
The Development of Community Media in East and Southern Africa

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The 1990s were ushered in by significant changes in the political systems of East and Southern Africa. The shift from one-party to pluralist political systems and the first post-apartheid elections in South Africa were accompanied and, in part, achieved by popular movements seeking greater freedom of expression, information and association. The impact of these movements was also reflected in the region's media, which, until the 1990s, had been largely either ruling party or government owned and managed. The 1990s thus witnessed the birth of more independently owned and managed media.¹

At the same time, the principle that deemed participation in decision-making a requisite basis for successful development was gaining ground. As articulated in the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation:

The political context of socio-economic development has been characterised in many instances by over-centralisation of power and impediments to the effective participation of the overwhelming majority of the people in social, political and economic development. As a result, the motivation of the majority of the African people and their organisations to contribute to the development process, and to the betterment of their well-being as well as their say in national development has been severely constrained and curtailed and their collective and individual creativity has been undervalued and under-utilised.²

The development industry³ has increasingly striven to incorporate the principle of participation into its policy and project work, and to use it to assess the impact of that work. This required greater recognition of the role of communication in development – communication which was participatory. And thus communications for development came to imply two-way communication rather than the top-bottom communication approach more in use previously. The perspectives, interpretations and solutions posed by recipient communities of development interventions began to be sought to inform decision-making within and about the recipient communities as well as at the national level. To initiate, collect and disseminate these perspectives, interpretations and solutions, participatory information and communications initiatives emerged at the community level, integrated into broader development interventions. Some of these initiatives later achieved a more or less autonomous status as community media initiatives. And their emergence necessarily deepened the debates on media development at the national level. A distinction began to be drawn between independent commercial media and independent community media.

The advent of new information and communication technologies (ICTs), coupled with concerns about the growing information gaps between the North and the South, as well as between the urban and the rural populations within the South, only served to underline the importance of resolving these debates on media development. The issues were no longer solely those relating to protecting and promoting the freedoms of expression, information and association. The issues included defining the role of traditional cultural forms of communication, preserving indigenous knowledge and achieving universal access to the means of information production and dissemination so as to close the information gaps.⁴

Overview of Community Media in the Sub-Region⁵

The 1990s have seen the establishment and growth of media which are neither publicly – nor strictly corporately – owned and managed and which can be roughly grouped into two categories. First, there are media which are independent and corporately owned and managed with a community development orientation, and which are produced with some level of community participation. And second, there

are the communications initiatives of the development industry which seek to incorporate community participation in their ownership, management and production. The development, environment and religious sectors of the development industry have tended so far to achieve greater community participation in the ownership and management aspects of these media than the human rights and legal sectors, which have tended to address community participation only in the production aspects. This is probably because the civic education and human rights education messages of the human rights and legal sectors are yet to be viewed as messages equally capable of being generated in the two-way communication approach articulated above.

The strategic range of these media to achieve their community development agenda is broad. Puppetry is used to initiate discussion on 'taboo' issues. Theatre for Development or 'theatre of the oppressed' techniques are used to stimulate participatory debate on issues requiring community consensus regarding interpretation or strategies. Local languages are used even in print⁶ to create a sense of community ownership. Audio listening groups are used not just to circumvent reluctantly-changing government broadcast regimes, but also as a means of sharing experiences among different communities. Radio broadcasting is used where possible to reach largely non-literate communities. Participatory video is also used with an especially effective impact when targeting external audiences for urgent action and/or redress.

Community-based puppet and theatre groups are found throughout the region. In Eastern Africa, they are perhaps most common in Kenya, which has yet to fully open up its broadcasting to non-ruling party aligned players. The members of the Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET) are, for the most part, puppetry and theatre groups which address issues ranging from basic, reproductive and sexual health to civic education and constitutional change.

Local language print media are also found throughout the region, but are less prevalent in Tanzania, where Kiswahili has in fact become the language of national use. For the most part, the community-based, local language print media seek to make mainstream politics accessible and relevant to particular ethnic communities.⁷ Some examples are the short-lived Gikuyu language magazine *Inooro* of the Roman Catholic Church in Kenya, which was eventually banned, and the Dholuo language

magazine *Mayienga* of Kenyan ex-detainees and exiles, which closed down due to problems with distribution and financing. Other local community-based print initiatives focus on the particular underdevelopment issues of lower-income urban communities in specific geographic areas. The *Habari vya Vijiji* of the Majengo slums in Nairobi and the *High Density Mirror* of Harare are two examples.

Audio listening groups are also prevalent in the region. Zimbabwe's Development Through Radio Project provides a model for participatory listening women's groups within distinct geographic communities to share and learn from one another on a range of issues. That model has been taken up by the Uganda Media Women's Association to address issues of gender and development, as well as by South Africa's Kwazulu-Natal Community Based Organisation (CBO) Network to address issues of peace and reconciliation in an area where inter-political party violence is rife.

Of note are the growing number of specifically peace-oriented audio and radio production houses and stations, supported largely by religious organisations such as the Roman Catholic Church, bilateral funders such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and intergovernmental organisations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). These are situated specifically in the conflict areas of the so-called Great Lakes region (including, for example, Studio Ijambo of Burundi, a proposed women's radio station in Rwanda and Radio Kwizera of Tanzania's Kagera Refugee Camps) and in the conflict areas of the Horn of Africa (including, for example, the Civic Education and Peace Radio Project of Somalia and the new project of ACROSS in south Sudan). While clearly initiated by these external organisations, some have come to include higher levels of community participation in both management and production.

Outside of the so-called Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa, as broadcasting regulation opens up, community radio initiatives are increasing. South Africa's National Community Radio Forum (NCRF), an umbrella for community radio, groups together over 60 community radio initiatives. Community radio initiatives are also now found in almost every country of the region. Kenya's Mang'elele Community Radio, Malawi's new women's radio station, Namibia's Katutura Community Radio, Tanzania's Simanjiro Community Radio, Uganda's Kagadi Community Radio and Zambia's Radio Icengelo are all examples of the community

radio initiatives outside of South Africa.⁸ These community radio initiatives focus on a broad range of community development issues, from education to land use and management systems. Many of these initiatives are also keen to devise means of sharing information with one another, to learn how different communities address similar issues, and to develop their own community radio practice.

Participatory video is still not widely used in the region. Although there is a tradition of video for development, this tradition has not been participatory. Part of the problem relates to the cost of independent film and video production. Many African independent film and video makers, in the absence of public and private funding for the arts, draw on development funding for their work and make a living by doing development documentaries for the development industry. Recently, some independent producers have begun to challenge traditional documentary formats, allowing for greater participation by the communities with whom they work.⁹ At the same time, the development industry has recognised the potential of video in community education, giving rise to a few community based video screening and production initiatives. The advent of digital video technologies for editing has made the medium more accessible as a participatory tool for development and is being used by, for example, the Mtwara Media Centre in southern Tanzania and Maneno Mingi in Zanzibar to promote traditional fishing rights and community participation in resolving the conflict between dynamite and traditional fisher people. And community video practitioners in South Africa are now debating how to develop community access television.

A number of these initiatives incorporate access to ICTs into their work, finding innovative solutions, such as solar and high frequency (HF) or very high frequency (VHF) radio, to address the problems of lack of electricity and unreliable telephone lines. This is being done, for example, by the East African Community Media Pilot Project co-ordinated by EcoNews Africa.

Defining Community Media

From the above, 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. The media used are different and, as is the case with video, sometimes the medium used itself poses challenges to the notion of community

participation. The ownership and management patterns are diverse, even though they can be broadly defined as non-governmental and non-corporate. The levels of community participation are equally diverse. And the aims are quite specifically different, although again, in general the aims are all for some aspect of community development.

Within the region, many community media initiatives have adopted the South African definition of a community as being either a geographic community or a community of interest. Ideally then, community media are media produced, managed and owned by, for and about the community they serve, which can either be a geographic community or one of interest. “Community [media] is a two-way process[...] in which the communities participate as planners, producers and performers and it is the means of expression of the community rather than for the community.”¹¹

Within communities, community media seek to foster debate about, reach consensus on and build solidarity in promoting and protecting human rights and achieving sustainable development, including peace and reconciliation. Community media are about both access to and dissemination of information. They act as media for the flow of information to and from communities, on the one hand, and the national and international levels, on the other hand. They provide access to needed external information as well as advocacy on issues of concern, with relevant policy making levels informed by experiences at the community level and solutions generated therein. In a broader sense, community media enable greater participation by communities in national and international affairs. Community media have a dual role – that of a mirror (reflecting the community back at itself) and that of a window (allowing the outside world to look in at its experience).¹²

These definitions illustrate two essential criteria for the establishment of community media. Although it is true that resources – human, financial and technical – can, and too often do, determine the choice of medium for a community media initiative, the nature and purpose of the community media initiative should be the most important determinants. Resource shortcomings of any kind can be addressed through alternative strategies.

The nature of community media is participatory and the purpose of community media is development, “a process of public and private dialogue through which

people define who they are, what they want and how they can get it.”¹³ Community participation is thus seen as both a means to an end and an end in itself. The processes of media production, management and ownership are in themselves empowering, imbuing critical analytic skills and confidence about interpretations reached and solutions found. The medium chosen must, therefore, be one that enables, enhances and sustains community participation.

Other issues to consider when establishing a community media initiative include:

1. the specific development aims and corresponding information needs of the community concerned, including those of distinct sectors of the community (the specific needs of women, for example);
2. existing communication structures and ways in which people learn, including traditional communication structures and learning institutions, and strategies to incorporate these in the proposed medium;
3. the ability of existing structures to achieve the community’s development aims and strategies to address any gaps;
4. the ability of existing structures to sustain participation and strategies to deal with gaps;
5. the human, financial, technical and regulatory feasibility of the proposed medium and strategies to address the needs thereof.

From the above considerations, it follows that the choice of media to be used in a local community is necessarily specific to that community. What works in one community may not work in another. For example, gender and age are factors to be taken into account when discussing sexuality, but the manner in which they are taken into account differs across communities. Literacy levels, access to radio receivers in the community at large, familiarity with symbolism and other visual devices used in audio-visual media are other considerations. The choice of puppetry, theatre, local language newspapers, radio or video – or any combination thereof – is and should be dependent on both internal and external factors. Internally, the choice should address the development aims of the community concerned and build on what forms of communication already exist, especially where the community concerned has a history or tradition of educational music and dance. And externally, the choice should ensure ease and effectiveness of impact on the

national and international actors the community wishes to speak to. For example, video is a powerful medium to raise awareness about human rights concerns, but it is also a medium which does not necessarily or typically allow for the complexities of a situation to be expounded on and can thus lead to simplistic interventions for resolution. Participatory community-based planning to make the choice of a medium should take these internal and external considerations into account.

Training for Community Media ¹⁴

In many ways community media challenge existing understandings of media. Community radio practitioners in South Africa, for example, have decried the tendencies of young practitioners to eschew the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) presentation techniques with spoken word programming and to opt for African-American style disc jockey presentation techniques with music programming. Obviously, media operate within a broader political-economic and socio-cultural context, and that context is post-colonial. That fact and the specific history of media and the training in media within the region have created and have yet to undo subtle and not so subtle internalisations about the kind of communications that are valued.

Training for community media production has first to deconstruct these internalised cultural and media values. Media literacy is needed which addresses the following questions. Who speaks? To whom? Whose speech (and language) is valued? Who explains or interprets? And, most importantly, who is left out? Training here has to address questions of how to bring the marginalised into the voice, into the picture and the framing of the picture – and how to bring the marginalised even within communities, for example, through techniques for mainstreaming gender in coverage. Critical examination of sourcing and formatting to ensure participation in production is essential.

Equally critical are questions of how to build into production the kind of links community media are expected to make between local experience and national and international policy, how to create that two-way flow, how to make community stories effective advocacy stories. How to deconstruct notions of objectivity? How to value and yet expand community interpretations that may localise problems and

solutions when the problems and solutions may be in fact outside the community (for example, around politically instigated violence which can be experienced and understood at the community level as ethnic violence)? How to consistently link with other development players? How to bring into coverage domestic and international standards? Specific training is needed in developing advocacy or public interest journalism.

In terms of management, training is needed in developing and sustaining participatory organisational and management policies and systems. Community media survive largely on the labour of volunteers, and key questions are how to give value to their labour and to consciously prepare for the high turnover that most community media initiatives experience. Other related questions are how to build and sustain membership, how to build up a volunteer base from among the membership, how to orient volunteers to the values of the community media initiative, how to incorporate volunteers into the management of the initiative, how to prevent burn-out, how to maintain professional standards that are income-worthy elsewhere, and how to maintain separation and yet co-ordination between the volunteers, the staff and the management. In this context, what is the role of the Board of Directors?

Some of these issues are more than internal, for example, the accreditation of community media training in recognised training institutions. But others are critical issues that need some thought before the community media initiative is even begun. In short, internal policy and systems work should address: people (human resource management); things (technical resource management); money (financial resource management); and content (programming development and scheduling).¹⁵

Finally, training is needed on financial sustainability. Obvious training needs include how to ensure financial accountability, basic book-keeping and accounts and so on. But more importantly, this training should relate the management issues listed above to financial sustainability. If the community media initiative is membership-based, what are the different categories of members and how should they contribute to the initiative? On a one-off basis or consistently? In money or in kind? And how can the purpose and impact of the community media initiative be used to generate funds, for example, among insiders and outsiders with an interest in

similar issues, for example, funding agencies? How applicable are traditional methods of raising money for media support, such as advertising and sponsorship? If they are applicable, what standards should be in place to govern such methods? What is the balance desired between community, private and public contributions? Can the community media initiative use its facilities for income-generating within the community, for example, by documenting or recording community events or providing physical facilities for community events? It is important for all applicable methods to be systematised into a financial sustainability strategy.

At a different level, training in the technology of the medium, where applicable, is important, not just in understanding how it works, but also in how it fits together and in basic maintenance. For ICTs, where the training focus has tended to be on access, training on dissemination is equally important: how to set up and run electronic list-servers or networks, how to create and maintain websites. Without this, there is a danger that the ICTs will simply be used to access information rather than to express the perspectives of the communities in question and increase the amount of African-generated content on the Internet.

Research by, for and about Community Media

The areas outlined above call for more in-depth research than is currently available. Some research which can be used to support the development¹⁶ of community media in Africa has already been carried out. There is a growing body of research on participatory communication for development and on media pluralism and diversity in Africa.¹⁷ There is also some research available on regulatory models for community media and on how to make information technology applicable to community media in Africa.

Three key research gaps exist relating to impact assessment, audience research and sustainability. The need for research into these three areas is interrelated.

It is necessary to assess the impact of community media through research which would provide experiences in, and the extrapolation of models for, assessing the value of both the participatory process and the content or programming of community media. It is not possible to assert the development achievements (and failures) of community media and thus improve on these achievements (or address the

failures) or to negotiate support for community media (from its audience, from funders and from the state) without this kind of research.¹⁸ Finding participatory models for the assessment of impact which can be carried out on an on-going basis by the community media initiative would be of particular interest.

The above relates to the second area where research is needed. Audience research tends to be carried out by advertising agencies mainly in countries with diverse and competitive media and relatively large consumer populations. And even in such countries, audience research tends to focus on urban audiences and to be more quantitative than qualitative. It is necessary to develop models for audience research for community media that is both quantitative and qualitative, the latter relating in some ways to impact assessment. Again, the reason for this kind of research is both internal (to improve the content or programming of community media initiatives) as well as external (to be used to assert the value of the community media initiative when trying to obtain or build on existing support). While some interesting work is being done in this area,¹⁹ the extent to which it can be replicated at the level of other community media initiatives is debatable. Research into audience feedback and audience research techniques in use across the region could point to more user-friendly and sustainable methodologies.

Finally, research would be of use into how community media initiatives are sustaining themselves financially. It is clear that many existing community media initiatives face problems accessing financial support on a consistent basis. It is also clear that, particularly with more technology-heavy community media initiatives, financial support has been largely gained from sources external to the communities concerned, for example, from funding organisations. Are there community media initiatives that have found ways to garner public support through regulatory mechanisms? Are there community media initiatives that have built links with their local and the national private sector? Does public and private support necessarily compromise the development agenda of community media initiatives? How can sustainable mechanisms for financing be systematised? These are critical questions for community media to engage in. Research into how different community media initiatives, working with different media, have addressed these questions is a priority.

Technologies for Community Media

Computer-based technologies, including desktop publishing, digital audio and video and ICTs, are increasingly available in the region. However, they are still largely inaccessible to rural communities due to their high costs, limited rural electrification and low computer literacy levels. These obstacles are compounded (and sometimes caused) by regulation which does not recognise or acknowledge the importance of computer-based technologies (and, in some states, actively hinders access to them) and which have not begun to address issues of universal access and technological convergence in a forward-looking manner.²⁰

However, as the experience of some community media initiatives indicates,²¹ computer-based technologies, especially desk-top publishing, digital audio and video editing, compression and e-mail transmission programmes, can contribute to increasing the speed of learning for electronic media production, as well as to improving the quality and broadening the dissemination of electronic media productions. Recognising this, other community media initiatives are seeking to access computer-based technologies, despite the persistence of regulatory and infrastructural barriers.

The choice of technologies for community media tends to be influenced by infrastructural considerations. However, as suggested above, most infrastructural limitations can be surmounted. To achieve access to ICTs, for example, a lack of electricity can be resolved by solar or generated power and a lack of telephones can be resolved by HF or VHF radio. The latter is increasingly seen as a viable medium term connectivity solution for rural areas while waiting for the long term satellite one. It is also a less expensive solution in the long term than either telephone and satellite connections.

While cost can be an issue, it should not be a stumbling block, as there are now several funding initiatives for increasing African access to ICTs.²² The most important consideration should be the development communication goals of the community. Any technology, which incorporates existing technologies, and enables or enhances community participation with a view to addressing the information needs of the community concerned, can be appropriate.

That said, however, there are some important questions to be asked and pitfalls to be avoided when choosing technologies, particularly for electronic community media:

1. is the technology desired compatible with local supply? (For example, if a community radio station is to broadcast on FM, does the community concerned have access to FM receivers? If the equipment supplier wishes to sell digital or opti-disc or other 'high' technologies and the local supplier only stocks cassettes, there will be a problem with maintenance);
2. is the technology desired compatible with external distributors? (For example, if the public media are digital and there is a wish to sell programming to the public media and yet the technology desired is analogue, there will be additional work preparing programmes for the public media);
3. is the equipment supplier willing and able to enter into maintenance and service agreements with the community media initiative? (And if so, is it clear what maintenance can be expected on-site as opposed to off-site and are there back-up systems in the event that a necessary component has to go off-site?);
4. is the equipment supplier willing and able to provide basic training during installation to members of the community with some technical background with easy-to-use installation or system design manuals as well as training on operations? (This will ensure that there are basic troubleshooting skills within the community);
5. is the connectivity solution the most appropriate? (In the absence of power and telephone lines, laptop computers consume less energy. If there are satellite Internet Service Providers (ISPs), what are their start-up and monthly costs? How does this compare in the long term to HF or VHF radio?).

Basic principles should be kept in mind. More is not necessarily better. And appropriate technological solutions can be found. It is also necessary to devise internal policies on the use and maintenance of all equipment as well as to adequately insure all equipment. And externally, much work needs to be done on regulating telecommunications so as to ensure that technological convergence and universal access are understood, planned for and achieved through the on-going privatisation processes of telecommunications in the region.

Regulating Community Media

The regulation of community media is a critical question. The question is not, as is often posited, whether and what to regulate. The question is what is the purpose of

such regulation. Media regulation in East and Southern Africa has tended to be about controlling the flow of information, rather than about ensuring equal access to information and the means of information production. With the advent of political pluralism and pressures for privatisation, this has begun to change. However, with the exception of South Africa, few concrete constitutional, legal and policy provisions have been adopted to ensure that community media – as opposed to independent commercial media – are developed and explicitly supported. But across the region, advocacy efforts are underway to lobby for such measures. These efforts seek an end to punitive regulation of community media such as theatre and print, as well as for supportive regulation of electronic community media. It is thought that regulation is only required for theatre and print that would support sustainability. With electronic media, which make use of a national resource, the frequency spectrum, regulation is required to ensure equitable rather than purely competitive use of the resource.

In countries where private media now can operate unhindered, these efforts have been assisted by the recognition by the new and more autonomous regulatory bodies that privatisation alone does not sufficiently address information needs. In Tanzania, for example, the act which regulates broadcasting makes mention of the need to prioritise community media, but it neither defines community media nor proposes methods by which community media can be prioritised. The Tanzanian Broadcasting Commission (TBC) however, recognising the urban/rural imbalances that exist with its new licensees, has interpreted this mandate broadly and actually advertised for license applications from under-served rural areas. Advocates for community media need to begin working with regulators such as the TBC to support such endeavours and develop more concrete and systematic supportive measures to promote community media.

Community media have come to be seen as complementary to the public and evolving commercial media. Civil and political human rights issues which relate to the public and commercial media are also concerns of community media. Securing the constitutional rights to freedom of expression, freedom of information and freedom of association with supporting subsidiary legislation is a prerequisite for the development of community media in the region. Much work has been done in this area by freedom of expression organisations, human

rights organisations and through the constitutional reform movements which exist in several countries in the region.

Another regulatory issue for community media relates to cultural human rights, which should be (but all too often are not) expressed constitutionally as well as in subsidiary legislation on arts and culture. There should be, for example, provision for local content for the electronic media and copyright legislation that protects local as well as communal notions of copyright with enforcement mechanisms.

For electronic community media, access to the airwaves is still a regulatory issue of concern. Those advocating regulatory change in most countries in the region have accepted the South African model. This is a three-tiered broadcast industry which recognises the importance and role of public, private and community broadcasters, regulated independently, with specific regulatory support being given to the community broadcast sector.²³ While this advocacy work seems to be bearing fruit, not enough attention has been paid to the issue of technological convergence, the importance of harmonising broadcast and telecommunications regulation, and adopting privatisation models for telecommunications which achieve universal access.²⁴

Achieving some degree of financial sustainability for community media through regulation is another important area to be taken up in advocacy work. This will need to address such issues as devising differentiated license and frequency fees for community media, developing programming access strategies which do not compromise autonomy between public and community media, establishing training levies for public and private media which go back to community media, and lowering customs and import duties on equipment intended for community media initiatives.

Conclusion

Community media are still growing and evolving in East and Southern Africa. Specific community media experiences are still largely undocumented and the documentation that does exist has neither been widely circulated nor analysed. Because of this, it is difficult to definitely assess the nature and impact of community media initiatives in the region, and to determine whether existing prob-

lems indicate a failure of theory (idealising community media's potential) or a failure of implementation (an inability to translate theory in practice).

While championing community media as a valid and vital tool for the promotion and protection of human rights and the achievement of sustainable development, it is still clear that the key question remain: how to share and implement community media's vision and values within communities and with the external world. Examining the development of community media in this region reveals that there is need for much research, advocacy, training and financing in support of community media. Determining the importance of participation and communications to development is a challenge, since it is not easy e.g. to trace behaviour and social change to a message. 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. More importantly, assumptions are made about the nature of communities. No community in this region is homogenous, whether that community be termed geographical or of interest. And the ability of communities to negotiate those differences towards a common vision through values expressed in both the process and product of community media remains to be seen. These assumptions must be tested and challenged to determine their veracity. Development of community media in the region is still at the stage of work-in-progress.

Notes

1. *Community Media Workshop for Eastern and Southern Africa*, Nairobi: EcoNews Africa (ENA), 1995.
2. *African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation*, Arusha: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), 1990.
3. The term 'development industry' is used here to group funding, non-governmental and community-based organisations, including religious organisations and excluding government organisations.
4. Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET), *A Regulatory Framework for Community Broadcasting in Kenya*, Nairobi, 1996.
5. The examples cited in this overview are given only to illustrate the type. I do not purport knowledge of every community-based media initiative in the region. Those cited are only some of the initiatives I am aware of through my work with the Community Media Network of East and Southern Africa (COMNESA) and the World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC)-Africa.
6. In Kenya, for example, primary education is conducted in the rural areas in local languages up to Standard Three. Thus some primary school dropouts may be literate in their own languages.
7. A strategy not without its pitfalls in countries where ethnicity has historically been and still is manipulated by mainstream political parties. These pitfalls and strategies around them are addressed in Lawrence Mute and Bernard Sihanya, *Draft Code of Conduct for Community Broadcasting*, Nairobi: KCOMNET, 1997.

8. See two surveys done by the Panos Institute: *Broadcasting Pluralism and Community Broadcasting in Southern Africa*, Harare: the Panos Institute, 1998 and *Broadcasting Pluralism and Community Broadcasting in Eastern Africa*, (unpublished draft survey), Addis Ababa and London: the Panos Institute, 1998. Among the stations listed, those in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are not yet on the air.
9. See *Participatory Video*, Harare: Media for Development Trust, 1996.
10. *What is Community Radio: A Resource Guide*, Johannesburg: AMARC-Africa and the Panos Institute, 1998. This definition was intended to acknowledge the heterogeneous nature of geographic communities as well as the specific needs of sectors with clear common interests, such as women.
11. *ibid.*
12. A comment made by Lars Johansson, formerly of the Mtwara Media Centre, on the role of interactive or participatory video. See *Coordinating Emerging Needs and Actions in Environmental Education*, Nairobi: International Development Research Council (IDRC), 1997.
13. *Communications for Social Change*, Cape Town: Rockefeller Foundation, 1998.
14. The training needs elaborated here are not extensive but are drawn from my experience with members of KCOMNET, the East African Community Media Pilot Project, COMNESA and AMARC-Africa. Useful references include two reports from training sessions conducted by KCOMNET and *What is Community Radio: A Resource Guide*.
15. This framework (people, money, things and programming) was elaborated and is being developed further in an African community radio management training manual, a joint project of AMARC-Africa, COMNESA and Institute for the Advancement of Journalism (IAJ).
16. See, for example, the background material and report in *Communications for Social Change*.
17. See, for example, the research done by the Panos Institutes in Dakar, Lusaka and Addis Ababa on broadcasting as well as the research done annually by the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) on the state of the media in Southern Africa.
18. See the section on measuring communications for social change in *Communications for Social Change*, op.cit.
19. There is an interesting model for participatory quantitative and qualitative audience research that has been developed by the Media Training Centre of the National Primary Health Care Centre of Cape Town, South Africa in collaboration with Radio Zibonele.
20. Of the countries in East and Southern Africa, only South Africa has begun to address universal access, through the creation of a specialised and statutory body, the Universal Service Agency. It is also addressing technological convergence through the merger of its broadcast and telecommunications regulatory bodies.
21. The Mtwara Media Centre in Tanzania and Mission Mobile Education in Uganda, for example. The former uses digital audio and video to increase community participation in production and the latter uses computer literacy as a tool for basic literacy.
22. The Canadian International Development Research Council (IDRC)'s Acacia Project, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)'s African Information Society Initiative and the United Nations Development Programme's Internet Initiative for Africa are some examples of such funding mechanisms.
23. KCOMNET's work in Kenya, MISA's "Open the Waves" campaign in the states of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the National Community Radio Forum (NCRF)'s work in South Africa are some examples here.
24. *Technological Convergence and Telecommunications Regulation*, Nairobi/Windhoek: EcoNews Africa and MISA, 1998.