Live from the maize field

- Community radio news journalism in Homoine, Mozambique

Eva Tommerup Johnsen

Integrated Master's Thesis, International Development Studies & Journalism
Roskilde University, August 2006

Supervisors: Lars Trier Mogensen & Peter Henriques

Resumé

Specialet søger svar på spørgsmålet "Hvad karakteriserer nyhedsjournalistikken i lokalradioen i Homoine, Mozambique?". Begreberne "journalistik" og "lokalradio" ("community radio") sættes normalt ikke sammen i den forskning og praksis, der beskæftiger sig med lokalradioer i det sydlige Afrika ud fra et udviklingsperspektiv. "Journalistik er for begrænset et værktøj at sætte i udviklingens tjeneste", lyder argumentet fra idealisterne, som dominerer både lokalradioforskning og -praksis. Men hvis det ikke er gængs journalistik, der bedrives i de lokale nyhedsudsendelser, hvad er det så?

I den teoretiske ramme for specialet udkrystalliseres de nøglebegreber, der karakteriserer radioer ejet af lokalsamfundene, og som i teorien kan forventes også at karakterisere disse mediers journalistik. Det drejer sig om folkelig deltagelse, bred repræsentation, åben adgang, myndiggørelse og græsrodsinitiativer for at fremme sociale forandringer. Dertil inddrages journalistik-teorier om professionelt og alternativt nyhedsarbejde, med fokus på forskellige genrer, værdier og rutiner. Med denne teoretiske ramme omkring det nye forskningsfelt kan nyhedsjournalistikken i Radio ARCO udforskes i forhold til teoretiske antagelser – hvilken type nyhedsjournalistik finder man i Radio ARCO og, ikke mindst, hvilken type nyhedsjournalistik finder man ikke?

Analysen bygger på data indsamlet ved hjælp af observationer, interviews og en survey udført under feltbesøg hos Radio ARCO og i Homoine distrikt fra januar til maj 2004. Det vigtigste element i analysen er en indholdsanalyse af lokalnyhederne, som gør dette speciale til et pioner-studie på forskningsfeltet for lokalradioer i udviklingslande.

Analysen viser, at nyhedsjournalistikken på Radio ARCO viser klare tegn på den professionalisme og elite-orientering, som lokalradio-fortalerne forsager. Der er ikke bred folkelig deltagelse og radioen understøtter de etablerede, lokale magtstrukturer. Dette afspejles bl.a. i udvalget af nyhedshistorier, kilder og genrer. Den lave deltagelse til trods scorer radionyhederne højt i popularitet og repræsentativitet, som det opfattes i lokalsamfundet. Diskussionen går herefter på om nyhedsjournalistikken afviger fra forventningerne i den teoretiske ramme. Konklusionen er, at lokalradioteori halter bagefter praksis og bør revideres for at kunne tage højde for tilfælde som Radio ARCO.

Abstract

This thesis seeks to answer the question "What characterises community radio news journalism in Homoine, Mozambique?" The concepts "journalism" and "community radio" do not usually go together in the research and practice that deal with community radios in Southern Africa from a developmental perspective. "Journalism is too limited a tool to employ in development", argue the idealist proponents who dominate community radio research and practice. But if is not mainstream journalism that is produced in community radio news broadcasts, then what is it?

In the theoretical frame for the thesis, key concepts of community radio are distilled, which can theoretically be assumed to also characterise community radio journalism. The key concepts are participation, representation, access, empowerment and bottom-up initiatives to promote social change. In addition, journalism theories about professional and alternative news work are discussed with an emphasis on genres, values and routines. With this theoretical frame around the new research field, the news journalism of Radio ARCO can be explored in relation to theoretical assumptions – which type of news journalism is found in Radio ARCO and, not least, which type of news journalism is not found there?

The analysis builds on data collected through observation, interviews and a survey carried out during field visits to Radio ARCO and Homoine district from January to May 2004. The most important element is the content analysis of local news, which makes this thesis a pioneer study in the research field of community radios in developing countries.

The analysis shows that news journalism at Radio ARCO has clear traits of the professionalism and elite-orientation that community radio proponents forsake. There is no broad popular participation and the radio supports the established power structures. It is reflected in e.g. the selection of news content, sources and genres. In spite of low participation the radio news score high on popularity and representation, as perceived by the community. The discussion then centres in whether this community radio news journalism differs from the assumptions in the theoretical frame. The conclusion is that community radio theory lag behind practice and should be revised to account for cases like Radio ARCO.

CONTENTS

1. Introduction

Radio ARCO[1] is the community radio station of Homoine, a rural district in Mozambique where the maize fields are an important part of life.[2] So is the radio. This thesis is based on visits to Homoine and Radio ARCO from January to May 2004.

In Mozambique, as elsewhere in Africa, radio is the most accessible mass media and it is widely thought to reach its audiences and its objectives fairly well, especially compared to print media and television. For this reason, radio stations receive much attention from the international aid donor community - both as structures that should be established and supported in their own right, and as vehicles for development messages about better health, education, environment etc, in educational and entertaining radio programmes.

African radio stations also receive a lot of attention from national authorities. Their blessings are known, but they are also considered to be potential weapons of mass destruction if they fall into the wrong hands. Governments and academics ponder the role of radio in war and peace (see for instance Rodriguez 2000, Bonde 2005 and Tower 2005[3]) and Rwanda's Radio Mille Collines is a widely quoted example. Mozambique is healing its wounds from a decade of civil war that ended in the early 1990s. Democracy and peaceful co-existence are still relatively new concepts, helped along by the media.

Radio ARCO was established by UNESCO in 1999 as one of the first three community radios under UNESCO's media programme in Mozambique[4]. This media programme is UNESCO's largest ever, anywhere, and the planning and investments are large-scale and long-term. Apart from community media, UNESCO's media programme,

---

[1] ARCO = Association of the Community Radio, Portuguese acronym.

[2] For background information on Mozambique, please see Appendix 1: "Participation and representation in Mozambique".

[3] *"Local media are like blood vessels and should irrigate social bonds, because they are representative of a community in the geographical and cultural sense* [...] *For our illiterate populace, a message in their own language, that can reach them directly in their hundreds, wherever they are, in their houses or in their fields, is a tool that can be very destructive"* (Moussa Keïta, director of the regulatory commission in Mali, quoted in Tower 2005: 12-13).

[4] "The UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project" in Mozambique, or Mediamoz for short, operates under an agreement between the government and UNESCO signed in 1997. Other local/community radios had then been established by the government and the Catholic Church.

Mediamoz, also supports the national broadcaster and independent print media. Within the community radio strand, Mediamoz envisioned setting up 10 community radios to *"provide a voice for local communities, for the development of democracy through open discussion, seeking to solve these communities' problems of social, economic and cultural development"* (Sadique 2001:17).

Homoine and the other two radio sites were identified by UNESCO consultants and chosen because they already had the basic infrastructure - both physical (electricity, access by road) and social (civic organisations and some grassroots/NGO activity) - but needed a communication medium (UNESCO 2001a: 2; UNESCO/UNDP 1999, appendix 12-4).

There are, however, other mass media present in Homoine district. People can stroll by the billboard called "The People's Paper" ("Jornal do Povo") outside Frelimo's office in Homoine Town, and sample the propaganda of the ruling party. Or they can tune into the government-owned Radio Moçambique, which broadcasts nationally and from provincial capitals, such as Inhambane a few hours drive from Homoine.

The inhabitants of Homoine were already attuned to radio broadcasts, both national and from their own province. If not in their own home, then at the neighbour's house, at the local market, or during their visits to Homoine Town, the district capital. It is therefore not self-evident why they would be in particular need of more communication media. There must be something that separates a community radio station from other media, apart from the proximity. It is clear that UNESCO envisioned it to play a role that is different from the role that Radio Moçambique already played in the community.

The community radio projects thus began with social mobilisation to found local associations to support and run the radio stations. After mobilisation visits by UNESCO followed workshops, training seminars, legal registration of the radio associations, and a tender for equipment in 2000. In 2001 the station equipment was imported and after more training of staff and volunteers, Radio ARCO went on air on 17 December 2001.

1.1 Motivation for the thesis

Based on my own experience in Mozambique[5], I wondered at the ambitions and claims made by the community radio sector, that community radios are created by the people, and that they are media for popular and civic education that will make new inroads of democratization in the rural countryside. It is a common claim that community radios are supposed to involve more people in public debate, both as speakers and listeners. Community radios are associated with *"community development in a progressive manner, by promoting social change"* and assumed to be *"the most democratic, participatory and imaginative of the media"* (Sadique 2001: 12, 20).

The reality that I saw, walking among palm leaf huts and chickens on dusty byroads, was a reality of few surplus resources, low literacy and little infrastructure. It made me question how the construction of a community radio station in a place like this could be anything other than a white elephant, much less lead the way in democratization.

From my journalism internship at the Media Institute of Southern Africa[6], I knew that community radios in Southern Africa are hampered by limited access to information and sources, and struggle to institutionalize a two-way communication – to give a voice to the community in educational programs, which still show traits of an authoritarian one-way communication.

Studies on community radios in Southern Africa are not abundant (in contrast to the bulk of research done on community radio in Latin America), excepting studies on South African community radios. Of these, I had yet to discover one that focused on the nature of participation in a non-prescriptive manner - one that documents what is actually happening in the symbiosis between the radio station and its community; and not what *should* be happening. So I soon decided that this topic would be appropriate for a thesis to conclude my studies in Journalism and International Development.

In addition, there are few academic studies on community radio in Mozambique[7], no doubt because of the Portuguese language proficiency required to undertake them.

---

[5] I worked as an intern with local democracy and establishment of participatory structures in another community setting in the same province from October 2003 to January 2004.

[6] MISA is a regional press freedom organisation covering 11 countries in Southern and Eastern Africa. I worked at the regional head office in Windhoek, Namibia from February to July 2003.

[7] I know of only two: A master's thesis in Communication for Development submitted to Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro and a PhD thesis on journalism in Mozambique currently underway by a German student teaching at the Catholic University in Nampula.

I set out to create new knowledge in this field. I quickly established through a literature search in libraries and internet databases, and a visit to the three main community radio donors in Mozambique - UNESCO, Ibis and the governmental Institute for Mass Communication - that there are few (if any) focused studies, either academic or project-related, of how a community takes part in its radio station, besides volunteering. This information only exists as brief references to the number and composition of volunteers in both academic studies (cf. Olorunnisola 2002), and in project reviews and evaluations which deal with the financial sustainability and programming content of the community radio stations (cf. Naughton & Namburette 2002).

Nor have I seen any study, from Mozambique or elsewhere, go into detail about the type of journalism produced by the community, not least the news journalism. There are many references to the benefits of broadcasting local news to a community (e.g. Forde et al 2003: 245) - public news are vital information for citizens to act on, and local news rank among the most popular broadcasts in community radio audience surveys - but there are no attempts to define community radio news journalism. The academic community seems to assume that news journalism is the same everywhere. I don't.

1.2 First steps into the field

Mediamoz provided me with booklets that describe the establishment of the first three community radios, and the section on Homoine made me take special notice. In June 2001, before it went on air, Radio ARCO presented itself at a UNESCO seminar as *"a catalyst for development in the district"*, that would *"promote, inform, educate and publish matters concerned with health, education, agriculture, trade and sport"* (UNESCO 2001c: 47-48), in most cases with extensive use of government sources. I wondered if this left room for community news or voices that did not belong to established authorities. What was the community value of the new broadcaster, and how could the community participate in creating broadcasting content, if all programmes were educational and used expert, governmental sources? Homoine seemed as good a place as any to research the nature of community journalism.

I went on my first visit to Homoine in January 2004 to get an idea of the community radio and its surroundings, to talk to the people there and make appointments for later visits. At Radio ARCO, I was welcomed by generous staff that gave me a tour of the station, answered my many initial questions and provided me with more documents. The Media Project national coordinator Tomas Vieira Mario and chief technical

advisor Birgitte Jallov had also been very generous with time[8], advice and documents that literally speak volumes about the community radio and its theoretical heritage. The first visits and meetings helped me narrow down my research field.

1.3 Research question

Community radio is considered to be a special kind of media – different from commercial and public media in content, organisation and many other dimensions. Not least in a developmental setting in one of Africa's poorest countries. But does this also mean that the news journalism of a community radio station has traits that sets it apart from professional journalism? There have been few, if any, attempts to study this[9]. Radio scholar Peter Lewis made reference to this lack of research in 2002, when he wrote that *"the origins of community radio, one might also say its mythology, are rooted in a tacit acceptance of a political economy perspective: the assumption is that ownership by 'the people' resulting in 'the people's voice' is its own justification, and this has somehow excused analysis of the text."* (Lewis 2002: 55)

Renowned researchers within the field such as Ruth Teer-Tomaselli and Robert White have confirmed that this thesis would be the first to carry out a content analysis of community radio news[10]. One could assume that the news journalism produced by the "people's reporters" on community issues would have different values, sources and genres – in the same way that community radio in general differs from other media by its grassroots values, recruitment and focus on local, accessible content. There might be a higher emphasis on participation and representation of the community in the news broadcasts. But it is a wide open question, since no prior, published research has been conducted in this corner of the research field. Therefore my study was guided by the open, exploratory question: ***What characterises community radio news journalism in Homoine, Mozambique?*** With this question, I wish to explore a potentially new type of journalism - mainly in terms of typifying the output (news content), but also by identifying the principle actors and processes generating and influencing the

---

[8] Including sorting out an unfortunate confrontation with local authorities that happened because I neglected to introduce myself properly during my first visits. Chief Technical Adviser Birgittte Jallov made an emergency rescue by giving me UNESCO "credentials". This incident also broke new ground in gathering answers to my field questions as will be shown later.

[9] Community radio is often researched in terms of financial sustainability, local content (local music, talk shows), educational value, representation of local languages (bearer of local culture) or regulatory issues. But rarely, if ever, in terms of the local news it produces.

[10] Private correspondence, December 2004

journalism of Radio ARCO. It will be necessary to draw on notions of professional journalism to determine similarities and differences, and it will be necessary to draw on notions of community radio as a separate media type. A combination of these two research areas – journalism and community radio – will provide a field for exploration of the research question through both deduction and induction.

As described in the section about motivation, there were other, related questions I could have centred on, e.g. whether Radio ARCO leads the way in democratisation, or a closer look at how the community takes part in its radio station. However, in order not to loose sight of the main focus of this thesis these questions will only be discussed where they relate to the community radio news journalism.

1.4 Composition of the thesis

The thesis consists of the following chapters:

2. Theoretical perspectives – where I introduce the theories on community radio and journalism that delimitate my research field. Some are well-known textbook theories (Gans and Tuchman) while other notions are derived from the reflections of practitioners closer to the research field.

3. Method – where I introduce the design of the study and the main tools: Observation, interview, survey and content analysis.

4. Presentation and analysis of data – where I present and analyse the data in connection with the way I obtained it; firstly through observation and interviews, secondly through a survey among community members, and lastly through a content analysis of local news manuscripts.

5. Discussion and conclusion – where the data and theories are compared and discussed, leading to a characterisation of the news journalism at Radio ARCO – what it is, and not least, what it is not.

Abstracts in English and Danish can be found on the first pages. My article about this thesis – "Live fra vores leder!" – is appended at the back.

2. Theoretical perspectives

Most refer to notions of a public sphere when discussing media and democracy. The public sphere is seen as a precondition for democracy, and mass media are crucial to the existence of a public sphere in modern, democratic societies[11]. Not just any mass media, but the kind of mass media that serves the public. The public can be defined loosely as a collective of citizens present in a nation or a community. It would ideally be concerned with collective matters ("public affairs") of politics, economy and social conditions (health, education, etc.), which it would debate on the basis of accurate and timely information.

Public service broadcasting is built on principles that also inform community radio today (see for instance the manifesto of the UK Community Media Association[12] and Forde et al's study of the Australian community radio sector[13]). Therefore this theory chapter begins with an outline of the aims and principles of this type of broadcasting. Next follows a presentation of theoretical claims about community radio's unique qualities that supposedly differ from public and commercial broadcasting – participation, access, representation, empowerment, and bottom-up initiatives. In the second half of the chapter, I will introduce theories on professional news journalism and community journalism, followed by a theory on particular African news values and journalism. These various theoretical perspectives on public service broadcasting, community radio and news journalism will provide a frame for the analysis and discussion of the nature of community radio news journalism in Homoine, Mozambique.

---

[11] Mass media would also be crucial in a *non*-democratic, modern society, but my focus here is on the liberal notion of a public sphere with open discourse. "*The concept of the public sphere here refers to the arena of civic discourse, in which the mass media are said to play a central role in providing social mechanisms for public dialogue on the common concerns of society*", typical argument quoted in Tracey (1998: 13)

[12] "*Community Media provide a vision and a voice for this agenda [the right to communicate — an agenda in which access to new media and communication technologies is seen as an essential part of public life and a democratic culture]. Grounded in the core principles of public service media — to educate, inform and entertain — Community Media add a fourth principle - to enable access and participation.*" (manifesto by the UK Community Media Association)

[13] "*community radio plays an important cultural role by facilitating dialogue between diverse components of a community by creating what we term a community public sphere*" (Forde et al 2003: 239)

2.1 Public media

In the past century, broadcast audio and visual media have surpassed print media in popularity and prevalence, opening channels to news, information, education and entertainment that were previously inaccessible to illiterate populations - thus expanding the public sphere and making it more inclusive. The mass media expansion has played an undeniable role in modern developments and democratisations across the globe and it has influenced the development of states and all kinds of institutions. Because mass media are considered to be a significant engine in modern societies, many actors pursue ownership and control of the mass media. First among these actors are the leaders of the public, governments (or occupying forces) who seek to rein in the force of mass media and put it to specific purposes in the public sphere, in times of war and peace. This has created an academic and political preoccupation with broadcasting, and not least public service broadcasting, which is usually regulated by a public authority/government, but supposedly broadcasts independent thereof.

Public service broadcasting was established to reach masses of people, which made it the most inclusive and far-reaching system of communication in the greater part of the 20th century. It can be seen as a tool of public intervention into the welfare and betterment of the masses. This aim fits nicely with international development programmes in the third world and public service broadcasting ideas are being exported, adjusted and fitted to countries such as Mozambique, both as a national system of broadcasting, as well as at individual radio programme level (reaching the public with news and radio theatre about health, education or agriculture, in order to improve living conditions).

The pinnacle among public service broadcasters, the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) was established in the 1920s and led by Lord Reith to *"inform, educate and entertain"* the public with more or less open reference to Victorian paternalism and ideals of humanism and enlightenment. BBC has set impressive standards for others to follow and today its slogan is echoed across the globe in various languages to describe media enterprises with fewer resources, smaller publics and less impact than the BBC. The British public broadcaster is considered to be the original mould for public service broadcasting and it has a reputation for quality programming. For this reason, the output, rhetoric and approaches of the BBC are studied intensely around the world to discover the essence of public service broadcasting.

2.2 Principles of public service broadcasting

In 1985, the Broadcasting Research Unit in Britain submitted 8 principles of public service broadcasting to Prime Minister Thatcher's media financing commission, which had a wary eye on BBC at the time:

1.   Universality: Geographic – broadcast programmes should be available to the whole population

2.   Universality of Appeal – broadcast programmes should cater to all tastes and interests, but not necessarily at the same time

3.   Minorities, especially disadvantaged minorities should receive particular attention

4.   Broadcasters should recognise their special relationship to the sense of national identity and community

5.   Broadcasting should be distanced from all vested interests, and in particular those of the government of the day

6.   Universality of the payment – one main instrument of broadcast should be funded by the corpus of its users

7.   Broadcasting should be structured so as to encourage competition in good programming rather than competition for numbers

8.   The public guidelines for broadcasting should be designed to liberate rather than restrict programme makers.

These 8 principles are meant to inform broadcasters and should not be taken as literal requirements (Tracey 1998: 26). They are quoted in other contexts, for instance in a report by the Danish Prime Ministry's Media Committee in 1995, in advocacy material from the Media Institute of Southern Africa (2003a), and in Wikipedia the free internet encyclopaedia's definition of public service broadcasting. They manifestly inspire public service broadcasters outside the British Isles, not least in Commonwealth countries (e.g. All India Radio, Radio New Zealand), and they also inform community radio theorising.

2.3 Entry of the community radio paradigm

Most countries accommodate private/commercial broadcasters as well as a national public service broadcaster. But there is a third branch, focussing on community radio, which holds that local community interests are served neither by monolithic public media nor by the "individual choice"-commercial media which tend to concentrate ownership in only few hands. The third media type has values, which are influenced

by the other two. In addition, it has its own unique values, which have evolved into a third media paradigm that explicitly positions itself opposite the other two (cf. UNESCO 2001: 4), not only in academic literature but also in policies and legislation. Community radio proponents have advocated for three-tiered broadcasting legislation and regulation - national policies that would respect the differences between public, commercial and community broadcasting. In some countries, e.g. in South Africa, this distinction has been adopted, while in others the fight continues for recognition of community radio as a third kind of media. In Mozambique, the UNESCO/UNDP Media Programme (Mediamoz) supports both the public service broadcaster and the independent press in its efforts to create a vibrant and informed public sphere. But the flagship of Mediamoz is undoubtedly its community radio component.

Birgitte Jallov, Chief Technical Adviser to Mediamoz, has recently published a journal article about the aims and methodologies of the media project's community radio component (Jallov 2005). In the article, as in Mediamoz' project documents, the aims are defined as *"implementation of good governance structures" and "empowerment and development of a democratic culture via community radio"* (Jallov 2004: 57). *"The radio is not just seen as another – local – public radio, informing a given public. [Community radio is] seen as a tool for development processes – and maybe the most powerful such tool at present in use in a reality like Mozambique's* […] *with the community using the radio as a tool to reflect, analyse, discuss and look for solutions for many occurring problems"* (Jallov 2004: 63). It is *"a democratic, open communication medium, changing the local power relations, ensuring the normal people's access to explanations and insight into dispositions by those in power."* (Jallov 2004: 65). The community radio should work *"effectively as an institution, basing itself on principles of access and participation, working in an ethical, rights based and respectful environment, and that all communities within the community remain continually involved in the work of the radio."* (Jallov 2004: 66). Priority was given to turning the initial top-down process (Mediamoz initiating the radio project for the community) bottom-up through continual mobilisation to create a strong, lasting community ownership of the radio station (Jallov 2004: 58).

The main concepts in Jallov's argument – access, participation, representation, empowerment and bottom-up initiatives – will be discussed in this chapter as the main theoretical frame of reference for this thesis.

2.4 Community radio: A practitioners' research field

Firstly, however, I would like to point out that community radio as a research field is dominated by prescriptive publications. It is a paradox that in spite of many articles written by practitioners, the research field lacks grounded analyses of what community radio is and does, not what it should or could be.

At UNESCO's regional seminar on Promoting Community Media in Africa in 1999[14], Lynne Muthoni Wanyeki from EcoNews Africa pointed out that *"it appears easier to posit an ideal definition of community media than to extrapolate a definition from the actual community-based media initiatives existing on the ground"* (Wanyeki 2000:29). Likewise, it can be easier to explain the workings of a community radio through ideals than by looking at what is actually happening at and around the radio station. Wanyeki laments in her conclusion about community media in East and Southern Africa that because of lacking documentation, *"it is difficult to definitely assess the nature and impact of community media initiatives in the region, and to determine whether existing problems indicate a failure of theory (idealising community radio's potential) or a failure of implementation (an inability to translate theory into practice). […] Illustrations highlighting the impact of community media, although powerful, are largely anecdotal, and show that practitioners make untested and therefore unchallenged assumptions about the role of participatory communications and information in development."* (Wanyeki 2000:39-40).

There have been calls for research that assesses communication flows in the community (who says what to whom) and community participation (which individuals and groups are represented in the production of content) (Opubor 2000; Hochheimer 1993). It is necessary to look at the community, mainly because community radio projects make such grand claims to the impact they have on their surroundings. *"[T]he media can only be as democratic, free and pluralistic as the society within which they exist"*, as Hochheimer puts it (1993: 474), so it is crucial to look into the access and participation of the community. Lewis also stresses that *"[t]his type of radio makes claims to assist social change and the expression of cultural identity especially for marginalized sections of the community. It must matter therefore that community radio's claims are tested and its specific characteristics analyzed."* (2002: 58).

---

[14] The seminar was attended by nearly 100 people involved in African media, and incidentally, one of the participants was Tomas Vieira Mario, National Project Coordinator of the UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project in Mozambique.

Some academic studies try to provide answers to the questions about access and participation (Prah 2004, Teer-Tomaselli 2001, White 2004, and Huesca 1995 and 1996). They look into particular radio station's content, its relationship with the audience, or the composition of voluntary reporters. As such, these studies are characterised by an effort to dig deeper into the field by asking research questions that can be researched empirically and by distinguishing between potential and reality in most cases. However, the studies are conducted on a case-by-case basis, and as such offer few generalisations. In lack of a general academic reference, this thesis will therefore have to make use of prescriptive theories by practitioners to a higher degree than studies of other media types would do.

2.5 Community radio – multiple origins and roles

The community radio movement in the third world emerged as a response to mainstream media - national public service media as well as commercial media - and also as a response to top-down systems of communication, which sent unilateral messages about how to develop from the First World to the Third World (White 2005: 5). But community radio means different things in different parts of the world.

Some proponents stress *"the processes of empowerment, conscientization, and fragmentation of power that result when men and women gain access to and reclaim their own media. As they disrupt established power structures and cultural codes, citizens' media gain power that is in turn reinvested in shaping their lives, futures and cultures."* (Rodriquez 2000: 157).

This is the radical strand of community radio proponents speaking - a strand originating in Latin American socialist liberation theology and Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Academics such as Clemencia Rodriguez and Robert Huesca publish celebratory accounts of Bolivian Miners Radio and others. The lesson from Latin America is that community radio is a relevant tool for creating social change and defending political and social rights in totalitarian regimes[15] (Gumucio Dagron 2001: 18).

Radical radio was also a movement in 1970s Western Europe and it led to the establishment of several experimental radio stations (Forde et al 2003: 235) with a

---

[15] Radical community radio grew out of repressive regimes and became outlets for landless peasants, urban shack dwellers, impoverished indigenous nations and trade unions (AMARC Africa 1998: 15). AMARC is the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (French acronym).

minority target group. *"Giving a voice to the voiceless"* is a well-known slogan of community radio (Rodriguez 2000: 150; AMARC Africa 1998: 15-16, Jankowski 2003: 3; Gillis & Moore 2004: 8; Kivikuru 2005: 329), but not all founders of community radio stations subscribe to it.

In Africa, community radio arise from democratisation efforts and have a broader constituency than the absolute bottom of the community. The focus is not on the most disadvantaged, or on making minority views heard, as in Western Europe, but rather to avoid fragmentation and hence to involve the majority, meaning all layers of society. The management of Mediamoz, for instance, does not subscribe to the "voice to the voiceless" slogan[16].

Gumucio Dagron's collection of 50 community media experiences worldwide leads him to state that *"Asia and Africa are certainly undergoing the same process that Latin America lived through decades ago"* (Gumucio Dagron 2001: 14). But Africa is still lacking behind the radical examples set in Latin America. Some even question whether the term community radio actually covers the experiences of both continents. Jankowski notes that "*In some African countries, community radio has become a functional, centrally controlled tool for development strategies*" (2002: 4) in contrast to Latin American experiences of popular mobilisation from the ground up.

Perhaps "development radio" is a better term for African community radio, which is not as radical as Latin American local media in casting aside traditional structures of authority: *"African culture is based on oral history. Radio now adopts the role of village chief who used to tell stories sitting under a village tree."*[17] (Johan Deflander from PANOS Mali quoted in Gumucio Dagron 2001: 15). The discussion above shows that the definition of community radio, or even what to call it, has not been settled once and for all. For ease of comprehension, I will continue to use "community radio" which is also the term used by UNESCO.

---

[16] Meeting with Mediamoz management February 2004.

[17] Eugénie Aw, former president of AMARC, put it slightly differently when he told the 6th World Assembly of AMARC in Senegal: *"Radio, the new tree of speech, is capable of rekindling the key tradition of oral expression in which speech builds the village"* (AMARC Africa 1998: 1).

2.6 Principles of community radio

The first principle of community radio is that it should be "for, of and by the community". However, "community" is not as contested a term, as it should be. It largely goes unexplained when it should be explored:

"With the popularisation of community radios, community newspapers, magazines, newsletters and other publications, we do indeed know about 'community media'. Or do we? The bottom line in discussing community media is an understanding of the nature of the community which underlies media practice, access and ownership." (Opubor 2000:12, asking the important question, "If Community Media is the Answer, What is the Question")

This has implications for how we view "community participation" in media projects. Power imbalances in a mixed group of people, such as the staff and volunteers at a community radio as well as its audience, are blanked out in a normative rhetoric. Tautologies arise, and the concept becomes impenetrable and must be broken down into smaller parts of analysis, if one wants to check the participation levels and the fracture lines in the community. But what often happens is that "community participation" is cast as both means and goals for a development project. This makes it even more difficult to verify whether "community participation" is in fact taking place.

In Radio ARCO's written objectives[18], "community participation" is seen as two things: Firstly, the radio should itself be a forum for community participation that upholds freedom of speech and other democratic values. In this view, community participation is a means to reach a higher end – creating public debate in a democratic environment. Secondly the radio is meant to strengthen civil society and to facilitate community participation in various sectors of civil society. Here community participation is seen as an end in itself.

Radio ARCO claims to be *"of the community, for the community and about the community"* (a slightly altered version of "for, of and <u>by</u>"), both in its documents and many times a day over the airwaves. Presumably, this means ALL of the community (cf. White 2004: 6), even though it is physically impossible for all individuals in the district to participate in the radio station. Therefore the nature and levels of participation in community radio is an important aspect to explore, both theoretically and empirically.

---

[18] See Appendix 1

UNESCO's handbook for community radio practitioners presents participation as a characteristic that is essential to community radio and goes on to define it: *"participation implies that the public is actively involved in planning and management, and also provides producers and performers"* (UNESCO 2001: 16). While not an academic document, the handbook is included here because it has been influential in forming views or even dogmas about community radio worldwide.

There are, however, multiple perceptions of what participation means. The World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters AMARC takes a conservative approach: *"Community participation means that, the community should play an active role in their process of development and ensure that their local community radio stations serves specific needs of their community"* (AMARC et al 2004: 1). In this view, the community has a role as overseers and must provide feedback to the radio. Others emphasize active, broadbased involvement, where the community has a role as actors in content, sources and producers: *"When a community's participation in the public sphere is welcome, members become actors whose voices are included in the content."* (Olorunnisola 2002: 6). Olorunnisola sees "participatory communication" as *"a concept whose development is fluid enough to be contextually unique"* (2002: 3). Gumucio-Dagron agrees, when he writes that *"Participation in community radio stations vary from total ownership to different degrees of audience involvement in programming and management* [...] *It is not often that we encounter radio stations that have been conceived, set up, managed, technically run, financed and maintained by the community."* (2001: 16).

So there is a broad bandwidth for what can be labelled "community participation" in radio stations. The local context decides whether participation is low or high, diverse or focused in one area, but all of it still goes under the same heading of "community participation". This could create misunderstandings and also a lot of leeway for projects that claim to have participation on the basis of very little.

"*Most of what qualifies today as 'participatory' in communication experiences is actually 'access'. The [Bolivian] miners' radio stations were truly participatory, in terms of people knowing that no one could at any point prevent them from expressing themselves through the microphone.*" (Gumucio-Dagron in Tufte et al 2005: 320).

There is a need to differentiate the term and establish minimum requirements. At one end of the bandwidth is the total involvement of the community in all aspects of the

radio, but what is at the other end? What are the minimum requirements for using the label "community participation" in a radio project?

The Media Institute of Southern Africa seems aware of the difference between "participation" and "real participation", when it writes in campaign material that *"As real participation is hard to achieve and income generation difficult, community involvement and participation can be compromised. Stations should be aware of the danger and regularly look at themselves to see whether the station is really serving the community [...] A great danger of community broadcasting is how easily staff members, volunteers, executive members or forums can forget the fundamental importance of involving and consulting community residents in the decision making processes and the general running of the station."* (MISA 2003b: 2, 5)

From this perspective, "real" participation is crucial to the survival of a community radio: *"It allows a unique understanding of the real community needs and priorities taking into account language, tradition, culture and beliefs. It helps further development in the community if the project succeeds. It is an example of how community members can get together in an ongoing way to address their own needs."* (MISA 2003b: 6).

MISA also suggests indicators of community participation on a list that can be checked to determine the level of participation. Among the indicators are: regular Annual General Meetings, representation on the board and in the management team, election periods, adaptation of programming to feedback, written constitution, breadth of programming, languages of programming, proportion of music programming, number of women involved in programming and management, children's programming, and equal access to airtime for different religious and political groups (MISA 2003b: 6). These indicators are among the very few attempts by community radio proponents to cast participation into verifiable measures. As such they provide a rare guideline for situating my analysis of community radio news journalism within the research field and they will be elaborated on in the method chapter.

2.6.2 Representation

There is general agreement that the listeners should be represented in decision-making (cf. Tower 2005: 7). In its resource guide to community radio, AMARC Africa defines community participation in terms of representation of community members in the radio activities: Electing the board, making station policy, managing the station,

selecting programming, producing programmes and representing the station to the outside world (AMARC Africa 1998: 23). But representation also means that the community radio should represent the *"needs, wants concerns, feelings and prioritised issues of the people in the area."* (MISA 2003b: 5). In short, according to community radio proponents, the radio uses representation to mirror the community, both in the programming and in the organisational structures.

But representation can be juxtaposed with participation and be seen as "indirect" participation or even as a substitute for participation. An analysis will therefore need to look into both concepts and seek to distinguish between them.

2.6.3 Access

Community radio supposedly has better outreach and geographic coverage than other media (Gumucio Dagron 2001: 19, Lewis 2005: 3). It implies equal opportunity for community members to access the media as audience and producers, since access to the community radio should not be conditioned by gender or age, or by social, political or religious beliefs (Gumucio Dagron 2001: 35). Access should also be understood as accessible content (MISA 2003b: 4), meaning that it broadcasts content in a language and manner that is understood by all of the community. So access is a defining feature that should be examined at both individual level and community level.

Yet access is also the source of an inherent contradiction in community radio. Dunaway notes that open access *"fulfils the original aesthetic and moral imperative of community radio's founding generation"* (2002: 73), but it conflicts with building an audience for the media, which can only happen through professionalism. *"[T]he more that inexperienced civilians are given airtime for their concerns, the less listener interest […] Access is an ideal which only communitarians seem to hold"* (Dunaway 2002: 74). But before we do away with access, it is important to note that Dunaway's points are directed towards European and American practices, where audiences may be used to a different media landscape than in Africa, concerning technical quality, presentation, variation, etc. UNESCO may still be right in stressing access as an ideal, when it does so within a process-oriented framework, where the quality of content does not matter as much as the process of broadcasting local content in a backwater community in Mozambique. The development objective is not to make good radio, but to make people accustomed to using the media to express them selves publicly.

From a ground-level perspective, Hochheimer argues that access and participation are related to power and control: *"[W]hich communities should be given access to the air? Who speaks for these communities? And whose interests are served by these decisions? […T]here is no way the planning, implementation and operation of communication systems can proceed without understanding their linkage to positions and structures of power."* (Hochheimer 1993: 474-475). In practice, access may be different for different community members. Not only because total, direct access by the whole community is impractical, but also because actual access, like participation, may be determined at individual level by factors such as resources, mobility, perceptions, qualifications and social relations. At community level, the practical decisions governing community access to the radio station may or may not mirror the established patterns of power, which govern access to other institutions in the community. This also ties back to "representation", where community members only participate indirectly in broadcasting and management through established organisational structures, which may or may not reflect the democratic aspirations and power relations in the community.

2.6.4 Power

Power - or the softer term "Empowerment" – in connection with community radio is about strengthening *"people's sense of self and their confidence in their own potential to act in the world."* (Rodriguez 2000: 150). Through community radio, power is believed to shift hands from authorities and traditional media to the community (Rodriguez 2000: 157; Gumucio Dagron 2001: 34; Olorunnisola 2002: 6[19]). Empowerment happens both to individuals and to the community (Jallov 2005: 10), but particularly the community:
"A communication process that is owned by the community tends to provide equal opportunity to members" (Gumucio Dagron 2001: 26). Empowerment grows through participation in the media (MISA 2003b: 6). However, MISA also warns that *"Participatory projects have to protect themselves against the danger that people who have had access to a better education try to occupy positions that will only cement their own privileged position."* (MISA 2003b: 7). It seems that not just anybody should be empowered, and community radio should primarily aim at the most disenfranchised groups in the community – the groups that are not served by other media.

---

[19] *"Given that power does not reside in a vacuum, the control that the stakeholders in traditional media structures lose shifts into the hands of newly empowered community members."* (Olorunnisola 2002: 6)

As in public service broadcasting, community-building (also phrased as nation-building) is one of the main principles. However, unlike public service broadcasting, there is an emphasis on communication from the bottom-up - communication of the people's development agenda, not the state's development agenda. There is therefore a call for multi-directional communication - top-down, bottom-up and horizontally, with particular emphasis on the latter two directions (White 2004: 5). In fact, a top-down approach to communication is frowned upon by most community radio proponents (White 2004: 5; Gillis & Moore 2004: 4).

2.7 Summary of community radio characteristics

The first part of my inquiry deals with community radio as a media type – what are its characteristics and how does it relate to other media types? The first section of this chapter has provided a frame of reference, including the main features: participation, access, representation, empowerment and bottom-up initiatives.

The second part of the chapter will provide theoretical references for an analysis of community radio news journalism understood as practices and content. As there is no prior published research on community radio news journalism, whether by practitioners or academics, the first section will introduce theories about news journalism routines and content in general, as a reference for typifying community radio news journalism in Homoine. The following sections will then turn to theories of community journalism and non-Western news values, which may provide a theoretical reference for the ways in which community radio news journalism in Homoine can be expected to deviate from traditional news journalism.

2.8 Journalism: Theories of news practices and content

Many newsroom studies have been conducted to look at journalism practices, routines, and the final output – and how these relate to each other.

2.8.1 Legitimating status quo

Gaye Tuchman's *Making News* is a classic, sociological newsroom study of how the news content is related to journalism practices. Unlike "routine theorists" (such as Herbert Gans and Michael Schudson), who argue that routines determine the news content, Tuchman claims that *"the formal characteristics of the product of newswork guide*

inquiry." (Tuchman 1978: 104; Eliasoph 1988: 313-315). She looks at news routines, but through the prism of news types, which are established genres[20] for narrating different kinds of news content (breaking news, hard news, soft news, spot news, continuing news, etc). These established genres help news staff process the news occurrences within the deadlines and resources at their disposal – the genres each have a professional routine attached to them that is reinforced every time it is used. In turn the news routine reconfirms the news selection, the source selection and the particular genre as the way to tell this kind of news – it fits the working process. So the news genres and the news routines are mutually validating and create what Tuchman terms a "web of facticity" - *"a host of supposed facts that, when taken together, present themselves as both individually and collectively self-validating"* - which legitimates status quo and establishes news as an ally of legitimated institutions (Tuchman 1978: 4, 14, 86-87, 196, 216).

The genres can thus be said to serve *"as a method of guiding reporters to locate appropriate facts. Questions to be asked are contained in the form of the presentation."* And the location of appropriate facts is usually with legitimate sources (official and powerful sources, representing organisations such as a government), which have access to accurate facts and represent a number of people (Tuchman 1978: 91-93, 101-102, 210). In this way, Tuchman argues, *"one can view news as the reproduction of newsworkers' understandings of both news processes and political processes, and thus as the reproduction of these processes […] News processing is itself routinized according to the way occurrences at legitimated institutions are thought to unfold […] The news net is based in legitimated institutions."* (Tuchman 1978: 191, 212).

2.8.2 Alternative content

But news do not necessarily legitimate existing power distributions and values, Nina Eliasoph argues in "Routines and the Making of Oppositional News" (1988) based on her newsroom study as a participant observer at a well established community radio station in Berkeley, California. The left wing, alternative radio station KPFA has been on air since 1949 and is considered to be a key inspiration for the world's community radio movement (Lewis 1984: 137-138). Eliasoph shows how KPFA, while labouring under the same working conditions, news routines and news conventions (actuality,

[20] A genre is the tacit agreement between the radio and its listeners about how content should be presented (Jauert 1990: 5). A genre links format and content according to specific rules. Following these rules means that some genres may be used to broadcast content more frequently than others.

importance, etc) as mainstream media, can produce news content that is very different from mainstream media. She argues that *"economic and organizational factors help determine the news content more than the routines […because…] routines accomplish different things in different contexts."* (Eliasoph 1988: 315). Of the organizational factors, Eliasoph emphasizes the relationship to the audience and the social and political positions of the radio owners/managers and reporters – not least the encouragement of the reporters to seek other sources and produce news that is in opposition to the selection of other media (Eliasoph 1988: 313, 318).

News routines do play a large role at the oppositional radio station - it goes for KPFA and for other media that new reporters conform to the way things are done – novices want to learn the ropes and do not want to create conflicts with senior staff who hold the key to the reporter's access to the air waves. Routines and news conventions also serve to *"smooth over political divisions within the left and within the station"* – the newsroom is off limits to political debate (Eliasoph 1988: 324, 326-327, 329). But complacency and adaptation (social control) only occurs within the newsroom. In their professional relations with the outside world, reporters go against the stream to make sure that there is pluralism of voices in the media landscape. This could potentially damage their relationship with official sources who wish to control who says what about a public affair. But Eliasoph argues that external pressures are not really the big constraint on news work that other scholars make it out to be. Reporters can afford to be rude to officialdom. However, Eliasoph admits that KPFA may have special leverage, because it is the only non-student media in Berkeley, and therefore organisations in search of coverage cannot blacklist it (Eliasoph 1988: 320-321). So the radio station operates in a context where other institutions hunger for media coverage, and where it independently can decide whether to cover a story or not. Another leverage for independence is that the volunteer reporters at this community radio station do not depend on their work there for a living.

2.8.3 Citizens and reporters can never be the same

Both Eliasoph and Tuchman look at the newsroom through its actors and their active reproduction of procedures, formats and institutions. Gans, on the other hand, claims a much smaller role for actors and a larger role for a-historical institutions. He contends that irrespective of who produces the news – whether the journalists are middle class or working class – the news would be the same. The working conditions and source relations shape the news, and journalists simply adapt to these conditions (Gans 1979:

213). Gans makes another claim about the professionalism of journalists, when he writes that journalists must use the tools of the profession to claim autonomy and represent a public in its totality. *"If journalists apply lay values, […] they are selecting stories not only as professionals but also as citizens; in that case, one can ask whether they should do so and whom they are representing when they act as citizens."* (Gans 1979: 203). So journalists and citizens should be two distinct groups, according to this journalism scholar. The boundaries between the two groups are also discussed by community radio proponents in the next section.

2.9 Theories on community journalism from the field

It is a contested issue whether the content of community radio is "journalism" or not. UNESCO says "NO" in spite of the training programmes, the ethical guidelines for the stations, the professionalism and aspirations of the volunteers, the station routines and programming formats that all point to journalism. If it is not journalism, then what is being practiced by the community radio station?

The journalism (for lack of a better word) produced by community radios has not received much attention in academic studies. The literature on the subject is more likely to use "information", "education", "infotainment", and "edutainment". It could be a game of words, or it could signify a departure from journalism practices and journalism research. The literature is also more likely to be prescriptive than analytical. Community radio is an area where there are many overlaps between the academic publications and the practitioners in the field. Much of the research on community radio is carried out by practitioners (Jallov, etc)[21].

I therefore found it useful to include statements of community radio proponents in Southern Africa, in addition to the published theories on community radio. The representatives I chose are not only practitioners, but expert consultants and policy makers who are in a position to give an overview of the sector and advance influential statements. Their statements illustrate the theories and assumptions held by the practitioners in the field. They could add perspectives that are more directly applicable to the research question than generic theories of journalism and publics. The following is a summary of the responses of Tracey Naughton, independent broadcasting consultant with considerable experience from Southern Africa; Sam Phiri, the media

---

[21] After more than a decade of research on community media, Jankowski for instance finds that there are few theoretically-grounded models within the research field (Jankowski 2003).

programme officer of the Open Society Institute of Southern Africa; Shingai Nyoka, Regional Communications Programme Officer, and Lorraine Mkabela, Special Projects Officer, both at AMARC's Africa office[22].

2.9.1 Journalism is the wrong tool

Most of the expert practitioners interviewed do not believe that community radio can be paired with "journalism". Journalism is a word loaded with connotations of professionalism, objectivity, conflict and distance. It elicits a knee-jerk response of non-acceptance from most of the expert practitioners interviewed, as well as from scholars (Rodrigues 2000: 150-151, Gumucio Dagron 2001: 11-12). The main reason is that journalism is seen to lack the elements of empowerment and development. Journalists can produce quality information but they are not equipped to empower the members of the community, which is a common aim of community radio. The power of the press is not enough to create change. Community radio should be seen as development tools as well as media of journalism. Therefore it would be too simple to apply only journalistic approaches. It is not about reporting on a development project, but about being immersed in one.

2.9.2 Standards and access must not get in the way of each other

It follows from the above that the output of the community radio is not as important as the processes. Most of the expert practitioners believe that the journalism produced by community radio should not live up to the same criteria as journalism produced by other media. Community reporters have to have ethics, but should not be asked to live up to the same standards of objectivity as professional journalists. Instead they should focus on debating social change. Mkabela notes, however, that there is confusion about ethics in the community radios, because community journalists must adhere to the same ethics, but are not necessarily educated as journalists, and they therefore get themselves into trouble. Mainstream journalists have unions, but community journalists are more exposed and are often facing dilemmas, for instance about naming suspected criminals. There is also increased community sensitivity about what can be said and how, by the radio. This means that public debate may not be too distanced from the community in which it takes place – both regarding the community's ability to *access* the debate and to *accept* the debate. The conclusion was that community radios need to adhere to some professional standards, but this should not happen at the

---

[22] Interviews conducted 31 March – 01 April 2004 in Johannesburg

expense of excluding some people from producing programmes or hamper people's access by creating a professional distance in the content. Community radio reporters are not journalists, but communicators, and simultaneously the sons and daughters of the community.

2.9.3 Everyone is an expert

Phiri ventures the following definition of community journalism: *"It strives to articulate the needs and worries, aspirations and vibrations of the community to a larger extent than traditional journalism, which focuses more on the leading, powerful sector of community. In traditional journalism, "the leaders talk to us" and we know more about them, than we know about ourselves. In traditional journalism the sources have to be experts. In community radio all are experts; it is accessible to everybody, like air, and supposed to be used by everybody at the same level."* This definition is also closely aligned to the concept of access, as described in section 2.6.3.

2.10 Western journalism versus non-western journalism

At the level of assumptions, there are differences between media types such as public service broadcasting and community radio. But which journalism theory would apply to a study of community radio news journalism? None, argue the community radio proponents. Whereas general theories about news journalism routines and priorities, such as advanced by Gaye Tuchman or Herbert Gans, are thought to apply to media universally unless proven otherwise.

However, media academics and professionals, especially community radio proponents, would recognise or insist that media adapt to their surroundings, and that reporters' work methods and output will vary from place to place. Hence there is a big difference between the community / public service media one can expect to find in Britain or Denmark, and the radios and television stations that are broadcasting in Mozambique or other developing countries. The media are different, the environment is different and the journalism is different. To take an example: A well-known feature of Western news journalism is the news selection criteria: Sensation, conflict, identification, actuality and significance. They have developed in open, democratic societies with a free public debate and a market economy that encouraged competition between private press outlets. But can these news selection criteria also be found in other societies?

2.10.1 Non-western news values - Lange

The difference between media in the West and media in the developing world is an assumption, and also an argument that inscribes itself in the discussions about a "New World Information and Communication Order" (NWICO), which had a brief lifespan in the late 1970s and early 1980s[23]. NWICO was a result of third world governments and intellectuals claiming through UNESCO that the media and communication systems of the world were still colonised by Western values. What they wanted instead was development of national media systems that had roots in local value systems and could withstand the torments of value-loaded information reaching the third world from the first world. Critics of this idea argued that freedom of expression and of the media would be severely restricted in these systems if they were to advance only national values defined by governments in non-democratic regimes.

Nonetheless, the concept sparked interest and lead to studies of how media in developing countries differ from Western media. One of these studies is "The effect of national development on news values", a PhD dissertation submitted by James Lange to University of Minnesota in 1981 (Lange 1981 and 1984). The dissertation may not be a recent or a well-known reference, but it is the only study I have been able to locate, after a thorough search, which explores genres and values in the news in African media as possibly different from Western/dominant genres and values. In addition, Lange uses a content analysis of news texts, which made his study particularly relevant as a reference.

Lange looks for differences in news values between Western nations and Third World nations in a sample of national daily newspapers from USA, England, South Africa, Rhodesia, Kenya, Zambia, Ghana and Uganda. He puts forward 8 hypotheses about the differences in news values:

H1 - The less developed a nation, the more emphasis on direct exhortations in the news.

H2 - The less developed a nation, the more emphasis on news stories set in the future.

H3 - The less developed a nation, the more emphasis on news stories about cooperation.

H4 - The less developed a nation, the more emphasis on positive evaluations of the news subjects (issues).

---

[23] Thoughts and arguments about cultural dumping and national media values survived, but "NWICO" is rarely invoked as a flying banner anymore.

H5 - The less developed a nation, the more emphasis on news stories whose main actors are elites.

H6 - The less developed a nation, the more emphasis on (positive) news of government officials.

H7 - The less developed a nation, the more emphasis on positive evaluations of the news subjects (people).

H8 - The less developed a nation, the more emphasis on news of people rather than events.

Via a common operational definition of national development[24] and a statistical analysis of content, he concludes that *"using this study's relatively arbitrary classification of national development as a predictor of news values is about 54% better than assuming that news values are not related to national development […] Despite the closely related journalistic heritage of all the nations in this sample, which would argue for a strong similarity of news values, each of the news value differences predicted from differences in national development was confirmed"* (Lange 1984: 79, 83).

In Lange's explanation, the differences are caused by socio-political and socio-cultural environments, as well as the economic environments of the media:

"Both groups see their primary purpose as informing the public, but Westerners put a strong secondary emphasis on the entertainment value of news, while Third World journalists put a strong secondary emphasis on the responsibility of the press to mobilize the society for national development [25]. *Western journalists work for profit-making corporations which must compete with a wide range of alternative information sources and the entertainment function is seen as an audience attractant. Third World press outlets have comparatively little competition and are often government-subsidized, hence they have a lower need to attract an audience with entertainment.* [...] *A still less obvious difference comes from the social-psychological environment. The West is in a relatively affluent position of economic and political power which is both comfortable and precarious.* [...] *Third Worlders, on the other hand, are in a state of relative deprivation which is both uncomfortable and tenacious. Negative, conflict-oriented stories are neither comforting nor admonitory, but are reminders of an unpleasant local reality."* (Lange 1984: 70-71)

---

[24] Based on political, economic and informational development indicators (Lange 1984: 72-74)

[25] Still a valid observation: Compare with Mozambique's Press Law that was championed by journalists association. It defines contribution to "consolidation of the national unity and defense of the national interests" as a fundamental principle of the press. (Libombo 2005: 15).

Lange's findings can not serve as a guiding hypothesis for this thesis. He compares and finds differences not only between Western and third world media, but also between commercial and government-owned newspapers, while I only focus on a community radio. He also makes claims about the thoughts and actions of *journalists* based on content analysis alone, which seems to be a great leap between documentation and argument. Still, his findings make statements about the different media landscapes in Western countries versus African countries that are worth considering, when researchers need to determine the applicability of theory in different locations. The findings also point out categories to test for in an analysis of community journalism news content.

2.11 Summary

Community radio is about social change and development. As a media type it is seen to spring from other sources than mainstream media and it has developed in multiple directions globally. There are vast differences between what is considered community radio in Latin America and in Southern Africa. Yet participation, representation, access, empowerment and bottom-up initiatives resound as community radio slogans worldwide, not unlike the global expansion of the 8 principles of BBC public service broadcasting.

As a research field, community radio is dominated by prescriptive theories and celebratory publications. It is a paradox that in spite of many articles written by practitioners, the research field lacks grounded analyses of what community radio is and does – not what it should or could be. This chapter has presented different conceptions of what participation, etc, should be taken to mean in an attempt to prepare the analysis and discussion of the actual conditions at Radio ARCO.

Regarding news production, community radio researchers are largely silent. I therefore resort to general news journalism theory about practices and content. In an American newsroom study Tuchman concludes that news journalism invariably legitimates the existing power structures. But other researchers have been looking for diversity in news content and news values. These quests are included here, because they might open up the field for a definition of community radio news as a separate type of journalism.

Eliasoph uses a field study at a community radio station to demonstrate that news can support alternative agendas. The content is not given in advance if the media consciously chooses to move away from the mainstream. Lange uses a comparative content analysis of newspapers from the West and Africa to show that news values are not the same all over the world. For instance, he finds that African news are more likely to positive, contain direct exhortations and focus on elites.

Thus there are a number of useful elements of the theoretical fields of journalism and community radio that can shed light on what community radio news journalism is Homoine, Mozambique. Yet it seems that none of the theories have sufficient explanatory power in themselves to deal with community radio news journalism. In essence it is a discussion about academic turf, about what this research field covers. Can journalism theory shed light on community radio, and in particular community radio in a non-Western setting? Journalism is seen by community radio proponents to lack the elements of empowerment and development. Therefore, they argue, it would be too simple to apply only journalistic approaches.

However, this does not amount to a complete refusal of journalism practices. For instance, community radio experts state that there is confusion about ethics in the community radios, because community journalists must adhere to the same ethics as journalists, but they are not necessarily well trained in them. There is therefore the risk that they get themselves into trouble, being so close to the community they report about and unable to take cover behind professional values. Gans picks up the discussion from another angle when he argues that 'citizens' and 'journalists' can never be the same. Journalists need their professionalism to make news that is relevant to all society and lay values can therefore not prevail.

In a discussion of community journalism versus professionalism, the community radio experts conclude that community radios need to adhere to some professional standards, but this should not happen at the expense of excluding some people from producing programmes. Nor should it hamper people's access by creating a professional distance in the content. Hence the 'journalism or not' discussion is still unresolved at a theoretical, prescriptive level, and the analysis of Radio ARCO local news is likely to add new elements to the research field.

3. Method

Tracey writes of public service broadcasting literature that *"[t]here is too much theorizing which is more sentimental than analytical, and far too much with no dirt under its fingernails."* (Tracey 1998: xiv). As the previous chapter shows, the same can be said for many community radio articles, whether written by scholars or practitioners.

In contrast to this, I wanted to carry out a ground level, empirical analysis from the field site – an analysis which is open to the non-deduced categories and findings that emerge from empirical data. Such an analysis would identify the building blocks of a theoretical explanation for a new research area, where *"no particular prior theory appears relevant or is* explicable" (Yin 1993: 62). Grounded theory was therefore my first approach to identifying community radio news journalism in Homoine, Mozambique. However, as my study progressed and I noticed the glaring gaps between what was being said of community radio in development contexts, and what was actually happening at Radio ARCO, my approach changed to testing hypotheses about community radio news journalism based on general theory about community radio and journalism, as the previous chapter shows. This testing of general theory is a departure from the grounded theory approach.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) advanced grounded theory in opposition to verification and adjustment of "logico-deductive theory", which they believed placed too much emphasis on the old masters' general theories in stead of generating new theory from the empirical data – a grounded theory that is readily applicable to the research area at hand but also has general value and can be understood and used by non-experts. Grounded theory is first and foremost based on qualitative inquiry and exploration of new insights, whether these come from existing theory or are generated from research close to the data (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 1-18, 251-253). According to researchers within this tradition, grounded research is particularly apt for research of social processes, behaviour and action (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 3, Charmaz 2006: 5). Meanwhile, the focus of my study was initially on processes but soon it also included content and structures, because I eyed an opportunity for more groundbreaking research in these areas. I began with qualitative methods but later realised that a quantitative content analysis would provide the greatest innovation and yield of new data. This analysis required other tools than those associated with grounded theory.

In the following, I will therefore not claim to be using grounded theory as a guideline throughout, but still some elements remain from the original approach: Accepting that the outcome is open-ended and unpredictable, and that the study may take new directions. Not least, I let the inquiry and analysis be guided by continual coding and reconsideration of the empirical data as new insights emerged from the field.

In this chapter I will present the methodological considerations I had before and during the field visits. The design of the study will be laid out and I will discuss the design and application of the chosen research tools. Finally I will present the basis for the analysis in the following chapter.

3.1 Study design

There are several routes I could have taken to identify community radio news journalism in Homoine. One approach could have been to compare the journalism at Radio ARCO with other media in Mozambique, to see if it is at all possible to distinguish community radio journalism from journalism in other types of media. Limitations on time and resources prevented this comparative approach in full, however. What I did was to make a visit to Radio Moçambique Inhambane[26], where I interviewed the manager and two journalists. From them I also received the broadcasting schedule to get an overall idea of the content. This to be able to provide a limited contextual reference to "typical radio" as the community in Homoine knew it from before Radio ARCO was established. But in the main part, I went for the more inductive, single case study approach, and tried not to reach findings about Radio ARCO by deducing them from theory or comparison. My field visits were carried out within sky-high walls around my case area, the district of Homoine, which I erected to help me concentrate on exploring Radio ARCO as it presented itself to me.

The field visits took place between January and May 2004. The visits lasted from one day (in the beginning) to a week (at the end). In between the visits, I would retire to the provincial capital Inhambane to get a break, absorb the impressions, read up on issues and methods, and take care of other assignments and practical issues like visa extensions. I needed the breaks from the field, but I also sensed that the field needed a break from me. The breaks between visits, whether it was a few days or weeks, were a precaution to not overstay my welcome and exhaust my sources of information.

---

[26] The only real alternative to Radio ARCO in Homoine, as newspapers do not reach the district (nor are they really accessible to a community where the majority is semi-literate)

3.1.1 Units of analysis

To answer the research question – "What characterises community radio news journalism in Homoine" – I follow the routes taken by other studies of journalism, understood as content and practices. The theoretical framework of journalism research in the previous chapter was based on studies of news routines (Tuchman, Gans) and news values (Lange). I have therefore chosen to do a three-pronged analysis of:

1. The radio's news output,
2. The radio's internal environment and editorial practices,
3. The external environment of the radio – the relationships between Radio ARCO and its community (where traditional media studies look at reception, I focus on interaction)

To encompass these three areas of analysis, this case study has three units of analysis: The primary unit is the news manuscripts. The secondary unit is the words and actions of staff and volunteers at Radio ARCO, and the tertiary unit is the statements and actions of the broader community in Homoine district.

It is relatively easy to delimitate the research area in a radio case study, as the radio will usually have a clearly defined location (the station building) and a clearly defined target area, whether it is Denmark for Danish national public radio, or Homoine district for a community radio. The actual broadcast range may differ from the target area, i.e. go further than Denmark's borders or not reach all of Homoine district due to low transmitter power and difficult topography. But I focus on the radio's relationship with its community/public, which is defined as the whole district of Homoine. The geographic district borders will then also serve to delimitate the tertiary unit of analysis, Homoine community[27]. "Community statements and actions" is an airy concept, so to put it in operational terms, the units of analysis will be the words and actions of people in community spaces (roads, *chapas* - public transportation, markets, sports fields, schools, bars).

---

[27] But the geographical area of the community is not the given, natural area it would seem, when researching community institutions and structures in Mozambique, or Africa for that matter. The community also includes a quasi-diaspora of migrant workers, e.g. miners in South Africa, and the radio provides special programming for their families. In a strict sense, my unit of analysis should include them as well, but this was not a practical option.

In community radio theory, the boundaries between the latter two units – the radio and the community spaces – will be blurred. I expect this to be confirmed by the accounts of people's perceptions about the radio, and by the staff and volunteers, who are both visible members in their community and makers of the radio. Likewise, the radio station itself is assumed to be community arena in itself, a site where other activities besides radio transmission take place (community meetings and other events).

3.1.2 Working questions: Operative definitions of research question elements

What characterises community radio news journalism in Homoine? To put it in operative terms for an investigation, my first answer is that it is both the output (news) and the routines (journalism) behind the output.

To narrow down the definition of community radio news, the analysis of news output will focus on the news broadcasts, which are aired 12:00-12:05 and 13.30-14.00 on Radio ARCO. This is the Portuguese segment, one of four different language segments on Radio ARCO. More on the considerations regarding language will follow in section.
It is arguable whether the news slots are the only sources of news. Community news could maybe also be found in other programs – such as funeral announcements or interpersonal messages. But local news was chosen to see about the 'journalism or not' claim, and to analyze one of the most popular and listened-to genres of the community radio.

The first set of working questions concerns the "news" in community radio news journalism: What are the news stories about? Which genre is used to tell them?

As stated in the previous chapter, participation, representation and access are key ingredients in community radio. The main question here is the participation of whom? I need to link this to the focus on news journalism routines, and then it becomes imperative to take a closer look at the community radio news reporters. Since volunteers and non-professionals are a defining feature of community radio, the journalism output cannot automatically be assumed to follow standards of the profession. The individual imprint of the reporter is potentially more apparent, and therefore the analysis should include a closer look at who the reporters are, than what is custom in news content analysis, where the impact of the reporter is considered minimal in comparison to the impact of professional norms. In the context of

community radio, however, to over-emphasize the individual and not to consider the cultural context could be a grave error. Both community radio and the African context would place the collective over the individual in any analysis. I therefore find it important to look at the community reporters, not in terms of individual, psychological factors, but as social beings and representatives of segments in their community. The same consideration goes for the sources of community radio news journalism.

The next set of working questions concerns the "journalism" in community radio news journalism, and the profile of reporters and sources:

- Who produces community radio news journalism? How is it produced?
- Who get to speak as sources in community radio news journalism?

The final set of working questions deals with the "community" in community radio news journalism – the representation of the community and its access to the radio:

- Where are the news stories about?
- Which groups in the community do the reporters and sources belong to?
- Are there community structures of feedback and influence on the output?
- Do all community members have access to voice their opinions about the broadcasting in relevant community structures?

3.1.3 Research tools

The study was designed on the assumption that if data collected from different sources with different methods point in the same direction, then that will be a reliable basis from which to draw conclusions. Using both quantitative and qualitative approaches would also lay a broad foundation for the findings.

Epistemologically this thesis refers more to a positivist than a constructivist tradition. I believe to a certain degree that empirical data are "pure" if the methods are applied correctly – meaning that the data I have collected are objectively present in the research field. The study could have been replicated by someone else who collected data with the same methods I did, during the same period. It is important to keep in mind that research fields involving people are dynamic; developments occur and data change (hopefully), and therefore it is only possible to replicate studies within a certain timeframe. The data will, however, point to the same findings regardless of who collected them, so long as the methods are applied with the care they require. In this sense, I do not believe that the data were constructed in the interaction between

researcher and subject, and can only be considered true for this thesis. Rather, they speak of the radio as it is, in more objective terms.

That being said, it is clear that my presence as a foreign, exotic researcher in this field had an impact on the interview situation, on the statements collected, and on what I had access to observe. My research may also have left an imprint on the data and the human sources that I had access to. For instance, survey questions can lead the respondent to think of issues in a different, lasting way. Digging into the field can thus leave traces behind on the particular sample. It can therefore be useful to think of data collection in terms of "layers" in the research field. My claim is that anyone with access to the same layer that I accessed would be able to replicate these findings. Possibly a researcher with access to a deeper layer in the research field would be able to expand and further substantiate these findings. The general trend, I believe, would still be the same.

Because I was entering new research territory, I used a grounded approach to determining the exact field of research. There were many other interesting research questions I could have asked about Radio ARCO and its community, and I explored several avenues before selecting community radio news journalism as my focus area. My first field visits were spent on this exploration of the research field and assessing ideas for the design of a research strategy.

Grounded theory requires that the researcher is open to new ideas and directions throughout the collection of empirical data. During the field visits I had to revise my hypotheses as I went along, and use the new knowledge that emerged to adjust my research questions. I therefore kept logs of my observations and of how the data collection was going, continually checking if my questions had been answered and adjusting the following data collection to those answers. This approach is also used in the analysis of the empirical data.

I was interested in learning about community radio news journalism in terms of the facts, experiences with it and perceptions of it. I was only to a lesser degree interested in attitudes towards community radio news journalism (is it good or bad), so the study was designed to be more exploratory and mapping than evaluating.

The types of data likely to be available for this study were verbal statements, documents and observations. Given the time frame and my limited "roots" in

Homoine, I went with conventional methods from media studies: Observation, interviews, focus groups, survey and content analysis.

3.2 Observation

"[T]he real business of radio stations does not happen in administrative offices, but in front of stations, where listeners arrive on foot, bike, and motorcycle to place announcements, gossip with staff, shop from itinerant merchants, and generally conduct their daily affairs." (Tower 2005: 8)

I wanted to begin my data collection by spending time at the radio station to get an idea of the routines and the people there. Besides recording useful observations, my intention was also to establish my presence as a familiar face at the station, and that I would become a more trustworthy interviewer, when I began interviewing. I expected to have an effect on the sources I interviewed. Reactions to my skin colour were swiftly followed by reactions to my gender, nationality and foreign dialect of Portuguese. This was an important reason for beginning data collection slowly, with observation for a while before beginning the interviews, to let the dust settle a bit and let people get used to my presence. I also spent time in various public places (roads, chapas, and markets) with the same purpose.

There are several types of observation, i.e. from an outsider's perspective or from a participant's perspective. I chose the outsider's perspective because it was the closest available to me. There was not enough time or resources to make me a regular volunteer at the station, and I did not want to upset and influence the radio station's routines with my non-local practices. It would have influenced my findings to a higher degree than the mere presence of a researcher at the station and in the district. I also valued the independence and the liberty to come and go higher than the insights I might have received as an insider working for the station at set hours.

I would typically spend a few hours in the morning, afternoon and sometimes evening at the radio station making observations and more or less casual conversation.

My observations, conversations and reflections were recorded in logs every day during my noon break (siesta) or at night. They were a useful tool to work out the developments in my continued relationship with sources. The logs also illustrate my learning experience and revisions of my research agenda.

3.3 Interview

I conducted semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with radio management, staff and volunteers. I wanted to discover the news routines and the patterns of participation so I asked them to explain: What is community radio to you? Who become volunteers? How is the community participation mobilised? Who decides what goes on air? Who are the sources and what goes on air as local news?

In accordance with the grounded theory approach, I approached some of the topics in a circular way and asked indirect questions or rephrased my questions to be more open or closed at another time and setting. This approach was chosen both to vary the conversations I had with people every day at the radio, and also to see if the replies would differ according to the manner in which the question was asked. It may be a more journalistic/"ad hoc" method than an academic method, but it is one that checks the reliability of the data. It was also a necessary approach to collecting data about controversial issues in this cultural context, where people often shy away from answering a direct, "hard" question.

3.4 Focus group discussion[28]

I prepared four focus group discussions in the outskirts of the district. The intention was to supplement the wealth of qualitative interviews I had from the town centre of the district, where the radio and everything else is situated. With generous logistical aid of a veterinary NGO I would get in contact with gatherings of peasants, who are the largest, poorest, least educated and geographically most remote group in the community. I assumed that they would provide an end point on the scale of participation in Radio ARCO, where the other end point of the scale would be the volunteer community reporters with daily access to the radio, whom I already had good contact to at this stage.

A focus group discussion is a good method to ascertain people's knowledge and perceptions of the radio. Among the questions for the focus groups were these:

- Can you tell me the difference between Radio ARCO and RMI?
- Who decides what the radio transmits?
- How can you get influence on what the radio transmits?

---

[28] See the focus group interview guides in Appendix 4.

- Are there any groups who do not speak on the radio?
- Do the journalists go out into the district to produce programmes?

But the focus groups did not yield the discussions I had hoped for. There were several reasons for this:

Firstly, some of the zones turned out to be outside the broadcasting range of the community radio (Nhaulane, Pembe), or had only very poor reception (Chizapela). So the focus groups were unable to discuss some of the questions on content.

Secondly, there was no real discussion in the groups. Usually one person would rely and the others nod in agreement. Even when they provided answers I knew to be false.

As a consequence of this failure to generate reliable data, I revised my research strategy and decided not to include the replies of the focus groups in my analysis. It served to inform the elaboration of the survey questionnaire in stead.

3.5 Survey[29]

3.5.1 Design

In the survey, I could make deduction from chosen variables, and I was able to test hypotheses elaborated during the field visits up until that point. The hypotheses were based on the observations, interviews and focus group discussions that went before.

There are special considerations involved in conducting a survey:

"First-time researchers often rush into producing questionnaires without sufficiently considering what is involved. This can be dangerous. Issuing a questionnaire is a political act because questionnaires are not neutral. They can influence their respondents and alert them to ideas they had not thought of before […] The basic advice is: do not use a questionnaire unless you have a good reason for doing so." (McNiff et al 2004: 121-122).

I had not one, but two good reasons for using a questionnaire:

1. As the focus groups revealed, I would be better off asking individuals than groups if I wanted perspectives of different parts of the community, divided into demographic categories (age, gender, residency, education, etc.). The reason for survey and not individual qualitative interviews was that a set questionnaire could be used to

---

[29] See the survey questionnaire in Appendix 5a and 5b.

compare statements and make generalisations about community interaction with and knowledge about the radio.

2. The survey questionnaire is a culturally acceptable and familiar way of collecting information about the community and the radio in Homoine. Survey questionnaires are used by radio staff as a favoured monitoring tool, and presumably by other development projects as well. I would be able to employ it as well, although I still needed to emphasize my independence of the radio station.

In the survey I sought answers to questions about people's knowledge about the radio, how accessible the radio is to them and whether they are involved in it. I was also interested in finding out whether there are some groups who have more influence on the community journalism than others and whether the radio was seen to be part of the government or not. The questions therefore cover a broader spectrum than community radio news, such as participation, representation and access – main characteristics of community radio, in theory at least. Some categories and types of questions were chosen in consultation with ARCO's audience surveys to enable me to make comparisons if I chose to, and to enable ARCO's research unit to make use of the data I collected. A secondary purpose of the survey was to generate data of use to the radio, i.e. an audience survey of the "silent population" that the volunteer radio researchers had planned for in their biannual monitoring schedule, but which they did not normally reach.

The questionnaire (see Appendix 5a and 5b) is divided into several parts: In the first part, respondents are identified according to their personal data (gender, age, education, occupation, residency) and their listening habits. In the second part, I ask the respondents about their view on the radio's relationship with the community in terms of target groups and influences. Finally I ask them about their own experiences with the radio.

In hindsight, the questionnaire ought to have included a question on personal experience with membership of other organisations/associations. This could influence attitudes and knowledge of ways to influence the community radio. In some survey interviews the answer to this question was given anyway, but it is not possible to conclude anything about the rest of the respondents.

Survey sample

The sample is an approximate stratified random sample (cf. Gunter 2002:217) based on quotas of gender (25-25), age (youths, adults, elderly), occupation (peasants, traders, students, teachers) and residency (semi-urban/rural, various localities).

Youths cover ages 12-26, Adults cover ages 27-50, and Elderly cover ages 50+. The age groups follow the divisions made in Radio ARCO's own audience surveys[30]. I made a conscious oversampling of adults and elderly compared to the distribution in the total population because I wanted the views of the groups I did not meet at the station.

As the exact composition of the survey sample was not designed in advance, the sample will be presented along with the survey findings in the analysis chapter.

Construct validity

There is no point in asking questions that the respondents can not give the answers to. This is the problem of construct validity – do the respondents understand the questions and the answers, and are they able to make the right choice in their reply? Is the survey constructed in a way that the results can answer the questions raised by the researcher? With a sample such as this, it is a potential worry. The respondents represented different levels of education, and some were less articulate and less able to grasp the more complex questions ("what if"-questions) than were others.

The questionnaire was constructed to accommodate two types of interview situations: The open/articulate respondent and the reserved/less articulate respondent. The more complex or sensitive questions thus had two reply columns: one for spontaneous answers and one for "forced" answers, i.e. answer that were the result of the interviewer's probing.

3.5.2 Execution

After a pre-test on five respondents, and adjustment of the questionnaire, the survey was carried out over 4 days, where I walked and took chapas around the district with a translator. Questions and replies were exchanged verbally. I had different translators - on the first day one of the radio volunteers, and the following days a young teacher, who provided excellent assistance in translating and interpreting the questions and

---

[30] Although the audience surveys have bigger samples and more subdivisions, e.g. 27-32, 33-38, 39-44, 45-50

answers. His manner put the respondents very much at ease and this counteracted any initial reserve they might have towards the foreign researcher. I sensed that the first translator sought to guide me towards certain respondents, but on the following days the second translator let me pick the sample without interference. I am therefore confident that overall the survey replies are as uncontaminated by either the researcher or the translator as can reasonably be expected of this kind of survey.

All the respondents knew Radio ARCO, but 2 of them were unable to listen to it because they lived outside the reach of the antenna. These 2 were thus unable to answer questions about content, but they could answer questions about the radio's relationship to its environment.

3.5.3 Final meeting: Presentation and discussion of survey results

Presentation and discussion of the preliminary survey results with the community can be a good assessment of the validity of the results:

"qualitative researchers call for more continuous and contextual assessments of both the research process and its findings […] aspects of validity [measuring what I wanted to measure] and reliability [others would be able to reach the same conclusions] have been brought together in notions of pragmatic or communicative validity, emphasizing the process of validation" (Jensen 2002: 267-268)

To wrap up the survey, I called for a meeting at the end of my field visits to present my first results and discuss them with representatives of the focus groups and some of the participants in the survey (chosen among the most frank respondents). It provided the hoped-for discussion and useful insights into how community members view the way they are represented in the community radio. The main points from the discussion will be forwarded in the analysis chapter.

3.5.4 Analysis out of the field: Extracting patterns

Following Yin (2003:26-27), I will organise the analysis of the survey to describe two potential patterns/explanations to the data trends, i.e. community involvement as direct participation or as representation, and show that the data matches one pattern better than the other (for instance, as regards representation: low degree of participation but high degree of contentment among the people surveyed).

Significance

I use Margaret Peil's guidelines from *Social Science Research Methods: A Handbook for Africa* (1995) to determine the significance of the results of both the survey analysis and the content analysis. Significance levels are the various minimum differences there must exist between percentages for them to be statistically significant. For instance, if you ask a group of 50 people a yes-no question, there should be a difference of at least 14 respondents for the result to be significant. If 30 reply yes, while 20 reply no, the majority on the yes-side is not significant (the difference between yes and no are only 10 people). But if 35 reply yes, while 15 reply no, the yes-majority is significant (the difference is 20 people). The minimum differences needed for "significance" to apply are determined by the size of the sample and by whether the answers/cases cluster around the middle (2 types of answers such as yes/no) or towards either extreme (the respondents had several answers to choose from).

The exact calculations and statistical considerations can be found in Appendix 6. As a rule of thumb for the survey results in general, I should be able to claim significance if there is a majority of at least 15-17 respondents in one of the answers.

Determining the divisive factor

The primary aim of the survey is to compare the replies of all the respondents – out of 50 random respondents, how many answer yes and how many answer no? But within this stratified sample, I may also be able to identify groups of respondents who share a characteristic and choose the same reply. With a match such as "students are more likely to voice disagreement" I will have more scope to compare patterns of radio participation within the community.

But in this sample it may be difficult to identify the one characteristic that marks a difference in replies. For instance, I expect to see a gender difference in education levels. This means that a significant difference in replies from men and women might as well be a significant difference between education levels and vice versa. Or there could be mixed influences from both gender and level of education. Based on my observations, however, I suspect that the level of education is more important than gender as a dividing factor in attitudes and behaviour towards the community radio among the respondents. But how can I be sure? The analysis could test this assumption by crosschecking between 5 female students, 5 male students, 5 female peasants and 5 male peasants. But then there is another overlap of characteristics to look out for: the age difference between students (youth) and peasants (adults-elderly) may also be a factor.

In the analysis I will therefore provide breakdowns and crosschecks of those community groupings that I suspect overlap with different patterns of participation or representation, whether it be age, education, occupation, gender or residency.

3.6 Content selection and analysis

Unlike the survey and the interview, the final tool used in this study – news content analysis – has no precedents in either Mediamoz' own studies (Jallov 2005: 5) or in academic studies of community radio. This makes it a particularly interesting method, and the data it generates will be presented in more length and depth than the other analyses, both because the content is the primary analytical focus of this thesis, and because the method is new to the research field.

3.6.1 Design

The content analysis aims at describing general patterns or trends in local news stories at Radio ARCO. It will also be useful for an assessment of the representation and participation of certain groups in the community that can be compared with the findings of the other methods.

The content analysis is the only method used in this study, which was only carried out after exiting the field. Thus it did not influence the design of the other research tools (observation, interviews, focus groups and survey), but it was informed by the preliminary findings from the other methods. For instance these observations I noted during a visit to the radio 06-04-2004:

"Written news stories are typically one print page long. Usually there is a summary at the end with many repetitions. They seem to be more announcements (lack of debate) than angled news stories with several sources. [...]
14.30-15: I read more printed (usually signed Hussene Algy, but also Candido Isaias, Tomas João Cumbe and Jossias Nhasavel) and hand-written (anonymous) news manuscripts from 2004. I notice that many of them begin with the governor/OMM/Department of Agriculture appealing to parts of the population to do something (pay more attention to the schooling of their children, support OMM's cause, plant drought-resistant crops).
What is the difference between news, press releases, public information and paid announcements?

There are lead-ups to events over several broadcasts, e.g. the Governor declares his intent to visit and inaugurate new administration buildings in the district next week – Tomorrow the Governor will arrive – Today the Governor will visit and inaugurate new buildings – The Governor has visited…
There are repetitions of and pride in "our district Homoine", or "in the province including our district Homoine."

The questions asked in this part of the analysis deals with:

What are the news stories about and which genre is used to tell them? This is a way to answer my research question about the characteristics of news journalism at Radio ARCO.

Who are the news stories about, and who are the sources? This will answer the working questions about participation and representation of some groups more than others. The sources of the news will indicate not only to me but also to the listeners: who gets to speak? Who can and does participate in broadcasting to and about the people in Homoine district?

Where do the news stories originate from, and is there a balanced coverage of the whole district? This is also a way to answer the working questions about participation and representation: Is the radio really for and about the whole district (community)?

Sample
The content analysis is based on an incomplete and possibly biased sample of news manuscripts from 03 January 2004 to 10 May 2004 - 108 items in total (see Appendix 6 for an overview).

The manuscripts were collected from a pile on a bookshelf in Radio ARCO's common room. Some manuscripts were typed; others were scribbled by hand. Some manuscripts had headlines with date, author and news slot; others had no such identification. For some dates there were 5 news items; other dates were completely missing from the collection.

In short, it was not possible to systematically or randomly extract a sample from a complete, indexed archive of news items from 01 January 2004 until 10 May 2004, because no such archive existed. This means that the sample does not lend itself well to statistical analysis; the results would simply not be valid. Instead, the analysis could be called *a quantitative study of tendencies/types*. I am looking for typical characteristics of

the local news items at this community radio station - features that characterize the majority of the news items.

Although I don't claim statistical coherence for this study, I will keep Peil's guidelines regarding significance of the findings in mind (see section 4.5 and Appendix 7). In this sample the difference between the most frequent answer and second-most frequent answer in any category should be at least 30, if there are only two reply categories to the question (e.g. yes/no). If there are 3 or more categories (e.g. morning, midday, afternoon, evening), the difference between the most frequent reply and the second-most frequent reply should be at least 20-25.

3.6.2 Special consideration: language

A special consideration regarding an analysis of news content is language. Although there are 4 daily news broadcasts in 3 languages, the sampled news manuscripts are all in Portuguese. But this does not mean that my study is limited to the 12:00 news broadcast or that it can say nothing about the other news broadcasts, which are potentially different.

The reason why the sampled news manuscripts are in Portuguese can be found in the radio's routines: Reporters get their news stories in the morning and write them out for the 12:00 news in Portuguese, which is the first edition of the local news. The editors told me that the news broadcasts at 18:00, 6:00 and 9:00 simply translates the local news from Portuguese into Xitswa and Chope. Thus the first and only edition, originally in Portuguese and then translated, usually lasts until 12:00 the following day and sometimes the following days. Rarely, if ever, do the reporters have so many news stories on their hands during a single day, that they make replacements and cut a story from the selection before it has run at least one day. Similarly, if the story should develop, these developments rarely happen within the same day, or if they do, the radio may not get the update right away, so there is usually no updated material to make a second edition of the news. Therefore it is safe to assume that the Portuguese manuscripts show us Radio ARCO local news as they are throughout the day.

One could also question the relevance of analysing local news in Portuguese, when the Portuguese section is only 3 hours out of a total 13 hours broadcast every day. In fact Radio ARCO broadcasts mostly in Xitswa (7 hours divided in 2 sections with 2 local news broadcasts) - so who is even listening in Portuguese?

From previous experience in Mozambique I knew that most people speak several languages – Portuguese and local – and they often shift between them, also in radio broadcasts. Language does not seem to be a barrier to participation or access.

The preliminary findings of the survey also backed up the relevance of the Portuguese news slot by showing that most respondents listen in Portuguese as well as in local languages and that many listen at noon and in the afternoon, which means that they would be listening to the Portuguese section.

Ethnographic content analysis

The results of the study can only be as good as the questions asked of the data. The questions I used to code the news manuscripts are comprehensive, overlapping and in some cases almost identical (crosschecking). I have drawn on principles of reflective/ethnographic content analysis (Altheide 1987), which allows coding of relationships at the level of the entire sample *as well as* at the level of each unit. This means that to answer most questions, I have categorised and counted elements in each news manuscript, and the news manuscript was my unit of analysis. But to answer some questions, such as the relationship between one news story and another - are they part of a sequence or not - the whole sample of 108 manuscripts has become my unit of analysis.

Ethnographic content analysis is advantageous as a method for exploring new/unknown types of content: The coding process is perceived as circular, not linear, which encourages comparisons across the sample and developing inductive categories/values from the specific context of the sample. Defining and re-defining indicators and categories will be an exercise in abstraction and probably yield a good interplay between empirical data and theory. This method then makes a good match to the overall approach of grounded theory used in this thesis.

3.7 Summary

The design of the study is the result of an integration of approaches from two academic traditions: Journalism and International Development Studies. The study employs various methods, because it is believed that collection of data from various sources and by various methods will create a solid foundation for conclusions. The research tools are mainly derived from traditional media research, but they are applied and adjusted with a consideration of the cultural and social context derived from development studies. Separately and together, the various methods – observation, interview, focus

group discussions, survey and content analysis – have yielded patterns of answers to the working questions that guide the analysis:

- What are the news stories about? Which genre is used to tell them?

- Who produces community radio news journalism? How is it produced?

- Who get to speak as sources in community radio news journalism?

- Where are the news stories about?

- Which groups in the community do the reporters and sources belong to?

- Are there community structures of feedback and influence on the output?

- Do all community members have access to voice their opinions about the broadcasting in relevant community structures?

Some methods yielded more important data than others. The focus group discussions provided little useful data, while the findings of the content analysis will probably present the most relevant and innovative basis for a discussion of what community journalism is.

4. Presentation and analysis of data

This chapter presents the data collected through observation and interviews at Radio ARCO, a survey among community members and a content analysis of news manuscripts. But first I will give an overview of the specificities of Radio ARCO by comparing it on central parameters to the public radio station that the community listened to before Radio ARCO was established.

4.1 A brief overview of Radio ARCO versus Radio Moçambique Inhambane

Although community radios are meant by their proponents to be alternatives to national public radio, such as nearby Radio Moçambique Inhambane, the similarities between Radio ARCO and RMI seem to be greater than the differences between them, as this table demonstrates:

Table 4.1 Similarities and differences between Radio ARCO and Radio Moçambique Inhambane

Comparison	Radio ARCO	Radio Moçambique Inhambane
Location	Central Homoine	Central Inhambane
Languages	Portuguese, Xitswa, Chope	Portuguese, Xitswa, Bitonga, Chope
Programming	Is based on audience surveys.	Is based on audience surveys.
	News	News
	Various information	Various information
	Health	Health
		Economy and development
	Women	Women
		Elderly
	Music	Music
	Youth	Youth
		Tourism
	Tales and stories	Old ways and costums
		Weekend calendar
	Civic education	Electoral civic education
	Obituaries	Obituaries
	Magazine (culture)	Magazine (culture)
		Exchange with other provinces
	Call-in shows	Call-in shows
	Music requests	Music requests
	Greetings	Greetings
	Sports	Sports
	Radio drama	Radio drama
		Quiz
	Interview of the week	
	Environment	
	Agriculture	
Audience feedback	Letters, calls, visits	Letters, calls, visits
Sources	Government and population	Government and population
News	Short and extended editions	Short and extended editions

	Local news from the district	Provincial news, news from other provinces, national news
	Relays national news	
Hours	13 hours from 05:00-15:00, 18:00-21:00. Each language has a 3-4 hour section; Xitswa has two sections	19 hours from 05:00-24:00, 24 hours in the weekend. Each language has a 2-5 hour section; Portuguese and Xitswa have two sections.
Staff	6 paid staff, 30 volunteers	21 paid staff
Staff training	Radio Moçambique, UNESCO	Radio Moçambique, university studies
Hardware	1 motorcycle used by the coordinator 1 computer Telephone, fax and photocopier 1 studio	2 cars 4 computers Telephone, fax and photocopier Several studios
Financing	Foreign donors	State budget, foreign donors
Objective	"To inform, educate and entertain" "For the community, by the community, of the community"	"To inform, educate and entertain"
Formal management structure	A board is elected by the members at the annual general assembly in the Association of the Community Radio (ARCO). The board appoints managing staff: An administrator, a coordinator and a mobiliser	The chain of command goes from the Prime Minister through the Cabinet of Information to Radio Moçambique. Decisions about Radio Moçambique Inhambane are made in Maputo.
Range of signal	FM, app. 70 km. To the south, east and west outside the district, to the north it does not cover all the district (5 of 8 localities)	FM and MW South until South Africa, north until Tête Province, west until Zambia

The table was compiled on the basis of visits and interviews with Radio ARCO's board, coordinator and volunteers, and the manager and staff at Radio Moçambique Inhambane.

It shows that programming, objectives and audience feedback appear to be similar on the surface, whereas the biggest differences are the resources available for production, the signal range and the formal management structure. This is not what one would expect – the programming, objectives and audience feedback are central areas where community radios supposedly differ from state-owned and commercial radio stations, in theory (see chapter 2). Is there cause then to distinguish between community journalism and other types of journalism? Between Radio ARCO and the public service broadcaster? I only note the question here, but will return to it in the discussion (chapter 5).

4.2 Observations and interviews

This section is based on my observations at the radio station and interviews and informal conversations with the radio board, staff and volunteers. I used observation and interviews to collect data about the radio's external environment and internal practices, more so than about actual news content (see content analysis in section 4.4). Therefore the questions I asked and the observations I noted have a broader scope than

just the news output and practices. I wanted to discover the journalism routines, but also the general patterns of participation and representation of the community, to be able to situate the news journalism within its specific, local context:

- Who produces community radio - which groups in the community do the reporters belong to? How are they trained? How is news produced? Where does the content come from?
- Are there community structures of feedback and influence on the output? Do all community members have access to voice their opinions about the broadcasting in relevant community structures? How is the community participation mobilised? Who decides what goes on air?

The replies and observations, including their strengths and weaknesses and how these weigh on the findings, will be discussed with the results of the content analysis and the survey analysis in the next chapter.

4.2.1. Who are the volunteers?

In the words of Imane Aly Baraca, the president of Radio ARCO, the approximately 20 volunteers are the sons of the community and the board members are their fathers (Imane Aly Baraca, 11-05-2004). I will present the perceptions of the board and its role further down, and begin this chapter with a description of those who put in the day-to-day work at the radio without a salary, the community reporters.

According to the mobiliser Jossias Nhasavel, the volunteers come from Homoine town and areas close to the town. There are some who originate from other parts of the district, but they now reside in the town (Jossias Nhasavel 11-05-2004). During my visits, I got to know the 3-4 male, adult volunteers in their 30s and 40s who came into the radio station on a daily basis. Further down in the radio hierarchy, I met 15-20 younger volunteers in their teens to mid-twenties, mostly male students, who came in a few times a week to meet up with their editorial groups and to participate in weekly journalism classes at the radio conducted by the mobiliser, the coordinator or one of the adult volunteers.

A quick round of questions to the volunteers after a journalism class revealed that most of them are from the town, go to school and have joined the radio to work with a specific area (sports, culture, agriculture, etc) or because they have a dream of

becoming a radio presenter. Some of them said that they are here to learn. It is not surprising that they should view the radio station as a free education and training facility. The radio gives journalism classes to the volunteers, trains them in conducting audience surveys, and once in a while they are selected to attend UNESCO courses and seminars in Maputo, Chimoio or other cities. These are some of the visible benefits of volunteering for Radio ARCO. In fact, the board has decided on rules about benefits for the volunteers and signed contracts with some of them about what they are entitled to while working for Radio ARCO. The deal includes training in various areas, lunch, reimbursement of trips out in the district for the radio, aid for medicines up to a certain amount, and reduced fees for using the radio's services such as the photocopier and sending greetings. The volunteers have also lobbied to get aid for relatives' funerals - a significant burden on families in the Southern African AIDS/Malaria/Tuberculosis pandemics - but have not succeeded so far (ARCO Annual report 2002-2003).

Thus volunteering is not just about making radio for fun. Both young and adult volunteers see the radio work as a way to improve their life options, not only by hoping to move on to paid work at Radio ARCO or other radios, but also by becoming known in the community and getting contacts in government, NGOs and among community leaders. Radio reporters get to know and communicate information of value to the community and they have access to meetings that are closed to other people. Most of the students involved in the radio use it as a stepping-stone to prepare themselves for life outside Homoine. I tried to find out how and when they became volunteers at the radio. Some came to the radio because a brother or a friend was already involved. And some came because the radio advertised its need for new volunteers the year before. It seems that it helps to know someone at the radio beforehand, but those without affiliations can join too.

While the radio wants to appear open to anyone, there are some skills required of those who get regular access to the radio. Tomas João Cumbe, one of the adult volunteers, say that because the radio lacks means of transport it is hard to involve people from outside the town, and they only come rarely on their own accord. But Radio ARCO has established a network of people elsewhere in the district who contribute stories from their communities (Tomas João Cumbe 06-04-2004). Was there really a system of bush correspondents in place, I wondered, because I never saw any sign of this during my visits to the station or elsewhere in the district? But Manuel Pascoal, the assistant administrator, confirmed to me that in addition to the volunteers who come to the radio station, other people in the district contribute stories from where they are.

Traders at sales points for personal greetings also function as correspondents and gather stories from their locality, which the radio collects along with the greetings. Teachers and local presidents write down what is going on in their area and send their stories to the radio with the next person going to town. According to Manuel Pascoal, most of these correspondents have had basic journalism training to be able to identify stories. But they are not yet at the point where correspondents touch radio equipment. All stories are edited and turned into sounds and voices by the regular volunteers and staff at the radio.

I asked Manuel Pascoal, who could become a volunteer? *"Anyone who can talk"*, he replied, but added that there is a lot of reading and writing at the radio, so some people are excluded. He said that they try to find a place at the radio for the illiterate, but he couldn't tell me where this place might be (Manuel Pascoal 06-04-2004). During my visits, I did not meet anyone at the radio who was not literate and articulate, not least in Portuguese.

4.2.2. News training

The volunteers are mostly young students, so they come with certain skills, but they still have to be trained on site in how to work at Radio ARCO. As president Imane Aly Baraca had told me, some of the staff members had been trained by Radio Moçambique and UNESCO to give lessons to the volunteers about different aspects of journalism and radio broadcasting. Towards the end of my stay, I sat in on one of the journalism lessons for the volunteers. The topic was "Noticias" ("News") and the following are my field notes about the lesson:

"17 volunteers have joined Jossias Nhasavel's lecture on "News". There are 3 women, all the volunteers are young, and one is just a boy. News, Jossias Nhasavel begins in a firm tone, is the primary journalistic genre. It revolves around who, what, where, when. It is about creative presentation and selection. For instance, what is important health news? Is 1-2 malaria deaths a day an important piece of news, he asks the volunteers. There is debate and a vote on the priority of this news item. The volunteers giggle as they raise their hands and Jossias Nhasavel rounds of the vote by stressing that these debates are a creative way to work and that they should take place in all the editorial groups. New question: How do you write creatively for listeners? Is it possible to make listeners "see" the news? At first, the volunteers answer no, but Jossias Nhasavel persists, and tells them a story about what he experienced the night before - are they still not able to "see" the story? He guides to volunteers to conclude that in e.g. health stories,

those who die of malaria should be given faces by indicating how many men, women and young people we are talking about. Our news should not be technical, he says. Does anyone have an example of a news story, Jossias Nhasavel asks. A volunteer tells a story about a football team that is going to play on a field with different dimensions than what they are used to. The volunteer says that it is his job to show the difference instead of just telling the listeners that it is a problem that team x must play on field y, because it is too implicit and the listeners cannot visualize it. Jossias Nhasavel praises the volunteer and asks for more examples. Silence. He asks if they should conduct the journalism lessons in a different way. A volunteer says that they are only still pupils and they prefer to listen. Another begins to say that the silence only means that they haven't prepared stories, but he is interrupted by someone who begins to narrate. Jossias Nhasavel is interrupted by something happening in the reception, and then he returns and continues briefly in Xitswa. He switches to Portuguese and begins to describe the District Administrator as mild and responsible. Using the adjectives is an exercise in showing and informing about a place, a topic, a source. He asks a female volunteer to describe her father. Another volunteer also describes a person. Jossias Nhasavel tells the volunteers that only 7% of the listeners have a higher education. How do we communicate with the rest, he asks. Let's pick up the 93% by informing, showing and convincing them. It is a matter of trust! Jossias Nhasavel moves on to say that Radio ARCO's news are different to the news in the big radios because of the level of detail provided to the listeners. For instance, Radio ARCO would explain "Nhaulane, which is x km from the town", whereas other radios are more focused on the technical topic and speak above the heads of the listeners. He rounds off by saying that journalists learn something new all the time, and we must always check if the relative importance of the news we have selected is still the same or if the selection must change. But for now the volunteers must concentrate on writing creatively." (12-05-2004)

This lesson told me something about the perceptions of news journalism at Radio ARCO, namely that the content is defined ideally as different to Radio Moçambique Inhambane, but it is still referred to as journalism. The differences are in the level of local detail provided to the listeners - something they are seen to need and which the larger and more remote radio stations apparently do not provide. The emphasis is on the local and on creating listener identification with the stories. But the techniques used to achieve this sound very familiar to a journalism-trained person from Denmark. Classic journalism slogans are used to define the news, such as "who, what, where, when" and using a "show it, don't tell it"-way of narrating news. Regarding working routines and selection of news, the mobiliser encouraged participatory and democratic ways of working, which the students seemed to be a little unfamiliar with. He asked them to think for themselves and contribute to the training, but he also showed them

the boundaries of creative speech, e.g. with regards to how the radio describes authorities, thereby guiding the young volunteers towards a common understanding of what can and what cannot be broadcast as news in Homoine. This understanding was also developed outside the classroom during coverage of e.g. public events, where senior volunteers supervised junior volunteers in how to get recordings.

The journalism and broadcasting style of Radio ARCO is not home-grown, but influenced by various institutions outside the community. President Imane Aly Barraca told me that the radio staff had had professional journalists from Radio Moçambique as instructors and that the mobiliser and assistant mobiliser were trained to be local instructors. UNESCO had also held courses about general radio routines as well as on specific topics, such as health reporting. Both influences, UNESCO and Radio Moçambique, were clearly present in Jossias Nhasavel's training session for the young community reporters.

4.2.3. News routines and origins

When I first visited Radio ARCO in February 2004, the coordinator Candido Isaias told me that *"the radio gives a voice to those who have no voice, but also to the government and NGOs"* (Candido Isaias 04-02-2004). On another occasion I asked a group of volunteers where their news stories originate from. They told me that stories emerge out of what they hear in their neighbourhoods and from messages that the radio recieves, such as one from the Ministry of Culture about the impending visit of a minister (06-04-2004). In a different conversation the same day, voluntary news reporter Hussene Algy told me that the news sources are primarily staff in local government departments, institutions or organisations, which give *"solutions to problems and directions for development... it is popular education. When staff is unavailable, we use reference materials instead."* (Hussene Algy 06-04-2004). Although these guidelines for the news work was related to me by a mere volunteer, not a member of the management, there was no reason to doubt this explanation, because this volunteer was the foremost news worker at Radio ARCO.

Hussene Algy was one of the 3-4 volunteers that spent most of their day working for Radio ARCO. He was in charge of the news selection in the morning, went out and got most of the stories himself and frequently co-hosted the local news broadcasts at 12:00 with the coordinator. Whenever a VIP visited the district, Hussene Algy would be on the spot holding out his microphone.

When I arrived at Radio ARCO, he took a keen interest in my project and was proud to enlighten me on the workings of the radio. I followed him on a few outings to get local news stories on the tape recorder and I watched him supervise the junior volunteers.

Hussene Algy was Mr. News at Radio ARCO and what I suspected at first was soon confirmed: Mr. News was a trained news reporter, who had worked for a newspaper in big city Beira at the end of the civil war and then for Radio Mozambique in Inhambane. Since 2001 he had volunteered for Radio ARCO. I asked Hussene Algy once, how he managed to survive as a volunteer? Well, it is hard, he replied, but he liked the work and was often told by his colleagues and people on the street that he did a good job. People supported him, he said vaguely, and left me to wonder if it was only with words and the occasional meal or if there was payment involved. *"Hope is the last thing that dies and who knows, maybe my situation will soon change"*, he said, implying that he was hoping for a salaried position at Radio ARCO. I mentioned that he trained the new volunteers, and he replied: *"Yes. When I die, I will have left something behind."* (Hussene Algy 08-04-2004).

I made a good connection with Hussene Algy and he was a good source of information to me about what was going on at the station. He happily briefed me about what he was doing and shared his views about what news journalism at Radio ARCO should be like. These are important statements as they come from the most influential and productive newsperson at the station. The following extracts of my field notes show, however, that there are gaps between what is said or intended and what is done:
"Hussene Algy drops by the table where I am sitting in the common room on his way to the 12:00 news broadcast in the studio. Am I aware, he asks, that tomorrow, on the national holiday for women in Mozambique, all the programmes will be presented by women? That's great, I say [The next day the broadcasts are presented by both men and women]*. He proceeds to show me a message from the District Administrator about high prevalence of diarrhoea patients coming to the hospital after having eaten at the market which, with reference to the cholera epidemic in Maxixe nearby, now leads the District Administrator to ban the sale of fish meals and bread from the market and street stalls. I ask Hussene Algy, if they will broadcast this message? No, he says, they will edit it before going on air* [On the air a few minutes later only some wordings are changed]*. I ask him, if they are going to look into the consequences of this ban? Yes, he said, tomorrow we will get reactions from the traders at the market.* [The following day, local news broadcasts and all other scheduled programmes are suspended to make room for celebrations of the Day of the Mozambican Woman.]*"* (Hussene Algy 06-04-2004)

These gaps have a lot to do with the resources available to the radio and with the boundaries of operation that it is afforded by the authorities, as the next extracts demonstrate:

"I arrive at the station at 07:30, leaf through some papers in the bookshelf and ask Hussene Algy why they run the same news story over several days? He answers that 1) the news story could be really important or, 2) they have spent a lot of time getting the news story or, 3) repetition is good for the listeners or, 4) sometimes they don't have a better news story to replace it the following day because their usual sources don't have anything to say. I ask him, who the usual sources are, and after I have expanded the question (he begins to answer on the next level about who he chooses to interview) he answers that the sources are usually the district administration, the hospital and other authorities who call the radio station or pass by. So they are professional sources, I conclude. He tells me that when people from the district administration drive out to visit the localities, the radio usually gets a lift with them. So the radio reporters are dependent on when the representatives of the authorities are leaving and coming back. Reporters do not have the possibility to go and talk to the population before the authorities arrive. Sometimes the authorities will not give a lift, if they suspect that they will get bad coverage. So the radio is very conscious about maintaining a good relationship with local government, because the radio depends on its goodwill. " (Hussene Algy 17-05-2004)

But on the other hand, the radio's questions on behalf of the population can only go so far:

"I arrive before everyone else and begin studying the audience surveys. Hussene Algy arrives and begins to tell me that today he will interview no.2 in the agricultural department who says that there is not hunger in the district like there was a few months ago. I notice that the tape in his tape recorder is labelled Guebuza [Armando Guebuza was elected new president of Mozambique in December 2004. In March 2004 he paid Homoine district a visit as the Secretary-General of Frelimo and the party candidate for the presidency] and I ask Hussene Algy, if he has interviewed Guebuza? Hussene Algy laughs a little and says no, the candidate went here and there, it was politics (Hussene Algy often uses politics to signify things he does not report). He says that instead he just reported on the populations wishes for schools etc., because this was fact (i.e. not politics) and he was just following Guebuza around." (Hussene Algy 08-04-2004)

It was difficult to answer the question of where the news stories come from through external observation and interview. If I had become a participant observer and a more

trusted interviewer, I could maybe have gotten better answers to this. Or maybe I received vague answers because the origins of news stories are not within the reporters' field of influence. As a news institution, Radio ARCO seems to be less in control of its news selection than ideals of editorial independence would have it. The radio news reporters depend on a good relationship with official sources and they let themselves be guided towards the spots where their microphones are required to be at the convenience of local authorities.

The liaison between Radio ARCO and local leaders was very visible for me or anyone else to observe: Representatives of local government and powerful organisations such as the OMM were frequent visitors at the radio station in their official capacity, more so than ordinary members of the community. In particular I often saw Hussene Algy with the director of the agriculture department (who was also the president of Radio ARCO's financial council). Recordings of official speeches were often used as news, especially during the many national holidays, which celebrate a particular group of people (Day of the Police, Day of the Nurses, Mozambican Woman's Day). Another frequent way of producing news stories were to repeat what a leading figure had said during the radio's weekly in-depth interview programme[31]. In this way Radio ARCO seemed to stay true to its intention of using mainly official sources for its programmes, but it was hard to determine whether it was also the radio staff's intention to send a signal to community members that the radio station is first and foremost the premises of leaders and trained community reporters, like a professional media, and not the domain of ordinary community members. This question relates to access, a core principle of community radio, but observation and interviews with radio staff could only determine actual access, not perceived access. So the question of access was noted and carried over to the survey.

4.2.4. ARCO's Membership

In development projects, such as establishing a community radio, the local communities are often asked to contribute time, labour and symbolic monetary fees to ensure that the community will take responsibility and ownership of the project - that there is a broad commitment and sound foundation for making further investments.

---

[31] Leaders and authorities were often invited into the station to give an interview in the studio, whereas interviews with ordinary community members usually took place in other surroundings (markets, fields, schools, etc).

In Homoine, Radio ARCO is organised as a member based association, which is open to all community members for an annual, symbolic fee (50.000 MT, or approximately US$ 2). But Radio ARCO does not have a large formal membership. When I visited Radio ARCO in February-May 2004, the association had 96 members. In comparison, the population of Homoine district is 93,000. This does not necessarily translate into lack of community support for the radio. One does not have to be a formal member of the association to take an active interest in the radio and feel part of its communal ownership. A more likely explanation of the low membership is that while the membership fee is symbolic, in a poor district the population prioritises many other expenses higher than buying the right to vote at the general assembly. Or perhaps buying *individual* rights to vote at the general assembly. This notion of collective memberships is not reflected in ARCO's own membership register, however. ARCO's annual report 2002-2003 states that there are ten local partnerships and one collective membership, namely the mission of São João de Deus. I also tried to get information about Radio ARCO's individual membership because it would be interesting to know the composition of men/women, different ages, social status and different parts of the district. Jossias Nhasavel the mobiliser told me that they did not have this information readily available about their members, but that there were women as well as men, more old people than young people and more members in the town than from around the district, but all localities were represented. (Jossias Nhasavel 11-05-2004). From this statement I concluded that ARCO's members come from among those in the district with high social standing. This was confirmed by the presidents of the localities Chizapela and Chinjinguire, who told me that they were members of Radio ARCO on behalf of their communities. This weighs in favour of a pattern of representation rather than direct participation by the community, even in membership structures.

4.2.5. The board - representation and community influences

Radio ARCO is formally established as an association with a general assembly, a board and a management committee.

The board is an important structure to pay attention to, for two reasons: Firstly regarding representation, it is composed of individuals representing different parts of the community, so it is interesting to see which groups are represented on the board and whether there is a balance between them. Secondly regarding influence, the board is a forum elected to oversee the radio and it can play a role as a forum for community feedback to the radio.

The board members of Radio ARCO are mostly elected among the leaders of the community who are members of ARCO. The 15 members of the board[32] are mostly well-respected and widely known people from different sectors in the district community:

President Imane Aly Baraca - agronomy technician working for the Adventist aid agency ADRA

Vice-president Julio Mauricio Jombosse - teacher, director of the Centre for Education of Teachers

Secretary Joana Margarita - health worker at the hospital, volunteer

Pedro Francisco - teacher, currently absent, was given a scholarship and went to Maputo to study

Arlinda de Graça Salateiro - student, volunteer

Domingos Chimela Come - leader of the traditional healers association AMETRAMO

Paulina Silva - community leader in Inhamussua

Raimundo Zamabo Zitha - leader of the Zionist Church, member of the Christian Council

Fabião Notiço - health worker at the hospital, leader of the Methodist Church in Homoine town

Americo Casimiro - civil servant at the Institute for Social Action

Pedro Sevene - Market trader in Homoine town

Maria de Fátima Cúbver - Chief of Police in Homoine

Bipin Crasnacumar - Indian trader, owner of the seed supply store

Tarun Vanssantlal - Indian trader

Lourenço Antonio - current administrative leader of the radio, took over the reins from Candido Isaias

The board members see themselves as fathering the radio, especially the young volunteers. At the monthly board meeting in April 2004, where a handful of middle-aged and elderly men was present, I was explained by the president that *"because there are differences in the volunteers qualifications and levels of education and therefore their skills as journalists, and furthermore because most volunteers are young pupils, who cannot be expected to be fluent in Chope and Xitswa due to their generation's Portuguese schooling, there have to be older men on the board to guide them."* The other board members present nodded in concurrence. (Imane Aly Baraca and the board 07-04-2004)

---

[32] Of whom 11 are men and 4 are women

I was given further evidence of this authoritarianism by speaking to the two board members who worked at the hospital, Joana Margarita (secretary of the board) and Fabião Notiço. Joana Margarita told me that some board members were more involved than others, and those board members who volunteered had specific areas of responsibility at the radio. In her case as the leader of the editorial group for health programming, she would supervise the behaviour of the volunteers and educate them in health issues. She said that the proper way to get radio content and approach sources was to go to the district administration departments, which would indicate the proper source. Information should flow from the government to the population (Joana Margarita, 10-05-2004). This statement echoes the old school, paternalist principles of last century's public radio in an authoritarian regime, rather than the dynamic, inclusive grassroots media envisioned by community radio proponents.

Fabião Notiço was one of the board members who had held his seat on the board since the beginning. He had also been elected by the board to lead the annual general meeting for the past 3 years and to give the orientations of the board to the members. He was happy to have served for so long on the board, but he also thought that it was natural for the board composition to remain unaltered. He said that there was a problem when the general assembly elected new members to the board, because it would take time to train the new members and bring them up to speed (Fabião Notiço 11-05-2004). Taken together with the statements above, this is further evidence of the board as a rigid, authoritarian structure, but at the same time fairly representative of the community structures as such.

As responsible overseers of Radio ARCO, the board should ideally be concerned with mobilising the community to support and participate in their radio. I asked Fabião Notiço about the general participation of the district population in the radio and he answered that there are problems with the radio signal to the north, which means that the radio does not reach all of the population in the district. Many people use the radio to send messages, but not many become members of the association, probably due to the membership fee. I also asked him why I would only see young students from town at the radio station besides the regular staff. *"The profile of the volunteers you see simply represent our general conditions"*, he told me, indicating that in contrast to the town population, the rural population was prevented from frequently going to the radio station for lack of time and transport. *"But the radio is good for all, everyone needs the radio and everyone uses the radio"* (Fabião Notiço 10-05-2004). The statement presents the

community as a homogenous group with a common interest that can be equally well represented by a handful of students as by any other community members.

I then asked him how the radio handles a clash between different interests, such as how to speak about AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases, where churches and NGOs differ. He replied that when there are conflicts in the community, the board will gather to study the mechanisms and find a solution, which the radio then broadcasts. (Fabião Notiço 11-05-2004). This indicates that debates about controversial issues are not taken in public, but concluded in a closed forum of "community elders", who communicate their decision one-way to the community. It is not evidence that the community radio has brought new patterns of communication or a more participatory, wide-ranging or free public debate to Homoine.

Towards the end of my stay, I was granted an interview with Imane Aly Baraca, the president of Radio ARCO. I asked him about how different parts of the community could influence Radio ARCO. Unlike Fabião Notiço, Imane Aly Baraca openly acknowledged the existence of different community influences, but said that the differences were kept outside the radio. Radio ARCO had rules about spill-over of particular interests represented by the members, staff and board members from various parts of the community, and new members were instructed about the radio's impartiality.

Does Radio ARCO have a strategy to increase community involvement, I asked? *"We would like to reach the northern parts of the district, so we are negotiating a permission to put an antenna on the roof of the hotel [Frelimo-owned], which is the highest point in town. This should not be a problem."* (Imane Aly Baraca, 12-05-2004) Again, like Fabião Notiço above, community participation or lack thereof is explained primarily in terms of physical infrastructure and one-way communication (the broadcasting range does not reach the whole district), not social structures. This suggests a quick-fix solution (a new antenna that can broadcast messages to the whole district) that does not acknowledge the community to be anything other than a homogenous entity scattered over different parts of the district (town/rural areas).

So I asked about other kinds of involvement by the community, and was told that *"there are already plenty: The editorial groups choose content on the basis of audience surveys which show that people like news about agriculture and health. The volunteers are sons of the community and get their stories from where they live. We broadcast in local languages and*

everyone has the right to criticize, to give suggestions at the assemblies and in the suggestions box. Listeners call in to tell us what they like and people can come in and tell stories and sing traditional songs that are recorded and broadcast, which is a sort of education from the old to the young via the radio." (Imane Aly Baraca, 12-05-2004).

4.2.6. Feedback structures: audience surveys

As mentionned by Imane Aly Baraca, there are other channels for community feedback and influence on the content beside the organisational structures (the board and the general assembly). Radio ARCO's audience surveys are a procedure to make a quality check on contents and ensure that the radio stays in touch with the listeners. With the aid of the UNESCO/UNDP Media Project, the radio has developed several simple methods to collect responses from the listeners, as illustrated in the audience survey schedule (Appendix 3). Analysing calls, letters and visits by the listeners should give the radio station indications of how well it serves the community.

However, I was only given few concrete examples by the volunteers and Imane Aly Baraca of broadcasts being modified according to the feedback received via these channels. And then it is a change of format rather than a change of content (transmitting Radio Moçambique national news 3 times a day, adding church music to accompany obituaries to create the right mood, adding more radio theatre to the agricultural programme. (Imane Aly Baraca 11-05-2004, Theodore 12-05-2004)). So it seems that the community influence via these channels is not prioritised as highly as other types of influences on the radio.

4.2.7. Partnerships - sponsorships

Radio ARCO does not exist in symbiosis with the local community alone. Influences on what the radio broadcasts come from outside the district borders (and the broadcasting range) as well. For instance, it is hard not to notice the affiliation of Radio ARCO with UNESCO. Signposts in the vicinity of the radio station clearly advertise the connection. But the other partnerships and sponsorships that the radio has entered into are less obvious. The following is based on information from president Imane and volunteer Hussene Algy (Imane Aly Baraca 12-05-2004, Hussene Algy 08-04-2004).

Some of the programmes on Radio ARCO are produced in direct collaboration with community organisations. The most central one of these is the youth theatre group

Mixuvo[33], which produces the radio drama on Sunday nights. Other organisations and institutions in the community are represented more indirectly through the memberships of staff and volunteers at an individual level. Several of the young volunteers at Radio ARCO are also members of youth organisations such as Acudes, the young humanists and OJM, and the radio has good relations with Acudes in particular. Not to mention that most radio staff and volunteers belong to either the Catholic and Methodist churches or a Muslim mosque. Radio ARCO also cultivates healthy relations with community initiatives such as the district football championships. And peasant organisations contribute news and views from the areas outside Homoine town.

Programmes are also supported directly or indirectly by aid organisations who work with the district administration and community groups to prevent and deal with HIV/AIDS. For instance, the German organisation GTZ-Saúde sponsors health programmes directly, while the Irish organisation GOAL sponsors a voluntary HIV-test facility in the district hospital (GATV), which in turn collaborates with the radio about news and programming.

Mozambican aid organisations such as Kulima, Khindlimuka and Fundo do Desenvolvimento da Comunidade (FDC) are also involved either directly and indirectly. Khindlimuka sponsors a daily morning programme on HIV/AIDS. FDC and Kulima support the district administration and organisations of war veterans, peasants and youth in their health and cultural initiatives.

According to president Imane Aly Baraca, the aid organisations also contribute to the radio by training the volunteers and making suggestions for content. Hussene Algy told me that local news selections include events sponsored by Kulima and FDC. He also told me that Frelimo organisations such as OMM (the women's organisation) are not directly affiliated to Radio ARCO, but are sometimes invited to make special programmes such as on the Day of the Mozambican Woman. Radio ARCO and the other UNESCO community radios have strict guidelines, in print and in courses and on a poster in the radio common room, about coverage of political parties during elections. Political coverage must not be political, which may explain the formal

---

[33] Mixuvo was founded simultaneously with the radio in 1999 and began to use the radio's premises when the first broadcasts began in 2001.

distance to OMM. In practice, the president of OMM was a regular visitor at the station during my visit.

4.2.8. Censorship

Towards the end of my stay in Mozambique, something happened that cut through some layers of the guarded statements, I was most likely to get when asking about participation, influences and power at Radio ARCO.[34]

In the middle of May, after making several visits to Radio ARCO and the district during the past 3 months, I was not prepared for the sudden demand by the District Administrator to see my UNESCO credentials. The demand was brought to me matter-of-factly by the radio staff when I came to the station one morning. I found it strange, because I had already given Candido Isaias, the station coordinator, a copy of my passport and my letter of introduction from UNESCO's Media Project office in Maputo. He had requested these documents when I first arrived and told me that he would clear my presence with the local authorities. I shrugged my shoulders, handed over the documents and thought that formalities were then taken care of. Later I managed to loose my letter of introduction but I did not worry too much about it.

Now it turned out that Candido Isaias had informed the security police but assumed that I would visit the District Administrator myself. When I told him and the rest of the managing staff that I had not paid attention to the District Administrator and that I did not have the credentials on me, they were stunned. I did not grasp the seriousness of the situation at first, but went outside to call UNESCO's Media Project office in Maputo to ask them for accreditation. When I returned, I made annoyed remarks about the stupid red tape, formalities and shameless government interference with my study project even though I had a visa in my passport and only asked questions that anyone should be allowed to ask. To this, they replied that the Administrator is the chief of the district and he must know everything that goes on for reasons of security, especially the affairs of foreigners. Candido Isaias made reference to a recent scandal in northern Mozambique, where a nun accused a foreign couple (the woman was Danish) of killing children and stealing their organs. He told me that for this reason, it was not enough to have a visa stamped in my passport - I should also have introduced myself personally

---

[34] Most volunteers and staff would brush of the question by quoting the slogans of "by the community, for the community, of the community" and "informing, educating and entertaining" that they know by heart.

to the District Administrator with the proper accreditation to conduct a study in his district.

I asked Candido Isaias about freedom of the press and the radio as an independent institution? He replied that every time the reporters go out into the field, they bring a letter from him about what they are doing. Whenever Radio ARCO conducts audience surveys in the district outside Homoine town, they must bring a letter from the District Administrator. Candido Isaias said that the District Administrator rules supreme; he calls the radio to have items and people removed that he is not happy with. He holds meetings with ARCO's board and he sends someone from his administration across the town square to the radio station with the message that a broadcast must be cancelled. Or he gives instructions to the reporters who follow him on visits out in the district about what cannot be reported. It is not only the Administrator in person; other people in government institutions such as the hospital are also not afraid to interfere with what goes out on the airwaves. In 2002, Jossias Nhasavel was in great trouble after reporting from the birth clinic that new mothers were placed outside the buildings - an indisputable fact, but nonetheless one that the director of the clinic did not want aired, so he marched to the radio and delivered a sharp reprimand. Candido Isaias said that the relationship with the local government had been damaged and it had threatened the radio's existence, so Radio ARCO has been careful to avoid problems since then. I assured them that UNESCO was faxing the documentation and that I did not want to create problems for the radio. In a following conversation with the UNESCO office in Maputo, I was told that when Radio ARCO first went on air, some broadcasts had led to dismissals in the district administration, and this created problems for the radio. In my case, the district administration and the security police had been asking themselves and Radio ARCO who I was, since they first noticed me at a public event the month before. They were nervous about who could be behind me, and the radio could be in danger of being shut down. The credentials would be faxed immediately[35].

At noon, someone was sent across the square from the District Administration. He, I and Radio ARCO's administrator talked in the administrator's office. Sr. Magaia from the statistical department wanted to see my passport and noted in detail my name and nationality, when I arrived in the country, how long I had been there, who I had

---

[35] Incidently, around this time I had great difficulties in renewing my visa at the provincial immigration office. Usually it was a matter of handing in the passport, waiting a week and collecting it - a minimum of time and effort. This time it took hours, phone calls and throwing a tantrum to get the final 3 weeks I needed to complete my planned field research. There may or may not be a connection between what happened in Homoine district and what happened in Inhambane.

arranged meetings with, and what the topic of my study was. He told me that without the official approval of the District Administrator, no one would tell me anything when I met with communities out in the district, because they were not authorised to do so by the authorities. He seemed reasonably content with my replies. Lourenço, Radio ARCO's administrator, chatted nervously and fended off the one critical question I asked the civil servant. Lourenço rounds off the meeting by pledging to Sr. Magaia that I will attend an official ceremony for the police the following week.

I do not recommend other researchers to plan something to draw people out that is as potentially hazardous to the radio and to the research project as this, but it did provide me with honest statements that I had difficulty in obtaining otherwise. If I had planned it, it would have been blackmail. In the event, I made honest use of an unfortunate situation, which my own callousness with respect to government authorities helped to bring about. The incident led me to draw a sketch of Radio ARCO's relationship with the district as I saw it (Figure 4.1 on the next page).

The boxes are just boxes and the lines are just lines – no meaning should be attached to their size. What I am trying to illustrate is which groups have good access to Radio ARCO and which groups remain on the periphery. Please note that the two bottom boxes containing "Areas outside town" and "Peasants and traders" are only indirectly connected to Radio ARCO through their church or community leaders. The locality "Chinjinguire" is an exception to "Areas outside town".
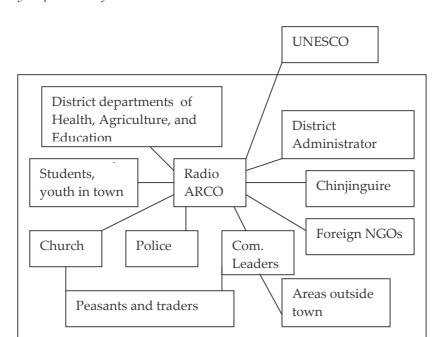
Figure 4.1: My impression of Radio ARCO's relations with Homoine district

4.2.9 Summary of observations and interviews

This way of thinking about Radio ARCO and Homoine informed the design of the survey analysis and the content analysis in the following sections. The observations and statements collected about the profile of the volunteers; the regular visitors at the station; the members; the composition of the board and how it viewed its own role; the origin of news stories; news routines; the close links between local government and the radio; the few changes effected due to audience feedback - they were all translated into the survey questions listed in the next section.

Based on these observations and interviews, I also developed the following assumptions/hypotheses about the typical community radio news content:
- Sponsors of other programmes, such as national and international aid organisations, would figure frequently in the news
- The news would not be about individuals, but groups, except for authority figures
- The news would be messages from the authorities to the population, top-down one-way communication and not the basis for a debate between different sources
- The same news story was likely to run over several days in a series of updates with slight alterations
- There would be much emphasis on a local sense of belonging
- The stories would be about the district in general or the town, and not so much about the areas outside town.
This will be tested in the content analysis of news manuscripts.

4.3 Survey analysis

I used a survey to collect data about the radio's external environment and community interaction (participation, representation) with the radio from respondents outside the radio. The survey was a useful tool to gather perceptions of the radio's content and accessibility. Perceptions are important because they lay the ground for patterns of interaction. I was also interested in finding out whether there are some groups who have more influence on the radio than others and whether the radio was seen to be part of the government or not.
I sought to answer the following working questions with the survey:
- Are there community structures of feedback and influence on the output?
- Do all community members have access to the radio?
- Does the radio reach/target all of the community?

The questionnaire (see Appendix 5a and 5b) is divided into several parts: In the first part, respondents are identified according to their personal data (gender, age, education, occupation, residency) and their listening habits. In the second part, I ask the respondents about their view on the radio's relationship with the community in terms of target groups and influences. Finally I ask them about their own experiences with the radio. The questionnaire contained a mix of open and closed questions, and a mix of pre-selected reply options and open reply options, that were coded afterwards.

Questions include:
- Why do you listen to Radio ARCO?
- Which language do you tune in to?
- Which programmes do you listen to?
- Which gender is best covered by the radio?
- Which age group is best covered by radio?
- Which group of people is best covered by the radio (professional, social, sector)?
- Which organisation has the best access to influence the radio?
- Are all localities sufficiently covered by the radio?
- Which important subjects could the radio cover more?
- Could you change something at Radio ARCO if you wanted to? Why?
- How could people change something at Radio ARCO if they wanted to?
- Have you already tried to change something at Radio ARCO? How?
- Is Radio ARCO open to suggestions?
- Have you already visited the radio?
- Do you know someone who works at the radio?
- Have you already participated in an activity of Radio ARCO? Which?
- What would it take for you to participate more in Radio ARCO?

4.3.1 Survey sample

The sample is an *approximate* stratified random sample (cf. Jensen 2002:217) based on quotas of gender (50-50), age (youths, adults, elderly), occupation (peasants, traders, students, teachers) and residency (semi-urban/rural, various localities).

The subgroups were chosen on the assumption that if there are differences within the community as to access, participation, representation and influence on Radio ARCO, the fault lines could be expected to fall between these main social demographics. Some of the demographics overlap, e.g. students are mostly young and peasants usually

reside in rural areas. This allows me to double check the findings between subgroups, e.g. is the distribution of replies from youths and students the same? Affirmations of this kind will increase the overall reliability of the findings.

A breakdown of the sample into various demographics will show how detailed the analysis can be with regards to the subgroups - can I make claims based on the number of adults, for instance? The breakdown will also be used to check the representation of various groups in the sample and discuss unintentional biases.

In the following tables, I have added the sub-division between age groups as an illustration of the variety in the sample, but since the sample is small, it would be hard to make claims based on these sub-sub-divisions, e.g. urban adults, in the analysis (see also the discussion of significance below). At least if I want these claims to be statistically significant (see discussion in Chapter 3), which would require a surplus majority of 15-17 respondents, or about a third of the sample, as illustrated in chart 4.2 on the next page.
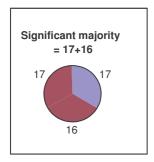

Chart 4.2: The two dark areas cover a significant majority

Table 4.3 presents the first breakdown of the sample, which concerns age and gender. Youths cover ages 12-26, Adults cover ages 27-50, and Elderly cover ages 50+. I made a conscious over sampling of adults and elderly compared to the distribution in the total population because I wanted the views of the groups I did not meet at the station.

Gender/Age	Youths	Adults	Elderly	Total
Men	11	09	05	25
Women	07	13	05	25
Total	18	22	10	50

Table 4.3

Table 4.4 shows the distribution of respondents in the town area (Homoine town) and the rural localities. The high proportion of youths in the town versus the high proportion of adults and elderly in the rural areas was not intentional, but the numbers correspond well to a reality of today in which children from rural areas go to stay with relatives in larger villages, towns and cities to continue their schooling after the 5th grade.

Residency	Youths	Adults	Elderly	Total
Homoine town	8	4	1	13
Rural areas	10	18	9	37
- Chinjinguire	3	7	5	15
- Inhamussua	1	6	1	08
- Golo	6	5	1	12
- Chizapela			1	01
- Nhaulane			1	01
Total	18	22	10	50

Table 4.4

Table 4.5 shows the distribution of occupations broken down by gender. Again, the numbers in most cells are too small to make claims about e.g. male peasants. In the analysis I will mainly distinguish between students/young people and adults/peasants and traders. The high proportion of women among the peasants was unintended, but it corresponds well to an established distribution of labour in rural Southern Mozambique where women work the land, while men will try to bring home a cash income.

Occupation	Men	Women	Total
Students	8	6	14
Peasants	5	13	18
Teachers	3	0	03
Traders	5	5	10
Other	4	1	05
Total	25	25	50

Table 4.5

A few of the randomly selected respondents surprisingly turned out to be former or current volunteers, and matched this population in the main demographic characteristics of age (young), gender (male), socio-economic position (student), i.e. the already mobile and able communicators. This bi-product of the survey adds, albeit unintentionally, extra probability to what I observed and heard about the profile of the main participants in Radio ARCO, the volunteers.

The distributions in Table 4.5 and 4.6 of men and women in the various groups of occupation and education were not intended. But they nonetheless reflect the general tendency for men to hold higher skilled jobs and be better educated. In this way too, the sample gives an approximate image of the total population. But apart from this introductory illustration of gender in the sample, the analysis of survey replies will not have a particular gender focus.

Education	Men	Women	Total
None	2	2	4
1st – 5th grade	5	12	17
6th – 7th grade	6	8	14
8th – 10th grade	8	1	9
Higher than 10th grade	3	2	5
Adult literacy class	1	0	1
Total	25	25	50

Table 4.6

4.3.2 General survey findings about the radio's relations with the community

Radio ARCO's popularity was clear. All respondents knew the radio. Only two respondents did not listen to it at all. However, this was not by choice, but because they live outside the range of the transmitter.

Listening habits
- Most people listen to the Portuguese programming every day or several times a week.
Two thirds of the respondents (35) listen to radio every day, and 13 listen more than once a week. Only two respondents listen less than once a week. More than a third (19) replied that they listen all day. Ten replied that they only listen in the morning or in the evening, or both. A total of 38 respondents said they listen in the afternoon, and most of them also listen at other times during the day. The afternoon is the Portuguese programming at Radio ARCO, so their replies on listening times fit well with the replies about which language they listen in. Most respondents said that they listen in Portuguese as well as a local language (38).

Why they listen to Radio ARCO
- Most people listen to get local information
Out of 48 respondents, 31 listen to Radio ARCO to get local information, 9 because it is a media for personal communication and 7 because they feel that Radio ARCO is their

community radio. A few respondents listen because it is entertaining or closer to access than Radio Moçambique in Inhambane. Some respondents gave multiple reasons.

What they listen to
- Almost everyone listen to the news
News is the most popular programme, which 30 respondents mentioned on their own accord and another 14 respondents said yes, when asked about it. Local news programming is very popular: 20 respondents mentioned local news as one of the programmes they listen to, and another 17 respondents said yes, when asked if they listen to local news.

Other favourite programmes include: Greetings and personal messages (13, and another 8 when asked about it), Music (18, and another 5 when asked about it), Call-in music show (13, and another 7 when asked about it), Radio theatre (12, and another 5 when asked about it), Sports (10), and Magazine (5). The educative programmes emphasized by Radio ARCO, such as the health, agriculture or environment programme, scored surprisingly low. Less than a handful of respondents mentioned either of these.

I also noted when respondents answered no to any of the programmes I suggested to them, to get indications that they were not just agreeing to everything I asked. This happened with eight different respondents, so I trust the overall truthfulness of the replies.

Perceptions of who the radio reaches
- Radio ARCO is for everyone... and especially for the young people
With few exceptions (4), the respondents feel that the radio communicates to men and women equally and that the radio speaks of the whole population (including leaders) rather than just its leaders (except 2 respondents).

Slightly more than half of the respondents reply that the radio is for all ages. The other part thinks that the radio addresses mostly the youth (16 respondents[36]) or the youth and the adults (8 respondents[37]).

---

[36] Comprising of 4 elderly, 5 adult and 8 young respondents

[37] Comprising of 3 adult and 5 young respondents

The majority (45) thinks that the radio strives to cover issues from all parts of the district. However, 6 respondents felt that the radio should make more programmes about ceremony and tradition, including respect of elders. 5 respondents thought that the radio could send reporters further out in the district.

Slightly more than half of the respondents (27) think that the radio covers one sector or group of people more than others, but there is no clear consensus on which group or sector it is. Most of these think that students/education (12) or peasants/agriculture (6) gets the most coverage. Two mention the health sector, and one replied "the Portuguese-speakers". Nearly half of the respondents (23) don't think that the radio covers one sector or group of people more than others.

- Community members recognise ties between Radio ARCO and local government
Many respondents (21) don't know which, if any, organisation or institution in the community wields the greatest influence on the community radio. Of the few spontaneous replies other than "don't know", 4 mentioned NGOs, 3 mentioned youth organisations, 2 mentioned peasants' organisations and 3 mentioned the association ARCO. 12 respondents disagreed with one of the reply options I suggested. But 16 respondents agreed that the district government could tell the radio what to do.

Many respondents (33) think that if there were something amiss with the radio, or something that could be improved, it is best to go and speak directly to the radio management, either individually or as a group. The same number of respondents also suggested writing a letter. But ten respondents also believed that it could be useful to file a complaint with the district government as well.

Two out of the four young respondents from the best-educated strata (tertiary education) thought that Radio ARCO belongs to the government and is not an independent radio station. They were in the minority out of the total young respondents, but it is striking that they were there at all.

- Many suggestions but very little direct feedback or action from community members
Many respondents (39) had suggestions for better content, but only a few (6) had ever taken these issues to the radio. More than half of the respondents (29), mostly young people, felt that they would be able to go and change something at radio ARCO, if they wanted to. But the other half of the respondents said that they wouldn't know how to change something at the community radio. A third said that they didn't know how,

weren't capable, lacked education or membership. Others (5) were afraid that they wouldn't be accepted at the radio.

Those who felt confident gave the reasons that the radio invites comments, that the radio is accessible and belongs to the community, and that it was everyone's right to tell the radio if they were unsatisfied with it. Even though half of the respondents said that they wouldn't be able to influence Radio ARCO if they wanted to, almost everyone (45) agreed, when asked if they thought that Radio ARCO was open to suggestions. More than a third of the respondents thus felt that some people can change the course of the radio, only not them. They rely on representatives rather than direct participation. This third of the sample are mostly adults/elderly, while the young people seem to believe more in their own ability to help Radio ARCO make better radio. It was also mostly young people who suggested more conflict/controversial content (about corruption, crime in the community, the hunger suffered in some parts of the district, and the lack of water).

Six of the respondents had tried to improve the quality of the radio by giving their opinion, either through an unanswered letter (1), talking to the management (1) or volunteers at the station (2), or participating in a survey (1) or a focus group discussion (1).

- Many know the people at Radio ARCO and a third has participated in radio activities
Exactly half of the respondents had already visited the radio, and a large majority (38) knew someone who worked at the radio. A third of the respondents (16) had participated in some kind of activity organised by the radio – either interviewed for a programme (5), called in on a radio show (1), or recorded as part of a church choir (5) – or as participant in a meeting with the radio (1), a survey (2), organiser of a visit to the radio station (1). 1 respondent ran a shop where he sold air time for personal messages and 1 respondent advertised for his shop on the radio. 1 was a volunteer and 1 used to volunteer, but had given up due to lack of time.

- Time is just one of several reasons why the respondents don't participate more
Respondents identified the following major constraints on participation: Time (17), transport (8), more knowledge and confidence in own ability (9), and interest (8). Five respondents said they would participate more in the radio, if the radio invited them to do so.

4.3.3. Meeting about survey results

I organised a meeting to discuss the results of the survey. Present at the meeting were the presidents of the localities Chinjinguire, Chizapela, Nhaulane, and Manhica and a few other community members from each locality, 10 persons in total. Hussene Algy the main news reporter acted as interpreter and representative of the radio. Jossias Nhasavel the mobiliser joined us towards the end.

I began the meeting by presenting some of the initial findings and then I moved on to the questions about influences and participation. The first one was: *What is the role of the government in relation to the radio?*

The presidents were not pleased with the question but replied that the government is an assistant that can follow the work of the radio. The government exists through the people, but the radio belongs to the people, and the government does not interfere. The government can participate as members of the radio, represented as persons. The government is also a part of the community, so there is no contradiction there.

I then asked: *Why do so many people believe that it is useful to complain to authorities about radio matters?*

The presidents replied that the government is considered to be God, an all-knowing chief that can handle all problems. It may also be because many of the local presidents, such as themselves, are members of ARCO and focal points for the radio in the various localities.

I moved on to the next section and asked about the radio's dependence on young people close to the district capital Homoine: *It seems that the rural adults and the elderly in the district are somewhat passive in relation to the community radio. When asked what was needed for them to participate more, they replied:*
1. To have greater knowledge of how it is possible to help the radio, or
2. To have an invitation or an announcement made by the radio, that it needs the help of the population to be a community radio. Why is it so?

The president of Chinjinguire replied that the will exists, but the radio should have the means to go out and talk about life in the localities outside Homoine Town. The president of Chizapela suggested that there should be more correspondents who could deliver stories, greetings, announcements and suggestions - persons who could

canalise everyone's preoccupations. Everyone at the meeting agree that this is a good idea and Jossias Nhasavel makes notes of it.

I then asked if they thought that radio ARCO has done enough to mobilize all of the community, and not just the youth, to participate in the activities of the radio. *How would it be possible to engage the population more in the activities of the radio?*

The president of Chizapela replied that they knew that the radio had financial problems. But the mobiliser together with ARCO's members could form mobile committees to go out into the district and explain how the radio works: That it broadcasts in all languages, and has schedules for what it does when. The aim would be to create interest for and knowledge about the fact that people can participate and how they can do it. It might create interest in different areas of the district to create correspondent groups of young people, women, etc - people with the same interests. But he acknowledged that the radio does not have the finances right now to go through with this idea. Another suggestion could be that all the members who receive orientations by the radio about how it works, should return to their communities and explain others how the radio works. This could be done at low cost to the radio, if it let the members be its ambassadors. Everyone present voiced agreement with this proposal, too.

4.3.4 Summary of the survey analysis and the meeting about survey results

The meeting and the survey analysis showed that there is interest and knowledge about the radio in the local community, and it is seen to cover the community broadly. But it is mostly the young people who feel able to shape the radio to community needs and interests. There are no clear patterns of how the community participates in the radio, nor of how they voice opinions to the radio, which a few of the respondents had done in different ways. The meeting suggested more community outreach activities by the radio and to (re)activate the members to become ambassadors of the radio in their community area. Structures of feedback and influence seem to rely more on representation than direct participation of any and all community members. This is not just due to ordinary people's lack of time, interest or transport, but also to the fact that more than a few community members feel inadequate or fear that their contribution would not be accepted by the radio.

The structures of feedback and influence on Radio ARCO overlap with local government structures, as the presidents of the localities are members of ARCO on behalf of their population, and quite a few community members stated that local government can interfere with the radio. Very few mentioned the association and membership as structures where community members could influence the radio.

4.4 Content analysis

My survey-interviews with 50 residents in Homoine district establish that local news is the most popular and listened-to program of Radio ARCO[38].

Meanwhile, a strategy for news content was not prominent in the plans for Radio ARCO's establishment. In a presentation to the National Community Radio Seminar 2001, ARCO's then coordinator described strategies for programming on health, education, agriculture, veterinary care and sport, which relied heavily on input from line directorates in the district administration (UNESCO 2001c: 47-48).

The content analysis will try to mount a general picture of local news stories at Radio ARCO:
1. What are the news stories about? Which genre is used to tell them?
2. Who produces community radio news journalism? How is it produced? Where do the stories come from?
3. Who get to speak as sources in community radio news journalism?
4. Who are the stories about?
5. Where are the news stories about?

The coding manual will introduce the questions I asked of the data, and the reply options (values) for each question (category).

Table 4.7 The coding manual

Question (category)	Range of answers (values)
Date?	20040510-20040103
Typed?	Yes; No
Author?	Unknown; H.; J.; C.; M.; T.
News slot?	Unknown; 12-12.05: 1st edition, Portuguese;

---

[38] This is backed up by audience surveys undertaken by Radio ARCO.

	13.30-14: News hour, Portuguese; 18-18.30: 2nd edition, Xitswa
Priority?	Unknown; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5
Sequence?	Unknown/one-off story; First story in a series; Follow-up story
Topic?	Agriculture; Education; Health; Culture; Government/Business; Aid/Development; Crime/Disorder; International; Other (incl. sub-values)
Occurrence of community association?	Yes; No (Defined broadly to include churches, unions and political parties - these are groups with community membership)
Geography?	Where is the story about, not necessarily the same as where the story takes place - different parts of the district
Occurrence of "This" or "our" "town/region/district"?	A count of each emphasis on a local sense of belonging
Number of angles/stories?	1; 2 or more
Number of identifiable sources?	0; 1; 2; 3; 4
Origin of story?	Unknown; Public event; Press release; Private event; Regular contact with source; Other media; etc.
Story time?	Past; Present; Future; All
Genre?	Short news; Reportage; Announcement of event; Announcement of fact; Appeal; Official statement; Commemoration
Guiding action which the community can/should take?	Yes; No
Repeating message or source ID?	Rounding of with "These were the words of X about Y..."
Sources from outside the district?	Yes; No
Type of actor cited as source, or mentioned, but not cited?	Representative of community in general; Community/Religious/Political organisation; NGO; Professional group; Demographic group; Government; Business. Individual perpetrator (incl. sub-values)
Actor attribute?	Leader/Authority; Donor; Beneficiary; Victim; Complainant; Commentator
Actor attitude?	Positive; Dismissive; Mixed; Stating a problem
Actor affiliation to Radio ARCO?	Unknown; Board member; Staff; Member; Regular source
Gender of actor?	Unknown or N/A; Man; Woman
Placement of source in story?	First half; Second half
Direction of communication?	Top-down; Bottom-up; Horisontal; Mixed

Identifying the typical

To give a recap of the significance of the findings (see chapter 3 and Appendix 6): I am looking for a type of journalism, and what is "typical" must be determined by a majority in one value. The size of that majority must be significant, i.e. be 20-30 larger than the result for the other values.

4.4.1 What are the stories about and which genres are used to tell them?

Rating the topical coverage, *health (21), culture (21) and education (20) scored highest*. Agriculture featured slightly less in news stories (13). There were 16 news items about "government and politics", of which six were about "visit by VIP from outside the district". News about foreign aid and crime/disorder each scored 7.

Priority of the story in the news broadcast

For those news stories where the priority in the news broadcast is known (63), *health stories are more likely to be broadcast first, and education stories usually go second.*

What is the news format?

On average there is one new news story per day. However, for some dates there are five news items, while other dates are completely missing from the collection. The manuscripts vary from a few lines to a whole typed page, or up to one and a half page written by hand.

Genres

News is in itself a genre within journalism. But news can also be divided into genres, as Tuchman among others demonstrated (hard news, soft news, breaking news - see also section 2.8.1). It is these genres that I am interested in - my aim is to see if Radio ARCO uses some genres more than others in news broadcasts, and what these genres might be. Since Radio ARCO's news content may or may not be journalism, I have chosen not to rely on the genre definitions from journalism literature alone. I have induced the following genres from observations and interviews with news staff:

- An *event announcement* is an official announcement of a scheduled event such as an important visit, a meeting or an election within a community organisation. I use it both for past and upcoming events, when the story is the event, with no mention of how the event fits into current affairs in the community.

- An *appeal* is someone (usually public authorities) directly asking someone to do something, such as ordering the community to show up for a public meeting with a government party VIP, or registering their children for primary school well before the first day of school.

- An *official statement* is the decision, opinion or prediction of an authority, communicated by the radio without additional comment (surrendering the microphone).

- In a *fact announcement* the radio brings factual information ("17.550 afflicted by malaria in this district in the first trimester") without qualifying it with comparisons (more/less than before) or input from other sources.

- A *commemoration* is a type of soft news, which announces a special day (Valentine's Day) with greetings from the radio.

- A *summary* is an announcement of what has recently happened, a non-scheduled event, without emphasizing important points or connecting the event to past happenings or similar issues.

The major genres in Radio ARCO news content are "appeal" (29), "official statement" (21), and "event announcement" (18). "Fact announcement" scores less (11) followed by "commemoration" (5) and "summary" (4).

88 stories could be divided into these local genres. This implies that the values were relatively well chosen and that the definitions made sense in the coding process. However, I also needed to resort to textbook journalistic genres such as a "standard news" item or "news reportage" to account for 9 and 11 news items respectively.

My definition of "standard news" differed from the other genres either by the number of sources (preferably more than one), putting the issue before the source (signs of editing sources to fit the story, not the other way around), asking the source additional questions after the source made his declaration, contrasting different information, generalising, reporting from a rhetorical/neutral distance, listing consequences of the issue or using linguistic tools to optimize conflict, identification or sensation.

The high score of the appeal fits well with the observations of government influence on Radio ARCO, as well as with Lange's hypothesis (and finding) that African news items have more emphasis on direct exhortations.

News values

I wanted to check this news content against Lange's hypotheses that African news are more likely to be set in the future (to avoid discussing the problems of the present) and to have a positive angle.

But neither of these two hypotheses can be clearly confirmed. Regarding the positive news, *40 sources stated or recognised a problem, while slightly more (54) had good news to tell or supported a premise of good news.* The difference between the two groups is much too small to support the hypothesis.

I also tried to determine whether the local news stories mostly reported about the past, present or future. *A typical local news story at Radio ARCO is about the present (72).* Possible explanations for the mismatch between theory and findings will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.4.2. Where do the stories come from?

I was hoping to be able to say on the basis of this analysis how the radio mainly gets its news stories. Where do the stories usually originate from - public meetings, regular contact with a source, private gatherings, story-gathering by the reporter in one of the localities? But the fact of the matter is that this cannot be determined on the basis of reading the news manuscripts for a quantitative analysis. *46 manuscripts returned "origin unknown" and the rest were equally divided between different origins.* This question is better answered by the observations and interviews conducted before the content analysis.

4.4.3. Who are the sources?

A typical news story at Radio ARCO has 1 identifiable source. Out of 108 news stories, 93 news stories had an identifiable source. 15 had more than one source, and 78 had only one identifiable source (named or hinted at, e.g. "our source in the district administation tells us X about Y").

Which type of source appears most in local news?
A total of 109 identifiable sources were counted, some of which were recurrent. In the following, "1 source" means "1 appearance by a source".

It is typically leaders/authorities who speak on the news. 60 spoke as leaders/ authorities, 18 spoke as donors, 18 spoke as victims/complainants, and the remaining were scattered across other types.

Of those, 52 sources were senior level representatives of the district administration (administrator, directors) or heads of public institutions such as the hospital or schools. 18 sources represented the community as such (residents/citizens) or community organisations. 6 sources represented a demographic group (youth and their parents). 9 sources were the voice of a political party, church organisation or NGO. 8 spoke on behalf of their occupation/business.

Typically it is the men who speak on the news. 67 of the sources were men, 21 were women; for the remaining, the gender could not be determined or was not applicable ("Organisation X said, that...")

Typically news sources are from the district. Only 12 of the sources were from outside the district.

Typically the primary source is cited in the first half of the news story. Are the sources allowed to introduce the news item, or does the radio introduce it in its own way or through a secondary source? This says something about the radio's perception of its relationship with sources (close/distant, dependent/independent), especially in a media, where most news stories only have one source, and this source is an authority.

In 66 out of 92 instances, the primary source was cited in the first half of the news story. In 26 news stories, the primary news source was cited towards the conclusion of the story.

Who is speaking to whom?
The direction of communication typically flows top-down from authorities to the general population via Radio ARCO (60), but there are also stories where the news message is brought horizontally from one community group to another group or to the community in general (32).

Source affiliation to Radio ARCO
In 12 instances the source was also a member of the board of Radio ARCO (but did not speak in this capacity). In 21 instances I knew the source to be a regular visitor at Radio ARCO. I*n 64 instances the source had no affiliation to Radio ARCO that I knew of. More*

observation and knowledge of community members could probably show other results in this category.

Summary of source characteristics

It seems that the typical source in Radio ARCO local news is a male, senior level representative of the district administration, who is speaking as an authority on the news subject and who is more likely introduced at the beginning of the news story than at the end. He is almost as likely to state or recognise a problem, as he is to pass on good news to the community.

4.4.4 Who are the stories about?

I have counted only one actor as the subject of each story - who does the story (mainly) talk about? I originally intended to uncover target groups - i.e. who is the story intended for - but that proved too difficult to ascertain quantitatively. Instead I will try to compare how much the various types of actors figure in local news.

If each actor sub-category is counted separately, the result is *that the news stories are mostly about the community in general without subdivisions (17)*, followed by peasants and peasant organisations (11), victims/patients (9), youth as such (8), students (6) and cultural/youth organisations (5).

Counting groupings of actors in the community according to their different capacities (occupation, age, gender, organisation), *the local news stories refer mostly to people in their occupational capacity (28)*, and not to people as men or women (0 and 2 respectively). This does not mean that family life is not a matter for the public sphere; youth and parents figure relatively frequently in the news (12). Cultural/youth organisations such as theatre groups also receive more mention in Radio ARCO than any other type of community organisations.

A typical news story is not about community members as individuals. It is not necessarily about community associations either, but they feature in nearly every other news story. In 50 of the news stories, there was mention of an association within the community. Only a handful of the news stories mentioned individuals only representing themselves, and then they were portrayed as perpetrators against the community (accident-prone drivers), or in a single case as the victim of witchcraft.

A comparison between which community members the story is about and whether they are cited in the story, give us an idea of the prevalence of mute participants in community radio news stories. *In 66 out of 108 news items there is an overlap between who the story is about and who is not cited, meaning that the people/population group that the story is about do not appear as sources in it.* Someone outside their group speaks about them, or on their behalf, usually a government official.

4.4.5 Where are the stories about?

There is a high degree of news about Homoine district in general - the vast majority of local news stories sampled are about the district as such (53). When the news is not about the district, but about going-ons in distinctive places within the district, the three places that receive nearly all the rest of the local news coverage are Homoine town (21), the remote village of Nhaulane/Pembe (13), and the village of Chizapela close to Homoine town (11).

Anyone with knowledge of the physical infrastructure in Homoine district and of the transport available to radio staff would expect local news stories to cluster more around the district town area[39].

There is quite a rhetorical emphasis on the local ties of the news stories. Although 56 of the news stories made no mention of "our district" or similar, 52 news stories did, to varying degrees. 45 news stories referred to local belonging once or twice; in one news story there were 7 references to Homoine as the district "we" live in or belong to.

4.4.6 Summary of content analysis

The content analysis finds that typical community news content is messages from the authorities to the population, delivered by male, senior local government employees. The news stories are often delivered as appeals, event announcements or official statements in which the radio surrenders the microphone to the primary source. There is usually only one source cited in the story, and this source is frequently the only

---

[39] The surprise of featuring the remote area Nhaulane/Pembe higher than all other localities in the district can be explained by the hunger and food insecurity experienced more severely in that area at the time (geographical coverage biased towards one topic). The radio reported recurrently on the high-profile measures taken to alleviate current hunger and improve long-term food security in that part of the district. The story was relayed to the radio by aid workers who unlike radio staff made regular visits to the locality.

identifiable source of the story. More often than not, the community groups that the news story is intended for are not given their own voice in the story.

It is very rare for news to be about community members as individuals. Usually the news stories are about people in their occupational capacity or about the community in general. Community associations are mentioned in nearly every other news item.

The news stories cover a range of topics and mostly the district in general. There is a rhetorical emphasis on the local in nearly every other news item.

4.5 Summary of analysis

The patterns that emerge from observations, interviews, survey analysis and content analysis show that the community radio station is the domain of the powerful and the socially mobile actors in the community.

Typical characteristics of the community radio news content in Homoine are described in the section just above. The news are produced by young and adult educated male volunteers with an eye to professional journalism standards (to pave the way for a career outside Homoine) and professional journalism practices (influenced by the professional experiences of the most productive news reporter).

Ordinary community members' impact on the content seems negligible in comparison to the influence of local government and partnerships with NGOs, both foreign and national. Feedback is channelled more through local government structures than the membership structures of the community radio association. A sizeable proportion of the community members surveyed did not feel able to access Radio ARCO, neither to produce content nor to voice their opinion about the work of the radio station.

5. Discussion and conclusion

Community radio news journalism is a new research area and it must be defined in relation to other media types. Extrapolating from the statements about community radio made by practitioners and academics, the news journalism of this media type can be expected to differ from mainstream news journalism, which according to Tuchman (among others) is an ally of legitimated institutions. Community radio news journalism, on the other hand, is supposed to be influenced by popular participation, representation, access and empowerment – channelling communication from the ground up. At least one study of a community radio station (Eliasoph 1988) shows that news journalism is not necessarily an ally of the powers that be. News can shift power balances.

So does community radio news journalism in Homoine support social change and popular participation as expected of this media type? Or do news journalism routines and genres, regardless of media type, always lead to the same kind of content, which supports the powers that be? The following sections will discuss the characteristics found at Radio ARCO.

No editorial independence
In Eliasoph's analysis, the media has an ability to select its own content, and it embraces an oppositional profile as one out of several media outlets. But in Homoine, Radio ARCO does not enjoy that level of independence and it identifies itself as the all-encompassing radio station for the whole geographic community, a local public service media that everyone can feed into. It claims to mirror the community, both in programming and organisational structures, as it should, according to community radio proponents. But the same proponents also emphasize editorial independence. There seems to be a contradiction between open access/community influence and editorial independence, which Radio ARCO has not resolved in practice. Community radio supposedly gives people access to explanations and insight into dispositions by those in power. But in fact, Radio ARCO is not editorially independent from those in power. So although people do get access to news from e.g. local government, these news stories are communicated one-way and only contain the explanations that the source chooses to contribute. It seems that Radio ARCO's news journalism is not able to create social change in the way the community debates or interacts the public space. Rather, the media adapts to the framework it was established in. It does not support

the case for "empowerment and development of a democratic culture via community radio" as advanced by Jallov (2004: 57). And Eliasoph's insistence on alternative news content in an alternative media, while inspiring, does not apply here.

African news values

The news at Radio ARCO <u>are</u> different in one respect, though. Lange's distinction between Western and African news values, while not being methodically accurate or directly applicable to this study, was still an inspiration in the exploration of the radio's characteristics. Together with my observations, Lange's work lead me to assume that I would find direct exhortations in the news and news stories whose main actors are elites. I did. My own observations and interviews also revealed news practices and values that were different from what I was used to. For instance that the same news item may be run over several days, if the usual sources are not available. News is not news if it is not uttered by a senior official. This of course ties back to the local lack of editorial independence, but it may also be a general value that can be found on the continent far beyond the district borders. More comparative research in this area could substantiate this.

Empowerment: Status quo

According to community radio proponents, community radio will change power relations, and empower the previously "voiceless" parts of the community. For this reason, the radio should channel messages in multiple directions, with an emphasis on communication from the bottom-up and not just one-way communication from the top-down. This does not happen in Homoine, though, where Radio ARCO claims to "give a voice to those who have no voice, but also to the government and NGOs". It is particularly the government who gets a voice in the news broadcasts, and NGOs are frequently mentioned. Those who have no voice in community life are rarely heard on the air, not even when the news stories are about them. Radio ARCO has its usual sources in the district administration and when they are not available, the radio rather runs the same story for several days than to broadcast news stories from other sources. Radio ARCO is thus not the domain of ordinary community members.

Representation versus participation

In the prescriptive theories of community radio, all communities within the community should remain continually involved in the work of the radio (its planning, operation, and evaluation). Everyone should have equal opportunity to produce programmes. But it is physically impossible for all individuals in the district to

participate in the radio station. This is where the notion of "representation" versus the notion of "participation" enters. Radio ARCO tries to serve the interest of the community by covering a broad spectrum of community life under specified headings (health, education, agriculture, culture, environment, sports, and civic education) for both sexes and all ages.

Listener identification was very high and there was general consensus that Radio ARCO covers the community well. So while the score on direct participation may be low, the patterns of representation seem to be well established and locally acceptable.
For instance, very few people seem to be interested in joining the radio association as individual members. Instead they are represented through local presidents or other powerful members of the community who become members on behalf of community groups.

Membership structures have evolved differently than foreseen in community radio theory – in Homoine the association is not a site of direct participation. It has been hijacked by established authoritarian structures. The board contains a balanced set of community interests, but it rarely receives new blood and functions more like a council of elders to supervise the young staff at the radio station than as a democratically elected structure.

In reality, however, it is not the board but the district administration that rules the radio, and free public debate is limited. In most aspects of its operation, Radio ARCO relies on the permission and goodwill of the district administrator, and it has developed practices and genres that do not conflict with this dependence, such as airing official statements or appeals/exhortations as local news. Radio ARCO carefully avoids reporting "politics", which is used to describe anything that isn't "fact". Debate or controversial news stories are rare. This does not comply with the theories that community radio news support change and development in the community; that the community will use the radio as a tool to reflect, analyse, discuss and look for solutions; or that community radio tries to promote fair discussion and debate that can resolve conflicting viewpoints and lead to consensus.

Genres: Surrendering the microphone
Community radio experts recognise that community radio reporters are sometimes confused about what they can or cannot say to their audience over the airwaves. While they may have received journalism training, the reporters are not well-equipped with

the tools of the profession (particularly as community radio proponents dismiss journalism as a tool of community radio) and they face the increased sensibility of the community – their neighbours, family and friends – because the reporters are so close to the audience. As expressed by Radio ARCO's board, the community feels that it is being reported on by its sons and daughters. They must therefore respect certain, familiar ways of addressing their audience, and the audience will react harshly to any perceptions of betrayal. This goes for not only content (what is being said) but also format (how it is being said). The tacit agreement on how things must be presented – genres – is strong and defies innovation as long as community elders and local authorities govern the editorial work of young reporters. This may explain why so many of the news items could be divided into genres where Radio ARCO in fact merely held out the microphone to officialdom.

The large majority of local news stories could be divided into the genres ″appeal″, ″official statement″ and ″event announcement″. It was surprising that less than one fifth fitted into textbook journalistic genres[40], given the professional aspirations of the volunteer news staff. Perhaps this is because the definition of ″standard news″ genres also falls within the Western news values and not within the African domain. This does not mean that there are no standards at play in Radio ARCO news journalism; the fact that the majority of news items falls into only three genres points to the opposite: that there is a distinct type of news journalism at play and it is guided by certain standards and procedures, as is other types of journalism in other media and other locations. In this case the findings of the content analysis can be seen as an expansion of Lange's work in the research area, in particular his confirmed hypothesis of direct exhortations in the news.

As the discussion above shows, there are apparently two sides to the closeness between reporters and audience. The shiny front side is that the community radio station has every opportunity to make locally relevant radio because it is well-connected to various community groups. The flip side is that these strings may tie up the radio to the extent that reporters and management pay more attention to external influences than to the radio's objectives. It is therefore not surprising that censorship and self-censorship should be present at Radio ARCO. It creates protection for the radio in this district in nearly the same way that professionalism protects mainstream

---

[40] See section 4.4.1 for a definition of the various news genres.

media. This leads to the discussion of whether community radio news content is journalism?

Journalism or not?

Gans argues that journalists and citizens can never be the same, because journalism is a profession with its own tools, rules and values. Journalists must represent more than themselves, and they cannot make judgements as citizens. UNESCO and other community radio proponents subscribe to the same notion, from a different perspective, when they argue that community radio is not journalism. Journalism is about the leaders talking to the people and it would make the community radio less accessible. Community radio is supposed to be an alternative to the journalism of other broadcasters, such as national public radio. Thus a large part of this thesis has been dedicated to documenting what exactly community radio news journalism is in Homoine. As described above, I found that Radio ARCO has developed its own news routines and genres within its resources and the boundaries of operation that it is afforded by local authorities. In addition, the community reporters are recruited from a particular section of the community – the young and/or experienced and educated – and they have professional aspirations. They come to the radio both to pursue a particular interest area (e.g. sports) and to improve their life options. In return, the radio requires skilled work from them and it has little room for those without skills. Not just anyone can participate in making radio programmes. It seems then that the "journalism-or-not"-discussion is only about the right phrasing, because the practices and content have close and acknowledged links to professional, mainstream journalism, even if they fall short of the textbook definitions from the West about genres, values and editorial independence.

Community journalism versus professional journalism

What are the differences in community radio news journalism in relation to professional journalism? In Homoine seemingly there are seemingly none, and that is a problem for community radio proponents. The young volunteers' aspirations of seeking a way out of the community through professional training and work at the radio – brain drain to the larger cities – clash with the intentions of community development. There may be no separate brand of news journalism developed by community radio and supported by community volunteers – or if the journalism mirrors the media, then this implies that Radio ARCO is not a true community radio.

This finding must be a blow to community radio proponents, and chief among them UNESCO. It contrasts with the development aim of its media programme, which puts a premium on process before content and refuses to acknowledge journalism as a legitimate brand for what is practiced at Radio ARCO and other community radios. Well may it be that Radio ARCO has both direct and indirect links to public service broadcasting (training and legacy), but this media is supposed to be of a different type supporting a pluralism of voices in the media landscape and African media's adaptation to a new, more democratic framework.

Journalism and democracy

It is a paradox that media is both seen as a power that checks other institutions in society and as lackey of the powerful. Is journalism incompatible with development and social change, as claimed by community radio proponents? This study only provides the first answers for a particular case area and thus cannot generalise. To be able to fully answer this question, more studies must be conducted on community radio journalism.

Reflections on method

I have touched briefly on the strengths and weaknesses of my observations and interviews in sections 3.2 and 3.3. Given my foreignness, there is no doubt that the replies I got, and the settings I have access to, were more guarded than what an insider would have accessed. But for a study of this pioneer, exploratory nature, I believe that even digging just few layers beneath the surface have yielded important, new findings. The questions and answers, and noted observations, may be broad and basic – only the initial steps into a deeper analysis. But they serve the purpose of establishing the first bearings in a new research area. Observations were carried out mostly at the radio station, but also at public events and further into the district, where my feet and the local minibuses carried me on duty with the reporters to get familiar with their practices and environment. The strategy of multiple short visits to Radio ARCO had the advantage of not exhausting the good relations established with the reporters. And in the intermissions between visits, I was able to take account of the findings and revise my next approach and questions accordingly in a follow-up, quasi-grounded theory approach. Thus I may only have been able to dig at the surface, but I was able to dig into any particular question from various sides, with more tools and at different times. I found that observation and interviews were particularly useful to get insights into news practices and community involvement.

Some of the strengths and weaknesses discussed above also go for the survey as a tool in this study (see also section 3.5) – the reserve of respondents towards a foreigner was a potential weakness, but the survey was strengthened because I was able to construct the questionnaire from the experiences of previous visits and not as a complete outsider. There are also strengths and weaknesses that are particular to how I carried out the survey. While I had excellent translation and assistance for the main part of the survey, there were still questions that were hard to get answers to (such as external influences on the radio), and there were questions I forgot put in the questionnaire (such as respondent's affiliation with community bodies). Another weakness was that the sample was too small to give significant results for community subgroups that might differ from the general picture. Yet overall, the survey has yielded interesting findings about community perceptions of access, participation, representation and influence at the radio. Questionnaires are often in use in development and community radio research, not least at Radio ARCO, where the community is used to audience surveys. Hence it is an acceptable way of obtaining information, even if the questions had another focus than most other surveys in this research area.

The content analysis has strengths and weaknesses that are discussed in section 3.6. It yielded valuable new information and documentation of the kind of news Radio ARCO broadcasts – which topics, who speaks and who is spoken about, and how the community news are delivered. The findings may be blemished by an incomplete and possibly biased sample, but the sample was large and 'significance' was introduced to identify the main findings. It is a new tool for community radio research and therefore this thesis has emphasized the findings reached through this method in comparison to the other methods. However, since the content analysis was the final step, it was informed by the data collected by other methods. This makes it difficult to identify which findings were reached by which particular method. But I believe that there is a higher benefit in being able to build an analysis on continual reviews and recoding, in a grounded way, particularly in a research field that is relatively difficult to access.

The tools of this study could no doubt have been wielded with more precision, and one of them – the focus group discussion – failed. Yet taken together, the methods have covered the new research field in broad strokes as intended.

Conclusion: Revision of general claims about community radio
The news journalism of Radio ARCO is characterised by editorial links to local power structures, censorship, surrendering the microphone, general representation but low

actual participation, local government hijacking of the democratic structures, and no signs of empowerment or social change as described by community radio proponents such as UNESCO, the initiator of Radio ARCO.

However, while this may be a problem in community radio theory, it does not seem to be a problem in practice. The survey among community members established that the local news is a highly popular programme – probably because it is tainted by professionalism and does not sidestep the acceptable ways of addressing the audience from the top down. Dunaway rightly points out that people prefer high quality radio, and the community radio was not established on a blank slate but in a district that was used to the news broadcast by the national public service broadcaster. Certain standards needed to be met by Radio ARCO to keep its listeners.

So do the findings of this thesis point to a failure of theory or a failure of implementation (cf. Wanyeki)? It is a hard call to make based on this case study data about community radio news journalism. But judging by UNESCO's efforts to mobilise and train the community for its radio project and by the success claimed for its monitoring methods and results (cf. Jallov), implementation has happened almost according to plan. This means that a revision of general claims about community radio – its unique practices and output – must be in order.

Community radio does not necessarily encourage social change, popular participation or even debate. This has been established by an exploratory, empirical analysis of actual news practices at Radio ARCO and not least a ground-breaking content analysis of the local news. Further studies into claimed accomplishments of community radio should take these findings about community radio news journalism into account.

List of references

Radio ARCO/UNESCO Media Project - *Main website: http://www.mediamoz.com*

ARCO (2003) "Balanço das actividades realizados pelo Comité de Gestão de 17 de Julho de 2002 a Outobro de 2003" Annual report of the Board 2002-2003

ARCO (2003) "Perguntas sobre a programaçao da rádio "ARCO" a serem feitas no evento do 1° de Maio" Interview guide to audience surveying at the occasion of a 01 May public event

ARCO (2000) "Estatutos da Associaçao da Rádio Comunitária de Homoine" Statutes of the Association for the Community Radio in Homoine.

Bonin, Marie-Helène (1999) "Media Pluralism Landscape. An Overview of the Media Sector in Mozambique" (Maputo: UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique)

Krogh, Torben (1999) "Frihed & udvikling" *Udvikling* 9/1999 (Copenhagen: Danida): 24-25

Naughton, Tracey (2000) "Setting Up and Managing a Community Radio Station" Course Monitor Report for NSJ/UNESCO, Maputo, February 7th to February 18th, 2000 (Johannesburg: Nyaka Development and Communications Consultants)

Naughton, Tracey (1998) "Speak Speak Mozambique – Fala Fala Mozambique" Report – UNFPA Contract MOZ/95/P09 August 1998 – for Institute of Social Communications, Mozambique (Johannesburg: Nyaka Development and Communications Consultants)

Sadique, Faruco (2001) "Community Waves: Some experiences in supporting the establishment of Community Radios by UNESCO in Mozambique" (Maputo: UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique)

Sumbana, Hanise (2003) "Como utilisar melhor a Rádio Comunitária na área de HIV/SIDA – Pesquisa de audiência e estudo CAP: Rádio Comunitária de Homoíne" (Maputo: UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique)

Taimo, Nélia (November 2003) "Relatório final de consultoria na área de pesquisa para o projecto "Desenvolvimento dos Media" em Moçambique" (Maputo UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique)

Tufte, Thomas (September 2002) "Which Waves? Towards a Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for Community Radios" - excerpts (Maputo: UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique)

Tufte, Thomas (1999) "Vanskelig vej" *Udvikling* 9/1999 (Copenhagen: Danida): 26-28

UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique (2003a) "Community Radio in Mozambique" Slide presentation printout (Maputo: UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique)

UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique (2001a) "Creating Sustainable Community Radio Stations – a major challenge" http://www.mediamoz.com/CR/CR_sustainable.htm

UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique (2001b) "UNESCO Project Progress Report – Strengthening Democracy and Governance through Development of the Media in Mozambique" (Maputo: UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique)

UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique (2001c) "Report on a Community Radio Seminar" (Maputo: UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique)

UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique (1999) "UNESCO Project Progress Report – Strengthening Democracy and Governance through Development of the Media in Mozambique" (Maputo: UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, Mozambique)

Mozambique

Abrahamsson, Hans & Anders Nilsson (1995) *Mozambique: The Troubled Transition* (London: Zed Books)

Carter Center (2004-2005) *Postelection statements on Mozambique elections* posted on http://www.cartercenter.org/activities/showdoc.asp?countryID=50&submenuname=activities#

Hanlon, Joseph (2005) "Bringing It All Together: A Case Study of Mozambique" in Junne, Gerd and Willemijn Verkoren (eds.) *Postconflict Development: Meeting New Challenges* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienne Publishers): 273-287

Hanlon, Joseph (2004) "Do donors promote corruption?: the case of Mozambique" *Third World Quarterly* 25(4): 747-763

Hanlon, Joseph (1996) *Peace without profit: How the IMF blocks rebuilding in Mozambique* African Issues (London: Irish Mozambique Solidarity/the International African Institute/James Currey)

Hanlon, Joseph (1991) *Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots?* (London: James Currey/Indiana University Press)

Hanlon, Joseph (1986) *Beggar Your Neighbours: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa* (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations/James Currey/Indiana University Press): 131-150

Hanlon, Joseph (1984) *Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire* (London: Zed Books)

Instituto Nacional de Estatística Portal http://www.ine.gov.mz/

Lundin, Irae Baptista (1996) "The Role of Traditional Leaders: Relics of the Past or Agents of Change?" in Marias, Carrie, Peter H. Katjavivi & Arnold Wermhörner (eds.) *Southern Africa after Elections: Towards a Culture of Democracy* based on a regional conference organised by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, University of Namibia and UNESCO (Namibia: Gamsberg Macmillan Publishers): 103-112

Manning, Carrie L. (2002) *The Politics of Peace in Mozambique: Post-Conflict Democratization, 1992-2000* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers)

Marrias, Carrie, Peter H. Katjavivi & Arnold Wehmhörner (eds.) (1996) *Southern Africa after Elections: Towards a Culture of Democracy*, a publication resulting of the conference organised by Freidrich-Ebert-Stiftung, University of Namibia and UNESCO in 1995 (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan Publishers)

Mozambique News Agency "AIM Reports No.289, 22nd December 2004" http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news/

Mozambique News Agency "AIM Reports No.145, 20th October 1998" http://www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news/

Hanlon, Joseph (ed.) (2000-2004) *Mozambique Political Process Bulletin* Issues 25- 31, published by AWEPA European Parliamentarians for Africa on http://www.awepa.org

Negrão, José (2003) "On relations between the NGOs of the north and Mozambican civil society" Paper presented at the master's course "Alternative Globalization and Non Governmental Organizations in the Realm of Portuguese as Official Language", October 2003, Faculty of Economics, University of Coimbra, Portugal. http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/ d0000719/P813-Mozambican_CS.pdf

Newitt, Malyn (1995) *A History of Mozambique* (London: Hurst & Company)

Nilsson, Anders (1999) *Peace in Our Time: Towards a holistic understanding of world society conflicts* PhD dissertation (Gothenburg: Department of Peace and Development Research, Gothenburg University)

Transparency International (2004) *Corruption Perceptions Index 2004* www.transparency.org

UNDP (2004) *Human Development Report 2004* (New York: UNDP) http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2004/

UNDP Mozambique (2002) *Mozambique National Human Development Report 2001* (Maputo: UNDP) http://www.undp.org.mz/articlefiles/15-english_final.pdf

Weinstein, Jeremy M. (2002) "Mozambique: A fading U.N. success story" *Journal of Democracy* 13(1):141-156

African media/Community radio literature

AMARC Africa, Panos Southern Africa, Pronatura-Chiapas - Mexico Open Society Foundation (2004) *Media for Sustainable Development Content Survey: A Baseline Study Report On Sustainable Development Content/Themes For Community Radio Stations in Africa and Central America*, submitted to Open Society Foundation, South Africa http://africa.amarc.org/files/M4SDStudyMay04l.pdf

AMARC (2000) *The African Community Radio Manager's Handbook* (Johannesburg: AMARC)

Dunaway, David (2002) "Community Radio at the Beginning of the 21st Century: Commercialism vs. Community Power" in Jankowski, Nicholas W. with Ole Prehn *Community Media in the Information Age: Perspectives and Prospects* (New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc): 63-82

Eliasoph, Nina (1988) "Routines and the Making of Oppositional News" *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 5(4): 313-334

Fardon, Richard & Graham Furniss (eds.) (2000) *African broadcast cultures: Radio in transition* (Oxford: Yesmes Currey Publishers)

Forde, Susan, Michael Meadows & Kerrie Foxwell (2003) "Community radio and local culture: An Australian case study" *Communications* 28: 231-252

Fraser, Collin & Estrada, Sonia Restrepo (2001) *Community Radio Handbook* (Paris: UNESCO)

Gillis, Tamara L. & Robert C. Moore (2004) "Community Journalism Can Transform African Communities" http://www.comminit.com/africa/strategicthinking/st2004/thinking-812.html

Gillis, Tamara L. & Robert C. Moore (2003) *Keeping Your Ears To The Ground - A Journalist's Guide to Citizen Participation in the News: A Primer on Community Journalism* (Windhoek: Department of Media Technology, Polytechnic of Namibia)

Gumucio Dagron, Alfonso (2001) *Making Waves – Stories of Participatory Communication for Social Change* (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation)

Hochheimer, John L. (1993) "Organizing democratic radio: issues in praxis" *Media, Culture & Society* 15: 473-486

Huesca, Robert (1996a) "Participation for development in radio: An ethnography of the reporteros populares of Bolivia" *Gazette* 57(1): 29-52.

Huesca, Robert (1995) "A procedural view of participatory communication: lessons from Bolivian tin miners' radio" *Media, Culture & Society* 17: 101-119

Ibrahim, Zane (2000) "Tarzan doesn't live here any more: Musings on being donor-sponsored in Africa" *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 3(2): 199-205

Jallov, Birgit (2005) "Assessing Community Change: Development of a 'Bare Foot' Impact Assessment" *The Radio Journal - International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media* 3(1): 21-34

Jankowski, Nicholas W. (2003) "Community Media Research: A Quest for Theoretically-grounded Models" *Javnost - The Public* 10(1): 1-9

Jauert, Per (1990) "News Broadcasting in Local and Regional Television" Paper presented to The XVIIth IAMCR Conference in Bled, Yugoslavia, August 26-31, 1990

Jauert, Per & Ole Prehn (2002) "Mangfoldighed og kvalitet. Evaluering af tilskudsordningen for lokalradio og -tv" (Copenhagen: Ministry of Culture)

Jauert, Per & Ole Prehn (1995) "Lokalradio og lokal-tv. Nu og i fremtiden" (Copenhagen: Ministry of Culture)

Kivikuru, Ullamaija (2004) "Top/Down or Bottom/Up? Radio in the Service of Democracy: Experiences from South Africa and Namibia" Paper presented at the congress of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) in Porto Alegre, Brazil

Lange, James C. (1984) "National Development and News Values: The Press in the Third World and the West" *Gazette* 33(2): 69-86

Lange, James C. (1981) "The Effect of National Development on News Values" PhD Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International)

Lewis, Peter M. (2002) "Radio Theory and Community Radio" in Jankowski, Nicholas W. with Ole Prehn *Community Media in the Information Age: Perspectives and Prospects* (New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc): 47-61

Lewis, Peter M. (1984) "Community Radio: The Montreal Conference and After" *Media, Culture & Society* 6(1): 137-150

Libombo, Alfredo (2005) "Community Broadcasting in Mozambique" AMARC Country Report, Global Advocacy Project 2004-2005 http://obsmedia.amarc.org/site.php?lang=EN

Media Institute of Southern Africa (2003a) *Open the Waves: Campaign for Broadcast Diversity. Campaign for Public Service Broadcasting in Southern Africa* (Windhoek: MISA)

Media Institute of Southern Africa (2003b) *Open the Waves: Campaign for Broadcast Diversity. Campaign to enable community media in Southern Africa* (Windhoek: MISA)

Mtimde, Lumko et al. (1998) *What is community radio? A resource guide* (Johannesburg: AMARC-Africa)

Naughton, Tracey & Denise Namburete (2002) "Aspirations and Promises – A sustainability assessment of Angonia and Mutarara community radio stations" (Maputo: NSJ Southern Africa Media Training Centre/Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa Media Programme)

Olorunnisola, Anthony A. (2002) "Community radio as participatory communication in post-apartheid South Africa" manuscript posted at http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/a/x/axo8/Joburg/manuscript.htm

Opubor, Alfred E. (2000) "If Community Media is the Answer, What is the Question?" in Boafo, S. T. Kwame *Promoting Community Media in Africa* (Paris: UNESCO): 11-24

Prah, Kwesi Kwaa (2004) *Speaking African on the Radio: Impact Assessment Survey of FM/Community Radios Using African Languages in Ghana, Mali and Senegal* (Cape Town: Center for Advanced Studies of African Society in cooperation with the UNESCO Communication Development Division)

Rodriguez, Clemencia (2000) "Civil society and citizen's media: Peace architects for the new millenium" in Wilkins, Karin G. *Redeveloping communication for social change: Theory, practice and power* (Maryland, D.C.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.): 147-160

Teer-Tomaselli, Ruth (2001) "Who is the "Community" in Community Radio: A Case Study of Community Radio Stations in Durban, Kwazulu-Natal" in Tomaselli, Keyan & Hopeton Dunn (eds.) (2001) *Media, Democracy and Renewal in Southern Africa* (Colorado Springs: International Academic Publishers): 231-251

Tower, Craig (2005) "'Arajo efemu': local FM radio and the socio-technical systems of communication in Koutiala, Mali" *The Radio Journal - International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media* 3(1): 7-20

van Zyl, John (2004) "Community radio: The yeast in the bread of civil society" posted on ABC Ulwazi - www.abculwazi.org.za

van Zyl, John (ed.) *Community Radio: The People's Voice* (Johannesburg: Sharp Sharp Media) posted on ABC Ulwazi http://www.abculwazi.org.za/jsp/gui/Ebooks/book_download.jsp

van Zyl, John (2002) "Community radio and citizenship in South Africa", appeared in AMARC electronic newsletter, posted on ABC Ulwazi - www.abculwazi.org.za

Wanyeki, Lynne Muthoni (2000) "The Development of Community Media in East and Southern Africa" in Boafo, S. T. Kwame *Promoting Community Media in Africa* (Paris: UNESCO): 25-41

White, Robert (2004) Unpublished manuscript on community radio in Africa, intended for the Jankowski series

Methodology

Altheide, Davis L (1987) "Ethnographic Content Analysis" *Qualitative Sociology* 10(1): 65-77

Berelsen, Bernhard (1972/1952) "The Categories of Content Analysis" in Berelsen, Bernard *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (New York: Hafner): 147-168

Booth, Wayne C., Gregory G. Colomb & Joseph M. Williams (1995) *The Craft of Research* (Chicago: Chicago University Press): 85-131

Charmaz, Kathy (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (London: SAGE Publications)

Deacon, David et al (1999) "Counting contents" in Deacon, David et al *Researching Communications: a practical guide to methods in media and cultural analysis* (London: Arnold): 91-129

Glaser, Barney G. & Anselm L. Strauss (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter)

Gunter, Barrie (2002) "The quantitative research process" in Jensen, Klaus Bruhn (ed.) *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies* (London: Routledge): 209-234

Hansen, Anders et al (1998) "Content Analysis" in Hansen, Anders et al *Mass Communication Research Methods* (London: Macmillan): 91-129

Jensen, Klaus Bruhn (2002) "The complementarity of qualitative and quantitative methodologies in media and communication research" in Jensen, Klaus Bruhn (ed.) *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies* (London: Routledge): 254-272

Krakauer, Sigfried (1952) "The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 26(4): 631-642

McNiff, Jean, Pamela Lomax & Jack Whitehead (2004, 2nd edition) *You and Your Action Research Project* (London: RoutledgeFalmer)

Neumann, W. Lawrence (1997, 3rd edition) *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon)

Peil, Margaret (1995, 2nd edition) *Social Science Research Methods: A Handbook for Africa* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers)

Yin, Robert K. (2003, 3rd edition) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Applied Social Research Methods Series Volume 5 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications): Chapters 2, 5 and 6

Yin, Robert K. (1993) *Applications of Case Study Research*, Applied Social Research Methods Series Volume 34 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications): Chapters 1 and 4

General theory

Breed, Warren (1955) "Social control in the newsroom: A functional analysis" *Social Forces* 33(4): 326-333

Gans, Herbert J. (1979) *Deciding what's news* (New York: Pantheon Books)

Huesca, Robert (1996b) "New directions for participatory communication for development" *Media Development* 43(2): 26-30

Tracey, Michael (1998) *The Decline and Fall of Public Service Broadcasting* (New York: Oxford University Press): vii-32

Tuchman, Gaye (1978) *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: The Free Press/Macmillan Publishing)

Appendix 1: Participation and representation in Mozambique

Although my study area is limited to Radio ARCO in Homoine district, I have decided to append additional information about the social and political context that is particular to Mozambique. This appendix is not crucial to the argumentation of this thesis, but it will give readers unfamiliar with this area a chance to read up on Mozambique's political and social development since independence - it is an "all you need to know about..." seen from the perspective of the population and external observers. The following sections will outline the conditions for civic participation and representation created by the war, poverty, party politics, democratic elections, collaboration between the elite and foreign donors, centralized leadership, civic organisations and the status of tradition.

A note on the sources

I have chosen a few recognized experts on Mozambique and some lesser-known academics. Foremost among the experts is Professor Joseph Hanlon, who is a pinnacle in social science research on post-independence Mozambique. He worked as a correspondent for The Guardian in Maputo in 1979-1985 and he has published several books and articles on Mozambican politics, economy, corruption, donor dependence, and social landscape (Hanlon 2005, 2004, 1996, 1991, 1986, 1984). He is also the editor of all 30+ issues of the Mozambican Political Process Bulletin published by European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA) since the first multiparty elections in 1994. It is clear that Joseph Hanlon has made a huge personal as well as professional commitment to post-independence Mozambique. The range of data he has collected over the years is extensive as is his network of sources among donors, embassies and Frelimo officials.

Hanlon's sympathies are generally with the Frelimo government until the mid-1990s and against the IMF and World Bank, the US and US-backed right-wing institutions, clueless NGOs, and the increasingly corrupt and autocratic Frelimo government of today as well as the donors who sanction its behaviour. Hanlon represent the left-wing camp of external commentators who claim (and in some cases document) that the war in Mozambique was the result of Rhodesian/South African/US destabilization policies against a Marxist-Leninist regime; that the Soviet bloc left Mozambique out in the cold; that Renamo was a guerrilla-lackey with little popular backing; and that the unified leadership of Frelimo after its first few wrong steps would have turned Mozambique into a showcase of the virtues of socialism if it had not been attacked by its neighbours.

In later years, Hanlon has revised the glorification of Frelimo's first years, as have another and newer camp of commentators. More right-leaning academics such as Jeremy Weinstein (2002) and Carrie Manning (2002) stress that Frelimo was never unified and there was continuous in-fighting at the party top; that Southern Africa was indeed a Cold War Battleground; that the war was admittedly caused by foreign intervention but also by ethnic and political divisions and a revolt against Frelimo's disastrous economic dispositions in the early 1980s; Renamo was admittedly a war machine but it was also able to attract and keep defected leaders, tradition-oriented communities and political dissidents, whom it could offer better prospects to than Frelimo did.

Hans Abrahamsson and Anders Nilsson (Abrahamsson & Nilsson 1995, Nilsson 1999) also decided to zoom in on the relative deprivation of marginalized elites in Mozambique after independence and what impact poverty and social dynamics had on the war and reconciliation. The real question was not whether the war in Mozambique had roots in civil/internal affairs or international affairs, but rather why so many Mozambicans took part in the foreign-led destruction of their country. The aim of this approach is to formulate a theoretical approach that links conflict analysis to conflict resolution. Nilsson's PhD dissertation is of special interest to me, because he made numerous field visits to Homoine district and Inhambane province in 1981, 1983-1986 as a journalist employed at Mozambique's official news agency, and as an academic in 1989, 1991 and 1994.

It should be kept in mind that Mozambique is a large country and not all events had general impact everywhere. The following sections are mostly about Mozambique in general, because this is the material I had access to, and I have chosen to assume that the general conditions also apply to Homoine district and Inhambane province, unless exceptions were clearly specified by my sources. There is arguably a risk that some 'facts' are deduced without proper verification - they may be present in Mozambique as such, but are they in fact present in Homoine? This is a potential error that I cannot do away with. But whenever possible I have tried to focus on information related to Homoine district or Inhambane province. The following backdrop to public participation and representation in Homoine, Mozambique will therefore move between the different levels of national/general and local/specific developments.

The war

What most people know about Mozambique is that it has been ravaged by war. More precisely, there were two wars. The first war was a liberation war against the Portuguese colonizers 1964-1974 which did not affect the whole country. Guerrillas from the national liberation front Frelimo (Frente de Liberação de Moçambique) entered from the north and moved south towards the capital Maputo. But long before they could reach their goal by military force, the war in the colony was overtaken by Portugal's Carnation Revolution in 1974. In 1975 Mozambique gained independence from Portugal. Frelimo took over the reins and established a one-party socialist state governed from Maputo in the far south.

1976 saw the beginning of a new war in Mozambique. The war was waged by Renamo (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana) against the socialist government. Renamo[41] did not spring from a popular movement but was initially launched by the white-ruled Rhodesia in response to Frelimo's support to black liberation armies in its neighbouring countries. In 1980 when white-ruled Rhodesia became black-ruled Zimbabwe, South Africa took over the backing of Renamo. The war in independent Mozambique lasted from 1976 to 1992.

This war (from now on referred to as *the* war) did not affect all parts of the country equally. It was launched from the central part bordering Rhodesia and it was not until mid-1982 that Renamo expanded from the centre of Mozambique southward into Gaza and Inhambane provinces. But then it stayed. The provincial headquarters were established in the western, rural part of Homoine district.

In 1987 the war intensified in Inhambane and Gaza provinces. Renamo launched its last military offensive with infiltration into the three southernmost provinces in the first half of 1987. In the second half of 1987 Renamo carried out several massacres on civilians and lost much of whatever international goodwill it had had - Renamo was increasingly labelled a bandit and a terrorist. In 1988 a US State Department report based on interviews with Mozambican refugees backed up the image of Renamo as essentially a villain, which had low legitimacy among the refugees and was responsible for 95% of the committed atrocities (Nilsson 1999:85-86).

---

[41] As an indicator of its international origin, Renamo was initially known by its English acronym MNR. It was only later, in a conscious change of PR tactics, that Renamo embraced a Portuguese acronym similar to Frelimo's.

Homoine saw its share of the action and received international press coverage after a particularly gruesome massacre took place there on 18 July 1987. Renamo invaded the town for one day and killed 424 people. The guerrillas took special care to attack the hospital, where they killed staff and patients, not over-looking mothers with newborn babies.

In 1990 Renamo and the Frelimo government engaged in the first direct peace talks. Joseph Hanlon has estimated and extrapolated[42] that by 1990 there were more than 1 million refugees outside Mozambique and 2 million internally displaced. 1 million has died because of the war[43] and the damage has cost Mozambique over $20 billion. The terms of peace were agreed in 1992.

Poverty in Mozambique
Mozambique is generally hailed as a success from a macroeconomic perspective: From 1997-2002 GDP grew 8.5% on average in Mozambique. But the growth is concentrated in the south, mainly in the capital Maputo, and is generated by capital-intensive mineral or energy projects. Other statistics by the National Institute of Statistics (INE) show that real GDP per capita fell by 16% in 1999-2001. Private consumption per capita was not higher than at the end of the war and the gap between private consumption in the capital and in the poorest provinces is deepening. The rural poor are getting poorer (Hanlon 2005:281-282, UNDP 2001, INE)

Any narrative of the development of Mozambique into a nation of citizens should take account of the 74% of the population that live in rural areas, and more often than not live below the official poverty line. Mozambicans are poor by many standards, such as those compiled in UNDP's annual Human Development Index, where Mozambique is consistently rated among the last 20 countries. Poverty has always been a given and this section intends to tell the history of Mozambique through the eyes of the poor population.

For as long as historians can remember, Mozambicans were poor. There were glorious empires in the pre-colonial past, but even in those warrior chiefdoms, hierarchical

---

[42] Based on numbers from Unicef, UN Economic Commission for Africa, US State Department and Mozambique's government (Hanlon 1991:5, 38, 262, 41-42; Hanlon 2005:274).

[4343] 1989: 200,000 actually killed by Renamo, 500,000 infants and 200,000 over the age of 5 died who would not otherwise have died.

structures were such that the average Mozambican was poor, possibly enslaved and in any case subjected to a higher power[44].

Poverty was not due to any barrenness of the land; Mozambique is fertile and rich in natural resources. Poverty was and is a question of distribution. During colonial rule, Portugal distributed most of central and northern Mozambique in concession to foreign companies to do with as they pleased. During the last 50 years, Salazar's fascist regime pursued its own extraction of natural resources for the industry in Portugal, but continued to service the commercial interests of Mozambique's neighbours with port and rail facilities and cheap labour. Under Portuguese rule, Mozambicans remained poor, illiterate and at the base of an extractive slave and plantation economy. During the war of liberation, the peasant population provided for Frelimo's guerrilla soldiers. After independence, the Frelimo government invested in health and education, in industry and large state farms but failed to maintain the rural trade networks established by the Portuguese - the average Mozambican had better access to education and health services but remained poor and had trouble obtaining basic commodities.

During the war, guerrillas targeted economic infrastructure and health and education structures, causing both government investments and small-scale peasant economies to collapse. Drought and famine was added to (other) inflictions of the war, and after initial hesitation, donors opened the floodgates of disaster relief, in particular to Inhambane province. What remained of marketing networks and production incentives was washed away by foreign aid. Average Mozambicans were poor, endangered and became dependent on foreigners for food and basic commodities.

In the late 1980s and early to mid-1990s, the IMF dictated a devaluation of the Meticais, a decrease in public spending and private spending power, and a 2/3 cut in public salaries, which made teachers, health staff and front desk staff in public institutions unable to provide for their families, unless they found other sources of income. Average Mozambicans became poorer and strapped for cash, as they had to pay bribes for public services that they were or were not entitled to. As this short account illustrates, different governments and policies have come and gone, but the way of life for most citizens is still determined by poverty and by vulnerability to developments outside their influence. The following sections describe the links between people and

---

[44] The discussion of communal property and Africans' self-proclaimed history of sharing is irrelevant here.

governance: How people were represented and how they could participate in the public life of the new nation.

Party versus state

During the fight for independence Frelimo had been a progressive and inclusive mass movement. There was infighting at leadership level, but women fought along side men, and anyone could join who sympathised with Frelimo's ideas of socialism and African nationalism inspired by similar currents in Tanzania and Kenya. Frelimo was established by a number of small resistance groups outside of Mozambique and it launched its war from bases in Tanzania. The leadership was accused of a bias towards the south (exiled southern academics) and the far north (Makonde warriors). Although it attempted mass mobilization Frelimo never extended its influence into all corners of the 799,380 square-kilometer country. There was a network of local so-called "dynamizing groups" in place, but at independence there were still many communities in the central and southern parts of Mozambique, who had heard of the liberators, but not experienced them first-hand.

Soon after independence, in 1977, Frelimo's third congress sanctioned a shift that turned the mass movement into a 'Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party' made up of the 'best revolutionary working people'. Those wishing to join the party went through a screening process by home investigations and mass meetings *"where the candidates' attitude and conduct towards fellow workers, wives and husbands, and neighbours were discussed at length. Many people were rejected."* (Hanlon 1984:138). Politics thus became confined to assemblies for the chosen few, and for the rest Frelimo established 'mass democratic organizations' and 'production councils' as 'the connecting links between the Party and the people' (phrases quoted in Hanlon 1984:135-136).

Frelimo's third congress also formally established Mozambique as a one-party-state in which the president of Frelimo was the president of the country. The formal one-to-one relationship between party and state continued for 13 years, until the new Constitution of 1990 introduced multiparty democracy at the end of the war. But although Mozambique now is formally a multi-party democracy, it could be argued that the tight relations between party and state have mostly remained unchanged.

At independence, Frelimo inherited a centralised system from the Portuguese. The colonial regime had leased out control of the central and northern territories to foreign plantation companies, but maintained a presence in these areas via appointment of

chiefs, the so-called *régulos*, of which more will be said further down. In addition to colonial officialdom, Portuguese and Indian traders and shopkeepers were dispersed throughout the country and were essential actors in the local trade networks. After the flight of Portuguese (although some stayed), Frelimo had a large vacuum to fill in the state administration.

In 1977 Frelimo defined "democratic centralism" as a single centre leading the party organisations toward a single objective and expressing the will of all. The notion of centralism was carried over to the state apparatus, and to this day central government continues to rule by decree. Governments at provincial, district and local levels continue to be appointed, not elected and have little discretion to make decisions about local affairs[45]. The political party that manages to seize control of central government also seizes control of local levels and will appoint party cadres as governors, district administrators, local chiefs and also senior civil servants to oversee health, education, agriculture, commerce and industry etc. In this system winner takes all, and so far Frelimo has not lost a national election once.

Winner takes all

The multiparty elections in 1994, in 1999, and in 2004 were deemed free and overall fair, with some irregularities. 80-90% of the eligible voters have registered[46] and voter turnouts were initially high: 88% in 1994 and 75% in 1999. In 2004, the voter turnout dropped to 43%.

Frelimo has won elections in the south and in the far north and Renamo has won elections in the center and in the north. But all provinces except Gaza in the south have elected both parties into parliament.

In Inhambane province, Frelimo has a solid grasp on the electorate: In the national elections 13 out of total 16 parliamentary seats in that province went to Frelimo in 1994, 13 out of 17 seats in 1999, and 15 out of 16 seats in 2004.

In the municipal elections of 1998 and 2003 - the only direct elections aside from national elections - Frelimo gained and maintained 85% of the votes in Inhambane and Maxixe, the two cities closest to Homoine district.

Frelimo's influence extends south towards the capital Maputo, passing through the provinces of Gaza and Maputo, where the prevalence of Frelimo voters come even

---

[45] With the exception of local councils and mayors in 33 cities called municipalities.

[46] According to the national news agency AIM, in 2004 no one knew precisely how many voters were actually registered on the voters roll: some voters were duplicated and others were deceased. The numbers are estimates (AIM No. 289, 22nd December 2004).

closer to a perfect 100%. In the capital Maputo where more currents mix, Frelimo "only" gained 75% in the 2004 municipal elections.

As Weinstein notes, *"[t}he average Mozambican voter lives among and knows only people who support the same party and candidate - hardly a recipe for a vibrant democratic civic culture."* (Weinstein 2001:151). In Homoine district and beyond, in any place within any radius that most residents have any experience of or would care to know about, politics and government equals Frelimo.

The geographic political divisions in Mozambique are compounded by similar economic divisions. Frelimo's heartland in the south is many times richer than Renamo's provinces in the center and in the north. Weinstein (Weinstein 2002:151) quotes a popular saying that the south is 9 times richer. UNDP backed this up in 2002 by showing that during the previous four years, the ratio between GDP per capita in the poorest province Zambézia and in Maputo City increased from 1:10 to 1:14 (UNDP 2002). Public investment in the south has since colonial times been higher than in the north and as a result southerners have better physical infrastructure and better access to schools and health posts. *"Voters in strong Renamo areas tend to be poorer than those in Frelimo areas, and little has been done to rectify the situation since 1992"*, Weinstein commented in 2002 and warned against the civil uprisings this could fuel if Renamo is again disappointed in the 2004 elections. But although Renamo did protest the fairness of the 2004 elections, the uprisings never came, in spite of evidence of stuffed ballot boxes at some polling stations and blatant misconduct by the National Election Commission (as noted by elections observers from the Carter Center (2004-2005) and the Mozambique Political Process Bulletin Issue 31). It was also noted that the drop in voter turn-out (43% compared to 75% and 88% in the previous national elections) was mostly on Renamo's side. One of the explanations was that people decided to make good use of the rain and spend the election days in the fields (Mozambique Political Process Bulletin Issue 31). Apparently, open confrontation with government and a resulting crack-down seemed less attractive to rural voters than to keep their heads down, plant their seeds and hope for better times to come.

In the 2004 elections, the smaller parties were pushed out of parliament and Frelimo increased its majority by 27 seats to 160 seats out of the total 250. In the 1999 presidential elections, it almost came to a tie between Renamo's and Frelimo's candidates. A majority of less than 5% gave Frelimo and the long-serving president Joaquim Chissano another term. But in 2004 Frelimo's new presidential candidate Armando Guebuza won with an unquestionable majority of 63.7% against Renamo's re-contender Afonso Dhlakama's 31.7%. At each election after 1994 Renamo has

contested the results on a large scale based on local injustices. The stakes in the national elections are extremely high. The reason, as stated previously, is that the winner takes full control of the public administration at national, provincial, district, and local levels. Power is centralized and unified. Policies, instructions and information flow from the top down and local initiatives are discouraged.

A factor that emphasises officials' allegiance to central government and not local populations is the system of recruitment for government administration at senior levels. At independence Frelimo made a conscious choice to fill administrative posts at district and provincial levels with officials who came from another area. The reason was to prevent tribalism and entrenchment of ethnic divisions. Since then a rotation policy has been added to prevent the establishment of competing power bases. Government officials are regularly reassigned to posts elsewhere in Mozambique, which can be interpreted as promotions or demotions dependent on the official's standing with central government. Thus Aires Aly, the governor of Inhambane province until the 2004 elections[47], was formerly the governor of Niassa province in the north, and Miguel Feliz Pinto, the district administrator of Homoine, has formerly been the district administrator of Marrupa, also in Niassa province, and of Massinga, in Inhambane province.

Weinstein argued in 2002 that it is necessary to shift more levels of government from "appointed" to "elected" to revitalize local politics, lower the stakes for winners-losers at the national elections, and make the central government a truly *national* government (Weinstein 2002:153-154) that has competed for support in rural areas as well as in the cities. In 2002 there was already recognition of the problem that government at sub national levels did not have to respond to pressure from below. Frelimo had discussed it at its fourth congress in 1987 and UNDP among others had since the 1990s pushed for decentralisation and local elected bodies at provincial and district levels. In 2001, both Renamo and the government suggested locally elected bodies at provincial levels as counsellors (but not decision-makers) to the governors. Renamo wanted provincial parliaments composed of political parties, while the government wanted a consultative council of politicians and representatives of civil society, churches, traditional authorities, commerce and industry. Central government responded to the problem with a revision of the law on local state bodies, which maintains that officials are still appointed and therefore only upwardly accountable. But it does give provincial

---

[47] Aires Aly was appointed Minister of Education in the government formed after the 2004 elections.

governors some rein to take and carry out decisions without prior consent from Maputo. Officials are obligated to encourage participation of local communities in activities, but not in decisions (Mozambique Political Process Bulletin Issue 26 and 28).

Elite power sharing and the international community
The international community entered Mozambique on a large scale in the mid-1980s with representatives of bilateral donors, UN organisations, the IMF and World Bank, and foreign NGOs. They are still present in large numbers.
The international community arrived in response to a food crisis in Inhambane province and has stayed on to promote peace and structural adjustment. Over time, this conglomerate of foreign interests has become an influential actor with the power to set an agenda for Mozambique.

Carrie Manning has noted how the political elites of Frelimo and Renamo have aligned themselves with donor priorities such as democracy: *"The significance of democracy as a legitimating factor in Mozambique is reinforced by extraordinarily high dependence on, and orientation toward, the international community, on the part of both the government and Renamo. Being perceived as champions of democracy will continue to be important to both Renamo and Frelimo for as least as long as the international community continues to regard democracy as an important criterion for the provision of aid money."* (Manning 2002:209).
While the rhetoric of democracy is important, Manning also finds that neither government nor opposition has fully committed to exert their influence only through the formal channels of democracy, such as the electoral contests and debates and votes in parliament. In her study of elite habituation to democracy in Mozambique, she concludes that Mozambique is a hybrid of a formal multiparty democracy and an elite power-sharing regime. Parallel to the formal system, the elites of Frelimo and Renamo engage in informal meetings, where deals are bargained and compromises are found outside a public arena (Manning 2002:214-215). Obviously, this impacts both on the transparency of national politics and on the example set for political debate at local levels such as Homoine district.
"Interestingly, this triad of Renamo, Frelimo, and the international community also permits the continued exclusion of the population from playing a central role in the political process. [...] While each party's base is obviously crucial during election periods, in the five years between each general election, very little organized pressure is felt from either party's constituency. This only amplifies the international community's role as de facto constituency for each party, and makes politics into an even more elite affair." (Manning 2002:8)

Weinstein also sees the rural population as in de facto political isolation: *"Frequently illiterate and cut off from information by poor roads and lack of electricity, rural Mozambicans are largely left out of national political debates and structures. Competing elites from Frelimo and Renamo squabble in Maputo to advance their own respective agendas, and spare little time or attention for local party administration and other matters related to "grassroots" politics."* (Weinstein 2002:152)

Hanlon puts the blame on the international community. In his view, donors need Mozambique as a success story and are willing to close their eyes to things they shouldn't:

"The top donor priorities have always been linked to IFI structural-adjustment policies [...] Donors also want reasonably clean elections. If the Mozambican ruling class satisfies these demands, and in particular does not consult parliament and civil society about donor-imposed controversial policies, then it can continue its drug dealing, theft, and murder." (Hanlon 2005:283; Hanlon 2004:748)

Unity and consensus at all costs

Frelimo has placed much emphasis on presenting a united front to the population and to the outside world. Outsiders like Malyn Newitt and Joseph Hanlon have remarked that despite major changes in policy, the governing party has not broken into factions or had major public rows (Newitt 1995:545; Hanlon 1991:25-26; Hanlon 2005:274). Consensus rules, and where consensus cannot be reached, the leadership rules, seemingly unchallenged from below. This has been the norm since the days of Mozambique's first president Samora Machel and it must have set an example for government and leadership at sub national levels.

Hanlon has noted three serious drawbacks to this kind of leadership (Hanlon 1991:25-26; Hanlon 2005:274). Firstly, aiming for consensus on big things like a war or the type of economy to pursue has been detrimentally slow in Mozambique, and the decision-making body was simply paralyzed when it failed to reach consensus. Secondly, Frelimo's leadership has been very reluctant to take in new people that could disturb the precarious internal web of gives and takes. Thirdly, in this precarious web of leadership consensus, some have closed their eyes to what they shouldn't. Unity has come at the cost of acceptance of a growing high-level corruption, which is protected by the closed ranks. Corruption also exists at lower levels in society, where people pay

bribes to obtain health, education and police services that they are or are not entitled to[48].

Leadership at a greater distance

According to Hanlon, there was a traditional view that "chiefs should eat first" and this was an integral part of Frelimo's nation-building project after independence. Although Frelimo drove a campaign of modernization and secularism, the new leaders should enjoy the traditional status and respect, and they should show their status by dressing and living well (Hanlon 1991:220). At the time, Hanlon observed that Marxist democratic centralism, Portuguese authoritarianism, and Mozambique's own feudal traditions merged to create leaders, who not only signalled power by their appearances, but actually embodied the state and the power to rule supreme:

"The President, ministers, governors and even district administrators have immense personal power. They can order that a person be arrested, sent to re-education, flogged, transferred, dismissed, and so on. And they are expected to use this power; during meetings or visits to villages or factories, they are expected to issue orders and immediately resolve problems. Similarly, ministers frequently summon national directors to appear before them immediately, no matter what else they are doing. If the President is to visit a provincial capital, the general public are told to be at the airport several hours before his scheduled arrival, and even provincial directors have to be there an hour or so before. This is intended to show respect for high officials and to demonstrate their prestige and authority." (Hanlon 1984:145) This was in 1984. Nothing I saw in Mozambique in 2004 contradicted that description.

20 years ago, Hanlon also noted the negative manifestations of the strong new hierarchy, when he *lamented "[a]ll too often systems which are supposed to show respect for higher officials simply take the form of disrespect for those below. And it is contagious. If the President can keep people waiting four hours, and a minister two hours, then a lower-level functionary must show his status by keeping people waiting, too."*

However, Hanlon also reports that there used to be a counterbalance in the public meetings that a high-level leader would hold when he visited a village or a factory. At the meetings people had the opportunity to vent frustration with their local superiors and this opportunity was often seized upon (Hanlon 1984:146). So in the early days of

---

[48] Hanlon quotes Ética Moçambique's 2001 survey of 1200 people, which showed that 45% said they had been victims of corruption in the previous six months (Hanlon 2004:755).

In Transparency International's 2004 Corruption Perceptions Index, Mozambique was placed 90 out of 146 countries alongside India, Nepal, Russia, Gambia; Tanzania and Malawi – all scored 2.8 on a scale where 10 signifies no corruption.

Frelimo rule, there existed a live link between population and leadership, where communication could go both ways. But soon enough the live link between the population and its leaders went dead.

One explanation would refer to the physical infrastructure and say that the link went dead, because the war cut off travel and communications. Another explanation would refer to the courage of the national leadership as a group during the war, when the leaders took cover in the cities while the population remained out in the open battlefields. A third explanation would refer to restrictions on organization and say that there was so much moving around, as half the population became refugees in other countries or internally displaced, that it was impossible to arrange meetings with the population on normal terms. A fourth explanation would cite the general emergency, destabilization and helplessness of the government to say that consultations with the population would be pointless, because there was little possibility to act on the issues they would raise. A fifth explanation would, as most external commentators do, cite the fact that the Frelimo party and state was too centralised and no formal structures were in place at local level that could communicate the situation on the ground to the leadership. Whatever the reason, the national leaders was soon out of joint with the population, as illustrated by public meeting in the late 1980s cited by Hanlon: *"One hint of this came at the opening of an electricity generating station, where a government minister told a mass meeting of local people: "Now you can have cold beer in your refrigerators." Only a handful of people in the audience could afford beer; even fewer had fridges."* (Hanlon 1991:225)

Losing touch with the base

The persistent failure to devolve power, decision-making and initiative to local levels is generally considered one of Mozambique's biggest misfortunes. It is also considered one of Frelimo's worst blunders, and one of the reasons why Renamo could gain a foothold in Mozambique so soon after Frelimo had won the peace with Portugal.

Independence was still new when the Frelimo party/government started to lose touch with its base. Local party cells and administrations were established but their role was ill defined and Frelimo's leadership has continued to leave it as a blank in its scheme of things.

After the establishment of Frelimo as a "vanguard" party at third congress in 1977, the party organisation came to resemble that of the state administration with a president and a Politburo elected by the Central Committee. As in the state administration,

information flowed from above to the local party cells, and governors and administrators also served as provincial and district party secretaries. In 1983 allegedly 4,200 party cells had been created throughout Mozambique (Newitt 1995:542) but local dynamics withered.

According to Hanlon's observations at the time, the party top failed to pay attention to the base: *"Provincial and district Party officials did not help or guide individual cells, which were unsure what to do. Many cells restricted themselves to holding periodic meetings and chanting slogans. Others simply became social clubs."* (Hanlon 1984:140)

With a bit more hindsight in 1991 and referring to the massive food crisis during the war in the 1980s, Hanlon condemned *"the total failure to respond to peasant needs and demands in the 1979-1982 period, and the total failure to appreciate the extent of the rural crisis, [which] signalled how wide the gap had become: in a more democratic system representatives of rural areas would have made these problems widely known."* (Hanlon 1991:14)

Civic organisations

Soon after independence, mass organizations for youth (OJM) and women (OMM) and workers (OTM for workers in general, ONJ for journalists, ONP for teachers) had been created by the third congress, but they provided no alternative ways of improving the link between leadership and base. The organizations became executive bodies with instructions from the Frelimo top, rather than representing voices from below. In the early 1980s, Hanlon noted that they did not attract many members (Hanlon 1984:142; Hanlon 1991:14-15).

OJM, OMM and OTM still exist today. Both OJM and OMM had a brief stint as independent bodies after the regime change in 1990, but OMM chose to return to Frelimo affiliation in 1996 and was followed suit by OJM in 1998 (Mozambique News Agency 1998). OTM functions independently of Frelimo and goes fiercely against government on the subject of minimum wages.

Other and less politicized types of civic organisations exist now and thrive with local and/or foreign support. Although they are not affiliated to political parties, most civic organisations are political in the sense that they explicitly address development issues in their communities related to AIDS or advocate on behalf of marginalized groups, such as the national handicap organisation ADEMO. These organisations are based on

volunteers and provide education, information and entertainment through media such as street or radio theatre, sports events and mass meetings.

In Homoine, there are a number of organisations in the community targeting AIDS, sexual behaviour and youth activities through theatre groups, volunteer work and meetings, and more organisations were established in the four months that I visited the district. In addition there are several peasant organisations who also address AIDS issues, and both OMM and OJM are active in the district.

Some of the civic organisations have district-wide activities, others have a more local basis and others still are district chapters of outside initiatives. So the organisations do not all spring from the same mould, but they share a few characteristics. They are usually financed by national and foreign NGOs and some local contributions. A local person who already has some high standing is usually elected president and in some cases the district administrator or a president of the locality presides. It is hard to determine whether membership is open to anyone or whether there is some pre-selection and visitation taking place. Because of the nature of e.g. theatre groups, some of the organisations may require certain skills and put a limit on the number of members. Or ask for instance that only elderly women volunteer to care for AIDS victims. But apparently those who fulfil the proper demographic criteria in relation to the beneficiaries can get involved.

However, when I talked to different residents in the district during the survey of community participation in the radio, I noted that many rural and less educated people were unwilling to put themselves forward unless invited. Time and transport are potential obstacles for participation in community activities. But so is a civic culture of authoritarianism and persistent myths about what is required to participate. A high number of organisations in the community does not equate a vibrant and inclusive civic culture.

Some observers criticize notions of civil society in Mozambique, which are based on local NGOs that have mushroomed only as vehicles for foreign aid (Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995:179) or build their "community" organisation not on grassroots but top-down (Hanlon 1991:215). It is also said that a civil society does not exist in Mozambique in the way that it is defined in the West, as a legitimate third force that counterbalances the market and the state[49]. Abrahamsson and Nilsson argue that the

---

[49] A Mozambican former employee at UNESCO's Media Project in Mozambique stated that *"there is no culture of civic association in Mozambique and it will take time to build it."* (Private communication).

proper term would be 'traditional society' because 'civil society' refers to a process in the West where people organised themselves in response to the negative effects of a market economy, whereas traditional society builds on principles of redistribution and other institutions for survival from pre-modern times, which are still present in Mozambican society today (Abrahamsson and Nilsson 1995:177-179, 181).

But whether or not the abovementioned organisations have the right label, they apparently have a function in their communities, where they communicate problems and solutions in a manner that is legitimate in the eyes of the population, something that cannot always be said for foreign NGO or government development initiatives.

Tradition and leaders

Traditional leaders have great legitimacy in the eyes of the population, but after independence and during the war, their position in the communities was precarious. They had little to gain from joining Frelimo in the early years. Advancement in the one-party system was closed off to the traditional chiefs and *régulos*[50], who had served as the extended arm of the Portuguese under colonial rule (Newitt 1995:544).

Frelimo made an effort in the first years after independence to spread modernization, make room for women in public society and root out cults and traditionalism. Traditional healers were labelled witches and local rulers lost their official status. In 1970, there were around 1,600 *régulos* and 20,000 *cabos de terra* in Mozambique, which means that most communities had one or several important families that felt alienated by the new order. The malcontent spread downwards as a sign that some communities were not ready to overturn the previous way of life. Hanlon writes that in the beginning of the 1980s complaints emerged over Frelimo's overruling of traditions. Female initiation rites, traditional healers and birth attendants, régulos as local elders - all of these were still in practice and people thought that they should have been absorbed and modified by Frelimo, rather than outright banned. Frelimo leadership failed both to recognize this sentiment and to reverse the course of its policies (Hanlon 1991:25).

Nilsson describes the local power dynamics in the Pembe area of Homoine district, where Frelimo cadres who came in from the outside missed the chance to heal grievances in that community about who was entitled to be *régulo* and where the new

---

[50] Régulos were more or less "traditional" chiefs appointed by the Portuguese to collect taxes and oversee local affairs. Each régulo was responsible for areas that more or less correspond to the localities of today and he was seconded by cabos de terra in subdivisions of his area.

administration should be. The rift widened when Frelimo was seen to side against the old ways and erected a new structure that excluded the old ways instead of bridging the gap. In fact there was no neutral side to take, but neither was it possible to wipe the slate clean and start anew. In spite of independence and the dogma of a new socialist regime, people observed the traditional patterns and hierarchy rooted in their communities from before Frelimo (Nilsson 1999:106-110).

But in its eagerness to promote modernism, Frelimo may have overlooked more than the sensitivities of the old order. Nilsson has recorded that when Renamo soldiers made their first visits to Pembe, they were welcomed and hosted by the régulo and a cabo de terra who were kind enough to point out the homes of Frelimo supporters. When the Renamo soldiers returned, they established their provincial base nearby and started looting, abducting and killing local residents (Nilsson 1999: 111-112).

Pembe is probably not the only place where this alliance was forged, and the alliance between *"a conservative rural population"* and *"the anti-socialist Renamo"* is generally used as an argument by those who claim that the war in Mozambique was more internal than external. But there were other places where traditional chiefs collaborated with Frelimo and continued to play a peripheral role with the tacit approval of government officials (Lundin 1996:107).
One of Nilsson's strongest points is that both alliances could take place within the same district - the war took on strong local characteristics. This means that at community level, how the local leaders reacted and comported themselves in relation to government and guerrillas was important and could sway their followers to one side or the other. But also, that in cases such as Pembe where local leadership was in crisis, people were left to make their own choices and not everyone in the same community made the same decisions. Many were abducted, but the Renamo camps were not escape-proof and some took longer than others to return. When Renamo established its provincial base near Pembe in Homoine district, and the demands for supplies from local peasants became harsher, some chose to move closer to government protection in Homoine town and others chose to continue their lives in the shadow of the base (Nilsson 1999:122-129, 140).

Whether the traditional leaders decided for the community or people decided for themselves, it is evident that Mozambique's political landscape is not only divided between Frelimo and Renamo along *provincial* borders as common knowledge has it. Nilsson uses data from the polling stations of the 1994 national elections to point out

that further below provincial levels - on district level, locality level, sub-locality level - there were support for both sides (Nilsson 1999:188-197). Every community had marginalized people who decided that their prospects were better with the guerrillas. There was no ethnic dimension to the conflict and most families in the affected areas had relations on either side of the war, both victims and perpetrators. Hence Nilsson does not argue that the divisions are ideological but that the war and current political divisions were superimposed on those traditional fault lines that demarcate economic and social status in the community (Nilsson 1999:122-123).

This may seem to contradict the argument further up that most Mozambicans live among people who vote the same way and therefore the civic culture is far from vibrant. But the two arguments do not contradict each other - it is possible for oppositions to exist, but submerged rather than out in the open. As evidenced by the post-conflict elections, Frelimo won the peace and according to Nilsson, no one in Homoine is eager to say that there was a time when they supported the other side (Nilsson 1999:113, 129). Focus is on reunification and healing of the war wounds, which is helped along by the new official recognition of traditional leaders.

Since the late 1980s, when Frelimo made preparations for post-war peace, the influence of traditional leaders has increased (Lundin 1996:108). After the war traditional leaders were consulted in matters of re-settlement and distribution of land in local communities. In 2000 they were legally recognized with the government decree 15/2000 about increased involvement of traditional authorities and community leaders in *"the mobilisation and organisation of the population for their participation in implementation of local development tasks"* (quoted in Mozambique Political Process Bulletin 25).

It is also in this context that the need for community media was identified. Hence the establishment of Radio ARCO and other community radio stations in Mozambique.

Appendix 2: Radio ARCO's objectives

ARCO, the community radio association of Homoine, has stated its objectives in article 3 of its statutes (ARCO 2000:1). This appendix contains an English translation of the objectives, followed by a transcript of the original article 3 in Portuguese:

ARTICLE 3
OBJECTIVE

The objective of ARCO is to:
a) Contribute to the strengthening of civil society in Homoine district through the exploration of a community service of radio diffusion in local range.
b) Promote and spread programmes of education, information and leisure, which contribute to the promotion of health, education and training of the communities, and improvement of the environment.
c) Promote training activities in relation to community development and participation in collaboration with other forces of society, and in various socio-cultural areas, such as: Culture and sport, youth, women and children.
d) Proceed the spread and legal education of the community in the defence of democratic values, of cultural traditions and mutual respect between cultures and different layers [of society] and community[-ies], in respect of the constitution and other legislation in force.
e) Carry out studies, either directly or through public debates or through the community service of radio diffusion, that provide full freedom of expression to the different layers [of society] and communities, in respect of the constitution and other legislation in force.
f) Undertake commercial advertising directed essentially at the benefit of the local community.
g) Produce educational pamphlets, photographs, posters and videos.
h) Promote public holidays, exhibitions and other kinds of activity that aim at elevating the educational and socio-cultural level of the community.
i) Publish an information bulletin on the activities of the association.
j) Develop other activities, which are compatible with the statutes, and [other] residents or non-residents of the national territory that accept the statutes as well as other legislation in force.

ARTIGO 3
OBGECTIVO

A ARCO tem por objectivo:

a) Contribuir para o reforço da sociedade civil no Distrito de Homoine, através da exploração de um serviço comunitário de rádio difusão, de alcance local.

b) Promover e divulgar programmas educativos, informativos e recreativos que contribuam ara a promoção da saúde educação e formação das comunidades, e melhoria das condições ambientais.

c) Promover acções de formação no hambitó do desenvolvimento e participação comunitária em colaboração com outras forças, da sociedade e nas mais diversas áreas sócio-culturais como: Cultura e desportos, a juventude, mulher e criança.

d) Proceder a divulgação e educação legal da comunidade para defesa dos valores democráticos, das tradições culturais e de respeito mútuo entre culturas e diferentes camadas e comunidade, no respeito pela constituição e demais legislação em vigor

e) Realizar estudos, quer directamente, quer por via de debates públicas ou de serviço comunitário rádio difusão, que proporcionem plena liberdade de expressão as diferentes camadas e comunidades, no respeito pela constituição e demais legislação em vigor

f) Exercer publicidade comercial virada essencialmente para o beneficio da comunidade local

g) Produzir panfletos, fotografias, cartazes e videos de didacticos;

h) Promover férias, Exposições e outro tipo de actividade que visa elevar o nivel educacional e sócio-cultural da comunidade .

i) Publicar um boletim informativo as actividades da associação.

j) Desenvolver quaisquer outras actividades compatíveis com os seus estatutos e, residentes ou não no território Nacional que aceitem os estatutos com a demais legislação em vigor.

Appendix 3: Radio ARCO's audience survey schedule

This is a translated transcript of the original audience survey schedule at Radio ARCO.

"Work plan for audience survey and monitoring of Radio ARCO's development" 2004										
Activity	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Responsibility
Register listeners' calls Monthly analysis of the calls with the editorial groups	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	All presenters Mobiliser
Maintaining visitor's book Trimestral systematisation of data and analysis of the visits to the radio	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	All staff Mobiliser
Semestral report on the listeners' calls						X				Mobiliser
Internal check-list of various areas of the radio (focus groups)						X				UNESCO Consultant/ Mobiliser/ Coordinator
Silent audience survey - 200 persons	Annual									Volunteers
Individual interviews at major events (National holidays and cultural happenings)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Volunteers and Mobiliser
Individual interviews during field reports	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Volunteers and Mobiliser
2004 - After two full years of broadcasting the radio will conduct group interviews with opinion leaders and community groups as well as individual interviews about radio programming and impact on the community.										

Appendix 4: Focus group interview guide

This interview guide is one of four identical interview guides for the localities Chizapela, Nhaulane, Pembe and Chinjinguire

Focus group interviews with peasants from the agricultural committee in Chizapela locality, 12 May 2004

Begin time: End time:

Entrevistas em grupo com camponeses do comité de agricultura na localidade de Chizapela, no dia 12 de Maio 2004

Hora de começo: Hora de acabo:

Nome Name	*Idade* Age	*Sexo* Sex	*Formação* Education	*Emprego* Position	*Morada* Residency	*Naturalidade* Birth place	*Ouve rádio?* Radio listener?
1							
2							
3							
etc							

Bom dia!

Good morning!

Cumprimentos á localidade de Chizapela. Espero que estão bem?

Greetings to Chizapela locality. I hope you are well?

Chamo-me Eva Johnsen e sou da Dinamarca, em Europa.

My name is Eva Johnsen and I come from Denmark, in Europe

Sou estudante de universidade e estou a visitar o seu distrito de Homoine para fazer uma pesquisa sobre a rádio comunitária de Homoine.

I am a university student and I am visiting your district Homoine to do research on the community radio in Homoine.

Só cheguei em Mozambique há alguns mêses, então ainda não falo bem portuguese. Espero de sua paciença e que fazem perguntas a vontade se não falo bem claro.

I only arrived in Mozambique a few months ago, so I don't speak Portuguese very well yet. I ask for your patience and that you will feel free to ask questions if I don't speak clearly.

Normalmente trabalho sozinha, más hoje têm ajude dos senhores de Vetaid para vir aqui falar com vôces.

Usually I work alone but today these gentlemen from Vetaid made it possible for me to come talk with you.

Queria aprender o nível de participação e envolvimento da sua comunidade nas actividades de ARCO rádio. Assim, vou dar 16 perguntos para vôces discutem entre vôces num grupo de cerca de 15 pessoas.

I would like to learn about your community's level of participation and involvement in radio ARCO's activities. I will ask 16 questions that you should discuss between yourselves in a group of approximately 15 persons.

Primeiro vamos fazer o grupo e depois eu vou pedir algumas informações pessoais de cada um no grupo: Qual e o seu nome, sua idade, seu nivel de formação, seu emprego, sua morada, sua naturalidade e se ouve rádio?

First let us make the group and then I will ask some personal information from each person in the group: What is your name, your age, your level of education, your work, where do you live, where were you born, and do you listen to the radio?

Podemos começar? Vamos!

Can we begin? Let us begin!

----- *Recolho de informações pessoais* Collection of personal information ------

Agora vamos começar com a entrevista do grupo. NÃO É importante que todo o grupo concorda com as respostas das perguntas. Cada opinião é importante e pode ser diferente de cada pessoa no grupo. Então:

Now let us begin with the group interview. It is NOT important that the whole group agrees in the answers to the questions. Every opinion is important and can be different for each person in the group. So:

How many radio receivers do you have in your area? *Quantos aparelhos de rádio têm na sua localidade?*

Which persons don't listen to the radio? *Quais são as pessoas que não ouvem rádio?*

Which stations do you listen to? *Quais são os estações que ouvem?*

Do you know the difference between Radio ARCO and Radio Mozambique Inhambane? *Sabem a diferença entre a rádio ARCO e Rádio Moçambique Inhambane?*

Who does Radio ARCO belong to? *A quem pertence a rádio ARCO?*

What is the content in Radio ARCO? *Qual é o contéude na rádio ARCO?*

Are there places, people or issues in Homoine district that ARCO doesn't visit and doesn't talk about?

Existem lugares, pessoas e assuntos no distrito de Homoine, que ARCO não visita e dos quais não falem?

Who decides over the radio programmes? *Quem decide sobre as emissões da rádio?*

How is it possible to influence the radio programmes? *Como é possível ter influencia sobre as emissões da rádio?*

Who sends messages in the radio to the listeners? *Quem dão mensagens na rádio para os ouvintes?*

Who doesn't speak in Radio ARCO? *Quem e que não falam na rádio ARCO?*

Have you participated ARCO's radio programmes? *Já participaram nas emissões de ARCO?*

How are the radio programmes of Radio ARCO made? *Como é que as programas de rádio ARCO são feitos?*

Do the journalists go out into the district to produce programmes? *Os jornalistas saiem no distrito para produzir emissões?*

Who does ARCO's journalists speak with? *Com quem falem os jornalistas da rádio ARCO?*

How do you use the programmes of Radio ARCO? *Como é que vôces usam as emissões da rádio ARCO?*

Has the radio changed life in your locality (new associations/projects, living conditions, new topics in public discussion, who speaks in the community)? In Homoine district? *A rádio ARCO mudava a vida na sua localidade (novos associações/projectos, condições de vida, discutem novos assuntos em público, quem falem na comunidade)? No distrito de Homoine?*

Bem, acho que agora tem muita informação sobre a sua comunidade e a rádio ARCO. Okay, I think that I now have a lot of information about your community and Radio ARCO.

Esta informação e muito útil e se dão licença, queria voltar mais vezes neste mês de Maio para fazer entrevistas individuais e para convidar alguns representantes a participar num debato de grupo na vila de Homoine, onde vou apresentar os resultados da pesquisa e podemos discuti-los. This information is very useful and if you permit I would like to return several times in this month of May to do individual interviews and to invite some representatives to participate in a group debate in Homoine town where I will present the results of my research and we can discuss them.

Muito obrigada por sua participação! Faz favor de levar um sandes de ovo e um refresco. Thank you so much for your participation. Please help yourselves to an egg sandwich and a soft drink.

Appendix 5a: Survey questionnaire in English

Survey: ARCO and community participation		Number:		
	Date:		05	2004

1. Name:

2. Gender	*M*	*F*

3. Age	*0-14*	*15-26*	*27-50*	*50-?*

4. Education	*None*	*1.-5.*	*6.-7.*	*8.-10.*	*10.-?*	*Alfabetization class*

5. Profession:

6. Resident in:	7. Born in:

8a. Radio listener?	*Yes*		***No: Go to 9a, 9c, 13 and 16-18*	

8b. How often?			
Daily	*Weekends*	*More than once per week*	*Less than once per week*

8c. What time of the day?			
Morning	*Noon*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*

**9a. Do you know Homoíne's community radio, radio ARCO?			
Yes		*No: Thanks and goodbye!*	

9b. Do you listen to radio ARCO?			
Yes		*No: Go to 9c and 13-18*	

**9c. If you don't listen to radio ARCO: What would it take for you to begin listening to radio ARCO?

10. What language do you listen to?			
Portuguese		*Local language*	

11. Which radio programs do you listen to?		
	Spontaneous reply: 1,2,3...	*Forced reply: Yes/No*
All		
News		
Greetings		
Agriculture		
News magazine		
Tales		
Children		
Culture		
Debate		
Sports		
Drama		

11. Which radio programs do you listen to?		
Civic education		
Interviews from afar		
Interviews with important people		
Interviews with ordinary people		
Elderly		
Commercials and announcements		
Youth		
Environment		
Women		
Music		
Religion		
Health		
Traditions		
Other:		

12. Do you listen to programs that are exclusive to radio ARCO?		
	Spontaneous reply: 1,2,3...	Forced reply: Yes/No
Local news		
Homoíne from the inside and the outside: Interview of the week		
Call us and request music		
Homoíne news hour		
News and messages from the miners in South Africa		
The traditional leaders narrate		
Local radio theater group		
News from a locality		
Other:		

**13a. Is radio ARCO a radio mostly for men or for women?					
Men		Women		Both	

**13b. Is radio ARCO a radio mostly for children, young people, adults or the elderly?							
Children		Young		Adults		Elderly	

**13c. Which sector or group of people does radio ARCO cover best?		
	Spontaneous reply: 1,2,3...	Forced reply: Yes/No
Peasants		
Traders		
Students		
Teachers		
Nurses		
Police		
Civil servants in local government		
Traditional leaders		
Party functionaries		
Others:		

**13d. Which organisation has the greatest influence on radio ARCO?		
	Spontaneous reply: 1,2,3...	Forced reply: Yes/No
Frelimo		
Renamo		
OMM		
Churches:		
NGO's:		

13d. Which organisation has the greatest influence on radio ARCO?		
District government		
Sports clubs		
Cultural organisations		
Others:		

13e. Does radio ARCO talk mostly about leaders of the community or of the people?				
Leader		*People*		*Both*	

14. Does radio ARCO cover issues from all localities suficiently?						
Yes		*No*		*Perhaps*		*Don't know*

15a. Which localities could radio ARCO cover more?		
	Spontaneous reply: 1,2,3...	*Forced reply: Yes/No*
Homoíne town		
Golo		
Nhaulane		
Manhica		
Inhamussua		
Chizapela		
Chinjinguire		
Mubécua		
Pembe - administrative post		

15b. Which important issues could radio ARCO cover better?

16a. Could you change something about radio ARCO, if you wished?						
Yes		*No*		*Perhaps*		*Don't know*
16a1. Why?						

16b. How could people change something about radio ARCO, if they wanted to?		
	Spontaneous reply: 1,2,3...	*Forced reply: Yes/No*
Call radio ARCO		
Send a letter		
Visit the radio		
Talk to a journalist		
Talk to management		
Talk to the executive committee		
Complain to district government		
Join the radio association		
Participate in a public meeting with radio ARCO		
Other ways:		

16c. Did you already try one of these ways?	*Yes*		*No*	
16c1. If yes – which?				

16d. Is radio ARCO open to suggestions?	*Yes*		*No*	

16e. Have you visited radio ARCO?	*Yes*		*No*	

16f. Do you know anyone working at radio ARCO?	*Yes*		*No*	

16g. Have you participated in one of the radio's activities?	*Yes*		*No*

**16g. Have you participated in one of the radio's activities?		Yes No
16g1. If yes - how?		
	Spontaneous reply: 1,2,3...	Forced reply: Yes/No
As a radio volunteer		
In the Executive Committee		
As a member of ARCO		
Interviewed for a program		
Interviewed for a survey		
Participated in a meeting		
Participated in a public event		
Other ways:		

17. What would it take for you to participate actively in the community radio?

18. Which changes have occurred because of radio ARCO?

Observations:

Appendix 5b: Survey questionnaire in Portuguese

Pesquisa: ARCO e a participação da comunidade		Número:	
	Data:	05	2004

1. Nome:

2. Sexo	M	F

3. Idade	0-14	15-26	27-50	50-?

4. Nível escolar	Não estudou	1a-5a	6a-7a	8a-10a	10a-?	Alfabetização

5. Profissão:

6. Residente de:	7. Natural de:

8a. Escuta rádio?	Sim		**NÃO: Vá para 9a, 9c, 13 e 16-18	

8b. Quantas vezes?			
Todos os dias	No fim de semana	Mais de 1 vez por semana	Menos de 1 vez por semana

8c. Qual altura do dia?			
Manhã	Meio-dia	Tarde	Noite

**9a. Conhece a rádio comunitária de Homoíne, a rádio ARCO?	
Sim	NÃO: OBRIGADA e CIAO!!!

*9b. Escuta a rádio ARCO?	
Sim	NAO: Vá para 9c e 13-18
9b1. Porque?	

**9c. Se agora nao escute a rádio ARCO: O que é que seria preciso para você escutar a rádio ARCO?

10. Em que língua escuta rádio?	
Português	Língua local

11. Quais são os programas de rádio que escuta?		
	Respostas espontâneas: 1,2,3...	Respostas forçadas: Sim/Não
Todos		
Noticias		
Dedicatórias		
Agricultura		
Boletim informativo		
Contos		
Crianças		
Cultura		
Debato		
Desporto		
Dramatização		
Educação cívica		
Entrevistas de fora		

11. Quais são os programas de rádio que escuta?		
Entrevistas com pessoas importantes		
Entrevistas com a comunidade		
Para idosos		
Informações várias		
Jovens		
Meio Ambiente		
Mulher		
Música		
Religiosos		
Saúde		
Tradicionais		
Outros:		

12. Há programas espicificos da rádio ARCO que escuta?		
	Respostas espontâneas: 1,2,3...	Respostas forçadas: Sim/Não
Noticias locais		
Homoíne por dentro e por fora		
Escolha, nós tocamos		
Homoíne em foco		
Rungulelani wa vathekeli		
Karingana wa Karingana		
Cena aberta		
Historia de uma localidade		
Outros:		

**13a. Acha que a rádio ARCO é uma rádio mais para os homens ou para as mulheres?					
Homens		Mulheres		Ambos	

**13b. Acha que a rádio ARCO é uma rádio mais para as crianças, os jovens, os adultos ou os idosos?							
Crianças		Jovens		Adultos		Idosos	

**13c. Qual sector ou grupo de pessoas é que está melhor cobrido pela rádio ARCO?		
	Respostas espontâneas: 1,2,3...	Respostas forçadas: Sim/Não
Camponeses		
Comerciantes		
Alunos		
Professores		
Enfermeiros		
Polícia		
Funcionários administrativos do estado		
Chefes tradicionais		
Funcionários de partido		
Outros:		

**13d. Qual organização têm o mais grande influencia na rádio ARCO?		
	Respostas espontâneas: 1,2,3...	Respostas forçadas: Sim/Não
Frelimo		
Renamo		
OMM		
Igrejas:		
ONGs:		

**13d. Qual organização têm o mais grande influencia na rádio ARCO?		
Governo distrital		
Clubes desportivos		
Associações culturais		
Outros:		

**13e. Acha que a rádio ARCO fala mais dos lideres da comunidade ou do povo?					
Lideres		Povo		Ambos	

*14. Acha que a rádio ARCO fala o suficiente das questões de todas as localidades?						
Sim		Não		Talvez		Não sei	

*15a. Quais são as localidades que a rádio ARCO podia cobrir melhor?		
	Respostas espontâneas: 1,2,3...	Respostas forçadas: Sim/Não
A vila de Homoíne		
Golo		
Nhaulane		
Manhica		
Inhamussua		
Chizapela		
Chinjinguire		
Mubécua		
Pembe – posto administrativo		

*15b. Quais são os assuntos importantes que a rádio ARCO podia cobrir melhor?

**16a. Acha que você poderia alterar alguma coisa na rádio ARCO se o quisesse fazer?						
Sim		Não		Talvez		Não sei	
16a1. Porque?						

**16b. Como poderiam as pessoas alterar alguma coisa na rádio se quisessem?		
	Respostas espontâneas: 1,2,3...	Respostas forçadas: Sim/Não
Telefonar à rádio ARCO		
Enviar uma carta		
Visitar		
Falar com um jornalista		
Falar com os coordenadores		
Falar com o comité de gestão		
Reclamar ao governo distrital		
Entrar para a associação ARCO		
Participar num encontro entre a rádio e a comunidade		
Outras formas:		

**16c. Já tentou algumas destas formas?		Sim		Não	
16c1. Se sim – Quais?					

**16d. Acha que a rádio ARCO está aberto a sugestões?		Sim		Não	

**16e. Já visitou a rádio ARCO?		Sim		Não	

**16f. Conhece alguem que trabalhe na rádio ARCO?		Sim		Não	

16g. Já participou nas actividades da rádio ARCO?		Sim Não
16g1. Se sim – Como?		
	Respostas espontâneas: 1,2,3...	*Respostas forçadas: Sim/Não*
Voluntário		
Comité de gestão		
Membro da associação		
Entrevistado para uma emissão		
Entrevistado para uma pequisa		
Participou num encontro		
Participou num evento público		
Outras formas:		

17. O que é que seria preciso para você participar activamente na rádio comunitária?

18. Quais são as mudanças que aconteciam devido à rádio ARCO?

Observações:

Appendix 6: Local news stories selected for content analysis

The titles including question marks before a number [e.g. ??????-200404421] are the news stories where the date is not clear (usually the date is written on the manuscript of can be deduced from the text, but in these cases it was not clear). The number is an estimation of the month in which the news was aired [04 - April].

English – *Portuguese*

200405101 Ametramo asks for space in hospitals to treat their patients

Ametramo reclamam espaço nos hospitais para tratar doentes

200405102 Two new local associations to combat AIDS

Duas novas associações locais de luta contra a Sida

200405103 Growing numbers of peasants buy seed and tools

Cresce o número de camponeses que compram sementes e instrumentos

200405081 District Administrator: Reflect on the consequences of HIV/AIDS in this district

Administrador: Refletem sobre as consequências do Hiv/Sida no distrito

200405071 Health center intriduces new malaria treatment

Centro da saúde introduza novo tratamento da malária

200405072 Commission registers AIDS orphans, widows and widowers

Commissão está a registrar orfãs, viúvas e viuvós de Sida

200405073 Local leaders are doing a good job in combatting AIDS

Lideres locais fazem um bom trabalho no combate à Sida

200405074 Administrator commits to helping the football championship as much as possible

Administrador compromete-se a dar todo apoio possivél ao campeonato de futebol

200405061 Meeting between district commission and local leaders to combat AIDS

Reunião entre a commissão distrital de combate à Sida e lideres locais

200405062 Local leaders are doing a good job in combatting AIDS

Lideres locais fazem um bom trabalho no combate à Sida

200405063 Tractor on its way to help the centre of war veterans

Tractor a caminho para ajudar o centro dos antigos combatentes

200405064 Administrator commits to helping the football championship as much as possible

Administrador compromete-se a dar todo apoio possivél ao campeonato de futebol

200405041 Governor visits the district

Governador em visite no distrito

200405042 Fourth ordinary session of Frelimo in Homoine

4a sessão ordinária da Frelimo em Homoine

200405043 OTM: Workers face problems in their work place and salary problems

OTM: Trabalhadores enfrentam problemas na situação de trabalho e do salário

200405044 OJM functions again as a youth organisation for development

OJM volta a funcionar como uma organização de jovens para desenvolvimento

200405011 OTM: Workers, unite for higher productivity

OTM: Trabalhadores, unirem-se no aumento de produtividade

??????-200404421 Youth theatre group organises cleaning day of public areas

Grupo teatral de jovens monta jornada de limpeza de locais publicos

??????-200404411 Oil and soap factory should be set up to function again

Fabrica de óleo e sabão deve voltar a funcionamento

200404301 GATV: Campaign to get more volunteers for HIV/AIDS tests

GATV: Campanha de mais voluntários para testes de Hiv/Sida

200404302 ARCO president elected as president of forum for all community radios

Presidente de ARCO eleito com presidente do forum de todas rádios comunitárias

200404303 Ametramo in Homoine recieve banner donated by provincial delegation

Ametramo em Homoine recebe bandeira doado pela delegação provincial

200404281 Agreement on the organisation of the amateur football championship 2004

Consenso sobre a organização do campeonato recreativo de futebol de 2004

200404282 Presidential election in the volunteer association of domestic care to HIV/AIDS patients

Eleição de presidente da associação de voluntários de apoio domestico Hiv/Sida

200404271 News from Phenzula primary school in Mubécua (enrolment, construction of school rooms and teachers' houses, combat of HIV/AIDS)

Notícias da Escola Primária de Phenzula em Mubécua (matriculação, construção de aulas e residencias de professores, combate ao HIV/SIDA)

200404261 Greetings and announcements from ARCO for the week of 1 May

Desejos e anuncios de ARCO por ocasião da semana do 1° Maio

200404262 Fishermen ask permission to perform traditional ceremonies to increase catch

Pescadores pedem direito a realizar cerimónias tradicionais para aumentar a pesca

200404263 The hunger in Nhaulane is minimized

A fome em Nhaulane está minimizada

200404264 News from the World Day of fighting against malaria

Notícias do dia mundial de luta contra a malária

200404251 17,755 cases of malaria during the first trimester

17.755 casos de malária durante o 1° trimestre

200404241 Poor population of Nhaulane learns agricultural production

A pobre população de Nhaulanee empreende-se produzir agriculos

200404242 Residents demand urgent rehabilitation of the Homoine-Maxixe road

Residentes clamam a reabilitação urgente da estrada Homoine-Maxixe

200404231 Residents demand urgent rehabilitation of the Homoine-Maxixe road

Residentes clamam a reabilitação urgente da estrada Homoine-Maxixe

200404221 Lack of industry in Homoine town

Falta de industria na vila de Homoine

200404222 Appeal from Health Department to prioritize the combat of mosquitos

Apelo da Direcção de Saúde a priorizar o combate ao mosquito

200404211 Agricultural situation of the war veterans in Chinjinguire (including press release from the President of Chinjinguire)

Situação agricula e saúde dos antigos combatentes em Chinjinguire (incluindo publicação de imprensa pelo Presidente de Chinjinguire)

200404171 Launch of children's theater group to combat malaria

Lançamento de grupo teatral infaltil de combate à malária

200404131 ADRA begins research of the impact of its development activities

ADRA iniciu pesquisa do impacto de suas actividades desenvolvimento

200404061 Lack of water could influence negatively the Day of the Mozambican Woman

Falta de agua poderá influenciar negativamente o dia da mulher moçambicana

200404041 Grand cultural and leisure event at the club of Homoine

Grandioso convívio cultural e recreativo no club de Homoine

??????-200403411 Traders of the central market threatened by dirty water

Vendeadores do mercado central ameaceados pelas aguas sujas

200403281 Theater group organised dinner on the international day of theatre

Grupo teatral organizou jantar por ocasião do dia internacional do teatro

200403251 Governor appeal to parents to dedicate themselves to the education of their children

Apelo do Governador aos pais de dedicar-se na educação dos seus filhos

200403181 Frelimo urges the population to show up for visit of the secretary general (xitswa)

Frelimo exorta à população a marcar presença à visita pelo secretário geral (xitswa)

200403131 Young people ask OJM to adapt to new reality of multipartyism

Jovens pedem a OJM a mudar à nova realidade do multipartidarismo

200403121 Director of Agriculture optimistic about the seeds and tools fair in Nhaulane

Diretor de Agricultura está optimista quanto à feira de sementes em Nhaulane

200403101 Ametramo launches nucleus to prevent and fight STDs/Hiv/AIDS

Ametramo lança núcleo de prevenção e combate as Dts/Hiv/Sida

200403091 3 peasant associations to improve alfabetization and help against poverty

3 associações de camponeses para melhor alfabetização e ajude contra a pobreza

200403081 Chinjinguire creates most new peasant associations

Chinjinguire tem a mais grande criação de novas associações de camponeses

200403071 Governor: Homoine youth don't participate in fight against hunger

Governador: Os jovens de Homoine não participem na luta contra a fome

200403072 Lack of budget calculations in the construction of school rooms

Falta de cálculos orçamentais para a construção de salas numa escola

200403011 Second phase of emergency aid distribution through WFP

Segunda fase de distribuição de ajuda de emergência atraves do PMA

200403012 Peasant association reaps benefits of district credit fund

Associação de camponeses colhe benificios de fundo de crédito distrital

200403013 OJM appeals to youth to pledge themselves to social and agricultural associations

OJM apela aos jovens para empenharem-se nas associações agriculas a sociais

200403014 Ministry of Defense in Portugal to pay veterans in the colonial wars

Ministério da defesa de Portugal vai pagar antigos militares das guerras coloniais

200402261 Governor visit next month

Visita do Governador no proximo mes

200402262 Food distribution by the catholic mission is going well

Distribução de alimentos pela Missão católica decorra bem

200402263 Director of Education fires school director in Nhaulane

Diretora de Educação demite director de escola em Nhaulane

200402264 Subcommission promises clean-up of market before the 40th anniversary of the town

Sub-comissão promete mudar a limpeza dos mercados antes dos 40 anos da vila

200402265 Accused school director will be transfered to another school

Acusado diretor de escola será transferido a outra escola

200402241 Garlic production programme carried out in Chinjinguire

Programa de produção de alho está sendo executando em Chinjinguire

200402242 Governor will inaugurate houses of local executive council

Governador inaugurá casas construidas para o conselho executivo local

200402231 Growth in production of subsistence crops in the 2003/2004 season

Aumenta a produção de culturas de subsistência na campanha agricula 2003/2004

200402232 CCM turns religious believers into activists for prevention and combat of diseases

CCM torna cada crente religioso num activista na prevenção e combate às doenças

200402233 Election of governing bodies in the new association ANAHO

Eleição de corpos gerentes na nova associação ANAHO

200402191 GATV's first month

O primeiro mes do GATV

200402192 26 elderly women in capacitation seminar for domestic treatment of HIV/AIDS patients

26 senhoras idosas num seminário de capacitação de tratar doentes de Hiv/SIDA

200402193 362 persons to receive food aid through WFP

362 pessoas vão receber ajuda alimentar através do PMA

200402181 On the 26th the WFP food distribution takes off

No dia 26 arranca a distribuição de alimentos do PMA

200402182 Seeds and instruments market in Nhaulane

Feira de sementes e instrumentos em Nhaulane

200402183 Administrator asks local presidents to feel part of the town's anniversary

Administrador pede aos presidentes locais de sentirem-se parte do aniversário da vila

200402184 PDARI appeals to communities to contribute to the establishment of water posts

PDARI apela às comunidades para contribuir à criação de fontes de agua

200402171 Rainfall brings hope of good agricultural season 2003/2004

A chuva dá espectivas para uma boa camanha agricola 2003/2004

200402141 Commemoration of Saint Valentine's Day in Homoine

Comemoração do dia do São Valentim em Homoine

200402131 Chinjinguire asks district government for police squad and other infrastructure

Chinjinguire pedem esquadra policial e outras infraestruturas ao governo distrital

200402132 Leaders in Manhica: All levels of society should test themselves for HIV/AIDS

Lideres de Manhica: Todas as camadas sociais deviam ser testadas de Hiv/Sida

200402121 45 days to go before the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of Homoine town

Faltam ainda 45 dias para as celebrações do 40a aniversário da vila de Homoine

200402091 Director of Culture, Youth and Sport: Lacking collaboration with the public

Diretor da Cultura, Juventude e Desporto: Há falta de collaboração com o público

200402021 Renamo leader: The state should guarantee a good salary to its functionaries

Lider da Renamo: O estado deveria garantir um bom salário a seus funcionários

200401311 New manager at the community radio in Homoine

Novo coordenador geral na rádio comunitária de Homoine

200401291 Distribution of chloride to prevent cholera break-out

Distribuição de cloro para prevenir eclosão de cólera

200401292 GATV, new office for the prevention and combat of STDs/HIV/AIDS

GATV, novo gabinete de prevenção e combate as Dts/Hiv/Sida

200401293 Zero hope of minimizing the hunger in Nhaulane without rainfall

Zéro esperança de minimizar a fome em Nhaulane sem chuva

200401294 Students asked to cultivate spirit of negotiation for using condoms

Estudantes pedidas de cultivar o espírito de negóciação para o uso de preservativo

200401295 The leader of Renamo will carry out visit in the district

O lider da Renamo vai efectuar uma visita no distrito

200401271 Ametramo fights against witchcraft

Ametramo luta contra a feitiçaria

200401251 Chizapela youth consume more and more drugs and alcohol

A juventude em Chizapela comsumem cada vez mais drogas e bebidas alcóolicas

200401221 Director of Education gave solution to lack of places in eighth grade

Diretora de Educação dá soluciona à falta de vagas na oitava classe

200401141 Vice-minister of agriculture and rural development visits Homoine

Vice-ministro de agricultura e desenvolvimento rural dá visita em Homoine

200401142 Everything is set to enrol all children of school age

Tudo está sendo feito para matricular todas as crianças com idade escolar

200401143 Community leaders must identify women for midwife course

Lideres comunitários deve identificar senhoras para formaçao de matronas

200401121 Malaria and AIDS registered as the diseases with the most human victims in the district

Malária e Sida registadas como doenças de mais vítimas humanas no distrito

200401122 Growth in number of registered births in 2003

Acrescentou o número de nascimentos registados em 2003

200401101 Caterpillar pest creates problems for the peasants in the district

Praga de lagarta está a criar problemas para os camponeses no distrito

200401102 Distance between house and school is the principal factor in student drop-outs

Distâncias entre casa e escola e factor principal da desistência dos alunos

200401103 Community radio informs about wedding celebration subjects

Rádio comunitária informa sobre assuntos ligados à celebração de casamentos

200401081 Secondary school hopes to absorb 700 new students in the eighth grade

Escola secundária espera absorver 700 novos alunos na oitava classe

200401082 School authorities ask parents to prepare documents for enrolment

Responsáveis das escolas pedem aos pais a preparar a documentação de matrícula

200401083 Police asks again to report drivers without license

Polícia apela de novo à denuncia de condutores sem carta de condução

200401084 Slightly more than 50 registered for military service so far

Pouco mais de 50 já se recensearam para o serviço militar obrigatório

200401061 Traffic police appeals to community to report drivers without license

Policia de transito apela para denunciar condutores sem carta de condução

200401062 School director appeals to parents to prepare for enrolment in time

Diretora de escola apela aos pais para preparar-se às matrículas a tempo

200401063 Congregation in Nhaulane protests against unannounced price hike in chapas

Reunião em Nhaulane protesta contra o aumento sem aviso dos preços das chapas

200401051 Fatal chapa accident confirmed by chief of traffic police

Accidente mortal de chapa confirmada pelo chefe da policia transito

200401052 Enrolment of students for the school year 2004 takes off

Arranca o processo das matrículas dos alunos para o ano lectivo 2004

200401053 195 applicants sit for admission tests to teachers college

195 candidados para as provas de admissão à formação de professores

200401054 New uniform for female students in secondary school

Novo uniforme para estudante do sexo feminino na escola secundária

200401031 Young people in the district don't have patriotic spirit like elsewhere in the country

A juventude do distrito não tem espirito patriótico como noutros pontos do país

Appendix 7: Statistical significance

The table below lists the minimum differences there must exist between percentages for them to be statistically significant. The minimum differences needed for significance to apply to the result of one category are determined by the size of the sample and by whether the answers/cases cluster around the middle (2 types of answers such as yes/no) or towards either extreme (the respondents had several answers to choose from).

Size of sample	Percentages around		
	50%	25% or 75%	10% or 90%
50	28% (~17 respondents)	25% (~15 respondents)	-
100	20%	17%	14%
200	14%	12%	10%
400	10%	8%	6%
1000	6%	5%	4%
Similar to table 15 in Peil 1995:139. The numbers in parentheses apply to this sample			

Peil advises that if the sample is not random, the difference should be multiplied by 1.5 to ensure that the results are not accidental.

Survey

In the survey, the sample is 50 respondents chosen in an approximately stratified random manner, according to their age, gender, residency and profession, in an attempt to match the total population. Normally a researcher would make a random selection by consulting a phone book or another pool of data containing the whole population. In Homoine, there was no such pool of data – registers of taxes, births, voters, land title etc. do not cover the whole population and are anyway not up to date. The latest national census was in 1997. In light of this, I aimed for approximation by discussing the distribution of respondents into each strata with an expatriate consultant, who had much experience in designing surveys in areas of Mozambique similar to Homoine.

For this reason, even though total randomness could not be attained, I believe that the risk of accidental results due to sampling errors is quite small. So I choose to increase the significance threshold only a little in comparison to Peil's guidelines.

Where she puts a margin of 28%, I will set a margin at 34% (instead of 42% if I were to multiply 28% by 1.5) if the answers cluster around 50%. This means that if there are 2 answers to choose from, there has to be a difference of 17 respondents between the answers for the result to be significant.

I choose a margin of 30% or 15 respondents, if there are 3 or more answers to choose from. This means that there should be a distribution of for instance 26-11-8-5, for the answers to be significant with this sample.

The blank in the table under "10% or 90%" means that in questions where the respondents are distributed over 10 answers or more, the sample of 50 will be spread so thinly that it clashes with a statistical norm that requires at least 5 of the sample in each category. If there are less than 5 in one category, this category is automatically judged to be insignificant. No matter the size of the sample, generalizations about a population can not be made on the basis of 5 individuals. In this survey, there are questions where respondents could choose between 10 or more answers, but they mostly still clustered around 3-6 different types of answers. Other types of answered chosen by a few respondents (less than 5) will be considered informative, but not significant.

Summing up the discussion of how to determine significance: As a rule of thumb for the results in general, I should be able to claim significance if there is a majority of at least 15-17 respondents in one of the answers.

Content analysis

The majority would preferably be more than half of the cases in one category, or failing that, at least with a sizeable relative difference to the next-most frequent category (e.g. 29-11-9-9-8-4-4-3-1). Margaret Peil in her "Social Science Research Methods: A Handbook for Africa" lists the various minimum differences there must exist between percentages for them to be statistically significant. The minimum differences needed for "significance" to apply to the result of one category are determined by the size of the sample and by whether the answers/cases cluster around the middle or towards either extreme.

Size of sample	Percentages around		
	50%	**25% or 75%**	**10% or 90%**
50	28%	25%	-
100	20% *(~30 respondents)*	17% *(~25 respondents)*	14% *(~20 respondents)*
200	14%	12%	10%
400	10%	8%	6%
1000	6%	5%	4%
Similar to table 15 in Peil, 1995: 139. The numbers in parentheses apply to this sample			

Peil advises that if the sample is not random, the difference should be multiplied by 1.5 to ensure that the results are not accidental. In my case, this means that - ideally - the difference between the most frequent answer and second-most frequent answer in any category should be at least 30, if the answers are clustered around 50% (see table above). As an example, at least 60 people would have to yes, if 30 people say no, for the yes-side to be significant/typical.

I will keep these guidelines in mind, although I don't claim statistical coherence for this study.

For this reason, I will not present the material through exact percentages or other representations of precision and generalisation. Rather, I will make reference to proportions within the whole and look at whether the differences between the groupings are large or small. This should allow me to identify types in the sample of Radio ARCO local news stories.

Appendix 8: Formidlende artikel

Den følgende artikel er skrevet til Samvirke og fylder 11.763 tegn.

"LIVE FRA VORES LEDER ! "

I Mozambique får en lokalradio bistand til at arbejde for folkelig, demokratisk udvikling. Men det er svært, når myndighederne styrer radioen med hård hånd.

Tekst og foto: **Eva Tommerup Johnsen**

De unge er aktive i Radio ARCO, men lokalradioen har svært ved at skabe de sociale og demokratiske forandringer, som forventes af den.

På Homoines lille sygehus ligger kvinderne næsten i lag. De ligger i hvert fald både indenfor og udenfor fødeafdelingen, for der er så mange nye børn på vej til verden at sygehuset ikke kan følge med. Dét er en god historie, synes den unge radioreporter Jossias Nhasavel, og han beretter derfor om det i nyhederne, der går ud til lokalsamfundet. Næste dag møder en rasende sygehusdirektør op på radioens dørtrin.

Dét var i hvert fald ikke en god historie, og hvis ikke unge Jossias passer meget på, vil hverken han eller lokalradioen have en fremtid i Homoine! Radioens ledelse skæver nervøst til distriktslederens kontor på den anden side af byens torv og lover bod og bedring. Distriktsmyndighedens ord er lov i Homoine, uanset hvad lovene om rettigheder og ytringsfrihed ellers siger.

Radio ARCO holder altid mikrofonen frem, når den øverste leder af distriktet har meddelelser til befolkningen. Hans beskeder redigeres ikke og der stilles ingen kritiske spørgsmål.

I dag sidder Jossias Nhasavel pænt ved et skrivebord og radioens reportere går en lang bue udenom alle kontroversielle emner, der har fået fællesbetegnelsen "politik".

GENOPBYGNING AF SAMFUNDET. Vi befinder os på Radio ARCO i landdistriktet Homoine. Det er et afsides hjørne af det sydlige Mozambique, hvor udviklingen halter lidt bagud. I gamle dage var distriktet kendt som et brødkammer, men i disse tider er sult og desperat fattigdom ikke et særsyn. Lokalradioens sendeområde bærer stadig ar efter borgerkrigen, som i 1980erne smadrede veje, skoler og hospitaler i hele Mozambique. Hverdag blev afløst af flygtningestrømme, splittede familier og pulveriserede lokalsamfund. Selv tilbagetrukne Homoine blev kastet ind i rampelyset, da oprørshæren udførte en grusom massakre på byens sygehus. Det fik for alvor det internationale samfund til at interessere sig for krigen og nøden i det afrikanske land.

Siden freden kom i starten af 1990erne, har det internationale samfund hjulpet med genopbygningen af samfundet – en lang og sej proces. Radio ARCO er et af de udviklingsprojekter, der skal hjælpe Mozambique med at komme på benene igen.

"Det handler ikke om at skabe et medie med journalister og professionelle indslag, men om at skabe processer, hvor lokalsamfundet taler til sig selv", forklarer danske Birgitte Jallov, rådgiver for det medieprojekt, som Radio ARCO er en del af.

MEDIER FOR DEMOKRATI. FN's organisation for uddannelse, kultur og videnskab, UNESCO, har sammen med en række nordiske lande (dog ikke Danmark) kastet sine kræfter ind på at opbygge medierne i Mozambique. Grundtanken er, at medier, særligt lokale medier, kan vænne folk til offentlig debat, og dermed danne en demokratisk kultur, hvor konflikter løses på fredelig vis. Samtidig er lokale medier gode til at uddanne borgerne i deres pligter og rettigheder, samt til at give gode råd om fx sundhed og landbrug, som folk kan bruge i deres hverdag. Særligt radio er et vigtigt medie i Mozambique. Kun eliten har råd til tv, og aviserne når sjældent helt ud på landet, hvor bogstaver alligevel preller af på de fleste.

Fattigdom, analfabetisme og autoritetstro gør det svært at inddrage almindelige mennesker i offentlig debat. Der er ellers nok af samfundsproblemer at diskutere, men lederne er blevet så vante til deres magt, at de ikke ser med milde øjne på spørgsmålstegn fra borgerne. Medierne holdes derfor i kort snor.

LOKALRADIOENS MAGI. UNESCO's medieprojekt prøver at dele sol og vind lige med støtte til lokalradioer, den statslige radio og den private presse. Men lokalradioerne er projektets flagskib. Lokalradioer som Radio ARCO siges nemlig at have en masse positive kvaliteter, som de andre medier mangler. Der er bred, folkelig deltagelse og udsendelserne afspejler lytternes hverdag. Alle har adgang til radioen, både som lyttere og frivillige producenter af radioindslag. Erfaringerne med at sætte ord på egne levevilkår og måske bidrage med løsninger på fælles problemer, styrker civilsamfundet og særligt dem, der ikke er vant til at komme til orde. Dermed kan befolkningen bidrage til sin egen udvikling, både demokratisk og socialt. Næsten som ved et trylleslag, fristes man til at tænke som skeptisk studerende i journalistik og international udvikling.

Det svæver dog lidt hen i det uvisse, hvordan alle disse positive forandringer skal udgå fra Radio ARCO. Når man nu kender til ledernes brug af rå magt på mange

andre områder i Mozambique, er det svært at se hvordan en lokalradio skulle blive et omdrejningspunkt for folkelig, demokratisk udvikling. UNESCO siger, at professionel journalistik ingen gang har på lokalradioen. Er der da en særlig form for barfods-journalistik, der sætter gang i udviklingen? Er lokalnyhederne præget af folkelig deltagelse, åben adgang, og alle de andre plus-ord, som UNESCO og andre fortalere fremhæver ved lokalradioerne? Lokalnyhederne måtte undersøges nærmere og det resulterede i denne skribents speciale ved Roskilde Universitetscenter.

Seniorreporteren Hussene Algy tjekker Delfines optagelser. De unge reporteres nyheder formes, så de ikke afviger fra den sædvanlige måde at lave radio på.

VORES RADIO MED MUNDKURV. Nej, lyder konklusionen i specialet, nyhedsjournalistikken har intet folkeligt, "barfods"-præg over sig, som man ellers kunne forvente ud fra teorierne om lokalradio. Observationer på radioen, interviews med medarbejderne og en indholdsanalyse af lokalnyhederne peger alle i samme retning: Radio ARCO domineres af de lokale myndigheder, som enevældigt bestemmer, hvad radioen kan tale om og hvornår den må tie. Nyhederne sendes som én-vejsbeskeder fra myndighederne til masserne. De almindelige mennesker, som historierne berører, får sjældent en stemme i lokalnyhederne. Det er altså svært at få øje på de kvaliteter, som lokalradio-folk fremhæver. Med en enkelt undtagelse. En spørgeskemaundersøgelse blandt en række lyttere i distriktet viste, at lokalsamfundet generelt føler sig godt dækket af Radio ARCO og er meget stolte af den. "Det er vores

radio", sagde de fleste i spørgeskemaundersøgelsen, selvom enkelte veluddannede tankevækkende mente, at radioen måtte være ejet af de lokale myndigheder.

Samtidig lader det til, at professionalismen alligevel er krøbet ind i Radio ARCO, på trods af UNESCO's modstand mod den. Der er nogle helt faste rutiner for hvordan nyhederne laves, og der er helt bestemte måder at præsentere dem på. Mange af nyhederne begynder således med ordene: "De lokale myndigheder appellerer til befolkningen om at …". På den måde kan ingen lytter være i tvivl om, at på Radio ARCO giver de lokale myndigheder besked til masserne. Kun sjældent bringer de lokale nyheder historier fra almindelige mennesker op til dem, der bestemmer.

PROFESSIONEL RADIO. De unge frivillige reportere skal heller ikke være i tvivl, så de læres op i hvordan nyhederne skal skæres. De knokler på med krum hals for at lære så meget som muligt.

"Jeg vil gerne være radiovært og lave sportsprogrammer", siger Meniazes Reginaldo. Det vil kammeraterne Atanasio Vilanculos og Domingos Autur Palo også gerne. De unge mænd ser det frivillige arbejde på Radio ARCO som en læreplads, der kan forbedre deres levevilkår. Tænk hvis det kunne lede til en karriere på en radio i en storby!

De voksne frivillige stræber derimod efter et lønnet job på Radio ARCO. Seniorreporteren Hussene Algy holder fast, selvom journalistikken sjældent giver brød på bordet. "Måske forandrer min situation sig snart", fortæller han. "Håbet er det sidste der dør…".

Der er dog ikke alle i Homoine, der kan gøre sig håb om en bedre fremtid via Radio ARCO. De unge frivillige er alle velformulerede, på vej op i uddannelsessystemet og bor centralt. Selvom radiomedarbejderne fortæller, at de kan finde en plads til alle, så glimrer de fattige, dårligt uddannede ved deres fravær.

TOPSTYRING. Det lader dog ikke til at være et problem i Homoine, at radioen ikke lever op til vestlige forventninger om medier, folkelig deltagelse og demokrati. En af de direkte følger af topstyring og professionalismen er nemlig bedre radio. Folk gider simpelthen ikke høre amatør-radio, heller ikke i en lille by i Mozambique. At alle ikke får lov til at lave radio - tja, den bekymring blev mødt med et træk på skulderen af deltagerne i spørgeskemaundersøgelsen. Mange af dem kendte en person med adgang

til Radio ARCO. Hvis de syntes, at der var noget galt med radioen, ville de blot gå hen og klage til den person. Det var deltagelse nok for de fleste.

Der er også et andet problem i forhold til hensigten med lokalradioer, nemlig at myndighederne har sat sig så tungt på en radiostation, der egentlig skulle tilhøre civilsamfundet. Ude på landet i Mozambique skelner man dog ikke på den måde imellem regering og civilsamfund. Ifølge en af de lokale egnsledere, Mario Neves, ser befolkningen helt anderledes på samfundet: "På den ene side tror folk, at myndighederne er en slags alvidende gud, der kan løse alle problemer. På den anden side er myndighederne også en del af lokalsamfundet - så der er intet modsætningsforhold", mener han.

Radioen fastholder det traditionelle forhold imellem unge og ældre. ARCOs bestyrelse vejleder de unge reportere i at gøre tingene, som de altid er blevet gjort, og opmuntrer ikke til nytænkning eller social forandring.

Radio ARCO har dog svært ved at arbejde for forandringer, så længe den gamle garde bestemmer over radioen. De unge i spørgeskemaundersøgelsen havde forslag til hvad Radio ARCO kunne gøre bedre, men forbedringer bliver sandsynligvis kun ved tanken. Lokalsamfundets ældre, som sidder i radioens bestyrelse, er ikke interesserede i at ændre på den gamle orden. Sekretær i bestyrelsen, sygeplejersken Joana Margerita,

holder skarpt øje med de unge frivillige: "Vi er nødt til at sørge for at de opfører sig ordentligt. De skal lære, hvordan de omgås kilder hos de lokale myndigheder, for nyhederne handler om at myndighederne taler til befolkningen."

INGEN FIASKO. Med udtalelser som denne, kan man godt sætte spørgsmålstegn ved nytten af Radio ARCO i forhold til formålet om udvikling og social forandring. Dem, der altid har haft noget at skulle have sagt i Homoine, har blot fået endnu en kanal at sige det på - og dem, der ikke har haft noget at skulle have sagt, har stadig få muligheder for at komme til orde. UNESCO mener dog, at det er for tidligt at dømme fiasko.

"Det er kun få år siden, befolkningen fik en grundlov og demokrati som styreform. Det er ikke særlig lang tid at forandre folks måde at tænke på", mener Birgitte Jallov. Ifølge UNESCO sejler flagskibet, lokalradioen, derfor en anden kurs end beregnet, men er ikke skudt helt i sænk.

-fakta_____

I december 2001 kunne Radio ARCO sende de første hilsner og nyheder ud i æteren. Den var blandt de tre første lokalradioer, som blev oprettet under UNESCO's storstilede medieprojekt. Medieprojektet blev lanceret i 1997 som det mest ambitiøse af sin art nogensinde med et uhørt stort budget på ca. 40 mio. kr. af bl.a. nordiske bistandsmidler. I Homoine og to andre distrikter lagde UNESCO mange måneders arbejde i at mobilisere lokalbefolkningen omkring lokalradioen og træne personale og frivillige i alle områder af radioens drift. Radioen blev hurtigt en integreret del af samfundet på godt og ondt – kendt af alle som "vores radio".

Eva Tommerup Johnsens speciale blev til efter interviews og feltbesøg i Mozambique fra januar til maj 2004.