient, adding that there is need for programmes that will be produced by the youth for the youths, with a particular inclination towards education, unemployment,

HIV/AIDS and other social problems. The operations officer who works for the CPA and closely linked to the community radio station added that there is even more need for upgrading the staff members by way of encouraging them to study further and also for the SABC as sponsors to always conduct refresher courses for presenters.

Another question was asked whether on they think development programmes serve to enrich the languages. The responses were affirmative, and added that broadcasting the local languages apart from conjuring feelings of belonging; it helps in the preservation of the language. Other responses stated that this helps the communities to gain more pride in themselves and also that the simultaneous broadcasting of languages unites the two communities as they begin to realise the need to operate in unison.

The last question which was posed to all staff members was on managing ethnic differences and the role of the community radio station in uniting the two communities. This question helps us to further construe the space for ethnic minority media in a diversely contorted society yearning for social transformation. I learned that the history of the two communities was marred with conflict and general resentment of each other. It was also clearly pointed that social dichotomies based on the notions of exclusionary 'other' and inclusive 'us' were evident. The radio stations therefore as an ethnic minority medium has a role of reinforcing ethnic identities in a uniting way and forge some form of socially constructed continuum. Respondents agreed that they used to have conflict, some of which were violent and had repercussions and casualties. These forms of social upheavals were said to have last occurred in the late nineties and turn of the millennium. However, they said now the conflict has been quelled; with feelings of resentment subsiding. All respondents acknowledged that the station has helped to mute conflicts, by disseminating information on the need to for the two groups to unite and also by acting as a model, whereby presenters from the two ethnic groups work side-by-side.

The presenters further stated that on seeing the gradual escalation of these social problems they started broadcasting calling the two ethnic groups to engage in dialogue on the problems affecting them. They added that with this approach the two communities

began to appreciate the power of dialogue as opposed to the violent conflict and confrontation of the past. Religious programmes were introduced to help the community and create symbols of peace. Community responses to these programmes is said to have been positive, aided by the mushrooming of churches and their message of brotherhood. Ministers of religion conduct live programmes every Sunday and some of their sermons are recorded and broadcasted in the evenings.

### **Governance, Management and Staffing of XK FM**

Management, control and material support for XK FM's operations resides with SABC. The station does not have a local board responsible for the management of its operations and to oversee the expenditures of the station and the station manager's performance. At the time of doing field research (from August to October 2006) the Station Manager was operating on an acting capacity, since April 2005. She did not have substantive powers to effect some decisions without the consent of the SABC's management in Johannesburg. During my stay in the field she was constantly attending meetings and workshops in Johannesburg, as a way of training her for the management position. The community radio station also marked its sixth anniversary on 18 August 2006.

The station is locally managed by two people whose duties have been split into two to avoid causing a conflict of roles. There is the Acting-Station Manager who has limited powers in running the station and reports directly to SABC authorities. Then, there is the Deputy Manager who also doubles up as the Programme Manager. His duty is to oversee the production of programmes but does not have the powers to authorise the immediate broadcasting of programmes without the full authority of SABC and the Acting Station Manager. The Deputy Station Manager is !Xû, while the Station Manager is Khwe. These two also double up as presenters for in their different languages. The Station Manager also explained that it is station policy to balance ethnic representation at all levels. This was also said to be as a result of the previous years of conflict which characterised the two ethnic communities.

A separate technical section of the community radio station exists. This section is managed under the auspices of Radio Broadcasting Facilities (RBF) from SABC offices in Kimberley. The cadet technician at XK FM belongs to the Khwe community, and is always supervised by William Heath who operates from SABC offices in Kimberley. The technical division oversees the installation and maintenance of new equipment. The equipment belongs to SABC, and the employees are considered SABC staff.<sup>35</sup>

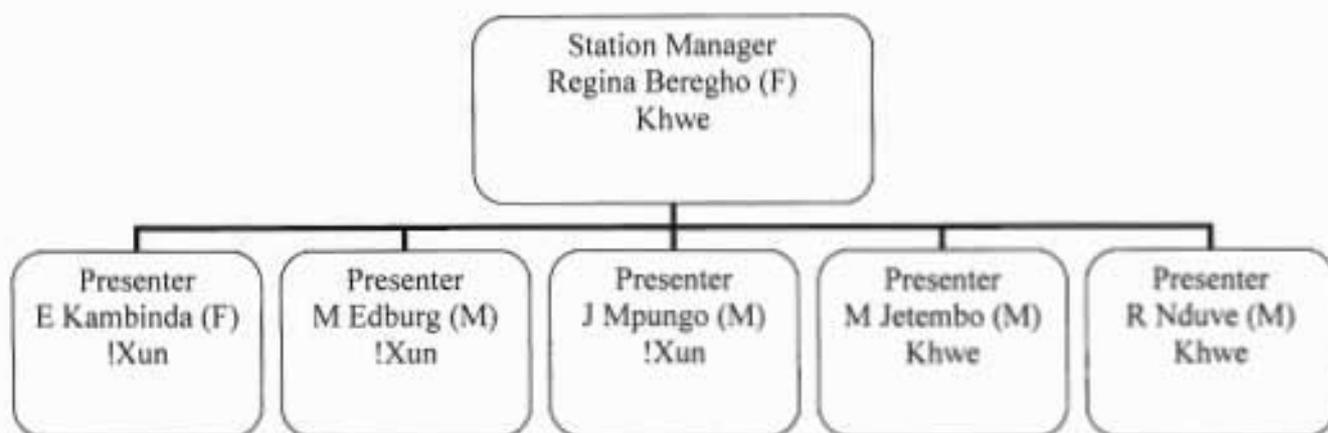
The Management of XK FM has no powers to employ without consulting the SABC. The Station Manager and her deputy stated that in the case of vacancies SABC flights an advert, and the station management collects the application. When interviewing, a panel is set, comprising of the Station Manager, Programme Manager and a representative of the Human Resources Department of SABC. In that regard SABC is responsible for their salaries and for the general maintenance and financing of XK FM. By implication, SABC is the sole owner of XK FM as a community radio station. The community has no voice in programme production as all programmes have to be sanctioned by SABC. The organogram for XK FM also provides an interesting case study of a unique community radio station whose management has limited latitude to make decisions.

The organogram below also shows that decision making remains a preserve of the SABC management, with minimal community participation. Consequently, the community does not have the power to apply for the radio licence. This was part of my research experience as XK FM was supposed to be applying for a new broadcasting licence following the expiry of the first licence granted in 2000. Regulations stipulated by ICASA state that licences have a term of six years. At the expiry of the term, a team made up of people from SABC and some members of ICASA was sent to solicit for the views of the listeners on the operations of the community radio station. The station management was not involved in the process. The two organograms below presented below depicted the reality as seen from the official view (Fig. 7) and the researcher's point (Fig.8).

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<sup>35</sup> This follows the discussion I had with Rena Kabwata, the station Cadet Technician and William Heath in September 2006.

FIGURE 20: Official Organogram

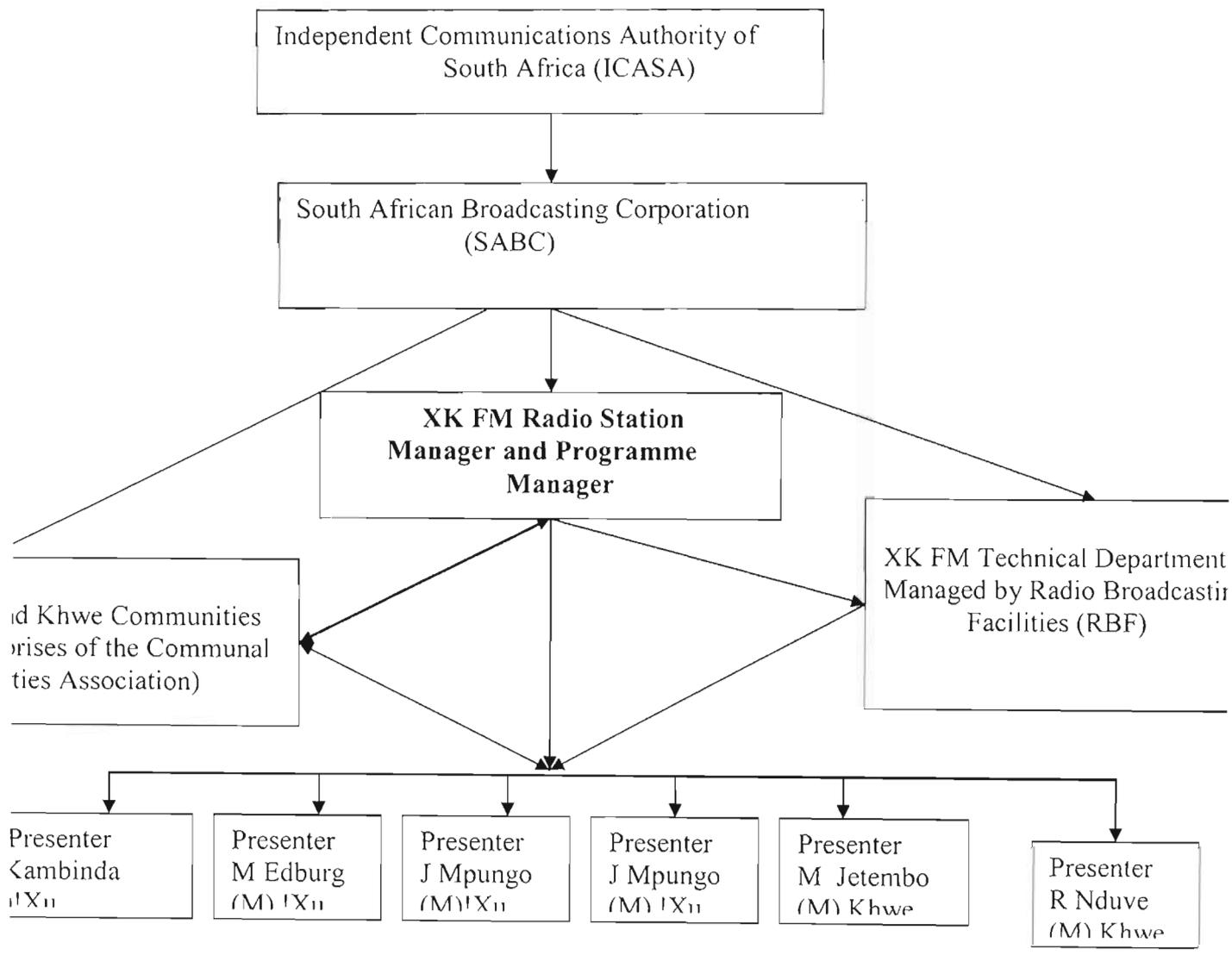


**Key:**

4 Men (2 !Xu and 2 Khwe)

2 Female (1 !Xu & 1 Khwe)

**Source:** SABC Public Service Broadcasting Business Plan November 2004



**Key:**

**F= Female**

**M= Male**

→ Shows the direction of influence

↔ Shows the direction of influence from both sides

FIGURE 21: Organogram of XK FM Community Radio (as seen by the Researcher)

## CHAPTER SIX

### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

A critical analysis and discussion of the data presented above following the literature survey, theoretical framework and research methodology shows that there are deep-seated under-currents purveyed by the powerful and pervasive politics. The discussion of the model of community radio generally follows the public sphere concept as postulated by Habermas (1989), as discussed in Chapter Two. Community radio provides people with a platform for debate, dialogue and discussion of various issues affecting the community, without any form of external influence. As stated in the previous chapters, community media ideally is meant to provide an alternative voice to the local communities, and to encourage them to fully participate in fashioning the development they want. A community radio is commonly classified under the ambit of independent media (Taylor and Willis 2000:136) and alternative media (Masilela 1996). There are economic and political factors that are usually ideal in motivating for a development programme which is driven by the local communities. However, as demonstrated, XK FM seems to have started off from a completely unique and anomalous footing, in that the national public broadcaster, SABC, is the sole sponsor. Can XK FM be classified as a community radio in the strict sense if it is owned by the state?

Knowledge gathered from the literature survey says community radio falls within the paradigm of alternative media. The concept of alternative media as proffered by Masilela (1996:107) depicts difference, independence, opposition and representation, as characteristic features. Community radio can also be seen as engaged in cultural politics and also a struggle over meaning. In so doing community radio entails community participation in policy formulation, implementation and programming. This entails the creation of a community board which will run and manage the affairs of a community radio station. However, the reality following the observations made, both passive and participant showed that the community is not active in the formulation of XK FM radio station policy. Interviews as shown in the data presented, confirm that policy formulation, together with recruitment of new members of staff is the preserve of SABC, which

acquired the community broadcasting licence for the !Xû and Khwe communities. The overall response showed that SABC is in control; that is squarely placing the general running, management and control of the community radio station on SABC's lap.

In furtherance of the notion of 'alternative', O'Sullivan *et al* (1994:10) sees community media as offering an 'alternative' voice to groups that always feel that their views are not represented in the public broadcaster or mainstream media. Masilela (1996:107) adds that the uniqueness of community media as alternative and independent from the public broadcaster is that they seek to redefine the communication realm by paving new relations between the informer and the informed. He suggests that this is made possible through the acquisition of simple technology. In the case of XK FM the Radio Broadcasting Facility (RBF) is responsible for the mounting and maintenance of all broadcasting equipment. The management of RBF directly belongs to SABC, with only one member of staff employed from the community as simply a technician and with limited powers in every way. Decisions have to be made in consultation with SABC headquarters in Johannesburg, and in some cases with SABC offices in Kimberley.

The alternative voice raised by O'Sullivan *et al* (1994:10), serves to portray the ideal, as opposed to the situation on the ground. These two communities lack ownership of XK FM as a community radio station, and are strictly rooted in their managed reality, as the broadcasting voice is not a reflection of their aspirations but those of the sponsors. This is confirmed by their minimal input in terms of programme production, broadcasting and the formulation of policies. An example would be the case of the most popular programmes broadcasted in Xuntali, Khwedam, and sometimes in Afrikaans, called, *Morisani*, which means 'current affairs' and *Ã java I 'am* meaning 'what the San must know'. The other programme is *Akaku/'am* which also means, 'what the community must know'. These programmes are created to impart knowledge following the top-down approach, and are given a wide time allocation which stretches from 12 noon to 1400 hours every day (see appendices on XK FM programme catalogue).

According to MISA (2000:56) a community radio station is built by the community, serves the interests of the community, and is owned and controlled by the community. The aspect of control is done through the perceived representation of the people's hopes and aspirations in the locally elected board (Masilela 1996:108). The programmes as stated above have to be community oriented and always serve the interests of the communities concerned as the originators. However, substantial evidence gathered from the research seems to dispute this assertion. It has been observed that XK FM as a community radio does not have the powers to create its own programmes, and also that despite the correctness of the assertion that population size matters in community radio observation has proven that what matters is the political leaning. The programmes referred to above usually discuss a lot of issues as a way of filtering information down to the two communities. The programmes on what the San must know usually are made up of issues that the two communities are being taught relating to development and other issues on the general social life.

There is also another programme for the youth which is broadcasted everyday from 1400 to 1500 Hours, commonly referred to as *Ngwelo I'am* which means 'entertain, educate and inform the youth'. The ideals on which these programmes are rooted are plausible; however, the reality on the ground showed the youths as programme beneficiaries as opposed to programme originators. Most of the youths that were interviewed also complained about the sustainability of such programmes as they argued that they have to be part of the programmes than being viewed as receivers of information. The other programme which my respondents referred to is the First National Bank sponsored drama (usually broadcasted every Wednesday from 1600 hours for thirty minutes). They acknowledged that the programme is educative and helpful in keeping them busy and out of the streets for the time being. They further argued that the issue of sustainability of such sponsored programmes becomes a major development factor. One of the respondents revealed that much as these programmes are helpful, in future they are likely to suffer from the crisis of sustainability, he also stated that this problem can be avoided if people would be helped through these programmes to start working on self help

programmes with the FNB providing expertise and capital (see appendices for the programme catalogue on XK FM).

The other interesting concept to grapple with in the case of XK FM is that of community radio as an independent media. This creates the notion of an alternative media organisation which enjoys autonomy, control of production, distribution of services and broadcasting. Taylor and Willis (2000:133) state that independence suggests straightforwardness, “not depending upon the authority of another, not in position of subordination, not subject to external control or rule; self-governing, free”. Media independence in reality creates a paradox and has certain currency as there are often contradicting and conflicting notions of media independence and autonomy. Taylor and Willis (2000:133) add that to assess media independence both economic and political factors have to be considered. By raising the economic and political factors an analysis of XK FM shows that contrary to the conventional conception of community radio being the provider of the alternative voice and operating independently from the state broadcaster (SABC), the former is entirely dependent on the state broadcaster for funding and all other resources for the general capitalisation of the organisation. XK FM, therefore, creates a unique and anomalous case for community radio and falls within the nexus of what are generally referred to as community radio stations in South Africa managed under the banner of SABC.<sup>36</sup> Funding and management is done by SABC, with minimal community intervention. Consequently, the use of local languages becomes the paradox of community participation, ownership and control; at least the target communities are made to believe that they have a bigger stake in the affairs of the radio station because of their local languages used for broadcasting. Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (1994) refer to this notion as the “manufacturing of consent”, whereby the localised media is used as a propaganda model, in this case using local languages.

The research findings seem to point at the radio station which is for the community and not owned by the community. As stated above, the two communities are rarely consulted

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<sup>36</sup> For more information on Community radio stations in South Africa visit the following website: [www.southafrica.info/sa\\_glance/model/community-radio.htm](http://www.southafrica.info/sa_glance/model/community-radio.htm)

on programmes and policy issues. The daily business of the employees at the station is always done in liaison with the SABC, where permission has to be granted before the formulation and implementation of any policy.

In the literature survey Banda (2004) identified four typologies of community radio as evidenced in Zambia, these can be used as a parapet in locating community radio in South Africa: (a) run and managed by the people with financial support from the local business people, (b) existing for the local people, (c) located in the community, (d) non-profit making. A closer scrutiny shows that only two of these typologies would apply in the case of XK FM, and most probably in the South African media terrain. At least information gathered from the research showed that the community radio station is located within the community and that it operates as a non-profit making organisation. However, that it exists for the local people is subject to contestation as the community (71% and 48% of the !Xû and Khwe respectively) recommended complete control, participation and running of the community radio station, a sign that much as they alluded earlier that participation is moderately high, they still acknowledge that it is always checked and is maintained at low levels.

In tandem with the above suggestion Banda (2004) and Boeren (1994) have argued that community radio follows three imperatives: geographic imperative, socio-cultural phenomenon, and the developmental initiative. The geographic imperative in the case of XK FM can be gleaned in that it is in proximity to the two communities. Located in between the two communities, physical nearness constitutes feelings of participation, ownership and acts as a symbol of belonging for the two communities. Hence the response that participation is moderately high, and later contradicted by the views that they want more control and participation. Since the presenters are drawn from the two ethnic communities, they are seen everyday walking to work, this adds to the feelings of community participation and belonging as they feel that they are represented through the local presenters.

In considering access and community participation, Tehranian (1990:108) suggests that interactive methods that are generally responsive to community needs are necessary. The

outcome of the research also provides a diametrically opposed picture of the prevailing situation. As already stated the community had little input in the construction let alone setting up of XK FM as a community radio station. The pictorial view of XK FM as shown in the pictures (see figure 1 and 2) shows a big SABC banner which creates meaning and spells out the rightful owners of the community radio station.

Another feature of community radio is community participation. However, it has been discussed that participation is often vaguely used and has many political undertones associated with it (Gumucio 2001:01). White (1994:08) concurs by pointing at the fluidity of the nature of participation. He adds that this fluidity impedes the historically distinct forms of participation, which seem to have become useful, especially in contexts of exclusion and discrimination. Participation seems to be laden with varied contextual factors. The case of XK FM serves as an example, people who were interviewed suggested that they do participate in the community radio; among the !Xû of the thirty-eight interviewees, twenty eight respondents said there is participation (see data presented in the previous chapter), while twenty-five out of thirty-eight Khwe respondents confirmed participation. However, when probed on their understanding of community participation they pointed at the presenters stating that they act as their representatives since they are taken from the two communities. Others also revealed that they are related to some of the presenters. They added that at least they are satisfied with the level of participation considering that their languages are being used for broadcasting, a sign that they will not be extinct.

However, conditions observed on the ground showed that there is minimal community participation as opposed to the unanimous confirmation presented in the data. This is because of the intricacies and general difficulties the community experiences in understanding the subtlety of the notion of participation whose meaning is laden with political undertones. Furthermore, participation for the two ethnic communities is understood differently. For them participation entails the use of their languages in broadcasting, this also increases their feelings of ownership and control while the reality on the ground is that control and ownership is the preserve of SABC. There is also a

general feeling and belief that the establishment of XK FM by the ruling elite, through SABC, was an act of benevolence, and therefore must be laudable. This view confirms White's (1994) suggestion that participation is kaleidoscopic and that it derives its meaning from those who have power. In view of this deficiency Srinivas Melkote and Leslie Steeves (2001:338) posit that participation as a development strategy often turns to be a mere cliché, lacking in substance. At least, in the case of XK FM the expectation is to reverse the top-down and prescriptive development approaches; a feature which is lacking so far. The crisis then is the often deep-rooted structure of elite domination. XK FM in this case is not an expression of the right to communicate for the disenfranchised communities as stated by M'baye (1986:29) and Derlome (1990). It infringes on the two communities' rights; the cultural and group-solidarity rights, which often translate into the right to communicate and participate in fashioning the development they want (Odinkalu 2002; Pityana 2002). Often information as depicted above is top-down and does not flow laterally.

The general morphology of the politics at play within the two ethnic communities toyed around the notions of ownership and belonging in which the latter was further linked to equality and equity. Through a government scheme they were given some money which they used to purchase a portion of land, the present day location; Platfontein.<sup>37</sup> The social interpretation of this move was that the government is being considerate and helping them to move away from the coercive environment of the army barracks, in Schmidtsdrift. Yet the political problematic was that these people had been excluded and alienated for too long. The other explanation was drawn from the ambiguities surrounding the already waning military patronage and paternalism, which had been enjoyed after 1976 in Angola, and Namibia. This in a way was a form of load-shedding and passing of the baton of responsibility to the new South African government (ANC) by the army (South African Defence Forces). This gave the government political impetus to accept them (!Xû and Khwe) for use in future elections, and general South African politics (Douglas 1996).

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<sup>37</sup> This information was obtained from the Projects co-ordinator of the CPA, interviewed in August 2006 at the CPA offices.

The view given above would also explain my understanding of the existence and location of the radio station and probably answer some of the critical questions in this study: (a) what made the !Xû and Khwe eligible for SABC support, instead of the #Khomani, the Basters, the Khoi and many other Bushman communities? (b) Why was a single community radio station established for two ethnic communities that are often antagonistic to each other; to the extent of violent conflict? Douglas (1996:3) interprets their migration into South Africa as the outcome of regional and national politics which is pervasively elitist and whose engagement took advantage of a well established and institutionalized cabal of leaders. He adds that:

An important feature of post-colonial predicaments (in the very literal sense of post-independence of politico-ideological formations), is that the dominant discourses of colonialism and hegemonic articulations of imperial directives are constructed by, through, and in turn fabricate, powerful 'indigenous' or local elites. Politico-ideological authority and control, in other words is concentrated in the hands of a coterie (or coterie) of leaders.

The post-colonial predicament in this case belongs to the ambit of sociological dialectics as pronounced in critical theory and later in Habermas' works. In this case the coterie of leaders Douglas (1996) is referring to, are the leaders of the two ethnic groups organized under the auspices of CPA. They command respect from the two communities through traditional politics of partly ascription, and the modicum of modern democratic practices of elections and representation.

Added to this is the generalised depiction of the !Xû and Khwe as a single community. This is opposed to the reality; the !Xû and Khwe are not a single community. These are two distinct ethnic communities, with mutually unintelligible languages. Their worldviews are different, and can be gleaned from the conflict they often had in the past. Douglas (1996) adds that in the early nineties the !Xû leaders were agitating for a return

to Namibia, while their Khwe counterparts were mobilising for relocation but to a different place within South Africa. This points to the ethnic cleavages inherent and a sign of the negative push factors, most probably aggravated by the treatment received by the !Xû while in South Africa, compared to that of the Khwe who are said to have always had access to learning opportunities even before migrating to South Africa (cf. Douglas 1996, Archer 1995).

Another striking feature is their settlement patterns which depicts marked ethnic differences, with the !Xû on one side of the school and radio station while the Khwe are located on the other side towards Kimberley. This is symbolic of the entrenched differences that are believed to be cushioned by the community radio station. XK FM as a development project, which seems to have been established as a form of social engineering and control. The community therefore in this case is the community of spectators and would defy the tacit reference to an actively localized public sphere, to a localized public whose definition of public is employed for political correctness. This also concretizes Teer-Tomaselli's (2001:202) question: who is the community in a community radio station? Distinctions of power relations and marginality are then evident in such a political dichotomy. Thus it can be gleaned that the term community in this case is used for political expediency and to denote the target; public beneficiaries, who are even in some instances perceived as the bewildered crowd (Chomsky 2002:17), as opposed to an active community which participates in fashioning the development they want. Chomsky adds that:

... there are two functions in a democracy: The specialized class, the responsible men carry out the executive function, which means they do the thinking and planning and understand the common interests. Then, there is the bewildered herd, and they have a function in a democracy too. Their function in a democracy ... is to be spectators, not participants in action.

This confirms Habermas' concept of legitimation and the crisis of expectation. It also brings in the notion in the theory of the public sphere (critical theory) of societal

structures and systems that can be perceived from a two tier approach: (a) as space always manipulated by the ruling seeking to entrench domination; (b) as a conduit for society's eagerness to be dominated and the fulfilment of domination (Rizter 1996). It also confirms David Lewis' (1969) and Ruth Milikan's (2005) suggestion of social conduct and the creation of conventions in which people participate in their domination. The community leaders of the two ethnic groups (!Xû and Khwe) played into the political gallery by approaching SABC to request for assistance in the establishment of a community radio station. Considering that these two communities were known for their allegiance to the SADF and the National Party, it can be gleaned that this presented an opportunity for manipulation.

One of my informants revealed that the !Xû and Khwe people have always been associated with the SADF, he further stated that their alleged allegiance to the army was considered as a major political threat by the new nationalist politics which characterised South Africa leading to the 1994 elections. These revelations were also compounded by another view from a respondent who argued that the !Xû and Khwe are believed to have voted for the National Party (NP) during the 1994 elections. When probed he revealed that these two ethnic groups had initially been brought into South Africa by the army obviously in collusion with the NP, they were then hurriedly granted citizenship status and promised proper housing structures. The NP then failed to fulfil the promise on housing as they were over taken by the political tide leading to the 1994 elections. However, the !Xû and Khwe are believed to have held to the promise and believed that voting NP would some day lead to the fruition of the promise. The assertion by these respondents concluded that the ruling African National Congress (ANC) also had an opportunity to mobilise the communities by fulfilling the promise and also establishing XK FM as a localised form of public broadcaster.<sup>38</sup> Another key respondent pointed out that, "XK FM is not a community radio station, but an SABC radio station meant to fulfil the public broadcaster's policy of extending to marginalised cultural groups". This

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<sup>38</sup> These views followed a lengthy discussion I had with some of my informants on the future of the two communities vis-à-vis the community radio station. My informants also had to be protected following the ethical guidelines binding this research and study.

explains why XK FM as a community radio station uses 107.9 FM as its signal drawn from SABC spectrum.

Following the assertions from the field pointed above it can be established that the formation of XK FM as a community radio station was probably a culmination of broader politics at play between the government, through SABC and the community leaders. This would also explain why they were chosen instead of other 'indigenous' San communities mentioned above. This move in critical theory<sup>39</sup> has been referred to as mystification; a way of obliterating common problems through domination (Habermas 1979; 1984). It also confirms the social dialectics; with its diachronic and synchronic components. The establishment of XK FM as a community radio station can be understood in terms of both diachronic and synchronic components. This will help one to understand the question such as: what informed the community elders and the general society to explore the possibilities of establishing a community radio station?<sup>40</sup> As stated earlier, their need to safeguard traditional values and the two minority languages (Xuntali and Khwedam) formed the basis for the formation of the community radio station. The establishment of a community radio station under the auspices of SABC thereafter, may be seen as leading to the domination of social structures, culture and running of the station. This according to Hebert Marcuse (1964) creates a "totally administered society," glued to a specific historical development with a weak perspective of the future thereby seeking to be dominated.

In view of these developments and initiatives, Douglas (1996:02) concludes that this shows parochial national consciousness pitied against the politics of exclusion from daily processes, taken advantage of by the politics of the time. However, his definition of national politics and consciousness remains elusive, considering that scholars like Karl Popper (1962:64), Elie Kedourie (1960) and Adam Smith (1971;1996) have defined nationalism as a wave that fulfils the desire for human beings to belong to a collective

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<sup>39</sup> Note that critical theory is the broader framework within which the theory of the Public sphere is located. It also forms the basis for Jurgen Habermas' theories as stated in the previous chapters.

<sup>40</sup> The view that Community Elders initiated the move towards the establishment of XK FM as a community radio station was taken from the interview I did with Regina Beregho, the Station manager and Mario Mahongo one of the community leaders representing the !Xú. The interview was done in July 2006.

body usually influenced by tribal (ethnic) instincts. The !Xû and Khwe ethnic communities have their separate notions of nationhood and feelings of uprootedness from their original roots in Namibia and Angola. This is evidenced by their fond memories of Angola and Namibia and the way they tend to romanticise the past. The diasporic feelings and search for identity has created a sense of nationhood among them, as separate ethnic groups. Popper (1962:51) further attempts to define the descriptive differences between the nation and the state. He sees these as elusive and irrational, but refers to national yearning as a dream of naturalism and ethnic collectivism. This appears to have been the push factor for the community leaders (CPA) to vigorously lobby for the establishment of a community radio station; yearning for their identity and maintenance of different ethnic groups. The radio station's major function, to the community leaders is to preserve the local languages and culture and help the two ethnic communities to rekindle their identity and seemingly lost pride; ethnic consciousness.<sup>41</sup>

However, Douglas (1996:3) unfairly labels the whole development effort as the politics of contemporary primitivism or modern tribalism. This form of explication is what in this thesis has been termed as the politics of ethnicity; hence the interest in XK FM as ethnic minority medium. This thesis further disputes the notion that these ethnic identities of the two groups (!Xû and Khwe) are general assertions of 'aboriginality' constituted as a political tool which is sometimes subjectively diffuse. From a generalized perspective the assertion above would offer a *prima facie* plausibility in expression, as opposed to the reality. My observation of the situation among the !Xû and Khwe showed that the two ethnic groups still operate on ethnic lines and that it is not possible to perceive them as operating as a single community and aboriginal. This is also a feature of reality in post-colonial Africa, where the vestiges of ethnic identity can not be interpreted as primitive and aboriginal (Mazrui and Mazrui 1998:3; Ake 2000:92, Ake 1993; Davidson 1992:12; Young 1997:7).

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<sup>41</sup> This view and yearning was evident in the discussion I had with Mahongo senior, one of the community leaders from the !Xû. Similarly, some members of the Khwe community who were consulted raised the issue of ethnic consciousness.

The suggestion by Laflin (1989) that community radio aggravates the legitimization of local languages thereby strengthening identities as a cultural imperative holds in this case. Through the calls for the expression of the self and modifications of the worldviews and the formulation of ideologies XK FM can be said to be strengthening ethnic identity and cultural imperatives. The responses by the listeners which showed that more numbers of people prefer to listen to programmes done in their local languages are a pointer that the community radio station is aggravating ethnic consciousness. Using the theory of the public sphere this regeneration of ideas can be perceived as a preserve of the political undercurrents likely to lead to manipulation and domination. Laflin then adds that in fear of this form of dissent from the state ideological inclinations the state through its apparatus tends to exercise some form of control and sometimes protect broadcasting systems. This is evident with XK FM and the deep-seated government control through SABC.

However, further scrutiny shows that community radio can sometimes act as a socio-cultural symbol and a unifying force. Research showed that people strongly felt that the community radio station (XK FM) has helped in quelling ethnic differences and raising feelings of oneness among the listeners although ethnic cleavages still exist. This notion gives rise to a third emergent ethnic group which is a product of community radio programmes, whose ideals seem to transcend ethnic divides, XK FM also falls within the ambit of Gusfield's (1970) social movements in which the targeted communities derive a sense of shared destiny, through activities and beliefs that are directed at causing change and some kind of social order. Riggins (1992) would add that a community radio station like XK FM as ethnic minority media creates collective will and enhances language as a means of communication and expression of cultural identity. An analysis of the data shows some traits of this assertion especially through the broadcasting of Christian religious programmes every Sunday, during the day and in the evenings (see programme catalogue in the appendices). Boercn (1994) concurs by suggesting that as opposed to television community radio does not have a visual appeal but has a stronger advantage of appealing even to the illiterate members of society. This implies that it is all embracing. It stimulates interest, informs and influences opinion on various development issues.

However, there might be some positive gains projected, community radio stations are sometimes subject to political manipulation and tend to accentuate political, ideological and ethnic differences. This relates to the possibility of state funding of minority media as in the form of XK FM, which is transferring technological and economic resources not based on the gesture of goodwill but seeking to aid the state's objectives on gaining access and control of the minority ethnic groups concerned. This suggestion is hinged on the fact that minority journalism is usually seen as a threat to the disintegration of a nation-state. Consequently, the state's support of a community radio station is aimed at paving a way for state policies, that are tangential to the needs of the minority and seeking to promote policies of containment and repression (Riggins 1992:279).

### **Conclusion**

From the fore-going it can be concluded that the establishment of XK FM radio station can be seen from a two tier approach; first, as a mechanism for manipulation by the ruling elite through enlisting the services of SABC. This can be seen from the powers ceded to the state broadcaster at the expense of the two communities. Secondly, the two communities perceive the establishment as an act of benevolence and a sign of belonging and ownership for them. They believe that by broadcasting in their languages the radio station serves their interests, one of which is to maintain their languages and the upkeep of their separate cultures that were on the verge of collapse. However, the features of manipulation in their desperate state seem to out-weigh the plausible characteristic of this community radio station.

The features and general typology of a community radio station do not conform to that of XK FM as a community radio station. This also begs the question why they were given the licence to operate as a community radio station when these two communities do not have a single unified board that manages the affairs of the community radio station. Consequently, the station is purported to serve a single community, but it can be concluded that the !Xû and Khwe are two different ethnic communities, with varied worldviews and aspirations. Following this assertions, one can further surmise that the

issuing of the licence by ICASA merely focused on their cultural distinctiveness and allowed for a localised form of public broadcasting, thereby entrenching these ethnic cleavages with the aim of manipulating them. By implication, the role played by SABC seems to confirm the task of manipulation, and would mean that XK FM is not a community radio in the strict sense, but an extension of SABC in a decentralised version. In support of this view it is noted that the main features of community radio do not qualify XK FM as a community radio; these range from independence and autonomy to offering an alternative voice without the influence of the state broadcaster.

In view of this assertion it could also be assumed that since XK FM serves as unique kind of a community radio, there were licences already set aside for such communities. This creates an anomalous arrangement in the studies of community radio. It would also cause marked problems in the naming and description of such an arrangement of which referring to it as community radio station might only be for convenience. However, this creates problems as it can be misconstrued as acts of manipulation and domination. This is further compounded by the fact that XK FM conforms to the general ideological connotations raised given the political background of the two communities. XK FM therefore is not a community radio station. The two ethnic communities still continue to exist separately from each other, and attempts to coalesce them are yet to be assessed in terms of the feasibility and sustainability of such a project, and most probably dubbed as acts in futility.

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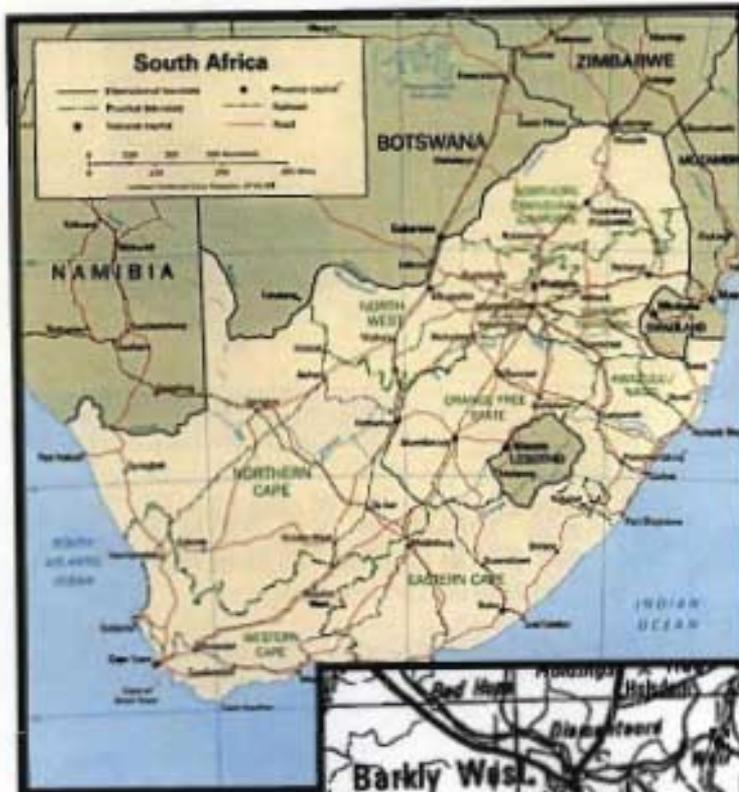
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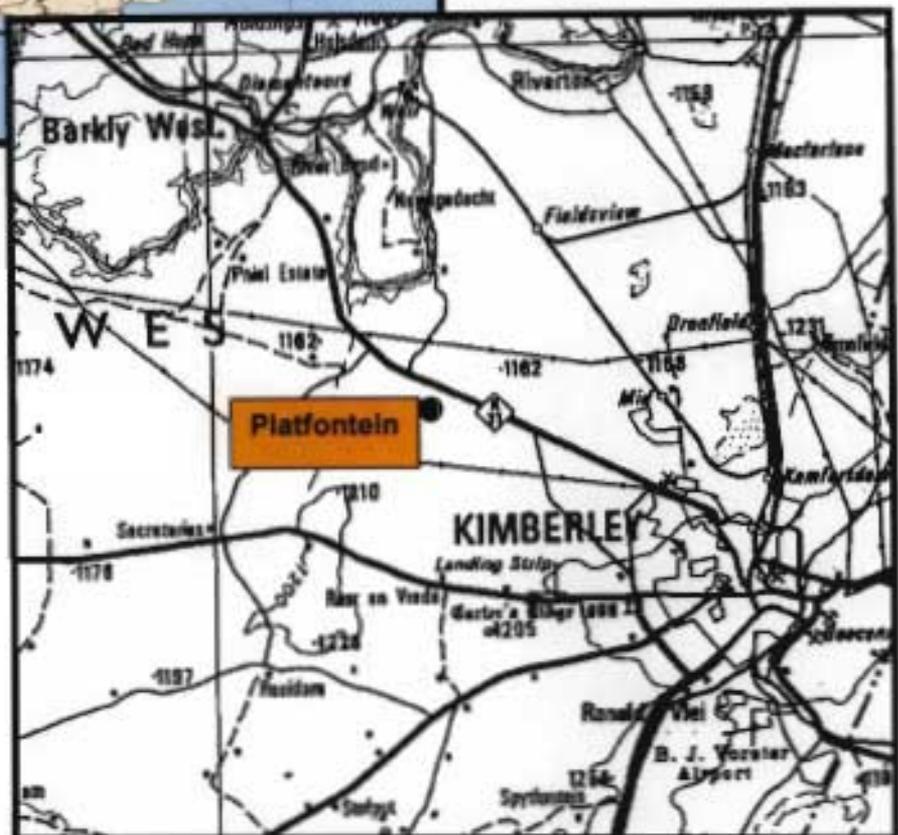
## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1



Map A

Map B



Map A shows the political map of South Africa, then Map B shows the location area of Platfontein.

Source: Reader's Digest: Atlas of Southern Africa (1984).

**Appendix 2**



**Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies  
Howard College Campus, Durban-South Africa**

**Questionnaire for Station Managers**

Please kindly answer the questions below:

- 1) Title/Position:.....
  - a) Education level (please tick where appropriate)
    - i) Metric
    - ii) Tertiary (College/Technikon/University)
  - b) Language(s) spoken (Please state your mother language): .....
- 2) Sex: a) Female  
b) Male
- 3) Age.....
- 4) How long have you worked for this organisation (X & K Fm station)?.....
- 5) When was it established? .....
- 6) Which other stakeholders or key players were involved in the formation of this radio Station (please list their names)  
.....  
.....  
.....
- 7) Which of the players listed above are still influential?  
.....  
.....  
.....
- 8) In your view who owns this community radio station?  
.....
  - a) Please explain your answer: ..........  
.....  
.....

- 9) Give a brief description of the organisation structure of this radio station  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 10) Does XK FM have a Board made up of members of the local communities?  
 .....  
 a) If yes please state how the board is constituted:.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 11) How long is their term of Office? 12) What are the application procedures for  
 community radio station licenses?  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 13) How long is the lease or expiry of a your license?.....  
 14) What are some of the restrictions/regulations governing your license?  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 15) How is the staffing like at your radio station (Permanent  
 staff/Volunteers)?.....  
 16) Who employs the staff in your station? 17) What is the radius of your  
 broadcasting?.....  
 .....  
 18) What language(s) do you broadcast in? .....  
 19) What are the reasons for your choice of  
 language(s).....  
 .....  
 20) Does your station conduct any development or civic awareness campaigns? .....  
 21) If yes, please give examples 22) Who sponsors these programmes?  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 23) Does your sponsor(s) have input in the nature and quality of programmes produced?  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 24) At what level does your sponsor(s) become involved with the business of the  
 Community Radio station?  
 25) Do you receive any government grants/funding for such programmes?  
 Explain your answer:



### Appendix 3



## UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies

Howard College Campus, Durban-South Africa

### Questionnaire for Station Staff

Please kindly answer the questions below:

- 1) Title/Position:.....
  - a) Education level (please tick where appropriate)
    - i) Metric
    - ii) Tertiary (College/Technikon/University)
  - b) Language(s) spoken (please also state mother language .....
- 2) Sex: a) Female  
b) Male
- 3) Age.....
- 4) How long have you worked for this organisation (X & K Fm station)?.....
- 5) Are you a full/Part time or volunteer employee?.....
- 6) Does your radio station broadcast any development focused programmes? .....
- 7) If Yes, please state the number and type of such programmes .....
- 8) In what language are these programmes conducted?.....
- 9) Do you think the programming of these development programmes in your local languages serve to enrich the language (s)? .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- 10) Please explain your answer:.....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- 11) How much time is allocated to such programmes? (Please state time per programme)  
.....
- .....
- .....
- 12) At what time are they aired (prime or at any time)?.....
- 13) Please give reasons:.....

.....  
.....  
14) Do you think development focused programmes are sufficient or there is need for more?

a) Please explain: .....

.....  
15) In what language(s) are these programmes aired? .....

.....  
16) Please give a list of each programme and language used in broadcasting:.....

.....  
17) Which languages are given a bigger portion of air-time?.....  
Please give reasons for your answer: .....

.....  
18) Who produces these development focused programmes?

a) Institution:.....

b) Donors/Sponsors:.....

c) Community:.....

19) If it is Sponsors state whether these sponsors are local or foreign:.....

.....  
20) If the answer given in (15 & 16) is **Not applicable**, please state how you sustain your programmes

.....  
21) In your view what is the role of government in this development initiative?

.....  
22) In your view what role is the community expected to play in the community radio station?.....

.....  
23) How is that role played by the community so far? .....

.....  
24) *In your view how has the Community Radio station managed to address ethnic differences between the two communities?*.....

b) Please explain your answer.....

.....  
25) In your view what role have you played so far as both members of the community and staff at XK FM in managing the ethnic differences?.....

26) In your view what role should be played by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in Community radio stations as development initiatives?.....

.....

27) Please write any additional comments below.....

.....

.....

\*Thank You for your time and effort in answering this questionnaire.

## Appendix 4



**UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL**

Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies  
Howard College Campus, Durban-South Africa

### Questionnaire for the listeners

- 1) Age: .....
- 2) Sex: a) Female: .....  
b) Male: .....
- 3) Ethnicity:.....
- 4) Do you listen to any radio station?.....
- 5) If yes, list all the radio stations you usually listen to in order of your priority (e.g. the one you prefer most should come first):.....
- 6) Do you listen to XK Fm as a radio station for your community?.....  
.....  
.....
- 7) In what language (s) does XK Fm broadcast its programmes?.....
- 8) Of the languages mentioned above, which one do you always listen to?.....
  - a) Give reasons for your answer:
- 9) In your view would you say all languages are equally represented? Please explain your answer:.....  
.....  
.....

- 10) What is your understanding of the concept of Community radio? .....
- .....
- 11) How would you rate community radio programmes compared to those of national radio?.....
- .....
- 12) Do you or any of your community colleagues participate in XK Fm as your local community radio station? .....
- 13) If yes, above please list them:
- a).....
- b).....
- c) .....
- d) .....
- e) .....
- 14) How would you rate the level of community participation in the operations of XK FM as a community Radio station? (Please tick)
- 1= very high
- 2= High
- 3= Moderate
- 4=Low
- 5=very low
- 15) In your view would you recommend complete control, participation and running of XK Fm radio station by the community? .....
- a) Please explain your answer:.....
- .....
- 16) List some of your popular programmes on XK Fm .....
- .....
- 17) Do you know of any development focused programmes aired by XK Fm?.....
- 18) If Yes, please list them
- .....

.....  
19) Do you think radio XK Fm has enough development and civic awareness  
Programmes, to satisfy your needs as a community?.....

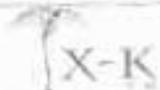
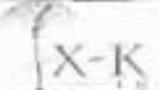
.....  
20) What would you suggest the role of XK FM as a Community radio be, in  
relation to development  
issues?.....

.....  
21) What time of the day do you usually listen to XK Fm?  
.....

.....  
22) Do you have any other comments regarding the role of XK Fm and your  
understanding of the concept of a community radio station on development  
issues.....

.....  
\*\*\*Thank You for your time in answering these questions\*\*\*

## Appendix 5

 <b>X-K</b>			
Time	Program	Dur	Content/Description
<b>06:00 - 09:00 ǃ Kxam I'am (Breakfast show)</b>			
6:00	Station identification	5'00	Opening service/prayer in Afrikaans, Xhosa and Khwedon
6:00	ǃ Kxam I'am (Breakfast show)		Wishes homes and workers up
6:00	Khungo Berrie's News headlines	20'00	News headlines in Xhosa and Khwedon
6:00	Weather in Xhosa and Khwedon (update)		Domestic, regional and local sports results/Sportsworld
6:30-8:00	Berrie's Khungo (Newsbulletin) Khosa & Xhosa	8'00	
6:00-8:00	So on the air		To the past (what we can remember)
7:00	Better lifestyle (Leshekhona haka) (Xhosa)	45'00	Teach the community how to improve their lifestyle
<b>10:00-12:00 LATE DRIVE SHOW</b>			
6:30-8:00	Berrie's Khungo (Newsbulletin)	8'00	News in Xhosa and Khwedon
8:11:00	Gadikwadima (journal) (Women program)	1hour	Youth issues around women empowerment, clothing, washing and child care
	Monday		Dept. of Health, H.I.V and AIDS
	Tuesday		OPA and women
	Wednesday		Decade stories
	Thursday		Upliftment of the Soropane
	Friday		Alcohol, women and child abuse
8:13:00	Information program (Xhosa) Izifundo eziqhelekileyo (Xhosa)	1hour	Information about electricity, alcohol, women and child abuse
<b>12:00 - 13:00 ǃ Java I'am (What the Son must know)</b>			
8:13:00	ǃ Java I'am (What the community must know)	1hour	Meetings, workshops, phone calls
8:13:04	News in Xhosa	4'00	News jingle
8:13:06	Current affairs		
8:13:10	Morosi (current affairs)	2'00	Morosi: jingles and lyrics
8:13:30	Morosi (current affairs)		Morosi in Xhosa & Khwedon (Afrikaans)
8:13:35	Berrie's (News in Khwedon)	4'00	Khwedon news
8:14:00	Morosi (Current Affairs)		Morosi in Xhosa & Khwedon (Afrikaans)
<b>14:00-15:00 Ngewo I'am (Youth program)</b>			
8:15:30	Ngewo I'am (Youth program) (education)	1hour	Let them educate, inform the youth
8:15:00	Ngewo I'am (requests program)	1hour	Siductions
	Wednesdays - "Be Inquisit Smart"	30 min	Online interviews with black expert/subject matter
<b>16:00-18:00 (Storytime for the children)</b>			
8:16:00	ǃ Kxam I'am (Newsbulletin in Xhosa/Xhosa)	5'00	
8:16:00	Storytime for the kids (Education)		Play new/revamped stories (Educational, Traditional)
8:16:00	Information program		Recording/segments of meetings, workshops that is going to take place
8:20:00	Disability issue (Information) Xhosa	1hour	Teaches, educate about empowering people with disabilities
8:21:00	Health education (Xhosa)	1hour	Focus on health issues in general
 <b>X-K</b>			
<b>Saturday</b>			
<b>06:00-09:00 MORNING SHOW</b>			
8:00-08:00	ǃ Kxam I'am (In the past)		Station identification and Oral history

8 - 8:30	Bornu/Xhóm (Newsbulletin)	30'00	News in XhóMákwedim
8 - 9:00	Mhache no I'e (Current affairs)	30'00	

### 9:00-13:00 IT'S WEEKEND

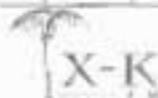
9:30:00	Bornu/Xhóm (Newsbulletin)	30'00	News in XhóMákwedim
9-11:00	Let's learn (education)	45'00	Education for youngsters
9-11:30	Bornu/Mnewsbulletin	30'00	News in XhóMákwedim
9-13:00	modern life		Talk to young people about the new lifestyle, about HIV and AIDS

### 13:00-16:00 MID DAE SLOT

9-13:30	Bornu/Mnewsbulletin	3'00	News in XhóMákwedim
9-15:00	sport programme		

### 16:00-21:00 LATE SLOT

9-17:00	Education	1hour	Excludes the youth and Courts (ABC 1)
9-18:00	Journalprogramme /remoteprogramme I&B	1hour	Report information
9-21:00	Prepara / un(Preparation time)	1hour	



### Sunday

### 06:00-08:00 GOOD MORNING

06:00	Open with prayer		Station identification
06:00-08:00	Good tune	2hours	Local, national, gospel songs
6 - 08:15	Bornu/Xhóm (Newsbulletin)	30'00	News in XhóMákwedim

### 08:00-09:00 EREDIENS

8-09:00	Erediens (Worship)	45'00	XhóMákwedim and Afrikaans
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### 09:00-21:00 LATE SLOT

9-10:10	Bornu/News headlines	30'00	News in XhóMákwedim
09:00	Reportage/religious/community news		Provides listeners with local community news and events
9-11:30	Bornu/Xhóm (Newsbulletin)	30'00	News in XhóMákwedim
9-11:00	sport I'am (sport programme)		
9-11:30	Bornu/Xhóm (Newsbulletin)	30'00	News in XhóMákwedim
9-11:30	Mhache no I'e (Current affairs)	30'00	
9-12:10	Bornu/Xhóm (Newsbulletin)	30'00	News in XhóMákwedim
9-17:00	Vandik I'am		Affresoon service with fasting, Church leaders
10-17:30	Bornu/Xhóm (Newsbulletin)	30'00	News in XhóMákwedim
9-18:00	Education	45'00	Educate listeners in general
10-20:00	Sopela (lets talk)		Talk about anything in the community
20-21:00	Avashik I'am (preparation time)		Help listeners prepare for the week.

PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING LICENCE

LICENCE NUMBER : PS 22/2001  
LICENSEE : SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION LIMITED  
DIVISION : PUBLIC SERVICE DIVISION  
NAME OF SERVICE : XK FM  
FREQUENCY BAND : SEE SCHEDULE B2  
LICENCE AREA : REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
COMMENCEMENT DATE OF LICENCE : 04 AUGUST 2000  
EXPIRY DATE OF LICENCE : 03 AUGUST 2005

THIS LICENCE AUTHORISES THE LICENSEE TO PROVIDE A PUBLIC SOUND BROADCASTING SERVICE CONDITIONAL UPON COMPLIANCE WITH THE TERMS, CONDITIONS AND OBLIGATIONS SET OUT IN THE ATTACHED SCHEDULES, AND WITH EFFECT FROM 23 MARCH 2005 REPLACES THE LICENCE ISSUED TO THE LICENSEE ON 23 MARCH 2004.

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA AT SANDTON ON THIS \_\_\_ DAY OF \_\_\_\_\_ 2005

\_\_\_\_\_  
CHAIRPERSON

\_\_\_\_\_  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

## Appendix 6

### SCHEDULE A

#### GENERAL CONDITIONS

##### 1. INTERPRETATION

In this licence, any word, term or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the IBA Act or the Broadcasting Act or in any regulations promulgated under those Acts shall have that meaning unless stated otherwise or inconsistent with the context, and the following words, terms and expressions shall have the meanings assigned to them below:

- 1.1 "Authority" means the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa, established by section 3 of the ICASA Act;
- 1.2 "Broadcasting Act" means the Broadcasting Act, Act 4 of 1999;
- 1.3 "broadcast period" means the 24-hour period from 00h00 until 24h00 every day;
- 1.4 "commercial broadcasting service" means any broadcasting service provided by the Licensee and falling within its commercial service division;
- 1.5 "consent" means approval in writing given by the Chairperson of Council, any member of Council, the Chief Executive Officer or any official of the Authority duly authorised by Council to act for and on behalf of the Authority in relation to the act in question;
- 1.6 "control" includes any instance of control as contemplated in section 1(2) of the IBA Act as read with Schedule 2 to the IBA Act;
- 1.7 "Council" means the Council of the Authority, as contemplated in sections 3(2) and 5 of the ICASA Act;
- 1.8 "effective date" means the date from and upon which the licence conditions set out in this licence become effective, being 23 March 2008;
- 1.9 "financial year" means the financial year of the Licensee;
- 1.10 "historically disadvantaged persons" means South African citizens who are black people, women or people with disabilities and the term "black people" shall include Africans, Indians and Coloureds;
- 1.11 "IBA Act" means the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, Act 153 of 1993;
- 1.12 "ICASA Act" means the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa Act, Act 13 of 2000;
- 1.13 "licence" means the licence granted to the Licensee by the Authority, authorising it to provide a public sound broadcasting service under the name and style of "XK FM", to which this Schedule A is attached, and includes this Schedule A and the other schedules attached to the licence;
- 1.14 "licence period" means the period of validity of the licence, as described in clause 4 of this Schedule A;

- 1.15 "licence year" means each successive year of the licence period, commencing initially on the effective date and thereafter on 23 March annually;
- 1.16 "licensed service" means the service which the Licensee is authorised to provide in terms of the licence, as described in clause 2 of this Schedule A;
- 1.17 "Licensor" means the South African Broadcasting Corporation Limited;
- 1.18 "Music Content Regulations" means the ICASA South African Television Content Regulations, 2002, published in *Government Gazette No 25379 of 22 August 2002*, as amended from time to time, or such other regulations as may be promulgated from time to time in terms of section 53 of the IBA Act;
- 1.19 "prime time" means the period between 06h00 and 09h00 and between 16h00 and 18h00 daily;
- 1.20 "public broadcasting service" means any broadcasting service provided by the Licensee and falling within its public service division;
- 1.21 "Republic" means the Republic of South Africa, governed by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996;
- 1.22 "shared services divisions" means those divisions of the Licensee which provide administrative and support services (including, but not limited to financial, legal, human resources, technological, news programming, library, archive, marketing, sales and audience services) to the Licensee and the broadcasting services in its public and commercial services divisions;
- 1.23 "South African performance period" means the period between 05h00 and 23h00 daily; and
- 1.24 "station identification" means the station identification as set out in clause 5 of this Schedule A.

## 2 AUTHORISATION

- 2.1 This licence authorises the Licensee to provide a public sound broadcasting service:
- 2.1.1 in accordance with the terms and conditions of this licence, which shall take effect on the effective date;
  - 2.1.2 in compliance with the provisions of the IBA Act, the Broadcasting Act, the applicable regulations promulgated under those Acts, and the applicable codes of conduct;
  - 2.1.3 on the frequencies set out in Schedule B to this licence or on such other frequencies as the Authority may determine from time to time.
- 2.2 The licensed service shall form part of the Licensee's public service division and shall be a full-spectrum sound broadcasting service providing a programming mix of informative, educational and entertaining material in the languages set out in Schedule C.

### 3 LICENCE AREA

The Licensee shall provide the licensed service in the licence area specified in Schedule B to the licence.

### 4 LICENCE PERIOD

The licence shall remain valid for a period of 6 years, commencing on 23 August 2004 and expiring on 22 August 2009.

### 5 STATION IDENTIFICATION

5.1 The station identification of the licensed service is "XK FM".

5.2 The Licensee may not change its station identification without having obtained the Authority's prior consent.

5.3 The Licensee must clearly identify itself, by means of its station identification, at intervals of not more than 60 minutes throughout the broadcast period.

### 6 HOURS OF BROADCAST

For the duration of the licence period, the Licensee shall provide the licensed service continuously throughout the broadcast period, without any interruption, unless:

6.1 such interruption is due to circumstances beyond the Licensee's control, in which case the Licensee shall:

6.1.1 take all reasonable steps to ensure the resumption of the licensed service without undue delay;

6.1.2 notify the Authority in writing of the reasons for such interruption and the steps taken by the Licensee to ensure the expeditious resumption of the licensed service;

6.2 the Licensee will have obtained the Authority's prior consent for such interruption.

### 7 PROGRAMMING

Without derogating from the specific obligations set out in Schedule C, the Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service:

7.1 comply with the programming obligations imposed upon it by the applicable provisions of the Music Content Regulations;

7.2 take reasonable steps to make a substantive contribution to the achievement of the applicable requirements of sections 2, 3(4), 3(5), 3(6) and 3(7) of the Broadcasting Act and section 2 of the IBA Act.

### 8 RELIGION

The Licensee must ensure that its programming adequately reflects the diversity of South Africa's religions.

### 9 CROSS-SUBSIDISATION

The revenue generated for the Licensee by the licensed service, being part of the Licensee's public service division, shall not be used to subsidise any commercial broadcasting service, whether through the Licensee's shared services divisions or otherwise.

### 10 PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS

10.1 Whenever requested by the national or a provincial commissioner of the South African Police Service to do so, the Licensee shall:

10.1.1 broadcast on the licensed service, without charge and in such manner and at such time as may reasonably be requested by that commissioner, any information or other matter concerning a disaster or immediate grave danger;

10.1.2 inform the Authority of the receipt of such request.

10.2 The Licensee shall require that any request made to it in terms of clause 10.1 be confirmed in writing within 24 hours of its first having been made, and shall forward a copy of such written request to the Authority within 48 hours of receiving it.

10.3 The Licensee shall, whenever requested to do so by the Authority, broadcast without charge such particulars at such intervals as the Authority may reasonably request for the purpose of publicising any applications, enquiries or hearings concerning the Licensee.

### 11 FEES

The Licensee shall be required to:

11.1 pay such annual licence fees, if any, as the Authority may determine from time to time; and

11.2 pay such administrative fees, if any, in respect of applications for the renewal or amendment of this licence as the Authority may prescribe from time to time.

### 12 INFORMATION TO BE FURNISHED TO THE AUTHORITY

#### Control and Management

12.1 The Licensee must inform the Authority of the name, nationality and physical residential and business addresses, or any changes thereto, of:

12.1.1 any person appointed as a member of the Licensee's board, and of any member of the board who resigns or who is removed from office;

12.1.2 any person in a position to exercise direct or indirect control over a significant proportion of the operations of the Licensee in providing the licensed service;

12.1.3 any person in a position to veto any action taken by the Licensee's board; and

12.1.4 any person who is in a position to give or exercise directly or indirectly any restraint or direction in any manner over any substantial issue affecting the management or affairs of the Licensee.

12.2 The Licensee must provide the Authority with certified copies of the following documents:

12.2.1 the Licensee's memorandum and articles of association;

12.2.2 any management agreement relating to the Licensee, including any service agreement relating to the overall operations or affairs of the Licensee or a significant proportion thereof;

12.2.3 any other agreement which is likely to affect the control, management, programming or operation of the licensed service, including (but not limited to) the Licensee's shareholder compact.

12.3 The Licensee must provide the Authority with the information and documents specified in clauses 12.1 and 12.2 within 30 days of the effective date and thereafter within 14 days of any change in such information or the conclusion or finalisation of such documents, as the case may be.

12.4 The Licensee must inform the Authority, in writing, within 14 days of any judgment awarded in a court of law against it.

#### **Programming**

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

12.5.1 the different genres; and

12.5.2 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 South African performance period, and expressing the relevant details both as an aggregate in minutes and as a percentage of the total of all such programme material.

12.6 The Licensee shall retain, for a period of 30 days, a recording of every programme broadcast by it in the course of the provision of the licensed service in a format acceptable to and compatible with the equipment used by the Authority, as required by section 55 of the IBA Act.

#### **Financial**

12.7 The Licensee shall provide the Authority with the annual financial statements of the licensed service within four months of the end of the financial year.

### 13 STANDARDS AND INTERFERENCE

- 13.1 The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, comply with international technical standards.
- 13.2 The Licensee shall:
- 13.2.1 operate the licensed service with such apparatus and in such a manner as not to cause harmful interference with the efficient and convenient working, maintenance or use of any licensed broadcasting or telecommunication service;
  - 13.2.2 co-operate in every way possible with the Authority with a view to preventing such interference.

### 14 EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AND HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

- 14.1 The Licensee must adopt and implement equal opportunity employment practices.
- 14.2 The Licensee must ensure that its management and staff are representative of South African society and that its human resource policies, particularly with regard to historically disadvantaged persons, take into account the development of managerial, production, technical and other skills and expertise.
- 14.3 The Licensee shall endeavour to achieve fair and reasonable participation by historically disadvantaged persons with respect to:
- 14.3.1 its management and control structures;
  - 14.3.2 skills development;
  - 14.3.3 enterprise development; and
  - 14.3.4 procurement.

### 5 COMPLAINTS

- 15.1 The Licensee's Group Chief Executive or Chief Operations Officer, or any other person designated by him or her and in the Licensee's full-time employ, shall respond to complaints made to it regarding any aspect of the licensed service and shall take appropriate steps in respect of such complaints.
- 15.2 The Licensee shall notify the Authority of the name, telephone and telefax numbers and e-mail address of the person designated in terms of clause 15.1 within 10 days of the effective date and thereafter within 10 days of any change in the identity, telephone or telefax number or e-mail address of the designated person.

18.1.2 if sent by telefax, the communication shall be deemed to have been received after 4 normal hours of business of the receiving party have elapsed from the time of sending;

18.1.3 if transmitted by e-mail, the communication shall be deemed to have been received after one normal business hour of the receiving party has elapsed from the time of sending;

18.1.4 if delivered by hand to the physical address of the intended recipient, the communication shall be deemed to have been received on the day of delivery, provided it was delivered to a responsible person during ordinary business hours; and

18.1.5 a written notice or other communication actually received by any party shall be adequate written notice or communication to it notwithstanding that the notice was not sent to or delivered at its chosen address.

18.2 Any communication from the Licensee to the Authority shall be marked for the attention of such official as the Authority may designate from time to time in regard to the matter or type of matter in question, or, failing such notification, the Chairperson of Council or the Chief Executive Officer of the Authority.

18.3 The Licensee shall, within 10 days of the effective date, provide the Authority with an address at which it will accept formal service of letters, documents and legal process, and with a telephone and telefax number and e-mail address through which it can be contacted. The Licensee shall notify the Authority in writing of any change in such address, telephone number or telefax number and e-mail address, and this notification shall become effective 10 days after the day of receipt of the notice.

#### SCHEDULE B1

#### TECHNICAL CONDITIONS

1. This schedule of technical conditions is an integral part of the licence and must be read in conjunction with it.
2. The Licensee's head office shall be situated at Henley Road, Auckland Park, Johannesburg.
3. The signal distribution service is to be conducted by a licensed broadcasting signal distributor which in this case is Sentech Ltd.
4. The Licensee must operate the broadcasting service and must ensure that its signal distributor operates the studio-to-transmitter links (STL), strictly in accordance with the technical specifications contained in Schedule B2 to this licence.
5. The technical apparatus used by the Licensee must satisfy the requirements of the Authority at all times. The Licensee must ensure that such apparatus is maintained in technically sound condition and that it does not cause harmful interference with the efficient or convenient working, maintenance or use of any other lawful telecommunication services. If the equipment of the Licensee or its signal distributor is causing interference with any other licensed service, the Authority will have the right to switch off such transmitting service.

6. The transmitting station of the Licensee must be operated and maintained by competent persons at all times.
7. The Authority has the right to conduct such tests as may be necessary on any of the Licensee's technical equipment used by or on behalf of the Licensee. This may include requiring the Licensee to switch off certain equipment and cease broadcasting for such reasonable period as the Authority may need to conduct the test in question.

## SCHEDULE C

### SPECIAL CONDITIONS

#### 1. OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

1.1 The State shall be the sole shareholder of the Licensee.

1.2 The Licensee shall be governed and controlled in accordance with the provisions of Part 3 of Chapter IV of the Broadcasting Act.

#### 2. FORMAT

The licensed service shall be a full-spectrum service.

#### 3. BROADCAST LANGUAGE

The Licensee shall broadcast predominantly in the !Xun and the Khwe language groups.

#### 4. PROGRAMMING

##### General

Without derogating from the specific obligations set out below, the Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, take reasonable steps to provide programming that reflects both the cultural and traditional needs of its audience.

##### News and current affairs

4.2.1 The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service, broadcast at least 30 minutes of news programming each day during the South African performance period.

4.2.2 The Licensee shall, in the provision of the licensed service broadcast at least 30 minutes of current affairs programming each day during the South African performance period.

4.2.3 The Licensee shall, in the production and presentation of its news and current affairs programming:

4.2.3.1 exercise full editorial control in respect of the contents of such programming;

4.2.3.2 include matters of international, national, regional and, where appropriate, local significance;

4.2.3.3 meet the highest standards of journalistic professionalism;

4.2.3.4 provide fair, unbiased, impartial and balanced coverage independent from governmental, commercial or other interference; and