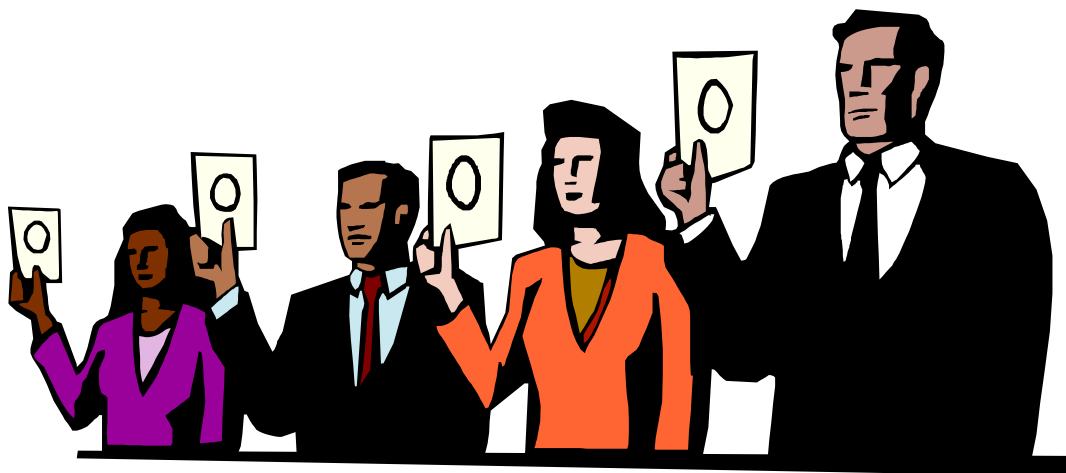


PROJECT "MEDIA DEVELOPMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE"

UNESCO/UNDP

Participation by Community Radios in Civic Education and Electoral Coverage



**The experience of the Community Radios in
Mozambique's 2003 Local Elections**

Specific cases of: Dondo, Chimoio and Cuamba

Preface

In the panorama of the Mozambican media the Community Radios are gradually filling a deservedly prominent space: they are defined as not-for-profit mass media, owned by the communities where they are located and which, in an autonomous manner, manage them and determine the content and form of the respective programmes.

Arising under the aegis and/or in partnership with various kinds of institutions or organizations, the Community Radios of Mozambique are diverse in the individuality that characterizes their respective geographic area and in their specific programming priorities, they can be recognized for one essential point: they are catalysts for social transformation, through the direct participation of their respective communities, in the creation and transmission of the message of general social development, particularly of the poorest communities, far from urban centres.

The establishment and flourishing of what is now a national community radio movement, which by the end of 2003 included more than 40 stations scattered throughout the country, is due to the prevalence of a political and legal environment that is favourable to the enjoyment of a fundamental constitutional right – the right to information, enshrined in article 74 of the 1990 constitution of the Republic of Mozambique.

And in a context where the national democratic experience is still incipient, with the most important expressions of the system still heavily concentrated on regular elections, the prevailing fragility of the Community Radio structures strengthens the need to set up and follow strictly rules and principles of conduct, that place this media at the head of the democratic debate of peace and development, centred on the creation of values of citizenship, more than on party-political disputes, aimed at controlling political power.

Taking this markedly ethical principle into account, in 2002 and 2003 the Coordinating Nucleus of the Community Radios undertook a vast programme of national debate, on how to ensure impartial coverage of elections in the country, which bolsters citizens' knowledge of their civic and political rights, but without any alignment – hidden or open – of a party political, regional, ethnic or linguistic nature. As a result, the Nucleus produced and adopted a Code of Conduct for Electoral Coverage by the Community Radios, condensed into ten basic rules.

During the 2003 local election campaign, the UNESCO Media Project carried out a study on the effective application of the Code of Conduct, and of the general climate surrounding the Community Radios, in three municipalities covered by the elections: Cuamba, Dondo and Chimoio.

This book summarises the findings of this study. Besides showing the strength of community radio as a powerful instrument of social construction (and control), and thus a priority target for the contending forces in local elections, the study proves that the Code of Conduct adopted was opportune and useful, as a decisive instrument for the self-defence of the community radios, caught in the crossfire of the forces standing in the election.

High levels of political agitation, noted in municipalities such as Cuamba, placed, in a highly sensitive manner, the community radios at the centre of the party political agendas: faced with clear attempts at political control over the radios, their management bodies, their executive coordination, and the mass of volunteers in general, resorted to the Ten Rules of Conduct for Electoral Coverage, in order to succeed in keeping the radios as community, balanced and credible media.

Since the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus had decided that the radios should concentrate their activities on electoral civic education, and on the strictly journalistic coverage of the elections, the study could also bring to public confirmation the preponderant role they played in this area, despite calling for the need to improve increasingly coordination with the local level electoral bodies (CNE and STAE).

The UNESCO Media Project is thus pleased with this experience, particularly because, as facilitator and catalyst of another national debate in the same area, but this time involving the so-called professional press, it was also associated with the drafting and the formal, public adoption by the professional media editors of another Electoral Code of Conduct, in November 2003.

The two Codes of Conduct – of which were applauded by all conscious forces in Mozambican society, as examples to be followed by other socio-professional groups – thus completed a codifying movement in the national media, which is in resonance with a global wave reaffirming the ethical dimension of the media, and in which UNESCO has systematically taken a preponderant role.

In due time, a further study, on the application in the “professional” newsrooms of the other Code of Conduct, will be able to show the other side of one and the same question” media ethics in the context of elections.

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1. Introduction

The UNESCO/UNDP “Media Development in Mozambique” Project undertook extensive work in training and awareness of the Community Radios in 2002-03, in order to improve their skills and support them in developing civic education and election coverage programmes. This included drafting rules of conduct on election coverage, regional upgrading and awareness seminars, meetings and permanent contacts with the radios, and the supply of manuals and other auxiliary materials for the production of radio programmes on election coverage. This covered all the Community Radios supported by UNESCO in Mozambique.

In this context, UNESCO took the initiative to produce a book on the experience of the Community Radios in Mozambique in civic education and coverage of the 2003 local elections. Thus this book presents the results of research on the experience of the community radios in Mozambique in the work of civic education and election coverage, as well as the role and support of UNESCO in this entire process.

The book puts on paper the entire experience of the community radios through the results of research undertaken in three community radios, based on case studies in Dondo, Chimoio and Cuamba. But it is important also to express this experience through a description and analysis of the role played by UNESCO and by the communities, in which the radios are inserted, as well as the facilities or constraints faced by the radios during this process.

The research was a strong basis for drawing up this book, and, in general, the questions that guided the research work were as follows:

- What is the role of community radios in civic education and election coverage?
- What is the experience of the community radios in the work of civic education and election coverage?
- What are the lessons learnt, and what recommendations can be made for future elections?

To answer these questions, it was necessary, on the one hand, to extend this research to the description and analysis of the specificities of the communities and the environments in which these radios operate (including the impact of certain political tensions on the radios), the perceptions of different groups and individuals in the communities on the role and performance of the radios, the specific difficulties and facilities of each radio in the course of its work on civic education and election coverage, and also the differences as regards the progress and obstacles of each radio in the development of election programmes. On the other hand, it was necessary to extend the research to analyse the role played by UNESCO, as well as the entire process undertaken by the UNESCO Media Project in collaboration with the Mass Communications Institute (ICS), and the Austrian North-South Cooperation Institute, in order to upgrade, sensitise and facilitate the work of the community radios in civic education and election coverage.

Thus the book is organised into three separate chapters:

Chapter 1 – This contains a description and analysis of the entire process undertaken with UNESCO’s support, particularly the drafting of the Ten Rules of Conduct for Election Coverage, designed specifically for the community radios, the training/upgrading activities for the radios undertaken in the northern, central and southern regions of the country, and the mechanisms and means established by UNESCO to facilitate the radios in the work of civic education and election coverage.

Chapter 2 – This contains case studies on the Dondo, Chimoio and Cuamba community radios, and a comparative analysis of the three cases. This chapter also includes data on the specificities of the target community, and the environment in which the radios operate, the organization, planning, programming and broadcasting of programmes, the resources existing in the radios, and an analysis on the civic education and electoral coverage programmes (quantity, content and form of presentation) produced and broadcast by the radios. In the unfolding of the case studies, it was also decided to dedicate a part to the opinion of the community on these programmes, taking into account the problematic that the various political tensions exert on the work of the community radios. At the end of this chapter, a comparative analysis of the three case studies has been included.

Chapter 3 – This is dedicated to a conclusion on the experience of the community radios in the elections, in the form of the lessons learnt, and the respective recommendations for the radios, the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus, the electoral bodies, the political parties, and the UNESCO Media Project.

2. Objectives of the book

Since the drafting of the initial proposal for this book, the main objective was identified as:

- To describe and analyse the experience of the community radios in civic education and election coverage, referring to the 2003 local elections in Mozambique, based on case studies.

3. Methodology

• Main methodological approach

The main methodological approach for writing this book, and particularly for the research, was analysis “in loco”, based on observation, directly following the unfolding of experiences on the ground and gathering information from the target communities.

To this end, a consultant hired by UNESCO had the responsibility to undertake this work, and travelled to the communities where the radios are operating, spending two weeks in each place. This included integrating the consultant in the work of the radio, and in the life of the community for observation, analysis and gathering of relevant data on the unfolding of events around the role, importance and work of the radio in the election process.

This methodology allowed a more realistic and factual analysis of the experiences of the community radios, because it made possible more demonstrative work in terms of the relationship between the radio and the community in which it is located. This methodology also allowed us to take into account in the analysis: the climate and environment in which the community radios operate; the difficulties and constraints they face in producing and broadcasting programmes on election coverage; the political tensions around the divergences between the various political parties and their impact on the work of the radios; the dynamic of access to and control of the radios; the level of interest and the feeling of ownership shown by people in the community towards their radio; and interviews to gather information from various groups and individuals in the target communities, at different places and times.

- **Methods for gathering data**

The following were chosen as methods for gathering data:

Analysis of written information (available at UNESCO)

- Gathering of data from the UNESCO “Media Development in Mozambique” Project, on the entire process of supporting and preparing the community radios for the work of civic education and electoral coverage.

Direct observation

- Staying for about two weeks in each community where the community radios are operating, following directly the atmosphere and specificities of each community in the unfolding of the electoral process and the role and performance of the community radio within this process.
- Study visits to the target community radios, directly following the organisation, planning, production and broadcasting of civic education and election coverage programmes.

Individual and collective interviews

- Individual and collective interviews with people directly involved with the community radios (Members of the Board, coordinators, mobilisers, technicians, volunteers and collaborators of the radios)
- Individual and collective interviews with members of the communities where the radios are operating (community leaders, political parties and/or their candidates, market sellers, factory workers, students, women from certain settlements, public transport drivers, among others)

(the interview guides are appended)

- **Study Areas**

The areas chosen for undertaking the research were:

Chimoio – in Manica province
 Dondo - in Sofala province
 Cuamba - in Niassa province

- **Priority spaces and groups/individuals**

Space	Priority groups/individuals	Number covered		
		Total	Women	Men
Community Radio	Members of the Radio bodies	11	2	9
	Coordinators	2	0	2
	Mobilisers	3	0	3
	Technicians	3	0	3
	Volunteers and collaborators	39	14	25
Community	Political parties	10	0	10
	STAE and Elections Commission	5	0	5
	Local government	2	0	2
	Civil society Organisations	12	6	6
	Market sellers	45	23	22
	Workers in companies	14	6	8
	Teachers and students	14	6	8
	Public transport drivers	8	0	8
	Residents in settlements	18	12	6
	Community and religious leaders	37	2	35

(the detailed list of interviewees is appended).

4. Key concepts

- **Community Radio:**

There are various concepts of a community radio, but the one around which there is most consensus is that a community radio is **of, for and by** the community.

In Mozambique, community radio is regarded as an instrument of community development, obeying the principles of equity, pluralism, democracy, independence, impartiality, and respect for the culture and tradition of the communities.

This definition raises the question of the ownership of the community radio. As can easily be concluded, the “owner” of the radio is the community, and is constituted by a group of people with common interests. And when a group of people come together for the same ideals and objectives, an Association is formed. According to the legislation in force in Mozambique, the right to free association is a basic guarantee for the personal realisation of individuals in society.

- **Electoral Process:**

This may be defined as the unfolding of all the crucial phases in specific elections. Everything, from the voter registration, to the swearing into office of the elected bodies or candidates, forms an electoral process.

- **Electoral Civic Education:**

The term “Civic Education” brings together the words **Education** – which means to educate, train, teach, advise, etc. and **Civic** – which means how the individuals who form a society act within it, including behaviour, attitudes, etc. Thus Civic Education refers to training people on how to act within society.

As a result, Electoral Civic Education covers educating citizens about electoral processes, stressing their rights and duties, electoral processes and periods, the voting, the operations of a democratic system, among other aspects.

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Summary

The role of the public mass media in electoral processes is well defined and described in Mozambican legislation, but this is not the case with the community radios. However, the leading role and importance of the community radios to the benefit of the development of the communities where they are located has assisted a very significant growth, and this fact has made it extremely important to reflect and debate upon the existence of rules and/or other provisions that can regulate the participation of community radios in electoral processes.

The need for uniform regulations for all the community radios, in terms of their participation in electoral processes becomes all the more pressing when one considers that, during electoral processes, the entire media are, more than ever, major centres of attention.

In this context, community radios, particularly in municipal elections, play a very important role, especially at local level, whether in the education and awareness of the electorate, in publicising information about the various phases of these electoral processes, in opening up space for the political parties and/or their candidates, or in following and covering the relevant election-linked events.

In the absence of national legislation that regulates the participation of community radios during election periods, and taking into account the strengths and weaknesses of these radios in terms of resources, work experience, and capacity to deal with and mediate in conflicts concerning politics, the need for a code that regulates and guides their participation in electoral processes becomes indispensable.

Hence the Media Development in Mozambique Project, funded by UNDP and implemented by UNESCO, together with other partners in the area of community radios – who form the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus – began a process aimed at identifying and defining the modalities of community radio participation in electoral processes, taking into account their role as promoters of social change in the communities.

This initiative opened the doors to an entire extensive work that included national consultation, begun in 2000, in which all the community radios in Mozambique (there were 37 of them then) were represented, at the highest level, in three regional seminars held to discuss and define the role that the community radios would play in the local and general elections of 2003 and 2004. The results of these seminars were the design of clear recommendations, condensed into TEN GENERAL RULES OF CONDUCT FOR THE COMMUNITY RADIOS DURING THE ELECTORAL PERIOD. This code of conduct was publicly announced to the various participants in the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus, which in turn organised local seminars to present this code of conduct to its various partners.

Meanwhile, the UNESCO Media Project coordinated, in close collaboration with the Mass Communications Institute (ICS), regional training courses to ensure the effective implementation of this code, and particularly to provide knowledge and skills to the

community radios so that they could work in the electoral process according to the rules formulated for this purpose.

To make better use of the contents of these courses, the UNESCO Media Project drew up, for the participants and for the radios themselves, a support manual condensing information for deeper knowledge and working skills aimed at the role of community radios in electoral processes.

After the holding of training courses on electoral coverage in community radios, the UNESCO Media Project took the initiative to write a book containing the experience of 3 community radios in the 2003 local elections. Through this book, it was intended to describe the entire prior process on the drafting of the Ten General Rules of Conduct, the holding of training courses on electoral coverage and, most important of all, the experience of the community radios during the local elections, including the dynamic of the relations between the radios and the community.

Bearing in mind that the participation of community radios in electoral processes is a new experience in Mozambique, and that the entire process, undertaken by the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus and implemented by the UNESCO Media Project, culminated with the recommendation that the community radios should have a role aimed more at electoral civic education, the experience of these radios in the 2003 local elections may be viewed, not only as the description of an experimental process, but above all as a lesson – in good and bad practices – for the next elections in Mozambique.

The most important “capital” of the community radios is the trust of the communities. Thus it is extremely important to guarantee that these radios maintain this feeling of trust by the communities where they are located, and consequently, that they fight for their credibility among the communities. For without trust and credibility among the communities, the community radios lose their whole reason for existing. The impartiality of the community radios during electoral processes is the main basis for supporting this trust and credibility. Hence the modality of civic education was defined as the most appropriate for the participation of community radios during the electoral process – mainly because this forms a strong basis for the continuity of relations of trust between the communities and their community radios.

Chapter 1

I. Community Radios in Mozambique

Fortunately, Mozambique has a political environment that allows the creation and functioning of mass media in general, and of community radio stations in particular, even though there is not yet any specific legislation that deals with this form of broadcasting.

In this context, the establishment of Community Radios by communities becomes possible through “marrying” two fundamental laws, namely the Press Law (no. 18/91 of 10 August) and the Law on Associations (no. 8/91 of 18 July).

The Press Law is the main legal instrument that regulates the media in Mozambique. It gives Mozambican citizens the freedom to set up mass media, having, among other goals, the following objectives (under Article 4, lines a, b and c):

- the consolidation of national unity and the defence of national interests;
- the promotion of democracy and social justice;
- raising citizens’ levels of social, educational and cultural awareness.

The Law on Associations says, in its preamble, that the right to free association is a basic guarantee for the personal realisation of citizens in society. This is established in Article 76, paragraph 1, of the Constitution of the Republic, as one of the fundamental freedoms of citizens. This means that Mozambican citizens may form associations and these in turn may have, among their assets, a Community Radio as a tool of major importance for attaining their goals.

1. History of community broadcasting in Mozambique

Bearing in mind that this is one of the poorest countries on the planet, with one of the lowest per capita incomes, and that its social fabric is still being rebuilt after decades of armed conflict, Mozambique is today one of the few African countries who, after attaining peace, have become true models of democratisation, particularly in the areas of freedom of expression and of the press.

The historical precedents show that Mozambique was, for a long time, a country with strong traditions in terms of the production and dissemination of information of public interest with the direct involvement of the communities. Since the beginnings of the development of the press in Mozambique, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, the trend was to set up newspapers with large press-runs or radio stations with long range transmitters.

As a rule, the choice has almost always been for things on a grand scale. When one thinks of a paper, immediately one wants a large newsroom; funding is immediately sought to purchase vehicles, computers, modern presses for large print-runs. When projects for a radio station are designed, instead of a simple studio and a cheap FM transmitter, equipment is immediately sought for a radio that can be heard over hundreds of kilometres.

Thus little importance was given in Mozambique to media of a community nature, unlike what happened in other southern African countries, such as South Africa,

Zimbabwe and Namibia, where small papers and radios operate, for example, in residential neighbourhoods, and are managed by the communities.

In the period following independence, there was a remarkable appearance, en masse, of wall newspapers, in order to cover community information in schools, companies, residential areas and elsewhere. Despite the truly propagandist nature of the editorial policy of most of these wall newspapers – they were aimed more at publicising the ideology of the ruling party than at reporting previously unpublished facts that were up to date and of public interest – it can be said that such initiatives were an important starting point in terms of producing and publishing information at the level of small communities.

No less important was the establishment in Mozambique, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, of Mass Communication Centres in rural areas, supplied with equipment to broadcast over an amplifier and loudspeakers the Radio Mozambique news and the “Aldeia Comunal “ (“Communal village”) programme, produced by the Mass Communications Office itself., and which was transmitted on the Radio Mozambique channel. On the initiative of the Mass Communications Office, now the ICS, sound equipment was set up in several villages in the interior of the country – that is, with loudspeakers, sound amplifiers and radio receivers, to transmit the official radio broadcasts, and present messages, small news items of community interest and music. But the programmes broadcast would only be heard wherever the wind took the sound of the loudspeakers, and the listeners did not have the freedom to switch off these radios when they did not want to hear any more.

These centres, the presence of which is still requested by communities today, were of great importance in educating the rural communities – most of the members of which, even today, do not possess radio sets. Their basic goal was to educate the communities – that is, to transmit basic knowledge on sanitation, disease prevention, and techniques for crop cultivation, aimed at national development under the slogan “Communication for Development”.

The Mass Communication Centres relied on the participation of “people’s correspondents”, and this network today has more than a hundred participants. However, this project did not enjoy the success expected because of the destabilisation of the country, caused by the civil war, since much of the equipment was destroyed or looted.

However, from 1991 onwards, with the approval of the Press Law, various community media initiatives, both written and broadcast, arose in Mozambique, particularly in the main urban centres.

This is the framework for the various community radio initiatives linked to churches and to the Mass Communications Institute. Although in these two cases, the communities did not participate effectively in the editorial and financial management of the stations, as well as in the design and production of programmes. Very recently, civic associations have been set up which, in order to carry out their objectives, mostly of contributing to the social development of their respective communities, have started community radios with donor support.

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2. The Community Radios and the democratic process

The political, social and economic changes in Mozambique since 1990 have contributed towards liberal press legislation in the country, which determines that citizens enjoy freedom of expression and of opinion, and may set up mass media.

The approval of the new Constitution of the Republic in 1990 favoured the signing of the General Peace Agreement in 1992, in the Italian capital, Rome, opening the door to the holding of the first democratic elections in 1994. In 1998, the first municipal elections were held, covering 33 towns and cities, and characterised by a general boycott by opposition parties. And in December 1999, the second general elections took place, widely contested by the opposition parties, and once again won by the ruling party.

Since elections are a procedure that allows the members of a particular organisation or community to choose, from amongst themselves, the people who will take up positions of leadership, and since Mozambique is a country where democracy is still recent, the mass media have a role of major importance in promoting the rights and duties of citizens.

The challenge facing the media, particularly the community radios, is still sharper when we bear in mind that most of the Mozambican population is unable to read or write, and that the audio-visual media, such as Radio Mozambique and Mozambican Television, do not cover the entire national territory. This is the context for the importance of involving the community radios in electoral processes, along with the possibility of these radios allowing a more direct interaction between the rulers and the ruled. Through the use of local languages in dealing with and discussing a great variety of matters concerned with the implementation and practice of democracy in the communities, although this is to some extent a new phenomenon in Mozambique, the community radios are taking on a significant role in the multifaceted development of the communities where they are located.

Probably because they are recent media, and with a more limited impact, the performance of the community radios in previous elections has never been assessed in the same way as other media by bodies such as the Higher Mass Media Council, among others.

Although there is no record of the specific performance of the community radios in the 1998 municipal elections and the 1999 general elections, it is only fair to mention that media such as Radio Encontro, based in Nampula, Radio Nova Paz, in Quelimane, the Moamba Community Radio in Maputo province, and Licungo Community Radio in Mocuba, Zambezia, for example, followed the elections in a positive fashion, from the voter education through to the journalistic coverage of the elections themselves.

However, it is important to mention that, just like the other media, the community radios that were involved in the previous electoral processes mentioned above faced difficulties such as lack of money to pay for journalists' expenses, lack of transport, and lack of tape recorders for reporting, among others. However, the greatest difficulty, and which led the community radios to appeal for corrective measures from the authorities, concerns the contempt with which their journalists are treated, particularly by sources in

the bodies organising the elections, and by the political parties themselves and/or their candidates.

Indeed, information concerning the electoral process was preferentially given to the media regarded as big, such as Radio Mozambique, the newspapers “Noticias”, “Savana”, “Diário de Mocambique”, “Demos” and “Domingo”, and Mozambican Television. As for the political parties and/or their candidates, they resorted to various forms of intimidation to force the community radios to favour the information they provided at the expense of those from other parties, in a clear attack on the stations’ editorial policies.

The political parties/candidates used techniques of bribing journalists and editors of the community radios, sometimes successfully, bearing in mind the economic vulnerability of the stations’ staff, and the fact that most of them are working as volunteers.

Thus the facts mentioned here speak for themselves in terms of what could be the major challenges facing the community radios in the next electoral processes, particularly municipal ones, since the very fact that they are local makes possible various pressures from politicians and other currents, resulting in the loss of the stations’ credibility among the communities.

3. The community radios and electoral civic education

Basically, there are four kinds of community radios in Mozambique: those set up by the state, through the Mass Communications Institute (ICS), those set up by the Catholic Church, but with a community orientation, those set up by Civic Associations, with donor funding, and one municipal radio in Nacala, Nampula province.

Since there was this variety of types of community radio in the country, it became necessary to make the intervention of these media more coordinated, through the creation of a specific mechanism for that purpose. So, at a meeting that took place on 14-15 June 2001, the community radios set up a Coordinating Nucleus, consisting of representatives from all kinds of radio existing in the country. This nucleus had as its first task to draw up a Plan of Action and a Strategic Plan in order to identify ways of minimising the difficulties faced by all the radios, particularly in the technical, training (human resources) and financial areas.

At the same time as the Community Radio Coordinating Nucleus was designing its action and strategic plans, a discussion was beginning in the country about the participation by community radios in the Mozambican local elections of 2003 and the general elections of 2004.

This fact stimulated a major reflection within the Community Radio Coordinating Nucleus on the definition of strategies for effective participation by the radios in elections, with a particular stress on electoral civic education.

Through this reflection, an attempt was made to define a strategic way of strengthening the interaction between the communities, the politicians and the community radios during the unfolding of electoral processes. And this interaction should, above all, be

centred on a better way for the community radios to contribute in general to the strengthening of democracy, and in particular to raising the democratic awareness of communities, through debates on the rights and duties of citizens, giving them the possibility of taking informed decisions.

II. The Media Development in Mozambique Project, and the preparation of the Community Radios for Electoral Processes

1. The Regional Seminars on electoral coverage for the Community Radios

Since training was one of the work areas of the Coordinating Nucleus in the context of drafting its Plan of Action and its Strategic Plan, the nucleus programmed a national meeting with the purpose of defining a common platform of behaviour for community radios during electoral processes. This national meeting took place on 7 June 2002. As one of the main strategies, it was decided to hold regional seminars in the northern, central and southern regions of the country, to provide the community radios with skills in electoral coverage.

In this context, the UNESCO/UNDP Media Project was charged with presenting a draft programme for these three regional seminars. At the following meeting of the Coordinating Nucleus, held in June 2002, the draft presented by the Media Project was discussed and approved.

The UNESCO/UNDP Media Project thus began a whole process of preparing for organising the regional seminars. A programme was drawn up that could focus, on the one hand, on transmitting knowledge in the journalistic areas relevant to elections, such as professional ethics, basic journalism, the experience and duties of other mass media in the coverage of elections, and the journalistic coverage of elections, and, on the other, on discussing the ways in which the community radios could participate in elections, through setting up working groups, presentation in plenary sessions, and harmonising proposals for the design of recommendations of each of the country's regions.

The forms of community radio participation in election process that it was intended to discuss, included **civic electoral education, journalistic coverage of the elections, and the granting of broadcasting time for the political parties and their candidates.**

Thus the regional seminars were held in the cities of Tete (11-15 July), Nampula (24-28 July), and Inhambane (7-11 August), covering the community radios of the northern, central and southern regions of the country. The UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, the Mass Communications Institute, and the Austrian North-South Cooperation Institute were charged with organising these seminars, with the involvement of the Community Radio Coordinating Nucleus.

1.1. The regional seminars held in Tete, Nampula and Inhambane

Members of the management committees, coordinators and heads of programming of community radios from all the country's provinces, and the provincial delegates of the Mass Communications Institute, took part in these seminars. The choice of participants was based on their responsibilities – that is, that they were responsible, at first hand, for implementing and following the editorial policies of the radio stations, and would therefore be at the head of implementing national recommendations on the forms through which the community radios would participate in electoral processes.

The objectives, programme and contents of the seminars were guided, in general, towards the following themes: Theory – learning or revising concepts, so that the participants would have a general framework about how they might be involved in the elections; the ethical principles that govern journalistic activity (although there is not, as yet, any ethical code approved by law); the electoral legislation; practical part – discussion of the forms and rules whereby community radios participate in electoral processes.

The programme of the seminars:

Day and time	Themes and Activities
1st Day	
8:00	Opening
8:15	Presentation of participants
8:30	Basic journalism
10:15	Interval
12:30	Lunch
14:00	Professional ethics
16:00	Interval
17:30	Assessment of the day
2nd Day	
8:00	Reading of assessment of the previous day
8:15	Democratic systems vs. political parties: round table with political parties, with journalistic coverage
11:30	Comments and debate
12:30	Lunch
14:00	The press law: rights, duties and limitations
16:00	Comment and debate on the journalistic coverage of the round table
17:30	Assessment of the day
3rd Day	
8:00	Reading of the assessment of the previous day
8:15	The Law on Local Authorities
10:15	Interval
10:30	Comments and debate
11:30	The Electoral Law
12:30	Lunch
14:00	The Electoral Law: the duties and experience of other mass media
16:00	Interval
16:15	Comments and debate
17:30	Assessment of the day
4th Day	
8:00	Reading of the Assessment of the Previous Day
8:15	Journalistic coverage of local and general elections
11:15	Interval
11:30	Comments and debate
12:30	Lunch
14:00	Forms, rules and regulations for electoral coverage in the CRs – working groups
17:30	Assessment of the day
5th Day	
8:00	Reading of the Assessment of the previous day
8:15	Presentations from the working groups
11:15	Interval
11:30	Comments and debate
12:30	Lunch
14:00	Analysis of the main recommendations from the working groups, and drafting a set of regulations for covering the local elections
17:00	Final comments
17:30	Closing session

The methodology and methods used during the seminars were of a participatory nature and, in order to guarantee effective participation and contribution in all debates, an attempt was made to gather the maximum possible number of suggestions on the themes linked to the forms, regulations and rules for participation by the radios in electoral processes, through discussing these issues in working groups, followed by presenting the proposals from the groups in plenary session.

It should be noted that, later, these proposals resulting from the working groups were harmonised and from them recommendations were drawn up concerning each region, namely the recommendations from Tete (Central region), Nampula (Northern region) and Inhambane (Southern region). Later, these recommendations were harmonised into

a single Final Recommendation – a guide for all the community radios on following the elections.

1.2. Result of the regional seminars

In general, one may say that the regional seminars, in which a total of 61 people participated, representing the 31 community radios that then existed in Mozambique, had a positive impact as regards defining the forms, regulations and rules for the participation by community radios in electoral processes, as well as with regard to the component of assimilating knowledge and skills which it was intended the participants should acquire through training.

As for the level of participation, these seminars were characterised by great commitment by the participants in debating the themes under discussion, seeking to identify the ways in which community radios could participate. These discussions were marked by the trend to advance with the three possible modalities, namely, participation in civic education campaigns, the journalistic coverage of the elections, and the granting of broadcasting time. However, the modality of civic education was regarded as the most appropriate for the role of the community radios in electoral processes, though the other modalities were also regarded as important.

It should be noted that, during the debates in these seminars, some points of disagreement between the “newer” and “older” radios merited deep discussion. On the one hand, the radios that have been established for a longer period, and which had therefore already participated in earlier elections, argued in favour of adopting the three modalities simultaneously. On the other hand, the newer and less experienced radios were more cautious, and disagreed with this position, giving such reasons as the shortage of trained staff, of money and of technical resources for preferring a more modest participation. The facilitators had to explain once more the mechanisms for putting each of the modalities into operation, and their respective implications, particularly the danger of the community radios losing the trust of the community, if, for one reason or another, they made ethical slips. But in the end there was an agreement on common positions, as regards the modalities of community radio participation in electoral processes.

These seminars were also intended to identify the level of knowledge of participants about the themes that directly concern the objectives of community radio participation in civic education and electoral coverage. The assessments undertaken during the three seminars showed that:

- As regards themes such as professional ethics, basic journalism and journalistic coverage of elections, the participants in the regional seminars had acceptable knowledge.
- As for legal matters concerned with the elections, it was noted that the participants have little awareness. Unfortunately, those who were invited to speak on these themes did not live up to expectations. Thus it was realized that cooperation between the community radios and bodies such as STAE and the CNE is fundamental, mainly in the area of training. As a result, it was

recommended that each Community Radio should set up a specific editorial group to follow electoral processes, and that the Community Radio Coordinating Nucleus had the task of seeking funds to hold 15-21 day training courses for these editorial groups, on matters of electoral legislation, and with the direct participation of STAE and of the CNE.

(Comparative tables on the level of knowledge of the participants about matters linked to the main themes of the seminars are appended).

Various doubts, however, could be raised in relation, first, to the capacity of the staff of the community radios to follow electoral processes, bearing in mind the fact that most of their staff work as volunteers, which is a risk to their integrity, particularly during elections, when practices of material and moral corruption become worse, quite apart from questions of journalistic training itself. A second constraining factor that might be posed is the lack of financial and technical resources to follow the elections in what could be regarded as a normal way, that is, without any direct or indirect dependence, particularly on the political parties/candidates – such as for transport and expenses, among other costs.

Since both democracy, and community radios, are new in Mozambique, it is to be expected that the radios' participation in elections might not be what would be desired. Indeed the media that are considered large, such as Radio Mozambique, Mozambican Television and all the newspapers also face the same kind of problems: training, lack of resources, and lack of money.

Aware of these limitations, the community radios thought it was particularly important to establish partnerships, and coordinate their efforts with the institutions directly involved in electoral processes, particularly with STAE and the CNE, but also with others such as the government press office (GABINFO), Radio Mozambique, Mozambican Television and the Supreme Mass Media Council, as the table below describes:

INSTITUTION	KIND OF PARTNERSHIP/COLLABORATION
GABINFO	Adoption, validation and publicising the Final Recommendation of the community radios regarding their participation in electoral processes
Supreme Mass Media Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adoption, validation and publicising the Final Recommendation of the community radios regarding their participation in electoral processes; Monitoring the Guide for the Performance of community radios in elections, particularly with regard to ethical principles, and violations of the Press Law and other related legislation; - Training.
STAE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making material available for civic education campaigns; - Training; - Sponsorship for producing civic education radio programmes; - Publicising the Final Recommendation of the community radios concerning their participation in electoral processes
CNE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training; - Regulating the broadcasting time to be granted to the parties/candidates standing in the local elections; - Publicising the Final Recommendation of the community radios concerning their participation in electoral processes
Radio Mozambique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exchange of experiences in producing programmes, electoral coverage, and regulations

Mozambican Television	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exchange of experiences with the rural Televisions; - Technical Assistance to the rural televisions; - Training
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In short, it was concluded that the participation of the community radios in electoral processes should be seen as a pertinent challenge, the purpose of which is to contribute to national unity, to the strengthening of democracy, and mainly to the defence of the rights of Mozambican citizens to participate actively in the choice of their representatives, as stated in the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique.

1.3. Final Recommendation on civic electoral education

To conclude the entire process of holding the regional seminars on the participation of the community radios in Mozambican electoral processes, a document was drawn up containing a *Final Recommendation on Civic Electoral Education*.

It should be noted that this final recommendation is a product basically designed through harmonising the recommendations of the regional seminars which took place in Tete, Nampula and Inhambane. The Final Recommendation consists of the following:

The community radios of Mozambique:

Aware that the mass media, and the community radios in particular, play a preponderant role in educating the communities in regard to decisions of a political and economic nature which have a direct or indirect influence on their lives, allowing a positive social change in the communities;

Considering that most of the community radios are located in areas that have limited access to the other media, and if they do have access, the information contained does not reflect their reality, these radios serve as a platform for debate and active interchange between civil society and the political class, particularly in establishing an agenda of participatory local development;

Recognising that the country possesses legislation that guarantees citizens the freedoms of expression and of the press, which is a fundamental condition for the strengthening of democracy, of good governance and of peaceful coexistence between citizens, but that specific legislation concerning community broadcasting in Mozambique is lacking;

Recalling that the community radios belong to the community, with programmes designed and presented by and for the community, and that this same community is an active participant in the country's socio-economic development process:

- Will participate in the local authority elections envisaged for next year, and in the 2004 general elections, in the form of CIVIC EDUCATION, in accordance with the regulations and rules established, in the context of the recommendations of the regional seminars held in Tete, Nampula and Inhambane, from which resulted the idea of the FINAL RECOMMENDATION;

- Call for the collaboration of all parties involved in the effective implementation of the Final Recommendation of the community radios as regards their participation in electoral processes:

- Call on civil society in general, and on the political parties in particular, to observe the principles established in the Final Recommendation, so as to facilitate their interaction, and allow the community radios to comply with their mission of informing, educating and communicating;

- Call on the Mozambican Government in general, and in particular on GABINFO and on the Supreme Mass Media Council to adopt the Final Recommendation as a valid document which reflects the position of Mozambique's community radios on their participation in electoral processes.

A document containing the general rules on the Final Recommendation was drawn up in order to regulate, specifically, each one of the recommendations concerning the work of electoral civic education to be undertaken by the community radios.

But it is very important to mention that this Final Document cannot be regarded as something subversive in relation to the legal attributes and the ethical standards of the other media in following the elections. On the contrary, it tries to establish a common platform, while taking into account the various limitations, including the shortage of trained staff, compatible with the demands that electoral processes require, considering that elections are the highest point in the exercise of democracy by the people.

The Final Recommendation also gave guidelines on Electoral Coverage and on granting broadcasting time. In terms of electoral coverage, the final recommendation stressed that the community radios should ensure the right of the public to be informed about the election campaigns of the political parties and/or their candidates in order to take informed decisions, and to raise the community's civic and democratic awareness¹.

The part of the final recommendation concerning political broadcasting time stipulated giving political parties and/or their candidates election broadcasts just five minutes long, to present their proposals for governance. It also stipulated the rule that the political parties themselves must produce and present the propaganda material to be transmitted during this broadcasting time.²

The Final Recommendation was adopted by all the Community Radios.

2. The Ten General Rules of Conduct for the Community Radios in Covering Elections

The initiative to draw up the Ten Rules of Conduct for Electoral Coverage by the Community Radios arose from the need identified by the Community Radio Coordinating Nucleus to condense the final recommendations from the regional

¹ The part of the Final Recommendation concerning electoral coverage is appended.

² The part of the Final Recommendation concerning broadcasting time is appended.

community radio seminars into a single document, which would be clearer and more practical.

The experience of many community radios in previous elections was also taken into account, particularly concerning difficulties in relations with the political parties and/or their candidates, and the risk of enticements and pressures from them on the radios' staff, the vulnerability of the volunteers, because of their "unwaged" condition, and consequently risks that doubts would arise as to the impartiality of the radio's work, leading to a probable loss of credibility among the communities where they are located. It was therefore decided to define general rules of conduct that could guide and clarify the role of the community radios in electoral processes. So a series of rules was laid down for the community radios as regards their role and performance in the electoral process – The Ten General Rules of Conduct.

After they were drawn up, the Ten General Rules of Conduct were officially launched at a ceremony at which the government, political parties, the media, and international organisations, among others, were represented.

Copies of a poster bearing these ten rules were sent to parliament, the political parties, public and governmental institutions, the Supreme Mass Media Council, the National Elections Commission, and the Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat, among others, at district, province and national level.

Below we present an extract from the Ten General Rules of Conduct.

The Ten General Rules of Conduct

I. PREAMBLE

1. In Mozambique, the sector of the mass media occupied by Community Radios, defined as not-for-profit radio stations, which are owned or managed directly by local communities, serving their particular interests, on the basis of the contents of their programmes, has been growing. The motivations and the bases for sustainability of this network of local radios are various and multi-faceted, ranging from civic associations to churches, and to the state itself, and with an equally varied range of internal and external partnerships.
2. With a space to flourish based on a legal environment of an opening to press freedom and the development of civil society, this movement covers, in 2003, a total of at least 35 radio stations, scattered across the country from north to south.
3. With the main objective of coordinating strategies and sharing synergies, within the framework of their common objectives, notably taking into account their sustainability, the institutions which form the bases of support for the various groupings of community radios decided, as from May 2000, to establish an informal forum of dialogue and exchange of information and experiences, called the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus, or NCRC. The members of the NCRC are the community radios grouped under the sponsorship of the Mass Communications Institute (ICS), the Austrian North-South Cooperation Institute (ANSI), the Catholic Church and UNESCO.
4. In the context of its coordinating activities, the NCRC held in 2002 three regional seminars in the north, centre and south, involving the management bodies of the radios covered, with the central objective of preparing common guiding platforms for coverage of the coming electoral processes, namely the 2003 municipal elections and the parliamentary and presidential elections of 2004.
5. During rich and lengthy debates, it was again stressed that the Community Radios have a great responsibility, as instruments of mass communication, destined to give voice to the voiceless, allowing them to judge their reality in order increasingly to improve it, in a climate of democratic openness and tolerance, and with the purpose of informing, educating and entertaining, and with the backdrop of the preservation and consolidation of peace, the indispensable condition for the harmonious development of the country. At the culmination of the regional seminars, recommendations were adopted that are of the greatest importance for the participation of the Community Radios during electoral processes and of which the present General Code of Conduct is a short summary.

TEN GENERAL RULES OF CONDUCT

1. The Community Radios shall be involved in electoral processes through the production and transmission of programmes to educate the listeners and to make them aware, as citizens with duties and rights established in accordance with the law.
2. The radio campaigns of electoral civic education shall be promoted in close collaboration with the relevant bodies, namely the Election Commissions (National, Provincial, District or City) and STAE, according to the location and range of each radio station, and in observance of the Press Law.
3. In the framework of the electoral civic education campaigns, the programmes shall be produced to focus on relevant materials on:
 - a) Active citizen participation in electoral processes as a right and a civic duty, in accordance with the law;
 - b) The procedures, dates and places for voter registration;
 - c) The procedures, dates and places for the municipal and for the general and presidential elections;
 - d) The procedure, dates and places for voting;
 - e) The bodies that direct and administer electoral processes (CNE and STAE)
4. In the production of radio programmes, the Community Radios shall refrain from using political propaganda materials (texts, posters, cassettes etc) of political parties, coalitions of political parties or candidates for political office at any level.
5. Under no circumstances shall Community Radios offer, grant, sell or transmit broadcasting time, in the form of press statements, reading of political propaganda messages, speeches or interviews of political parties, coalitions of political parties or candidates to political office.
6. The Community Radios may transmit announcements from Political Parties, Coalitions of Political Parties or candidates for political office, without any propagandistic content or purpose, but clearly identified as paid advertising, with the maximum duration of one minute per announcement.
7. Journalistic coverage of election campaign activities should be limited to the transmission of factual news items and without any comment.
8. No Community Radio journalist or newsreader shall charge, receive or accept payments or "gratifications" of any kind, made by or in the name of Political Parties, Coalitions of Political Parties or candidates for political office.
9. No Community Radio journalist or newsreader shall be personally involved in election campaigns without first renouncing publicly and in writing his/her working ties with the respective radio station.
10. The Community Radios grouped under the NCRC of Mozambique, and who have subscribed to these Ten General Rules of Conduct, make a strong appeal to the Political Parties, coalitions of Political Parties, candidates, the electoral bodies and other relevant forces to collaborate in the strict observance of these principles for the harmonious establishment of peace and democracy in our country.

Mozambique, 2003
Community Radio Coordination Nucleus (NCRC)

3. The training courses on “Electoral Coverage in Community Radios”

Following the regional seminars on the participation of the community radios in civic education and electoral coverage organised by the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus and with the support and guidance of UNESCO, three training courses were held on *"Electoral Coverage in Community Radios"*.

These courses were held in compliance with one of the recommendations of the regional seminars which envisaged providing the community radios with skills basically in themes related to the legal aspect of elections, basic journalism and journalistic ethics. These courses also envisaged training the community radios in the use of the Ten General Rules of Conduct, and publicising them among other institutions and organisations in the communities where the radios operate.

The courses were organised by the UNESCO Media Project, in partnership with the Mass Communications Institute, and relying on two facilitators, from UNESCO and from the ICS.

The training activities took place in the city of Chimoio, Manica province, and in Nampula, in December 2002, and again in Chimoio in April 2003. Each course lasted for 10 days.

People chosen in the various Community Radios took part in these courses, and the programmatic content of the courses aimed fundamentally to transmit knowledge about how, in practical terms, the Community Radios can produce and present good programmes for the civic education of the electorate. To this end, the teaching/learning method used by the facilitators consisted, essentially, in approaching themes in a generalised way, accompanied with practical exercises, from which there also resulted the production of some radio programmes by the participants.

During the courses, various relevant documents were distributed to the participants, not only to facilitate better assimilation of the contents dealt with, but also to serve as support instruments in the future work of the community radios on civic education and electoral coverage. Among these documents, we should mention: The origin and evolution of the community radios; Community radios and the legal environment; How to write in a creative fashion?; Practical Exercises, Basic Journalism, and Journalistic Ethics – Practical Exercises, and Programme Format outside of the Box.

The course programme:

TIME	Wednesday- 9.04	Thursday-10.04	Friday- 11.04	Saturday-12.04	Sunday-13.04
8:00	Presentations Course rules Course context	My radio (object) <i>Participants</i>	My radio (object) <i>Participants</i>	My radio (object) <i>Participants</i>	After a night at the discotheque – we are s
8:30	Fears and expectations	The RCs and the local authorities	Presentation of the journalistic coverage of the previous day <i>Participants</i>	Presentation if the journalistic coverage of the previous day <i>Participants</i>	After a “hot” night – we are continuing to sleep
9:00	<i>Community Radio: Concept</i>	The RCs and the local authorities	The RCs and the electoral process	Civic education of the electorate: what is it? How to do it in the RCs?	After a “hot” night – we are still sleep
10:15	Interval	Interval	Interval	Interval	Interval
10:30	Community radios and the legal environment	The RCs and the local authorities	The RCs and the electoral process	Civic education of the electorate – what is it?	After a “hot” night, we begin to wake up
12:30	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
14:00	Mozambican democratic system	Visit the Municipal Assembly, with Journalistic coverage	Simulation of an electoral process, Journalistic coverage	Editorial group : concept, creation and operation	After a “hot” night we call the colleagues of the groups together
16:15	Interval	Interval	Interval	Interval	Interval
16:30	The Mozambican democratic system	Debate on the visit <i>A participant</i>	Debate on the simulation <i>A participant</i>	Formation of editorial groups among the the participants	After a “hot” night... we review our notes on the a civic education programme
21:00				Shall we contribute to a party or go to the disco?	
TIME	Monday- 14.04	Tuesday- 15.04	Wednesday- 16.04	Thursday-17.04	Friday 18.04
8:00	Assessment of first 5 days	My radio (object) <i>Participants</i>	My radio (object) <i>Participants</i>	My radio (object) <i>Participants</i>	Finalisation of field work
8:30	Journalistic ethics	Radio programme formats	Presentation and discussion of plan Civic education programmes	We have some material for the Programmes. Shall we complete it? <i>Field work</i> <i>o</i>	we hear what's on the cassettes <i>Everyone</i>
9:00	Journalistic ethics	Radio programme formats	Presentation and discussion of plan civic education programmes	<i>Field work</i>	Shall we hear what's on the cassette <i>Everyone</i>
10:15	Interval	Interval	Interval	Interval	Interval
10:30		Radio programme formats	How to write creatively	<i>Field work</i>	Shall we hear what's on the cassette <i>Everyone</i>
12:30	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
14:00	Journalistic ethics: Practical exercises	What format for civic Education projects? (Group work) <i>Participants</i>	How to write creatively	<i>Field work</i>	menting on what we've heard

16:15	Interval	Interval	Interval	Interval	Interval
16:30	Analysis and discussion of the practical	Presentation of work on how to write c	Creatively. Practical exercises	<i>Field work</i>	it worthwhile spending the past ten s together? (final assessment) <i>Everyone</i>
19:30	Let's contribute to a party or go to the				Closing session

An important factor during these courses was that, apart from the main facilitators, invited speakers took part who dealt with technical aspects linked to electoral processes and to the local authorities, namely the STAE Provincial Director in Manica, and a councillor and spokesperson for the Municipal Council, also from Manica. Another important fact was the opportunity that participants had to exchange impressions with the general director of the ICS, with whom they raised questions concerning the level of transmission of knowledge by the facilitators, their performance and the training needs for the future, apart from logistical matters.

It should be mentioned that, in accordance with the nature of the courses held, the educational results of the participants, in general, were very positive, as reflected in the final assessments at the end of each course (final assessment tables appended).

Chapter Two

I. The Experience of the Community Radios in the 2003 Local Elections in Mozambique

1. Introductory Note:

This chapter presents and makes a comparative analysis of three case studies, namely the Dondo, Geson and Cuamba community radios.

Each case study was structured by taking into account:

1. The geographic location, the status and the characteristics of the place where the community radio is operating
2. The community radio: i) Brief summary on how it emerged, ii) profile of the station; iii) structure and organisation; iv) the civic education and electoral coverage programme, and analysis of the programmes produced by the radio.
3. The community, the electoral process and the radio - the impact on the community of the radio's work.
4. The rumours that circulated in the community concerning the electoral process and the radio's work.
5. Assessment of the radio's experience in the elections.

However, before embarking on the presentation of the various experiences of these community radios, it is important to mention some aspects that may contribute to a better understanding of the information contained in this chapter of the book, such as:

➤ The period in which the research took place in each place studied:

- In Dondo, the research was undertaken during the period when voters were being mobilised to register.
 - In Chimoio, the research was undertaken during the campaign to update the voter cards and to mobilise citizens to vote.
 - In Cuamba, the research was undertaken during the election campaign waged by the political parties and their candidates.
- Thus, the results of the experiences of each of the community radios very probably vary in accordance with the periods when the research took place, since they are based on findings made at different stages of the electoral process.

➤ The Concept of Community used in the case studies:

There have recently been frequent discussions around the concept of COMMUNITY, as well as the concept of Civil Society, among institutions and national governmental and non-governmental organisations, and also among international agencies and organisations.

But for this purpose, that of presenting the case studies in this book, the term Community refers to the entire range of institutions, organisations, groups and individuals who form part of a district or a city.

➤ **The profile of the electoral civic education programme, as defined by the community radios:**

In accordance with what was defined by the community radios and by the content of the support manual drawn up by the UNESCO media project for the production of civic education and electoral coverage programmes, there are three phases – planning, production and transmission. Thus aspects such as the days and times of transmission, the use of various programme formats (informative, educational, drama, music, magazine etc) the target audience, themes and content, the language to be used (clear, simple, correct etc.), among others, become of extreme importance in the community radios’ work on elections.

The purpose of civic education is to raise the social and civic awareness of citizens. Like any radio programme, the Electoral Civic Education Programme to be broadcast by the Community Radios, in the legally established period, is designed and produced by the respective Editorial Group and obeys the rules laid down at the station for the three phases, namely planning, production and transmission.

➤ **The Electoral Coverage Editorial Group:**

In order to organise better the volunteers in the planning, production and transmission of the programmes, the community radios set up editorial groups dedicated to each specific theme that the radio deals with. In the case of the civic education and electoral coverage programme, the editorial group set up is called the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group, and its main attributes are:

The Electoral Coverage Editorial Group is responsible for gathering, treating and publishing information inherent to the local and general elections, in the form of news items, reports, interviews or other journalistic types, as well as the promotion of civic education campaigns for the communities, using content to be provided by the Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat (STAE) and other bodies, if there are any, which pursue similar goals.

2. Case studies

Case study 1 – The Dondo Community Radio

Case study 2 - The Geson Community Radio

Case study 3 - The Cuamba Community Radio

Case Study 1

The Dondo Community Radio

1. Dondo District

Dondo is located at the crossroads between the Beira corridor and the road which leads to the districts of the Zambezi valley. It is about 30 kilometres from the provincial capital, Beira. The district has a total population of about 118.000. The greatest percentage of the population is young and male³, and children under 16 years of age account for about 54% of the total.

Dondo is home to people of various origins, including from Zimbabwe, due to the major migratory movements caused by the civil war, and by the current tense situation in Zimbabwe. The largest religion in the district is Protestantism, followed by Catholicism. The languages most frequently spoken are Sena and Ndau.

Dondo city is economically significant in terms of industry, transport and trade. It contains an important industrial park, with factories making cement, railway sleepers, explosives, and fibre-cement sheeting, as well as wood processing units and sawmills, among others. Adding to the economic importance of Dondo is the rail and road network. Dondo sits on the crossroads between the Beira – Machipanda road (the Beira Corridor) and the road to Cheringoma, Caia and Marromeu. In Dondo City there are many formal shops, as well as many informal sector trading activities.

But while Dondo has the character of an industrial city, most of the population make their living from subsistence agriculture and petty trade. As for education, one should mention that Dondo has schools that teach from primary to pre-university level, though the number of pupils greatly surpasses the capacities of the schools, in terms of, among others, the number of teachers, and the basic teaching materials available.

As regards local institutions and organisations, one should note that about 15 national associations and NGOs are currently working in this city, mostly in civic education activities on human rights, sexually transmitted diseases and AIDS, and sanitation. Other activities undertaken by these organisations include support for abandoned children, widows and the elderly, literacy classes, and professional training for young people and women.

It should be noted that, apart from Mozambican governmental and non-governmental institutions, the churches have a major presence in Dondo. There are a great variety of churches and many of them are also active in humanitarian support and non-formal education. Their presence is so strong that an organisation called the Union of Churches of Dondo has been set up.

As for the mass media, apart from the Dondo Community Radio, it is possible to pick up the broadcasts of Radio Mozambique's national station, its Beira city station, RDP-Africa, the Buzi Community Radio and Radio Pax. In terms of the written media, circulation in Beira is limited. There are no newspapers on sale, and any that appear

³ According to data in the Dondo Community Radio Strategic Plan, and based on the 1997 Population Census.

have been purchased in Beira. Few people have access to this “luxury”. The tiny circulation of newspapers, magazines and other written media is due in part to the fact that most of the population is illiterate, and in part to the low purchasing power of those who might be interested in buying newspapers⁴.

2. The Dondo Community Radio

2.1. Brief summary on how the radio was born

After a process, begun by ASSERCO – Association of Community Services – who put in a bid, after the advertisement placed by the UNESCO/UNDP Media Project in several Mozambican papers, seeking to establish ten community radios, the first Dondo Community Radio initiative appeared.

In May 2000, UNESCO announced that the ASSERCO bid had been approved. This initiated a process of establishing organisational conditions to set up local community structures to become owners of the station. Out of this process was created the Dondo District Development Association, ADEDO – a local civic association, with legal status, which became the manager of this community radio, set up with UNESCO support.

2.2. Profile of the radio station

Name of the radio: Dondo Community Radio.

Slogan: Vehicle for Development.

Frequency: 106.0 Mhz FM

Radius of coverage: 50 Km.

Areas covered: All of Dondo district, and neighbouring regions.

Editorial content: Programmes of an informative, educational, training, entertainment and sporting nature.

Languages used: Portuguese, Sena and Ndaou.

Times of broadcasts: 6 hours a day (from 07:00h to 09:00h, broadcast in Sena; from 14:00h to 16:00h, broadcast in Ndaou; and from 18:00h to 20:00h, broadcast in Portuguese).

Programme format: The programmes are pre –recorded by volunteers.

2.3. Structure and organisation of the radio

ADEDO is the “mother association” of the Dondo Community Radio. Its role towards the radio is ensured through a management committee – consisting of people elected from the association. Specifically, in terms of the radio’s organisation, this has a coordinator assisted by a mobiliser, a technician and an administrator. The volunteers who work on producing the radio’s programmes work directly with the mobiliser.

Dondo Community Radio (RCD), like all the radios supported by UNESCO, apart from the coordinator, mobiliser, technician and administrator, who are paid by ADEDO,

⁴ Source: Dondo Community Radio Strategic Plan.

through UNESCO funding⁵, also relies on a large number of volunteers, mostly students. Currently the radio operates with 70 volunteers, of whom 13 are women and 57 are men.

Basically the radio operates by following an editorial policy that was drawn up in a process encouraged by the coordinator, and with the later appreciation and approval of ADEDO and of the UNESCO Media Project (*Editorial Policy appended*). It was developed so as to facilitate the work both of the coordinator and of the mobiliser, as well as of the volunteers, so that they would follow an editorial line appropriate to the functioning of a community radio.

In terms of broadcasting, the RCD programming was divided into three transmissions, in Sena, Ndaou and Portuguese, which are the languages most spoken in Dondo district. There are two or three programmes on specific themes in each transmission. Since there are three transmissions a day, this makes a total of about five or six programmes a day. The rest of the broadcasting time is filled with music, dedications and the day's news. However, in the next programming, which will take effect in November 2003, the radio intends to make alterations, particularly by including new programmes such as "Popular Stories", "Around the Campfire", "Magazine" and "Conversations with hospital patients"⁶. (*An example of the programming for the first day of transmission is appended*).

In order to respond better to its range of programmes, the radio set up ten editorial groups⁷ for each specific theme. These groups consist of volunteers who are charged with producing all kinds of programmes, from the news, reports and interviews to opinion articles on matters concerning their respective editorial areas. Each editorial group has a chief who is responsible for coordinating his team's work. The head of the group answers directly to the mobiliser, and the mobiliser to the coordinator. The editorial groups of the Dondo Community Radio are: 1. Agriculture, livestock, fishing, forestry and the environment; 2. Health; 3. Women and gender matters; 4. Economy and business; 5. Human rights, democracy and governance; 6. Education, social and youth matters; 7. Cultural, recreational and religious matters; 8. Children; 9. Sport; and, most recently 10. The electoral coverage editorial group (*A description of each editorial group is appended*).

In general, this is the structure and organisation of the Dondo Community Radio. It is now important to show the experience of this small radio station in the work of electoral civic education that accompanied the process of the local authority elections in Dondo Municipality in 2003.

2.4. Electoral Civic Education Programme

⁵ UNESCO, through the "Media Development in Mozambique" Project supported the establishment of community radios, including the Dondo radio. It also extended financial support to pay wages, supply food to the volunteers, and maintain the radio equipment.

⁶ This programme was motivated by the many complaints from patients at Dondo Hospital about the type and precarious conditions of treatment they experienced there. Attentive to the information circulating in the district about this problem, the radio decided to open a space that would give the community the chance to talk about such an important matter.

⁷ The editorial groups were set up so as to respond better to a particular area of programming, e.g. Health, education etc. The idea is that various people in the community linked to the thematic area of an editorial group may, as volunteers, contribute to programme planning and production.

According to the RCD range of programming, the civic education and electoral coverage programme is broadcast once a week, on Mondays, from 18.05 to 18.30 during the transmission in Portuguese.

These programmes began to be produced and broadcast in August 2003, and only after the radio's involvement in awareness and upgrading activities organized by the UNESCO Media Project, in collaboration with the Community Radio Coordinating Nucleus⁸. The start of this programme was also encouraged by UNESCO support in terms of human and material resources so that the radio could work on civic education and electoral coverage.

Who does it?

In order to facilitate the volunteers' work on this theme, an **Editorial Group for Electoral Coverage (GECE)** was set up. In the RCD this group has existed since April 2003, when the UNESCO Media Project held one of the seminars on "Electoral Coverage by Community Radios" in which two members of the RCD took part, including the mobiliser. And so half the volunteers who were previously in the Human Rights and Good Governance Editorial Group moved into the GECE (because these were the people most appropriate, in accordance with their thematic area linked to good governance). For the GECE, one of the volunteers who had benefited from the UNESCO course was appointed head of the group, and responsible for encouraging programmes on electoral coverage. It should be mentioned that, in order to facilitate and better coordinate the work of the GECE, the RCD produced a document, containing the regulations and rules for this editorial group. That document is on the newsroom wall, so that there can be no excuses for failing to comply with the regulations. (*The group's regulations and rules are appended*).

How is it done?

Since the RCD programmes are all pre-produced, which means that no programme is broadcast live – that is, all the programmes are taped and broadcast later – the civic electoral education programme is generally produced two or three days before it is broadcast. To this end, the GECE meets every week to plan the programmes and distribute tasks (who will gather the material, who will write the script, and who will record the programme). This system is rotating: the tasks alternate so that everyone can work on the ground, write and record the programmes.

But the GECE also draws up a monthly plan, which contains the general themes for the programmes to be produced and the possible sources to be contacted. Later, throughout the month, there is weekly planning to discuss and define the content of each week's programme, its format, and the division of labour. This plan is later discussed with the volunteers and the mobiliser, and later presented to the coordinator for his approval. Since all the programmes are pre-produced the coordinator is able to listen to the programme before approving it for transmission.

The September and October monthly plans were as follows:

Plan for September 2003

⁸ More detailed information on these courses can be found in the first chapter of this book.

Programme name: Civic Education and Electoral Coverage

Nº	Programme Theme	Format used	Target Public
01	Replacement of tickets by cards	Information	Voters with tickets and others in general
02	Civic and electoral education	Drama	Voters
03	- Publicising Law 19/2002 - Interview with some citizens of the municipality	Information and education	The entire community
04	- Balance sheet on replacing the tickets - Continued publicising of Lei 19/2002	Information	Voters and community in general

Plan for October 2003

Programme name: Civic Education and Electoral Coverage

Nº	Theme	Format used	Target Public
05	The ABC of voting	Drama	Voters and community in general
06	The ABC of voting (continuation)	Information and education	Voters and community in general
	The ABC of voting (continuation)	Information and education (with the presence of a civic educator in the programme)	Voters and community in general
	The ABC of voting (continuation)	Information and education (with interviews in the community)	Voters and community in general

2.5. Analysis of the programmes

In all, up to the time of writing, eight programmes were produced – but of these we were only able to find two programmes taped in Portuguese and one in Sena, which served as the basis for analysis.

The themes of the programmes produced in September and October are listed in the tables above. As for the programmes in August, according to the radio coordinator and mobiliser, these were devoted to the theme of voter registration, but there are no recordings or any written record of these programmes, because of the lack of cassettes to archive them.

But it should be mentioned that, at the start of our research, the electoral coverage programme was stopped, for motives that it was not possible to clarify. During the two weeks of research in Dondo district, no programme was broadcast. However, based on the information gathered during the interviews in the research for this book, the radio intends to produce some participatory programmes, according to the monthly planning already drawn up.

From the three programmes listened to and analysed, one can state that their objectives are clear and presented right at the start of each programme. The message is central, emanating from the main objective of the programme. However, in one of the programmes, the clarity of the message was somewhat lost, because it was presented in a very formal language, and with the use of complicated terms that the reader himself had difficulty in pronouncing (perhaps because this programme was devoted to presenting the Electoral Law).

Thus one of the programmes was, to a large extent, dedicated to a reading of Law 19/2002⁹, just as written, and without any explanation of the complicated legal terminology.

The second programme also dealt with publicising this law, in the same way as the previous programme, but with an additional part dedicated to the opinion of some municipal citizens on voter registration and the importance of voting (about six citizens, both men and women, were interviewed). Thus this programme now includes a space for citizen participation, taking into consideration the opinions of both men and women. But an interview with the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group (GECE) showed that so far this was the only programme with the participation of several people from the community.

The third programme dealt with the problem of updating voters' cards: to this end, an interview was held, on the radio, with the deputy director of the District Elections Commission. This programme gave very useful information on the statistics of voters who had already regularised the cards, and on how many had yet to do so.

The background music for the three programmes was the same as that used by the national media (Radio Mozambique and Mozambican Television) which, although repetitive, makes the listener aware of the nature of the programme, since this music is already known to many people, who relate it immediately to the elections. Between the information contained in the programme, traditional music is played, so as not to make the programme "too heavy".

It should be noted that the readers for these programmes included both men and women.

In general, the programmes were made based on information contained in the CNE/STAE material on the Electoral Law, Voter Registration and the Importance of Voting. Although publicising the law was done in a language that sounded entirely written – that is a verbatim reading of the document – the message was of an important nature and came at an opportune moment when the main focus was mobilisation for voter registration and updating the voters' cards. The extremely formal nature of the programme, and the fact that many of the difficult expressions contained in this law were almost "incomprehensible" might have led listeners not to give it their full attention, but this cannot be proved since none of the community members interviewed mentioned difficulties in understanding the messages transmitted by the programmes. The participation of people from the community in this programme on the Electoral Law "softened" to some extent the formal character of the message, and brought the programme into line with a more local reality. As for the programme on updating the voters' cards, the language used was much clearer and the polemic in the district on the shortage of cards made this programme timely and probably of great interest to the community.

3. Impact on the community

⁹ Law on Electoral Procedures

3.1. The community, the electoral process and the radio

In order to describe the opinions of the community on the unfolding of the electoral process in general, and on the radio's work on electoral civic education in particular, interviews were held to gather opinions from various individuals and groups in Dondo district¹⁰, namely:

Interviewees	Total	Men	Women
Community leaders	3	3	0
Religious leaders	24	24	0
District Elections Commission	1	1	0
Members of Political Parties	5	5	0
Students from the Dondo Secondary School	10	5	5
Teachers from the Dondo Secondary School	4	3	1
Women from the Macharoti – Dembe Settlement	8	0	8
Vendors from the Dondo Central Market	15	7	8
Workers from the Cement Factory	10	8	2

Taking into account the interviews held during the research, and the events experienced during the electoral process in Dondo district, the description of the community's opinion on the role and work of the radio in civic education and electoral coverage will be undertaken also bearing in mind the relationship and collaboration between the community and the radio.

District Elections Commission/STAE

The radio relies on good collaboration with the District Elections Commission/STAE. At the start of producing the programmes on civic education and electoral coverage, the chairperson of the CDE approached the radio and requested its maximum collaboration in publicising information about the elections. He was willing to open the CDE's doors to the radio whenever necessary. The good relations between the radio and the CDE have continued to the time of writing. The fact that the RCD and the CDE are "neighbours" makes this collaboration much more effective, since the radio staff always visit the CDE/STAE offices, whenever they need clarification or further information on the elections.

"I follow all the radio's electoral programmes. Sometimes I approach the radio to correct some information transmitted or to give new information on how the electoral process is going. The CDE's doors are always open for the radio, and the volunteers know this. Our collaboration is good, and I should say that the radio is doing a very good job. Even I learn some new things from the radio's programmes on the elections"
– Chairperson of the Dondo District Elections Commission

District Administration

As for the District Administration (AD), fortunately, although there are many rumours of a previous phase in which relations were cut, the RCD and the District

¹⁰ A detailed list of the people interviewed is appended.

Administration are maintaining excellent relations of friendship and collaboration in their work, so much so that no significant activity is undertaken by the administration without the radio being invited. As for the rumours, the RCD says that in the beginning there really was a certain tension between the radio and the administration, but that a sudden and radical change occurred recently. As for the reasons behind this change in relations between the radio and the administration, the radio says there was no visible event serving as an apparent motive for this change. It thinks there can only be one explanation: the administration finally understood that the radio is one the strongest ways in which information circulates in the district, and that it is really working in support of the community.

“The relation between the community radio and the Dondo District Administration (AD) used to be lamentable. There was a great deal of confusion because the AD thought that the radio belonged to the Municipal Council. The AD was saying that the radio broadcast more information about the municipality and was concealing information about the administration. There was even a moment when relations between the RCD and the Administration were cut, and the Administrator refused to receive the radio staff. But now the situation has changed for the better” – Radio Mobiliser.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to interview the Administrator or any other representative of the Dondo District Administration so as to obtain this body’s opinion about its relations with the radio. However, the mobiliser, the coordinator and many of the radio volunteers confirmed that previously the relationship between the AD and the radio was not at all healthy, but that recently it has become praiseworthy.

Political Parties

The RCD has very superficial collaboration with the political parties active in Dondo, particularly with those standing candidates in the elections. Unfortunately, during the research it was only possible to interview two representatives from the three parties running candidates for the post of Mayor of Dondo. Representatives of Renamo and of IPADE were interviewed, but nobody from Frelimo (because it had “a very full agenda”, and was unable to grant an interview for this book).

RENAMO – Electoral Union

According to the interview given by Renamo-Electoral Union member who was also a candidate for the local elections, the community radio has so far performed in a very exemplary fashion, centred on acceptable impartiality. But nothing was said about the electoral civic education programmes, because the interviewee had not listened to them.

“The radio is welcome for interviews or investigations. But unfortunately I don’t have much time to listen to the community radio programmes on electoral civic education, because I generally listen to Beira radio, to Radio Mozambique’s national broadcast, and to Mozambican Television” – Renamo-Electoral Union District Delegate, and Candidate for Mayor of Dondo.

The RENAMO district delegation in Dondo was aware of the Ten General Rules of Conduct for Community Radios, and they are fixed at the entrance to its offices. The

opinion of Renamo representatives (those who were interviewed) about these rules is that they were approved at a good moment to help to better define and regulate the role of community radios in elections.

“We know about the essentials of the community radio, and within what is possible, we always try to be available for any information that the radio needs. We were already in contact with the radio when the Ten Rules were presented, and though I don’t follow the programmes of the radio, my colleagues have told me that the programmes are very good, and are very helpful in mobilising voters for registration and for supplying information about the voting” – Renamo-Electoral Union District delegate, and candidate for Mayor of Dondo.

According to this interviewee, RENAMO in Dondo believes that the community radio plays an important role, since the role of the media is vital in all elections, particularly when one wishes to ensure the value of democratic principles. However, he stressed his appeal to the radio to continue doing its job well throughout the entire electoral process, especially during the campaigns of the political parties, when the impartiality of the radio is more than fundamental.

“The radio should continue to be impartial. There can’t be any tendencies. The radio should speak the truth and publish what is really happening. But I would like the radio to publicise our intentions, our programmes and projects, but logically within its politically neutral stance” – Renamo-Electoral Union Dondo District Delegate and Candidate for Mayor of Dondo.

Some Renamo representatives who were also interviewed claimed there were difficulties in tuning in to the broadcasts of the community radio. They also said that listeners found certain inconveniences in the times of the electoral civic education broadcasts.

“My problem is tuning in. Sometimes I manage it, and sometimes I don’t. And the time at which the electoral programme is broadcast is not very convenient for me. But even so, I have managed to listen to some programmes, and I liked them because they are very educational and they have to do with our day-to-day lives” – Renamo-Electoral Union District head of Mobilisation.

Although they do not have much information about the electoral civic education programmes broadcast by the radio the Dondo Renamo-Electoral Union representatives appreciate the radio’s work and, even without any close collaboration with the radio’s work in general, there is no sign that this party thinks the radio is linked to other political parties. In a district such as Dondo, which is part of a province well known for troubled events of “political warfare”, it is salutary that the main opposition party regards the community radio as impartial and as serving the community as a whole.

IPADE

IPADE – the Institute for Peace and Democracy – is a new party, and so is its presence in Dondo. It has stood for the present local elections, and though it has yet to sink roots in the district, it is already well known in the community. Not much can yet be said about this party’s relations with the community radio, since so far IPADE has only

approached the radio to make use of its photocopying service (a service which the RCD makes available to the entire community).

When some representatives of IPADE-Dondo are interviewed, they prove to have little knowledge about the electoral civic education programmes broadcast by the community radio. As for other radio programmes, these are listened to and known to the IPADE members who have known the radio since it was set up. But they openly admitted that in this election period they preferred to tune into the Radio Mozambique national broadcast so that they could better follow what was happening in the country. But IPADE does know about the Ten General Rules of Conduct, which are posted on the wall of its office. They were directly informed by the community radio that it would be broadcasting civic education and electoral coverage programmes.

Other media

The RCD has very little collaboration with the other media. It only makes use of some material broadcast by Radio Mozambique or published by the daily paper Noticias which is retransmitted in the RCD broadcasts. To a large extent, this may be due to the absence of the major media in Dondo.

Local government

According to the radio itself, and to some people interviewed during the research, there was no contact from local structures, particularly the government, to involve the community radio in the electoral process. The contacts and approaches made by these bodies occurred after the radio had begun broadcasting programmes dedicated to the elections. According to information from the radio, it is rare for local government bodies to approach the radio for purposes of collaboration or partnership in undertaking any radio work.

Dondo Union of Churches

Within reasonable limits, there has been close collaboration with the Dondo Union of Churches. Indeed, the opinion of most of the pastors and priests who represent the various churches that are members of this union is that collaboration could have been better, but they regret that the radio is not very open to providing air time for transmitting religious messages. The Dondo Union of Churches, although it praises and appreciates the work of the radio in general, thinks that the radio occupies almost the entire time of its religious broadcast with music from church choirs, and what they regard as most important, which are religious messages, are scarcely heard on the radio.

“We are trying to coordinate with the radio to reach agreement on how to use the space dedicated to religion. But we have not managed to reach consensus, because the radio says it cannot transmit religious messages, that this is against the policy of the radio, but I think this has nothing to do with politics. Transmitting messages with Christian content should be accepted by the radio”. – Pastor of one of the Dondo churches.

Since it is part of the radio's policy not to grant space to "religious propaganda", the debate on proper collaboration between the Dondo Union of Churches and the radio still has a long way to go, for it is becoming difficult for the radio to explain to the church representatives that the radio should not transmit religious prayers from certain religious sects. Nonetheless, the churches recognise the educational role of the radio and the work the radio has undertaken on behalf of the community.

"We, the churches of Dondo, always valued the work of the community radio. We have followed the work of the radio, mainly in the area of education and of HIV/AIDS. The objectives of the radio fit in with the role of the churches, which is to guide the citizens onto the right path and to transmit a healthy and better life. In this sense, the radio has done a very positive job. Although the radio is very new, its work has been exemplary" – Chairperson of the Dondo Union of Churches.

As for the radio's work on the elections, the churches think it has been impartial, and that it focuses on the major role of the radio in the civic education of voters and of the community in general. Though the churches refrain from involvement in politics, some pastors say they have worked to make their congregation aware of the importance of voting, and the need for them to choose their leaders, because, according to them, "It is God who chooses men for leadership positions, and he will tell each of you who to vote for".

"Yes, we tell our believers that they must vote for whoever God within them says is the best candidate. It is part of our role at least to urge people to vote, so that we may have a just and healthy society, in accordance with the word of God. As for whom they should vote for, only they and God know this" – Pastor of one of the Dondo churches.

"Although it is not the role of the church, we have to strengthen the idea that voting is a right of citizens. We try to tell people about the importance of voting and of choosing our leaders. It is God who chooses the leaders, and he will guide each person in silence about who they should vote for, without the church needing to say anything" – Chairperson of the Dondo Union of Churches.

In a meeting with representatives of all the churches affiliated to the Dondo Union of Churches¹¹, most of them stated that the churches should not be involved in politics, but that they can make their congregations aware of voter registration and of the need to vote. However, other pastors and priests, mostly foreigners, think that the church does have a political role, mainly when it comes to putting pressure on the government and the relevant bodies on matters that concern the ills that affect the population. For, although they are politically neutral, the churches' mission is to demand justice, respect for human rights, and a fight against such evils as corruption.

"The radio has a role which is in line with the principle of the churches which is to educate people. As regards elections, our role should be mainly to educate people with regard to registration and voting... And we, as churches, our role in politics would be that of educating people to make the right use of political consciousness and of their rights of citizenship" – Chairperson of the Dondo Union of Churches.

¹¹ Appended is a list of all the participants at this meeting with the Dondo Union of Churches. It should be noted that the chairperson of the Union had previously been interviewed by the UNESCO consultant. But at the request of other representatives of the Union's member churches, a wider meeting was held in which all the representatives of this religious grouping took part.

Cement Factory Workers, Women from the Macharoti Settlement, Pupils and Teachers of the Dondo Secondary School, Vendors at the Dondo Central Market

In general, the radio has good collaboration with this part of the Dondo district population, a fact which is shown by the almost constant presence of many of these people on the radio's premises, either to ask that messages or other information be broadcast, or to know what is happening when the radio is not on the air. However, in terms of granting interviews to the radio, people are not so open and communicative, particularly when the subject is linked to the elections. Thus, for the "makers" of the Dondo Community Radio, producing electoral programmes with lots of community participation is still a difficult task and even a challenge.

"About the elections? (laughs) I don't have anything to say..." – Cement factory worker.

"I'm only here to sell; I don't have time to listen to the radio... I don't have a radio at home to listen to" – Vendor in the Central Market.

People are often afraid to give opinions on matters related to the elections, for fear that the radio may be undertaking a "strategic opinion poll" to find out who they will vote for, or which political party they support. It may be said that people are not used to being questioned by the radio about the elections, and also that they do not understand that it is part of the radio's job to gather opinions from the public about how the electoral process is unfolding.

"Election programme? Hmmmm... I can't say anything... I know you want to know who I'm going to vote for?" – Vendor in Central Market.

"Me? Speak on the radio about elections...? That won't do..." – Cement factory worker.

However, with some effort and perseverance, some interviews were held, and through these it was possible to gather some comments giving opinions both of the radio and of the state of the electoral process.

"I have sometimes heard the radio election programme... They spoke about what you should do in order to vote, and that we need to register to vote..." – Vendor in the Central Market.

"I always listen to the radio, but I think the radio should add more programmes, and it should also go from house to house talking to people..." – Vendor in Dondo Central Market.

"Yes, we're listening to the radio; we're listening to the election programmes. That's all!" – Vendor in the Central Market.

As for the secondary school teachers and students, they are more willing to give interviews. Although the pupils do so very timidly, they end up giving information to the radio volunteers. As for the theme of the elections and of the programmes made by the community radio, the level of knowledge is very low among the students, and moderate among the teachers.

“I like the community radio programmes very much, I usually listen to all the programmes. I’m always sending dedications to relatives and friends over the radio. ...Election programme? I’ve never heard it...” – A student from the Dondo Secondary School.

“The community radio deals with local matters, and that’s why I like to listen to it. I heard them once saying: let’s all go and vote. But I didn’t remember everything properly. I usually listen more to the music and dedications” – A student from Dondo Secondary School.

“I think there should be community radios in all communities. It’s good for the development of the communities. Now as for this thing of elections, I think the radio should do theatre pieces, because people like theatre, they like to laugh and learn at the same time” – A student from the Dondo Secondary School.

The teachers showed more direct involvement with the theme of elections – they say this is because many of those chosen to work at the polling stations are usually teachers. Their attention to the election process is often motivated by the possibility of being chosen to do work during the registration period, or to put themselves forward for the polling stations. They also show that they listen to the radio programme on electoral coverage, and regard it as very educational and interesting.

“I listen to the election programme, and I’m learning a lot from that programme, it’s very educational and is of interest to the whole community” – Words of a teacher from the Dondo Secondary School.

But one interesting fact learnt during the research is that low levels of purchasing power, preventing people from buying radio sets, contributes greatly to the lack of knowledge of the radio programmes among some of the public. On a visit to the settlement of Macharoti – Dembe, it was found that only three people there had radios. The “fortunate” owners of the radios are away from home most of the day, and when they get back to their homes they listen to the radio only in the company of their family.

“The women here don’t know anything about elections because they can’t hear the radio. They don’t have any radios to listen to. They only hear a bit when somebody comes from the city, but they’re not concerned because they don’t understand any of this” – A woman from the Macharoti settlement.

It was found that not even the community leader responsible for Macharoti owns a radio. The people who go to Dondo city most frequently are the ones who have heard some of the radio programmes.

“I listen to the radio when I go to the central market, because a man there plays the radio very loudly, and you can hear it... Sometimes I hear it when I pass near a stall, and if the programme is interesting, I stop to listen for a bit...” – Woman from the Macharoti settlement.

For most of the group of women interviewed in Macharoti, when they do manage to listen to the radio what they most enjoy are the music, the dedications and the drama.

“When they put theatre on the radio, I may be in a hurry, but I always stay and listen for a bit, because it makes me laugh... In this life we have so many problems that we need to laugh a bit” – Woman from Macharoti.

Although people in this settlement do not own radio sets, and complain a lot about this, it was very difficult to obtain interviews, particularly with the women. They clam up right from the start when they find that the theme of the discussion is related to the elections. It was also found that the STAE civic educators have not yet reached this settlement, and hence these people had no information about the electoral process.

“Those who do awareness work, I saw them in the city, but they haven’t reached here yet. You people from the radio can look through this entire settlement and you won’t find any of those posters they’re distributing everywhere about the elections. Here we’ve been forgotten” – Woman from Macharoti settlement.

But even so, they strongly urged the community radio to try to find ways of making some radio sets available so that people in the community could follow the work done by the community radio.

Community Leaders

The community leaders interviewed for this work were not able to say much about the programmes the radio produced on electoral matters. Some because of an alleged lack of radio sets so that they could listen attentively to the programmes, and others for lack of time to listen to the programmes, because they are working at their jobs during the day and in their spare time are dealing with matters that concern them as community leaders. However, they recognized that they had heard some of the radio’s programmes, but not the one dealing with electoral coverage.

“I think there are no problems with the radio’s work. I know the radio is taking part in the elections, but I have never heard the programme on the elections, because I can only hear the radio in the afternoons, when I am at work. Outside of work I do not usually hear the radio because I don’t own a radio set” – Leader of the Macharoti – Dembe settlement.

“I’m used to listening to the radio programmes, but I’ve never heard anything about the elections...” – Leader of the Concito neighbourhood.

One of the leaders was very sensitive to the lack of information about the elections among women, either because of a certain lack of interest on their part, or because they do not have the conditions or the time to listen to the radio or to take notice of other sources of information on the elections.

“The women in my area don’t pay attention to and are not concerned about the elections. The problem is that people don’t have radios... Very few people own radio sets and thus particularly the women are unable to hear anything, and they don’t know anything about what is happening in this matter of elections. The situation is very bad, because even I, who am the leader here, don’t have a radio, and I don’t know about these programmes about the elections which are on the radio” – Leader of the Macharoti settlement.

In general, the community leaders interviewed knew very little about the elections, apart from the fact that this was an election period. The details and the stages of this process were totally unknown to them.

3.2. Rumours...

In this part of the book, we transcribe some opinions which are labelled as “rumours”, because they are statements and affirmations made by people and groups in Dondo about the election process in general, and about the radio’s work in particular: they are conversations on street corners, and in places where people gather. This is the chatter and the “they say that...” which surround the “hottest” comments about the elections in Dondo and also about the role and work of the radio in this process. As a matter of ethics, neither the names nor any other information that might reveal the identity of those who started or spread these rumours will be mentioned.

And the rumours that were circulating in Dondo...

“The Municipal Council sabotaged the political speech of the President of RENAMO... They refused to make the stage available to hold the rally, but even so he managed to speak to the public!” – Accusation made by a politician.

“This thing of the Chairman of the District Elections Commission also being the Chairman of the Dondo Union of Churches is not very good... He’s going to mix up church and election matters...” – Opinion of a citizen.

“We don’t need to wage a major campaign for our candidate because, in practice, we’ve already won the elections... We’d like to see who will have the courage to prove otherwise!” – Statement by a member of one of the political parties present in Dondo.

“The community radio has already been contacted by party X... to avoid all the information which might benefit party Y... You don’t do this! Let our poor journalists work in peace and in impartiality!” – Words of a sympathiser of one of the political parties.

“I’m not giving any interview to the radio, because afterwards *they* will come and accuse me of saying what I shouldn’t have said about this thing of elections... So I have nothing to say” – Words of a market vendor.

“They asked me if I was a Renamo member or supporter because I went to President Dhlakama’s rally in Dondo out of curiosity to see what he would say... Aren’t we free to attend all the rallies?” – Question of an elderly woman in Macharoti settlement.

“Even if the radio wanted to be impartial when the time of the parties’ campaigning comes, *they* won’t let it be...” – Statement of a citizen.

4. Assessment of the experience of the Dondo Community Radio in the 2003 Municipal Elections

Dondo is a district where much of the population is very young and where the level of absolute poverty is very high. There are always difficulties in producing a radio programme about elections, particularly when this work is done by a new community radio, set up in an area of strong political divergences. There is a very tense political climate, and a major battle against poverty and for survival, which is faced both by the people in the community who are the target audience of the programmes and by the “makers” of the radio themselves. Thus analysing the work of the radio without taking into account the conditions under which the radio operates and its task of complying with the Ten General Rules of Conduct, the level of involvement and openness of the community, and the specific characteristics of life in Dondo, would not be just.

Thus, the conclusions about the experience of this community radio during the electoral process have been drawn up taking into account these aspects of special relevance for a more integrated approach to the role and work of the radio in this particular period.

The conditions under which the radio operates:

The radio works on the basis of volunteers. These are people who receive no subsidies, and who have other occupations. At first sight this problem might seem to be one of the lesser evil. But for the radio’s work this fact is extremely important, mainly because the entire basis for the volunteers’ undertaking lies in their good will, and depends on the time they have available to devote to the radio. Often, when the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group plans its activities, it has to take into account the absence of one or other volunteer from the group for various reasons (e.g. to look after his own small business, which provides him with some income; to care for his sick children; or, if he is a student or a teacher, to comply with his school undertakings) so that he or she cannot work on certain days of the week. Thus the radio is obliged to make arrangements, sometimes at the last minute, in order not to damage its programming.

But despite this dilemma concerning the volunteers, the radio has a significant advantage when it comes to programmes about elections, because it has people trained to this end, including the radio’s waged staff. According to the radio volunteers themselves, with the exception of the courses offered by the UNESCO Media Project, there have been few occasions in which they are invited to participate in other upgrading courses or seminars, particularly in the area of electoral civic education.

As for material resources, the radio has few of these, particularly tape recorders and cassettes. Because of the problem of lack of cassettes, the RCD has no archive of the programmes produced on the elections which can, after the programmes have been

broadcast, be used for purposes such as analysis, assessment, or repetition of the same programmes.

The lack of information materials with content on the themes of the programmes is a major shortcoming for this radio. However, of all the programmes produced by the radio, that on electoral coverage is the best off, since it is the only one which possesses a manual specifically to support the area the programme covers. Nonetheless, the radio holds to the idea that the shortage of informational materials on electoral coverage contributes greatly to impoverishing the programmes.

Community collaboration:

Poor community participation in the radio's work on the elections is justified by the fact that Dondo community itself is not yet prepared to take on a more participatory role in the functioning and operations of the radio during an election process.

It is still very difficult for the makers of the radio to obtain clear and participatory interviews with members of the public on matters concerned with the elections, even if this is only about electoral civic education or an opinion simply about how the electoral process is unfolding. This was confirmed when interviews were sought in the research for this book. People refused to talk and to collaborate actively when the subject was to do with the elections. This finding was very notable the lower down the social or professional ladder one went – that is, it is less difficult to interview a priest, a politician or a business woman than a peasant, a civil servant, a market vendor, or somebody unemployed.

Sometimes people show a certain fear because they know that their words can be heard by everyone over the radio, sometimes they express fear about speaking on a subject that is more appropriate “only for men and not for women”, or more appropriate to “more educated” people or to “those who understand about politics”. So it is a very great challenge to interview someone in a village or a town, and it is not at all practicable to interview a person without first convincing them that you do not want to discover their political affiliation, or which party they support.

The programmes produced by the radio:

Since this is a very new community radio which is covering an electoral process for the first time, the programmes may be regarded as having merit, particularly when we consider that in a district such as Dondo, working on a radio programme about elections means always taking the greatest of care, not to break the rules, and not to encourage polemics and divergences, due to the political tension experienced to some extent throughout the district.

Thus the programmes produced by the RCD on electoral coverage are, within the real possibilities, a good start to dealing with themes concerning the elections. When we look at the work done up until then by this radio, we see that the programmes are tending to improve. They are a direct translation of the learning process the radio is going through, a process draped with a great will to improve the radio in terms of interest and quality for the public, but without deviating from its main role as an electoral civic educator. The fact the mobiliser and coordinator participate actively in

planning the civic education and electoral coverage programmes, and follow their production and transmission, shows that the radio's learning process is advancing on a good initial path.

In terms of the radio's published broadcasting, the civic education and electoral coverage programme is only transmitted in Portuguese. And although there is a programme recorded in Sena, which is not on the official range of programmes, the radio says that it has transmitted electoral civic education programmes in local languages, and has transmitted messages and some news items also in Sena and Ndaou.

The electoral coverage programme was also the only one that was not repeated during the week. However, as from October the radio will start broadcasting this programme in all the languages and will repeat it during the week (this change was motivated by meetings between the consultant sent by UNESCO and the radio staff).

One positive aspect to bear in mind is that, according to the monthly planning tables, the programmes were planned and produced taking into account the unfolding of the electoral process – that is, beginning with themes concerning voter registration, followed with themes concerning the voting.

Another positive aspect is the motivation of the radio to improve its performance in producing this sort of programme. The radio wants to make its programmes more participatory and interesting with the inclusion of programmes in the form of drama, interviews with various people of the community, and a more permanent follow-up on the opinion of people concerning the programmes produced.

Compliance with the Ten General Rules of Conduct:

- The awareness and mobilisation programmes for voter registration were produced during the registration campaign.
- In the programmes that included public opinion, both men and women were interviewed so as to have a more gender-balanced selection of opinion.
- No tender has been held so far, and no assessment of perceptions on civic education, and so no specific funds for this area have been raised by the radio.
- The political parties were all informed about the RCD's policy towards electoral coverage, and were also informed about the Ten Rules of Conduct for Community Radios, as well as the conditions under which information concerning electoral coverage would be broadcast.
- The programmes on civic education and electoral coverage were transmitted in the broadcast in Portuguese, and only one programme was translated into Sena.
- No propaganda material related to political parties was posted on the walls of the RCD premises.
- To date there are no signs of cohabitation of any exchange of favours between the RCD staff and political parties and/or their candidates.
- *So far there has been no reason for the RCD to denounce any attempts at intimidation, conspiracy, corruption or other kinds of enticement that endanger the regulations and good operations of the Radio.*

Final Note:

Taking into account the aspects mentioned above, one may state that the Dondo Community Radio (RCD) has made a major effort to comply with its role, without breaking the rules, maintaining a praiseworthy impartiality, and protecting its credibility among the community, in its activity of electoral civic education.

The electoral coverage programmes produced by the radio may be regarded as of quality and interest for the community and, according to the radio's level of performance, these programmes promise to gain a greater dynamic and a more participatory character, since the RCD staff have shown a great willingness to learn, and excellent openness to constructive changes intended to improve their work. Also praiseworthy is the radio's care to comply with the policies, rules and other regulatory provisions that guide its operations and work, and particularly the way in which the radio's coordinator is dedicated to this task.

The support manual drawn up by the UNESCO Media Project – “Production of Electoral Civic Education Programmes” – is a very useful instrument for the radio, particularly at this stage in which programmes are produced that must obligatorily follow the Electoral Law and certain rules stipulated by the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus. The volunteers of the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group make very dynamic use of this manual, and even call it their “bible”. Bearing in mind that it is very difficult to find material on community radios and elections in Mozambique, particularly in a district such as Dondo, this manual becomes a valuable and appropriate instrument, not only because it stresses the role stipulated for community radios in the country, but also as a guide for complying properly with the Ten General Rules of Conduct for Community Radios.

Apart from the manual, which was also used as a major guide for the work of the volunteers, who, without exception, had never before produced a radio programme concerned either with civic education for elections, or the coverage of electoral processes, participation by the mobiliser and the volunteers in the UNESCO courses on electoral coverage also proved to be a major contribution for the radio's work on this theme.

As for links to political parties, no accusation or criticism of political bias was made against the radio, at least not directly. Clearly there are rumours circulating in the community about this or that pressure from political parties on the radio – but there has been no information or event that could prove this, at least during the period when the radio and the Dondo community were under study. And although Dondo is known for tense political conflict between the two largest parties in Mozambique, Frelimo and Renamo, their political differences and the activities of their members and supporters did not affect the radio's role during the period of this study.

We should note that, during the publicity the radio made for the Ten Rules of Conduct among various bodies represented in Dondo, the RCD editorial policy was also used as a strong instrument for strengthening the radio's arguments against attempts to produce programmes or broadcast information that might compromise its impartiality in its work of civic education and electoral coverage.

However, it may be said that the political parties, although of the opinion that the radio has done a good job in support of the community, and has adopted a stance of impartiality, do not regard the community radio as an instrument of power during the electoral process. This is because, in the first place, the parties are very occupied and concerned with preparing their political campaigns, and have no time to listen to the radio. Secondly, the fact that they know the radio only does electoral civic education leads to a certain lack of consideration towards the radio's electoral work. Since, for these political parties, the radio does not and will not cover political campaigns, and has no "adequate space" for the parties to place their political activities, and hence obtain more supporters, the parties prefer to pay more attention to the Radio Mozambique's national channel or to Mozambican Television.

Sustainability:

As for the sustainability of the radio, some activities are being undertaken, such as the photocopying service and charging for transmitting listeners' messages and dedications. Next year, the radio intends to start a project to breed some domestic animals, which can then be sold to the people living nearby. The funds will then help cover the radio's costs.

It is important to note that, within the radio, the question of sustainability has been a matter for great concern and reflection, since Dondo district offers few opportunities for partnerships with the government, businesses and NGOs. But every now and then some organizations, mostly foreign ones, undertake small working partnerships with the radio, which include a small financial contribution towards the radio's operations.

Case Study 2

Geson Community Radio

1. Chimoio City

Chimoio is the capital city of Manica province, and is about 1,135 km from Maputo. With 172,506 inhabitants, Chimoio is the fifth largest city in Mozambique. The majority of its population is from the Shona and Sena ethnic groups.

The name Chimoio city has been used since Mozambican independence (previously it was called Vila Pery). The city is only 100 years old, and is the administrative, commercial and financial centre of Manica province.

Geographically, Chimoio is located on the major transport route in central Mozambique, the Beira Corridor, which consists of the Beira-Zimbabwe railway and National Highway No. 6, linking the coast to the interior of the continent.

Chimoio possesses all the essential infrastructures for the functioning of a city. This city has a considerable industrial park, and a very strong commercial component, including local services and some agricultural activities.

As for education, Chimoio has 33 primary schools, as well as secondary schools, arts and craft, pre-university, commercial and industrial schools, and a teacher training college. In health, there is the Provincial Hospital, and various health posts and centres.

As for access to the media, it is very easy to pick up the national and Manica provincial broadcasts of Radio Mozambique and Mozambican Television, as well as the stations from various other provinces. When it comes to the written media, the country's main newspapers reach Chimoio every day, thanks to the existing transport facilities.

2. The Geson Community Radio

2.1. Short summary of the Radio's birth

The Geson Community Radio, in Chimoio, arose out of a rather different process to that of the other community radios supported by UNESCO.

The initiative for this radio was taken by Geson – the Manica Social Education Association – which has existed for ten years, and most of whose staff work as volunteers. Since it intended to set up a community radio in Chimoio, Geson was integrated into the Community Radio Project supported by UNESCO. It was up to UNESCO to set up the necessary conditions for installing the radio.

Thus arose the Geson Community Radio in Chimoio. It has been in operation since 2001, and though it is managed by the Geson Association, it is owned by the community.

2.2. Profile of the radio station

Name of the radio: Geson Community Radio.

Slogan: Community Development Vehicle

Frequency: 106.0 Mhz FM

Radius of coverage: 75 Km.

Areas covered: All of Chimoio city and the neighbouring regions.

Editorial Content: Programmes of an information, educational, training, entertainment and sporting nature.

Broadcasting Languages: Portuguese, Chimanhica and Chiutee.

Hours of broadcasting: 19 hours of transmission, from 05:55h to 00:00h, divided into 7 broadcasting blocks in Chimanhica, Chiutee and Portuguese.

Programme Format: There are both live programmes and ones pre-recorded by the volunteers.

2.3. Radio Structure and Organisation

Geson is an association that already possesses solid foundations, and a considerable experience of work in the area of procuring audio-visual materials and programmes. Since this is the association that houses the community radio, its support for the radio is very rich, mainly in terms of technical assistance and capacity in the search for partnerships between the radio and other organisations and institutions.

Geson ensures the operations of this radio station through a Radio Management Committee consisting of people elected from the association. In terms of the radio's organisation, it has a coordinator assisted by a mobiliser, a technician and an administrator, as well as the volunteers who produce the programmes, working directly with the mobiliser.

The Geson Community Radio (RCG), like all the radios supported by UNESCO, relies on a large number of volunteers, mostly students, quite apart from the coordinator, mobiliser, technician and administrative assistant, who are paid by the Geson Association, through UNESCO funding¹². Currently the radio is operating with 48 volunteers, women and men, the majority of whom are young students. But the radio intends to integrate more volunteers, and has already broadcast information to that end.

The radio follows an editorial policy, regulations on how the radio functions, and a policy on volunteers. These documents are posted on the walls of almost all compartments in the radio premises. This radio also has a policy on the preventive maintenance of equipment.

¹² UNESCO, through the "Media Development in Mozambique" Project has supported the creation of community radios, including the Geson radio, also by extending financial support in paying wages, providing food for the volunteers, and maintaining the radio's equipment.

In terms of broadcasting, the RCG has a list of programmes divided into three transmissions, in Sena, Chiutee and Portuguese. These transmissions are repeated during the day, although with different programmes. The list has about 27 programmes on specific themes, per day, with the rest of the programming filled with music, dedications, and the day's news. *(Appended is an example of the programme list for 1 day of broadcasting).*

The Geson Community Radio operates with ten editorial groups, dedicated to the various thematic areas, namely: 1) Health editorial group; 2) Culture; 3) Education; 4) Sport; 5) Agriculture; 6) Women; 7) Youth; 8) Electoral coverage; 9) HIV/AIDS; and 10) Children. Each editorial group has a chief who is responsible for coordinating the work of his team. The head of the group answers directly to the mobiliser, and the mobiliser to the coordinator.

As regards the planning and production of programmes, this is done by the editorial groups who work under the supervision and with the support of the mobiliser, in drawing up monthly and weekly plans, and later in producing the programmes.

This is the structure and organisation of the Geson Community Radio. Let us see what its experience has been in the work of electoral civic education, accompanying the local elections in Chimoio in 2003.

2.4. Electoral Civic Education Programme

In accordance with the RCG programme plan, the civic education and electoral coverage programme is broadcast once a week, on Tuesdays, from 13.30 to 13.40, and only in the Portuguese transmission.

These programmes began to be recorded and put on the air in late September 2003, and only after the intervention of the UNESCO Media Project, in collaboration with the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus¹³, with awareness and upgrading activities in the electoral coverage area.

Who does it?

In the RCG, the **Electoral Coverage Editorial Group (GECE)** was set up in September 2003, when the UNESCO Media Project held one of the training seminars on "Electoral Coverage in Community Radios", in which the RCG mobiliser took part. However, shortly after the group had been set up, the mobiliser stopped working for the radio, and thus the group came to work with people who had been working in other editorial groups and without anybody who had been trained in this area. Currently, the CECE consists of five members, one of whom is a woman. It is important to add that the new radio mobiliser¹⁴, who is part of this group, has many other tasks, and must accompany other editorial groups, often leaving this editorial group to operate with just 4 members.

¹³ More detailed information on these courses can be found in the first chapter of this book.

¹⁴ One of the longest serving radio volunteers took over the job, after the mobiliser left.

It should also be mentioned that all the CECE members also work in other editorial groups, or make other programmes, and are not devoted solely to the electoral coverage programme.

How is it done?

The civic education and electoral coverage programmes are all pre-recorded, although there are other radio programmes that are broadcast live. Since this is a weekly programme, it is generally produced two or three days before it is broadcast. To this end, the GECE meets every week to plan programmes and distribute tasks. The tasks rotate, and the volunteers always alternate between gathering information, writing, recording and reading the programmes.

The GECE also draws up monthly plans which contain the general themes for the programmes to be produced, and the possible sources to be contacted. During the month, weekly planning is undertaken, and then a new programme is recorded or a programme already broadcast is repeated. The plans are discussed between the volunteers and the mobiliser, and then presented to the coordinator for his approval. However, the coordinator does not participate actively in this planning and/or in following programme production.

In order to give an idea of the programmes planned by the radio in September and October, we present the following table¹⁵:

Plan for September 2003
Programme name: Civic Education and Electoral Coverage

Nº	Programme Theme	Format used
01	How is the Mayor of your municipality elected?	Drama, information and education
02	Repetition of programme no 1	

Plan for October 2003
Programme Name: Civic Education and electoral Coverage

Nº	Theme	Format used
03	Events in the phase of updating voters' cards	Drama
04	Repeat of programme no. 2	
05	Events in the phase of updating voters' cards	Drama
06	The following step: the voting	Information

** Programme no 1 was produced with the support of the UNESCO project officer, and programme no. 6 was produced with the support of the UNESCO consultant, during the research for this book.*

2.5. Analysis of the programmes

Up to the time of writing, four programmes have been produced. It was possible to listen to all of these programmes as a basis for analysis.

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¹⁵ These tables were drawn up for this book based on the tables used by the Dondo Community Radio.

“How is the Mayor of your Municipality Elected”, was the theme for the first electoral civic education programme, which was presented in the format of a drama, and also included a major informative and educational part. This programme has clear objectives and is based on a conversation with many questions and very clear answers on the doubts raised about the various stages in the electoral process. The dialogue takes place in a very creative conversation, which deals with the main steps and conditions that allow a citizen to vote, from voter registration through to the act of voting itself.

One positive aspect of this programme is the explanation, during the conversation, of the more complicated terms and words, or those which may be regarded as “difficult” by the majority of people in the community. A more specific explanation about what the act of voting is, including explanations of what a ballot paper is and what a polling station is, was also undertaken.

In short, this programme stood out for the use of clear language, and also for the participation of a woman in the dialogue, and a very creative and interesting way of approaching questions and giving the respective explanations.

The second programme took as its theme “The procedures for voting”, and was produced in the drama format, based on an educational dialogue between two people. The message of this programme is clear and meets its main objective. The dialogue between the two people centres on a description of the procedures for voting, giving a clear explanation of each of these procedures, including an explanation on what the act of voting means. The language used is very clear, albeit with a very juvenile touch, and the use of some expressions of “youth slang” as used in Chimoio. An important part of this programme is clarification of the procedures used to ascertain the winner of the elections. This programme ends with a message urging people to vote. The background music, also used between the information given is well-known – it is that used by the CNE for elections.

In short, this programme is very interesting, interactive and very clear about the matters it wants to clarify. However, it was made only by men, both in the reading, and in the dialogue between the two people.

“Events in the phase of updating the voters’ cards”, was the theme of the third programme produced by this radio. The objectives of the programme are clear and the message revolves around them, through the use of drama. Before the start of the drama, the reader gives a small explanation about the figures and the plot of the story. In this programme, the language is very juvenile, with many expression of “youth slang” (maybe it was desired, through the use of these expressions, to give a more local flavour to the programme, or to direct the message more to a young audience). The drama, in short, involves the position of a young man selling used clothing, and working in the market, who refused to register as a voter, arguing that he did not have enough time, because he was looking after his business, and the attempts of his friends to convince him to register. The atmosphere of the market is transported, in a very creative way, to the content of the programme, and the discussions between the protagonists are very lively, and at the same time explanatory about the registration process, and the importance of voting.

A very positive aspect of this drama is the explanation of the advantages and disadvantages, both for the municipality and for the citizen, of registering and of valuing the right to vote. It is also positive that the background music is the CNE music, already well known as dedicated to the elections.

At the end of the programme, the reader draws a conclusion, a kind of moral of the story, which includes urging citizens to vote. But this programme also only had men in the drama and in the reading.

The fourth programme was dedicated to the theme: “The following step: the voting process”. In an informative format, this programme is based on an interview with the Provincial Director of STAE. It speaks of the final stages of the electoral process, concerning the updating of voters’ cards and the following step, which is voting itself. The interview is dynamic, because the reader follows up the information given by the interviewee, and asks questions with the aim of clarifying certain points, mainly about how mobile voting brigades would function. One important piece of information in this programme is the interviewer’s questioning of the fact that some municipal residents were arrested by the police for alleged infractions in the act of registration. In turn, the interviewee explained that these people were detained and channelled to the police because they had registered twice, or falsified their age, or committed other acts regarded as crimes in the eyes of the law. At the end of the programme, the reader summarised the information provided by the interviewee.

This programme has a clear message. It does not use youth expression, because this is an interview with a director. But only men figure in this programme.

Thus in general most of the programmes are creative and have a dynamic of interaction between the protagonists of the dramas, and between the interviewers and those interviewed. The messages are clear, centred on the programme’s objective, and the themes are interesting and up-to-date as regards the phases of the electoral process. But both the readers and the protagonists of the dramas use heavily, indeed almost totally, a purely juvenile language, including expression of “youth slang”. This is not a negative aspect – but it should be borne in mind that not all listeners and voters are young and will understand these expressions. Although some adults might understand these expressions, which are, to some degree, offensive, they may reduce the audience for the programmes purely to a young one, because adults may consider them as “not very serious”.

Very positive points about these programmes are the publicity given in all of them to the dates of the main electoral events, thus helping listeners feel more situated in terms of the electoral calendar. A negative aspect is that women do not participate much in these programmes, particularly in the dramas where there are three or four protagonists.

Finally, and most important of all, the programmes have only been made in Portuguese, and so were only broadcast in the transmissions in Portuguese.

3. Impact on the community

3.1. The community, the electoral process and the radio

In an attempt to describe and analyse the opinions of the community about the electoral process in general, and about the work of the radio in electoral civic education in particular, interviews were held with various bodies and individuals in Chimoio¹⁶:

Interviewees	Total	Men	Women
STAE - Provincial	1	1	0
Members of Political Parties	3	3	0
Chimoio Municipal Council	1	1	0
Drivers and fare collectors on the passenger transport vehicles commonly known as “Chapa 100”	8	8	0
Women workers on a civil construction project	4	0	4
Vendors in Chimoio Central Market	10	5	5

The community’s opinion of the radio’s role and work in civic education and electoral coverage is described here, also taking into account the relationship and collaboration between the radio and other bodies and individuals in Chimoio.

STAE

The radio and STAE have a good relationship and cooperate well. During voter registration, this was active collaboration, particularly in publicising the procedures for updating voters’ cards. During this collaboration, the radio made many appeals to the voters, and in STAE’s opinion, the work by the radio contributed greatly to mass participation by voters during the updating of the cards.

“We had good collaboration with the Geson radio, in appealing to voters to update their”. – Provincial STAE Director in Chimoio.

Through the opinion of the radio volunteers, it was possible to prove the statements by STAE about the level of collaboration and the healthy relationship that exists between this electoral body and the community radio. The relationship is so good that there have been occasions when the radio broadcast incomplete news items and the STAE Provincial Director contacted the radio to provide further information, since he had been listening to the radio news and felt that, with complementary information, the listeners would feel clearer about the subject dealt with.

Also in the context of collaboration with the community radio, STAE stated that it intended to work closely in parallel with this radio station during the voting. It was only awaiting material on voting procedures to start this work with the radio.

“We want to strengthen our collaboration with the radio so that we can pass on to the citizens the message that they should conserve their cards very well so that they can vote, and also by publicising the date of the vote, and that voting will only take place on one day, and that people should therefore go early to the polling stations” – Provincial Director of STAE, in Chimoio.

¹⁶ The detailed list of people interviewed is appended.

According to the STAE provincial director, the radio played a very important role in the civic education of the electorate, since STAE noted that, in the suburban areas most people were following the electoral process through the Geson Community Radio and Radio Mozambique. STAE attributes a positive part of this radio work to the document containing the Ten General Rules of Conduct for Community Radios in Electoral Coverage. STAE describes this as a very clear document which complements the provisions in the law on the participation of the media in electoral processes. However, the STAE Provincial Director believes that, for the next elections there should be a better definition of the role and the rules of conduct for community radio volunteers at the polling stations. The law defines this for other journalists, but for community radios there is still the lack of clear and regulated information from those who regulate this sector.

However, STAE has raised two negative aspects about the community radio's work. First, it regretted the fact that the radio is not making electoral civic education programmes in local languages. Secondly, the radio initially charged STAE for broadcasting electoral civic education messages.

“The radio wanted us to pay, but we said there should be coordination between STAE and the community radio, for the good of the citizens, since we have no money to pay for broadcasting time. We didn't manage to reach much consensus on this, but even so we are working together, the writer makes programmes and transmits news items about our activities, and we give them information...” – Provincial Director of STAE, in Chimoio

As for electoral civic education programmes in the local languages, STAE said that as soon as the spots on voting in local languages arrived in Chimoio, they would support the radio with this material so as to facilitate the work of producing radio programmes on the elections in local languages.

The STAE Provincial Director said that the electoral process was going well in Chimoio, although problems to do with shortage of materials were causing some headaches. In the opinion of this STAE representative, nowhere near enough material on civic education had been sent to Chimoio, and at the time he was speaking the material on the voting had not yet arrived. STAE-Chimoio still had very little information on the steps and procedures for voting day, because the materials were taking a long time to arrive. STAE was thus in very poor condition to supply this information, either to the radio or to anybody else.

Municipal Council

The relationship and collaboration between Chimoio City Municipal Council (CMC) and the Geson Community Radio have been further strengthened by the fact that one of the CMC councillors is also a member of the Radio's management committee. This relationship is praiseworthy, since this member of the Radio management committee tries to be a link between the CMC and the radio.

The CMC has a positive view of the radio's work during the electoral process, particularly of its compliance with the Ten General Rules of Conduct. The CMC is aware of these rules and has a copy posted on the walls of its premises. It agrees fully

with the rules because they facilitate the radio's performance during the electoral process.

“The Ten Rules are a document that is a guide and which establishes how community radios participate in elections, ensuring that they participate in an open and active form during this period” – Spokesman of Chimoio City Municipal Council

Representing the interests of the radio, as a member of the Management Committee, the CMC spokesman also participates actively as a Councillor in publicising the Ten Rules with the Municipal Council and in other bodies. He has managed to divulge the rules to the entire CMC and the Municipal Assembly.

“I follow the programming and I participate in the life of the radio. The electoral coverage programmes are excellent, and they greatly help the work that other bodies are doing in mobilising the electorate, including the activities of the CMC. The radio manages to reach areas where it takes the civic educators a long time to reach, for lack of transport, or for other reasons. So I think this experience is going to be beneficial for our entire municipality” – Spokesman of the CMC.

The CMC spokesman said the electoral process was all unfolding normally, though at the start there had been some problems to do with the shortage of resources to start the voter registration campaign properly – this was the case particularly with the search for premises where the STAE provincial offices could function, and the lack of transport for the civic education brigades. But, according to this CMC representative, the process as a whole has taken place without major difficulties.

But the spokesman also feared that, when it came to the election campaigns waged by the political parties, they may wish to use various means to override the radio rules of conduct.

“We know that some politicians will want the radio to advertise their parties, and they will use various forms of pressure to achieve this. But I think the radio will be able to explain how it is working during the electoral process, although there will always be accusations that the radio is doing this in favour of one particular party” – Spokesman of the CMC.

Political Parties

RENAMO–Electoral Union and FRELIMO

According to the political parties themselves, the RCG collaborates well with the political parties who are standing candidates in the local elections. But through the interviews with representatives of each of these parties – namely RENAMO–Electoral Union and FRELIMO – it was possible to discover that relations are more open with one than with the other: the radio has better relations and collaboration with FRELIMO than with RENAMO.

RENAMO accused Frelimo of certain irregularities in complying with electoral procedures, and the radio became involved in this conflict because RENAMO members

wanted to publicise these irregularities over the radio, but this was not possible because of the rules imposed by the radio to deal with situations like this. This automatically led to suspicion by RENAMO that the ruling party had a certain control over the radio and was exercising pressure on it in terms of censorship and the choice of information to be broadcast, particularly that relating to the elections.

“I think the Community Radio wants our messages to pass through censorship by the ruling party, FRELIMO, since the radio just publicises all the events concerning the other, as if it were a baby without teeth that needs somebody to help it to eat ! In other words, this means that the radio is afraid of FRELIMO...” – RENAMO provincial head of information.

FRELIMO says that these accusations are “inventions” by the opposition party, because the community radio is working in accordance with the Ten Rules, and acts impartially, publicising equally information about both parties.

“We’re satisfied with the radio’s work in the electoral process, and we have good collaboration with it. When they seek information from us to make a programme, we are always open to giving interviews. We have never put pressure on them, or taken any advantage to violate the radio’s rules of conduct” – FRELIMO First Secretary in Chimoio city.

However, while RENAMO accuses the radio of being “a baby of FRELIMO”, at the same time it says it has done excellent work in the electoral civic education of citizens, with education and up-to-date information programmes at the best times of the day. From Renamo’s viewpoint, the radio should just improve its programmes through the inclusion of clarifications of certain doubts among the electorate – such as the case of those who have lost their voters’ cards or identity cards, so that they know how they can vote.

“I don’t have many comments to make in order to correct the work of the Geson Radio in the elections, and I have even heard praises for the radio from many listeners. The radio is a very important tool for bringing the electoral process closer to the public. My only appeal is that the radio should not be weak, and restrict itself merely to information concerning the ruling party” - RENAMO provincial head of information.

But the approach of RENAMO, in Chimoio, always comes back to centre on the question of Frelimo’s domination over the community radio. It believes that the radio wants to give impartial coverage to the electoral process, but fears the ruling party and comes under pressure from it. This was once again stressed by the RENAMO spokesman in his description of the irregularities detected by this party during the voter registration and electoral civic education campaign.

“We have clear cases, that we have been following since the start of the electoral process, of FRELIMO manoeuvres to prevent the process from running as it should, mainly for the opposition: the running out of electoral materials, the reproduction of transfer files, and, most serious of all, the irregularity committed by the STAE Provincial Director himself when he authenticated and distributed to the registration posts, without the consent of STAE headquarters of the Provincial Elections Commission, these false transfer files, with the aim of reaching people who are outside of the municipal territory. We in Renamo opposed this crime, and our protest was regarded as legitimate, bearing in mind the evident proof. The Provincial Elections

Commission told us that that this case had been channelled to Maputo, and we should wait for a reply. So far the reply has not appeared ! But we shall submit this case to the courts” - RENAMO provincial head of information.

A further irregularity indicated by RENAMO concerns advance propaganda by the FRELIMO candidate for mayor of the municipality, who, instead of undertaking civic education during the voter education phase, distributed documents containing the statutes and programme of his party to the registration posts, along with propaganda texts, and with his photo stuck on the first page of the book containing the FRELIMO statutes.

Asked about this, the Chimoio City FRELIMO first secretary defended his candidate, saying that he was merely making contact with his electorate, that is, with other militants from the same party, and stressed that this could not be regarded as a crime.

RENAMO approached the community radio to publicise this information about irregularities being committed by FRELIMO, but it had still not managed to hold a meeting with radio officials at which this question could be raised.

“I am going to the radio to raise this question, because the public need to know and has the right to know about the violations of the law” – RENAMO provincial head of information.

RENAMO–Electoral Union is very concerned about certain political scenarios happening to some extent throughout Chimoio, particularly since voting day is very near. For its part, FRELIMO is keeping calm and without major worries about the normality of the electoral process in the run-up to voting day. According to the FRELIMO first secretary, RENAMO is always harassing FRELIMO members and candidates, and looks for irregularities where none exist, in order to damage the image of FRELIMO.

In this disturbed environment, the Geson Community Radio politically runs into some difficulties in its relations with the political parties. On the one hand, it is accused by RENAMO of being under FRELIMO control. On the other, in maintaining good relations with FRELIMO it runs the risk of being associated with this party. Thus the general panorama does not look very good in terms of the radio’s ability to play its role and carry out its work without this “wave of political conflicts” surrounding it.

Other media

The RCD has very little collaboration with other media, because, in the opinion of the radio volunteers, the other media to some extent “look down on” the work of the radio, because it is “smaller and of less importance” than the other media. Unfortunately, it was not possible to extend the research interviews to the other media, in order to gather their opinions on their relations and collaboration with the community radio. Since this was a very heavy period in terms of electoral coverage, most of the editors and journalists were very busy and did not have much time to grant interviews.

Women workers in the building industry, “chapa 100” drivers and fare collectors, and vendors in Chimoio central market

For this part of the Chimoio population, the Geson Community Radio has, within the bounds of what was possible, done a job of electoral civic education. People showed that they knew the electoral coverage programme. They like it and the way it is made. They praise the radio's work in its effort to mobilize citizens to register and to vote for the future mayor. They praised the volunteers for making very creative and interesting programmes. They say they also like the radio's other programmes.

The location of this radio in a city such as Chimoio brings many advantages when it comes to interviewing members of the public. People are more open, and many of them are already used to speaking to the radio, thanks to the experience of previous years with Radio Mozambique, and with other radios in Chimoio. They are better aware of the role and work of a radio and, for this reason, they also understand the shortcomings of the radio. Thus they regret the fact that the radio is directed more at a young audience, with a lot of modern music, and with most of the people who make the programmes being very young.

"It's good for our children to have a radio with youth programmes, but they don't need to overdo it! I like the community radio a lot, and whenever I can, I listen to its programmes... But I would like the radio to invite older people to make programmes too, because they can teach some things that the young ones don't know..." – Vendor in Chimoio central market.

As regards their opinions on how the radio operates and about the electoral coverage programmes, as well as about the electoral process in general, people speak more freely, although, as in many other parts of the country, many women are still rather reserved before speaking.

"I like the radio programme about voting a lot, because to vote is to develop our country. The radio says that voting helps develop our city and I agree with this..." – "Chapa 100" driver.

"The election programme is very good. But the radio should make more programmes, listening to people in the city, to know what people think about the elections. Other women think that this stuff about elections is just men's business, and so the radio should talk to women in the neighbourhoods, to make them aware..." – Woman worker on the civil construction project.

"I often hear some election programmes on the radio... But I prefer to listen to the news, because it also speaks about what is happening in other municipalities in Manica province" – "Chapa 100" driver.

"Yes, I've heard the radio programme on voting. I'm going to vote, because I want to choose the best candidate. But I would also like the radio to talk about these problems that they say are happening with RENAMO and FRELIMO, you see? This "hot" topic is good to hear about on the radio ..." – Vendor in Chimoio central market.

For these groups of interviewees, the fact that the radio broadcasts in local languages is something very positive. Some said that they only listen to this radio because they like to hear the news in their mother tongue. But, since the radio was not transmitting the programme on electoral coverage in local languages, one can hardly assess from a group

who do not listen to the Portuguese transmission, what their opinion is of this programme produced and broadcast by the community radio. This was a negative aspect raised by some of the interviewees, as well as the opinion of women working in the civil construction programme about the fact that the radio has been unable to take advantage of some singularly interesting events of interest to the community and which should have been divulged on its programme.

“Here, for example, we are women working in the building industry. This is the first time in Chimoio that women are doing this sort of work, which used to be thought of as work only for men. People who pass by this building site stop and look in amazement when they see women wearing overalls, carrying bricks, plastering, and working on top of the roof. They all say they didn’t know there were women doing this work in Chimoio. The radio knows about our work, but it has never come here to do a report, not even for the women’s programme on the radio!” – Woman worker on the civil construction project.

But with the exception of these negative points, it can be seen from the interviews with this part of the public that the electoral civic education programmes are appreciated and even analysed by people. However, it was clear that the radio has a more distant relation with the public in terms of producing programmes with the participation of people from the community. People feel less involved in the process of making the radio programmes, and they are able to identify some gaps in the radio’s programming.

“I would like the radio to go around the neighbourhoods speaking with people. It would thus be possible to discuss the community’s problems better on the radio. A lot of information should be transmitted over the radio about people’s lives, because a lot of music and little information does not help solve people’s lives. But nowadays the radio is improving. In the past it seemed to be a radio of DJs, with music for young people all the time!” – “Chapa 100” fare collector.

These people urged the community radio to try to find ways of talking more with the public so that it would be able to produce programmes that deal more with the current problems of the people of Chimoio city.

3.2. Rumours...

In this part of the book, some opinions are transcribed which are described as “rumours” because they are affirmations and suppositions of persons and groups in Chimoio about the electoral process in general, and the work of the radio in particular. As a matter of ethics, no names or other information that might reveal the identities of those who originated or spread these rumours will be given.

And the rumours that circulated in Chimoio...

Ever since electoral civic education began, the Geson radio speaks of the activities of our party in general, and speaks of the activities of the other party in detail!” – a politician

FRELIMO went around charging 20-25,000 meticaïs to people from the localities who wanted to stand in the municipal elections. It did this so that people would give up, because FRELIMO already had its own list of candidate... - A Chimoio citizen

We note many technical failings in the issuing of electoral documents. Errors in writing people's names, swapping the name of the town, giving out slips inside of cards, and other phenomena that I think are deliberate ... - A Chimoio citizen.

One day I went to the radio to raise a doubt about something strange I saw in the post where I went to register, but they told me they could not publish this sort of information ... - A citizen, talking to a friend in a city bar.

When they started the civic education, these people from STAE didn't have their own resources, they even hired a tractor to transport the activists ... - A woman in the market.

The "madjermanes" are being encouraged by RENAMO to hold more demonstrations during this election period... - A politician, during a demonstration by former migrant workers in the ex-GDR.

Who here doesn't know that the Geson community radio supports FRELIMO? We all know this, but I think that has nothing to do with the radio's work, because the radio is working well and for everyone! – A young man in the street

This is how it works here - FRELIMO has people watching what RENAMO is doing, and RENAMO also goes around spying on FRELIMO. They understand each other and we, the people, suffer later because we don't know how to live together like brothers. – An old shoemaker, on a street corner.

Women here in Chimoio don't care about the elections. All they want to know about are boyfriends and marriage! – A radio volunteer.

I want to see how the community radio will behave when the time comes for the political parties' campaigns. They're going to dance, because these parties are relying heavily on radio propaganda. Even this stuff about ten rules that I've heard about, won't be worth anything because our politicians here are very stubborn! – A man on a "Chapa 100".

4. Assessment of the experience of the Geson Community Radio in the 2003 Local elections

Chimoio is a city with a higher level of development than the districts where other community radios are installed, and this creates a different environment and one with more advantages for the work of the Geson Community Radio.

In recent years, Chimoio has seen an ever greater presence of development institutions and organisations, whose work is aimed both at social and economic areas. To a large extent they contribute to a greater dynamic in various activities which also have an impact on the radio's work.

Because of the facilities that exist here, in terms of the conditions of local services, many activities that are national in scope take place in this city¹⁷, held by various governmental and non-governmental bodies. They thus offer an environment that is active in events and new experiences, in which the community radio is allowed to grow, and has access to a variety of information to feed its programmes.

In terms of communication progress, Chimoio can access a broad range of audio-visual and written media. The national broadcasts of Radio Mozambique and Mozambican Television are present in force in this city. The country's main newspapers circulate in the city, and in some commercial establishments one can find a varied range of Mozambican and foreign magazines and bulletins.

Although the Geson radio is still new in Chimoio, the community where it is located has great appreciation and expectation of its work in the development of the city and the surrounding areas.

However, although this entire environment favours the good functioning of the community radio, one must take into account that the more the environment surrounding the radio is positively transformed, the more challenges are imposed on the radio. The Chimoio public is growing in terms of greater knowledge and openness to new development experiences. Consequently it demands greater professionalism and seriousness on the part of the community radio, so that this may, in parallel, accompany this growth of the community.

Alongside these challenges of corresponding to the real expectations of the community, the radio has a further challenge regarding its work in the electoral process, since the divergences between the two parties with the strongest presence in Chimoio occur in a "war" of political interests that produce a negative impact on the role and work of this radio station. As the electoral process unfolded, Chimoio witnessed various situations of conflict between FRELIMO and RENAMO, and in some of these the radio was accused of serving the interests of just one of these parties.

With this entire scenario surrounding the Geson Community Radio, it is right to raise some factors which, directly or indirectly, have a great impact on the radio's work,

¹⁷ For example, Ministry Coordinating Councils and other governmental and non-governmental bodies often choose to hold their meetings in Chimoio.

before setting off on an analysis of the experience of this community radio during the local elections.

The conditions under which the radio operates:

As in other community radios, this radio works on the basis of volunteers, who are responsible for everything to do with programme production.

The volunteers do not receive a wage from the radio, since they are working to benefit the development of their own community. However, in the Geson Radio most of the volunteers do not feel comfortable with this situation. The opinion of several radio volunteers is that the Geson Association should find means of at least guaranteeing social support for the “makers” of the radio. They have mentioned support in medical care, subsidies for work travel, and further training or upgrading for the volunteers.

Although most of the volunteers on this radio are very young, some are already heads of household, or are called on to contribute to the family income. Many of them have finished school, and currently the radio is their only occupation. They regard the radio as their workplace, where they devote themselves day after day. For this reason, there is a feeling that the radio officials are “insensitive” as regards recognising their work and their effort. This is raised whenever they speak. But the volunteers are aware of the meaning of what it is to be a true volunteer. That is why their demotivation with regard to subsidies or payments is softened and “almost” forgotten; since they know they are there of their own free will, with the purpose of contributing to a cause that benefits the community and themselves in terms of knowledge and work experience.

But although there exists this apparent demotivation among the volunteers, the radio’s work has continued in the best possible way. The volunteers are dedicated to their work and their task of making programmes that meet the expectations of the community.

As for the work of the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group, the lack of training of the members of this group in the area of producing programmes shows up as a great weakness, although even so the group is making programmes of considerable quality and interest. The members of this group harbour expectations that they will benefit in future with training in electoral coverage from the UNESCO Media Project.

In terms of material resources, tape recorders are a major dilemma for this radio. Not only are there insufficient tape recorders to meet the needs of the editorial groups, but the tape recorders in use are in poor condition. The “makers” of the radio also face a shortage of tapes. There are even cases where the volunteers themselves steal cassette tapes, and interviews are carried out without a tape recorder, because of the shortage of tapes. And although Chimoio is quite rich in terms of information materials (in organisations, institutions and shopping centres), very little information material exists in the radio, apart from those that are often brought back by members of the radio when they take part in training courses or seminars.

Many non-governmental organisations work in Chimoio and have documentation centres with a varied range of materials that could help feed and enrich the content of the radio’s programmes. But the radio lacks a more dynamic spirit as regards seeking out and making use of the material resources that exist locally.

Community collaboration:

Community participation in the radio's work on the elections is not well used. Although people in Chimoio are more open and willing to give information and interviews to the radio, it has not made good use of this advantage so as to make its relationship with the community more active and participatory, instead of turning the community into a mere "receiver" of the radio broadcasts. The makers of the radio also have a great physical distance in their interaction with the community.

And when they were interviewed for this book, it was possible to ascertain that people in the community have many ideas and contributions for improving the radio's work, as well as to ensure a better approach by the radio in matters of interest for the community.

People like this radio a lot, and from what could be shown in the interviews and in on-the-spot observation, people also listen a great deal to it. Indeed, one can say that most of the people who live in the areas covered by this radio, listen more to the Geson Radio than to Radio Mozambique itself. This fact justifies the great interest of people who want to participate more actively in the life and work of the radio. For instance, whenever the radio advertises for new volunteers, the number of candidates is always greater than expected, and sometimes this means that the excess candidates have to remain on a waiting list.

Thus defining better strategies for greater involvement of people, and more active community participation, is becoming one of the main challenges facing the radio.

The programmes produced by the radio:

When one listens to the programmes produced by the Geson radio, they immediately stand out as very interesting and of high quality. But when one makes a deeper analysis of the programmes, taking into account the possibilities and advantages that this radio enjoys when compared to many other community radios, one concludes that, though they are positive, the radio programmes could be better, mainly in terms of greater participation of people from the community, and in covering events and news that constantly happen in the city and its outskirts.

But at the same time, one must look at the conditions under which the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group is working: without specific training in this area, and with a small number of people.

One should also take into consideration that, at this stage in the electoral process, political divergences are strong and have a negative impact on the radio, leading the radio to be "more passive" than would be desirable in its search for news, in its approach to certain themes linked to the elections, and in its choice of sources of information.

Another important factor that influences the programmes produced by the radio is the poor participation by the radio coordinator in planning and producing the electoral coverage programme. The coordinator should, particularly at this stage in the electoral

process, be dedicating more particular attention to the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group and to the programme made on the elections.

Apart from the aspects already raised about the electoral coverage programmes, a further factor of special relevance should be given the radio's greatest attention: the electoral coverage programme is only produced in Portuguese, and only broadcast in the Portuguese transmission. Bearing in mind that this radio intends, above all, to deal with a more local reality, this factor is very negative, mainly because most people listen to the transmissions in local languages.

However, it may be said that, despite all these negative aspects, the programmes produced by the RCG on civic education and electoral coverage are positive in terms of their real objectives, and bearing in mind the internal development process the radio is going through.

Compliance with the Ten General Rules of Conduct:

- The awareness and mobilisation programmes for voter registration were produced almost at the end of the registration campaigns (the radio began to produce and broadcast these programmes late for various reasons, such as the formation of the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group, among others).
- The gender perspective is clear in the content of only a few programmes.
- No tender has been held so far, and there has been no assessment of perceptions on the civic education process. Likewise no specific fund for this area has been raised by the radio.
- The political parties have all been informed about the RCG's electoral coverage policy, and about the Ten Rules of Conduct for Community Radios, as well as the conditions under which information concerning electoral coverage would be transmitted.
- The programmes on civic education and electoral coverage were only broadcast in the Portuguese transmission.
- No political party propaganda material was fixed on the walls of the RCG premises.
- There are a series of accusations about the political alignment of the radio, including statements and many rumours about open socialising of some radio members, mainly members of the Management Committee, with members and/or candidates of political parties.
- *So far there has been no reason for the RCG to issue any denunciation due to attempts at intimidation, conspiracy, corruption or other forms of enticement which endanger the regulations and proper functioning of the Radio.*

However, as a form of security, Geson has hired police services to protect the radio. Currently there is always a policeman on the radio door to prevent any undesirable situation that might occur and endanger radio members

Final note:

Taking the above into account, it may be said that the Geson Community Radio has made a major contribution to publicising information on the electoral process and to mobilising the electorate, despite all the internal and external constraints and difficulties that the radio is going through at this stage.

The programmes produced by the Radio on electoral coverage are interesting and, within the limits of what is possible, creative and tending to improve. According to persons and groups in Chimoio, the radio's work is very positive, although some problems of the internal functioning of the radio should be dealt with, and the radio should make a greater effort to ensure community participation in its programmes.

The poor involvement of the coordinator in planning and producing these programmes is a negative factor as regards better programme quality, and a more careful and conscious management of the conflicts in which the radio may be involved due to the tense political climate in Chimoio during the electoral period.

The support manual drawn up by the UNESCO Media Project – “Production of Electoral Civic Education Programmes” – is an instrument that was of great help to the volunteers in producing the electoral coverage programmes, and also for the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group, which is currently operating with people who did not take part in the courses on this specific area held by the UNESCO Media Project.

And although they are not as participatory as would be desirable, the programmes produced by the radio in the electoral civic education area had a very positive impact on the public. According to various sources interviewed for this research, people flocked en masse to the registration, and the updating of the voters cards, to a large extent because of the radio's excellent work in this area.

As for the internal relations between the radio staff, these are very good, both among the volunteers, and between the volunteers, the coordination and the Geson Association, including the radio management committee.

Compliance with the Ten General Rules of Conduct, in both the production of programmes and in internal performance, was attained, as was the radio's relationship with other political and civic bodies in the district, albeit with a problem here or there. However, one continuing negative fact is the rumours and accusations that the radio is “dominated” by the ruling party. No concrete evidence for this was presented. There just hung in the air claims on the lines of “they say that...”, or “so-and-so saw, or so-and-so said”, and the allegations of one party against the other, as well as the justifications of members and militants of these parties.

In terms of liaison with political parties, there are many connotations, accusations and criticisms of a clear political leaning if the radio. These are stressed by RENAMO in its claims of the control and pressure which it says FRELIMO exercises on the radio. Some informants among the public seconded these RENAMO statements in making clear that, in certain cases, the radio really is controlled by the ruling party. There are also the rumours circulating in the city about the unjust censorship of the information reaching the radio, particularly when it concerns political matters regarding the activity and behaviour of the political parties. And even without being able to prove such rumours, the situation is strongly commented upon on the street corners, and among the people of the city, thus raising some doubts as to the impartiality of the radio, even if this is not visible in terms of the programmes the radio produces and broadcasts.

Thus the divergences and “wars” between the two parties most in evidence in Chimoio, FRELIMO and RENAMO, affect the radio since it ends up being negatively involved in

the conflicts and speeches of the parties. However this negative factor leads to an important finding: that the political parties view the community radio as a powerful means of communication, and a major instrument for mobilising the public, particularly in an election period.

To sum up, the role and work of the Geson Community Radio during the 2003 local elections was very troubled, in terms of external relations, and the accusation of the radio's political leanings and its policy of defending partisan censorship of the information to be divulged. This may be explained through the highly conflictual political climate in Chimoio, and the importance which the political parties attribute to this community radio by dragging it into these conflicts.

But although it suffered the impact of all these factors that accompany the unfolding of the electoral process in Chimoio, the RCG has managed to produce civic education and electoral coverage programmes of quality and interest for the community without deviating from the purposes and goals of its civic activity, and impartiality in dealing with election-related themes. However, a deeper analysis of the degree of credibility that the radio will continue enjoying among the community after the elections should be undertaken so as to seek out strategies to eliminate some negative factors which might have endangered the role and impartiality of the radio during the elections.

Sustainability:

As for the radio's sustainability, the RCG possesses many advantages in comparison with other community radios located in districts. On the one hand this is due to the fact that this radio is in a city where people have a different perception of advertising on the radio, and also have more resources, and greater need for the radio; and on the other, to the fact that the Geson Association has, apart from the radio, other activities and fruitful partnerships that may contribute, in one way or another, to the sustainability of the radio. Thus in terms of sustainability initiatives, the RCG has an advantage over the other community radios.

Currently, by charging through advertising on the radio, and by transmitting messages and dedications from listeners, the radio is already managing to meet some of its recurrent expenditure, such as its telephone bill, and the wages of the security guard and the receptionist – 50% of their wages are paid by the radio, and the other 50% by the Geson Association through UNESCO funding.

And, in order to tackle somewhat the question of economic incentives for the volunteers, the radio is implementing “the percentage principle” in attracting advertising – that is, each volunteer who manages to bring advertising to the radio has the right to a certain percentage of the sum to be paid by the client.

In future, the radio intends to activate its social centre, which used to function in the past, so that this activity can also contribute towards the sustainability of the radio. The work to ensure that this social centre can begin operating is almost ready. It will probably open to the public in the near future.

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The Cuamba Community Radio

1. Cuamba District

The Cuamba municipality is in Cuamba district, in the southern part of Niassa province. To the north lies the district of Metarica, to the south Zambezia province, while to the west lie the districts of Mandimba and Mecanhelas (on the border with Malawi), and to the east is Nampula province. It is about 300 kms from Cuamba to the Niassa provincial capital, Lichinga. In terms of population, Cuamba has 172,212 inhabitants, and covers an area of 5,121 square kilometres. It has about 34 inhabitants per square kilometre. The predominant climate in the district is hot and dry, with an average temperature of 24 degrees centigrade. The rainy season runs from October until April. The highest point in the district is Mount Mitucue, which is 1,800 metres above sea level. It is in Mitucue locality, about 18 kilometres from the Cuamba district capital.

Cuamba district is divided into two administrative posts, Etarara and Lurio. These are in turn subdivided into five localities: Etatara and Malapa, Lúrio, Mitúcuè and Mutetere.

Economically, Cuamba district contains about 56 milling units, of which 46 are operational. The largest Niassa industry is in this district – the cotton ginning mill, run by SAN (Sociedade Algodoeira do Niassa – Niassa Cotton Company). The district also has carpentry industries and a variety of operational commercial establishments.

As for education, Cuamba has 122 schools, including one general secondary school, one Agriculture and Educational Sciences Faculty, seven complete second level primary schools, and 1st and 2nd cycle community schools, for a total of 716 teachers, and 38,475 pupils enrolled in the 2003 academic year. It should be noted that the attendance at literacy classes has grown by 26% over the past four years, to reach the current enrolment of 3,667. The district possesses 50 literacy centres, served by 90 literacy teachers. Women make up 82% of the pupils, according to the 1997 census. Although education in Cuamba tends to show significant advances, with initiatives such as the increase in the number of classrooms with community participation, there are permanent obstacles such as the case of the transfer of pupils because their parents or guardians move house in search of more fertile land. This has a negative impact on the pupils' academic achievement.

As for health care, the health network does not cover everyone living in the district – or rather, almost half the population is forced to work for great distances in order to reach these services. There are many cases where pregnant women end up giving birth en route to a health post. Malaria and cholera are frequent in this district. Thanks in part to the difficulties faced by much of the population in gaining access to the health service, cases sometimes lead to deaths or cause epidemics. But Cuamba municipality possesses a hospital, a health centre, three health posts, and a first aid post.

Agriculture is the main activity of the Cuamba population. In 2002 and 2003, heavy rains caused deficient weeding, which influenced the food security situation. However, the situation is not yet menacing, because there are crops which resisted the intensive rains, such as rice and maize, which can be found in the local market at prices lower than those of the previous year.

When we turn to communication, we find that the Community Radio is the only radio station in all of Cuamba district. However, it is possible to pick up broadcasts from South Africa, Malawi, Tanzania and elsewhere in east Africa. Mozambican broadcasts, including the national station of Radio Mozambique, are very difficult to pick up. Newspapers do not circulate, and Mozambican Television can only be picked up by those who own a parabolic antenna.¹⁸

2. The Cuamba Community Radio

2.1. Brief summary of how the radio was born

In July 1999, two UNESCO representatives visited Cuamba to start the work of social mobilisation in order to set up a community radio in this district.

This led to the creation of a local association which could be the owner of the radio station. This group was called the Cuamba Community Radio Association. There then followed elections in which 15 members were selected, and the bodies of the association were chosen. Once this phase was over, the association was legalized, and then began to manage the Cuamba Community Radio station, installed with UNESCO support.

2.2. Profile of the radio station

Name of the radio: Cuamba Community Radio

Slogan: Development Vehicle.

Frequency: 106.0 Mhz FM.

Radius of coverage: 100 Km¹⁹.

Areas covered: Almost the entire District of Cuamba, and some other areas in Niassa, Nampula and Zambezia provinces.

Editorial content: Information, educational, training, entertainment and sports programmes.

Languages of broadcasts: Portuguese and Macua.

Broadcasting times: from 04:50 to 23:00, transmissions in Macua and Portuguese.

Programme Format: Some of the programmes are pre-recorded, while others are broadcast live by the volunteers.

2.3. Structure and organisation of the radio

¹⁸ Information gathered in Cuamba

¹⁹ The RCC's radius of coverage is relative. For example, in Niassa, the radio can also be heard in Massangulo (210 km), and, in Zambézia province, in Missiasse and Mulumbo (150 and 200 Km) and in Namarroi (125 Km), as well as in many parts of Nampula province.

Like the Dondo and Geson Community Radios, the Cuamba Community Radio (RCC), as well as relying on a coordinator, a mobiliser, a technician and an administrator, who are paid by the Cuamba Community Radio Association, with UNESCO support, has a group of volunteers. They number 65.

The coordinator organises and chairs the weekly meetings that plan the radio's activities, and the planning of the work of the editorial groups. The mobiliser supports the coordinator, mainly in defining the range of programmes. This is done on the basis of regular audience research.

All the editorial work is done by teams organised into editorial groups, where the heads of the groups, in their weekly meetings, discuss the themes with the other volunteers. It is also the responsibility of the heads of the editorial groups to discuss the content of the programmes with the mobiliser and the coordinator, before it is approved for production and transmission.

The technical sector supports the editorial groups in the recording and transmission of the programmes, to ensure that these are of good broadcast quality, and that adequate use is made of the technical equipment.

It should be noted that in the RCC a requisition form is used, filled out by the head of the editorial group and by the mobiliser, and then approved by the coordinator, for the use of radio archive material or for the transmission of a programme.

The RCC has a Code of Conduct, a document that regulates the behaviour of all members of the radio, establishing a standard of values in accordance with the main aims of the radio, as well as rules of conduct for readers/presenters when they go into the studio to broadcast.

As for the material broadcast, the RCC is working with a range of programmes divided into two transmissions, one in Macua and the other in Portuguese. In a day's broadcasting, there are five or six programmes on specific themes, while the rest of the time is filled with the day's news, music and dedications.

The RCC has also trained its editorial groups for each specific theme. These groups consist of volunteers who produce all the programmes. Each editorial group has its head, and currently there are a total of 10 groups, namely: 1) Health editorial group; 2) Sanitation and the environment; 3) Children's programmes; 4) Women's Development; 5) Culture; 6) Family; 7) Sport; 8); Agriculture 9) Education; and, the most recent, 10) Electoral coverage.

It should be noted that, unlike the other two radios (Dondo and Geson) the RCC does not yet possess a newsroom where the volunteers can work. They prepare their programmes and hold their meetings in the yard of the house where the radio is installed.

2.4. Electoral Civic Education Programme

The civic education and electoral coverage programme is not listed on the range of RCC programmes. Nonetheless, this programme is broadcast twice a week, on Mondays and

Fridays, in the morning transmission in Macua, and in Portuguese in the afternoon transmission. The Monday programme is repeated on Fridays. Specific information on the elections is also broadcast to replace some musical spots, mainly at lunchtime and at the end of the day.

These programmes began to be produced and put on the air only in October 2003, and also after the involvement of the UNESCO Media Project in training and in making resources available for the radio to work on civic education and electoral coverage.

Who does it?

In the RCC, the **Electoral Coverage Editorial Group (GECE)** was set up after this radio took part in the seminars on “Electoral Coverage in Community Radios” held by the UNESCO Media Project. The editorial group set up to deal with the civic education and electoral coverage programmes currently has 15 members, although they also belong to other editorial groups. The volunteers who took part in the courses on electoral coverage are part of this group, and the head is one of them. This group is essentially governed by the Ten General Rules of Conduct for Community Radios, which are posted at the entrance to the radio building, and by the UNESCO Media Project’s support manual on the production of electoral civic education programmes.

How is it done?

Although the RCC has both recorded and live programmes, the electoral civic education programmes are all recorded so as better to “control” the information broadcast by the radio on this subject. Since the programme is weekly, it is produced two or three days before it is broadcast. The planning of this programme does not follow a monthly planning schedule, but tries to follow the electoral process in terms of the themes dealt with.

The programmes are drawn up by the GECE and then presented to the coordinator, since the mobiliser is part of the GECE. After approval by the coordinator, the programme is produced by the volunteers, and broadcast, with major participation by the technician.

Although the RCC does not have a monthly planning table, the programmes that were produced in October and November can be seen from the following table²⁰:

October and November 2003
Programme: Civic Education and Electoral Coverage

Nº	Programme Theme	Format used
1	Civic education for voter registration	Drama, informative and educational
2	Civic education: electoral terms	Informative
3	The Ten General Rules of Conduct	Informative
4	Civic education on voting	Drama, informative and educational
5	Electoral coverage: Presentation of the candidates and their agendas	Informative

²⁰ This table was drawn up for this book, based on the programmes planned by the Cuamba Community Radio for October and November, and following the example of the monthly planning table used by the Dondo Community Radio.

- *The two final programmes had not yet been produced and broadcast at the time of the research in Cuamba*

2.5. Analysis of the programmes

In total, three programmes were produced (up to the time when the analysis was made) and it was possible to obtain all these programmes recorded and archived to listen to and analyse them. It should be noted that at the RCC programmes on electoral coverage have not stopped since they began, because even when there were no new programmes recorded to be broadcast, the radio retransmitted the previous programmes.

From the programmes which were analysed, it can be concluded that:

The first programme dealt with voter registration, in a junction of drama, informative and educational formats. The reader explained the steps necessary for registration, and a piece of drama followed (a discussion between a couple on the importance and need for registration). Then the reader summarised the experience of this couple, stressing once more the importance of registration. This programme is interesting for three reasons: 1) the drama starts from a story involving a husband and wife and their neighbours, with a tone and language very close to local reality; 2) the reader uses the example of the couple to explain the need and importance of registration; and 3) this programme has a good gender perspective, both because in the drama story the woman is the person who is better informed and aware of the elections, teaching and explaining to her husband, and because the drama deals in a positive and educational manner with the divergences that arise because husbands think that wives should not register without their permission. A very simple programme, with very clear objectives, and a very understandable language – this first RCC work on electoral civic education is, in short, educational, informative and creative. The background music is traditional and comes from a Cuamba group, which brings the programme still closer to local reality.

The second programme explains some of the terms linked to the elections, such as – what is the ballot paper, what is the electoral register, among others. This programme is more informative, restricting itself to a verbatim reading of the terms most commonly used during the electoral process. It is different from the first programme, and is less creative, because it is based on reading a document on the most common electoral terms, and also uses a language which sounds like a merely written language. However, the readers (two men and a woman) read the document well, pronouncing the more complicated terms correctly. The background music played between the information is a mixture of traditional and modern music. Even though it is merely informative, and uses a language which shows that a document has been read out, this programme is very clear in its objectives (which are explained at the beginning and end of the programme) and does not go on too long in terms of time.

The third programme was dedicated to the Ten General Rules of Conduct. Although this was also informative, and was based on the document on the ten rules, the readers (a man and a woman) did their job in a dynamic way, with a certain liveliness, which made the programme interesting and, to a certain extent, creative. Here the reading was done with pauses adequate to ensuring good understanding from the listeners, intercut with local and traditional instrumental music, with good pronunciation of the more complicated terms, and concluding with a lively piece of modern music. This

programme has very clear objectives (presented at the beginning and end of the programme), and although it was based on reading a document, it was positive in terms of meeting its objectives, and including some creativity.

To sum up, the programmes produced by this radio on electoral civic education are very positive, because they all have very clear objectives, an understandable message, and a very educational tone for the community. The gender perspective is present both in terms of some of the content, and in the internal work of the radio itself²¹.

As for the themes, these do not follow to the letter the steps of the electoral process, but they do not deviate from being up-to-date in following how this process unfolds.

3. Impact on the community

3.1. The community, the electoral process and the radio

In order to obtain a view on the interaction between the community, the electoral process, and the community radio, interviews were held to gather opinions from a varied public²², as the following table shows:

Interviewees	Total	Men	Women
Community leaders	10	8	2
District Election Commission/STAE	3	3	0
Members of Political Parties	2	2	0
Sellers in two Cuamba markets	20	10	10
NGOs (Mozambican and foreign)	6	6	0
Trainers and Candidates for the polling stations	5	4	2
Men and women from Mitucue village	10	6	4
District Directorate of Culture, Youth and Sport	1	1	0

By analysing the content of the interviews held, and the unfolding of electoral events in Cuamba district, without neglecting the collaboration between the community and the radio, the following was ascertained:

District Elections Commission/STAE

The relationship between the radio and the District Elections Commission/STAE (CDE/STAE) has not proved very healthy. According to the radio, this is because CDE/STAE has not collaborated in any desirable way with the radio in its work of electoral civic education. From the information gathered from the mobiliser and the radio volunteers, CDE/STAE posed many obstacles to the radio's active participation in the electoral process, claiming that it possessed information from the National Elections

²¹ The gender perspective is a very important component in this sort of work, particularly in the districts where, in general, women are less involved in electoral processes and consequently are less interested in matters concerned with this theme.

²² A detailed list of the people interviewed is appended.

Commission (CNE) on the “total removal” of the community radios from covering the elections. Radio staff stated that they frequently tried to explain to CDE/STAE that this information was wrong, and that the truth was that the community radios had the right and the duty to participate in this process, though with a role aimed more at civic education, than at covering election campaigns.

“We have tried many times to make the CDE understand that their information is wrong, but it was very difficult to achieve this. They said they had information that the radio could not undertake electoral coverage. We tried to explain the real meaning of the Ten Rules of Conduct, but they simply paid no attention. After a lot of insistence on our part, the CDE contacted the Niassa Provincial Elections Commission (CPE), to ascertain what they should do in relation to the community radio. According to them the CPE’s response was that they should not provide us with civic education material or even give us information related with the elections” – RCC Mobiliser.

Faced with this unsettled situation, the radio appealed to the UNESCO Media Project to intervene, since they needed collaboration from CDE/STAE in order to undertake the work of electoral civic education. For its part, UNESCO made every possible effort so that the national CNE/STAE would talk with the Niassa CPE and the Cuamba CDE. After this intervention, the CDE accepted that it should collaborate with the radio, but it only sent the radio some T-shirts and caps produced for the campaign to mobilize people to register and to vote.

“They gave us some T-shirts and caps... And we then asked if this would help us produce civic education programmes! They didn’t give us a single leaflet, and we only obtained the electoral package when UNESCO sent it to us”. – RCC Mobiliser.

However, when the CDE chairperson, the STAE director and the CDE spokesperson were interviewed, they claimed that they had good collaboration and articulation with the Community radio. As for the statements from the radio to the contrary, they argued that some contradictions had arisen at the beginning because they did not have the correct information about how they should collaborate with the radio. But as soon as everything was clarified, the doors of the CDE/STAE were opened to the community radio. As for the electoral package which was “denied” to the radio, CDE/STAE said this happened because by the time matters were clarified they had run out of copies of the electoral package, and it was only possible to send the T-shirts and caps.

“But apart from these small misunderstandings, our doors were always open to the radio. We collaborated with the radio, ever since the civic education for voter registration and, to date, we have made available any information that may be needed” - CDE spokesperson.

CDE

Despite these statements from CDE/STAE, the “makers” of the radio still doubt the good will of these bodies in collaborating with the community radio. This suspicion is heightened, on the one hand, by the fact that previously the CDE/STAE had shown a certain contempt for the “merely civic” role of the radio in the electoral process and, on the other, because they still failed to understand properly the nature and the purpose of the Ten General Rules of Conduct.

“Since we cannot cover the campaigns of the political parties, they think our role is insignificant...” – RCC Volunteer.

However, one very important aspect is the CDE/STAE opinion of the Ten General Rules of Conduct for Community Radios in Mozambique. Completely in disagreement, they think that these rules were made by “the true owners” of the community radios for some purpose that is not very clear.

“If the radio belongs to the community and exists to serve the community, then how can it stay outside of something so important to people in the community such as political campaigns? Citizens need to be informed about what each candidate is doing; about their agendas and their programmes for the municipality ... I don’t understand how these ten rules arose and what their purpose is! I think it is part of democratic principles to give citizens information about how political campaigns are going, reporting what each candidate is doing, where he is waging his campaign, and what he is saying to his voters” – CDE chairperson.

Apart from calling the radio’s funding agencies, in this case UNESCO, the “true owners” of the community radio, and questioning the objectives of the Ten Rules of Conduct, the CDE/STAE remarks that the radio operates “beyond the will and outside the control of the community”.

“I think there should be a better explanation as to whether the radio is community or private! There is a need for greater clarification as to the statutes of the community radios. Because, at the end of the day, who do the community radios serve? If the radio serves the community, then the radio should help people vote consciously by giving them all the information about the campaigns of the political parties, and particularly about the candidates’ programmes. Thus we have to say that these ten rules limit the term ‘community’” – CDE chairperson.

The Ten General Rules of Conduct were posted at the CDE/STAE offices, but it was possible to note, when holding interviews with representatives of these bodies, that some of them were reading the document with more attention so that they could comment on its content. One of the interviewees even stated “when you asked us for the interview, I ordered the ten rules to be placed here on the wall so that we could discuss them.

In short, there are several facts and pieces of information that can confirm the low level of interest that CDE/STAE had in collaborating with the community radio. However, it should be mentioned that CDE/STAE did not approve of the Ten General Rules of Conduct because in Cuamba the community radio is the only one of the media that is visibly present and, worse still, because it is very difficult in this district to pick up the national transmission of Radio Mozambique, or Mozambican Television. Added to which very few copies of the written press circulate.

“When these ten rules were thought up, I think they forgot about Cuamba. A district where the community radio is the only media available to the majority of the population, and then on top of this, it isn’t undertaking free electoral coverage for the benefit of the community” – CDE chairperson.

CDE/STAE hope, however, that urgent measures may be taken so that “things change”, at least at the time of the general elections, and that those who really “control” the community radio may be clearer and more objective in defining how a community radio operates.

Political Parties

FRELIMO and RENAMO-Electoral Union

In terms of relations with the political parties standing candidates for the local elections in Cuamba, the RCC is going through a troubled phase. First, because RENAMO-Electoral Union does not recognise the RCC as a community radio, claims it is partisan and calls it “the FRELIMO Radio”. Secondly, because within the Cuamba Community Radio Management Committee, the party leanings of most members of the committee in favour of FRELIMO are well known²³.

“I have nothing to say about the work of the community radio because in Cuamba there is no community radio. Here there is only the FRELIMO radio because the ruling party totally controls the radio. FRELIMO even controls the radio journalists themselves, and to confirm this there are many cases of threats and of sackings of some volunteers because of doubts about their political colours...” –RENAMO–Electoral Union District Delegate.

“I am neutral in party political terms when radio matters are dealt with, but I must confess I have no respect for RENAMO because their members are always in conflict with me because of the business I’m managing and which, in the past, belonged to the father of the current RENAMO candidate” – Member of the Radio Management Committee, and manager of the “Vision 2000” Hotel.

The personal conflicts which have become political concerning the “Vision 2000” Hotel²⁴ are well known by most people in Cuamba city. The fact that the manager of this hotel is also a member of the Cuamba Community Radio Association Management Committee raises a great deal of polemic around the political leanings the radio may have. To strengthen this, several other members of the Community Radio Management Committee are also members of FRELIMO, and even take part in political campaign and propaganda activities, although outside of the radio.

The RENAMO-Electoral Union candidate for mayor of Cuamba is the daughter of the former owner of the “Vision 2000” Hotel. According to the Renamo delegate, he lost his establishment at the time of the privatizations and never managed to recover it, because the ruling party did not allow him to, and raised every possible obstacle to ensure that this did not happen.

“Apart from the fact that the radio belongs to FRELIMO, it is the “Vision 2000” Hotel that rules in the radio, serving the interests of the ruling party! They do as they like with the radio, and everybody knows this. That’s why I don’t even bother to listen to the radio programmes. But there will come a time when Cuamba will have a genuine

²³ The Management Committee consists of people elected from the Cuamba Community Radio Association, with the responsibility of managing the radio.

²⁴ This hotel is managed by a member of the Radio Management Committee.

community radio, one that is impartial and serves the true interests of the community” – RENAMO-Electoral Union District Delegate.

One of the community radio volunteers strengthened the claims of the RENAMO representatives, when she declared that the radio really is controlled by FRELIMO. She expressed disappointment at the radio’s conduct towards her, saying that her dedication to the radio as a volunteer was not considered by the Management Committee when it discovered that she had joined the opposition party, and sacked her from the radio for this reason.

“I was one of the first volunteers on the Cuamba community radio, but when I married a RENAMO member, I was removed from the radio. They told me that the radio was drawing up new shifts for the readers, and so some volunteers should wait at home until they were called again. What happened is that I was the only one not called back. Even so I did return to the radio, but they would not let me speak on the air. I think all this can only be explained by the fact that the radio is serving FRELIMO” – Radio volunteer.

Other radio volunteers, when interviewed, did not confirm the allegations of this volunteer in terms of FRELIMO “control” over the radio. But they confirmed that she had really been taken off the air, but “nobody knows” the reasons for this.

However, even though it does not recognise the RCC as a community radio, RENAMO-Electoral Union possesses the poster on the Ten General Rules of Conduct for Community Radios. According to this party’s district delegate, these rules are praiseworthy, though they will never be useful in Cuamba as long as the radio is dominated by FRELIMO. Although he claimed that he “scarcely listens to” the radio, the RENAMO delegate commented on some of items broadcast by the radio about FRELIMO and about RENAMO, stressing that the opposition party is granted very little space, in favour of the ruling party.

“When Guebuza was here and held a FRELIMO rally, the radio spent almost an hour of airtime broadcasting his speech... But when President Dhlakama came here and held a RENAMO rally, the radio only gave his speech five minutes! I don’t blame the radio journalists because they’re just carrying out orders!” –RENAMO district delegate.

Replying to this allegation, the radio says it gave no information either about Guebuza’s speech or about Dhlakama’s precisely so that it would not be accused later of giving more space to one than to the other. It could be difficult to prove who is telling the truth, because other RENAMO members who were present at the meeting stated that the radio did broadcast this information.

Although he did not have much information on the electoral civic education programmes broadcast by the radio, the RENAMO-Electoral Union representative in Cuamba highly praised UNESCO’s support, both for establishing the radio, and in training and upgrading the volunteers. He only lamented the relentless pressure exercised by FRELIMO over this radio.

When asked about the relationship between the radio and the political parties during the electoral process, the FRELIMO office in Cuamba, while praising the radio’s work both in electoral civic education, and in educating the community on other matters, has much the same opinion as CDE/STAE on the Ten General Rules of Conduct.

“The work done by the radio on civic education about the elections is very good. But I think the radio would have a more important role for the community if it undertook electoral coverage, particularly of the parties’ campaigns. Bearing in mind that the community radio is the only one in the entire district that publicises local matters, I think the idea of the ten rules, at least here in Cuamba, was not very good” – FRELIMO Party First District Secretary in Cuamba.

Except for his displeasure at the radio not undertaking full electoral coverage, the FRELIMO representative stated that the collaboration between his party and the radio is very good and the radio has proved to be a very useful vehicle of information for the whole community.

As for the comments and allegations about the ruling party controlling the radio, the FRELIMO representative preferred not to make any justifications, since, as far as he was concerned, RENAMO is always looking for excuses and stories to denigrate Frelimo’s image. In the words of the FRELIMO representative, his party thinks that “the absurd inventions” of RENAMO stopped making sense long ago.

“Despite everything, the electoral process is going ahead normally. This or that thing is happening, but without any great importance for the holding of just and transparent elections” – FRELIMO Party First District Secretary in Cuamba.

As can be noted, the radio is in the midst of a certain “political agitation” which directly and indirectly affects its functioning, its programming, and even its impartial and non-partisan position towards the community.

Local Government

It was very difficult to establish anything directly about the relationship between the radio and the local government structures. Because the research in Cuamba took place at the time of the political parties’ campaigns, most representatives of the local government were “very busy” with their participation in those campaigns. It was only possible to interview the District Director of Culture, Youth and Sport, who expressed the good collaboration that this governmental body has with the radio, particularly in publicising local youth events. But it was possible to obtain very little from this government representative in terms of the programmes produced by the radio on electoral education.

“I’ve heard one programme or another, but since I do a lot of work, weekends included, it’s difficult for me to follow the community radio. But I think the radio is doing a good job, people comment on these programmes, and I hope the radio will continue doing a good job” – District Director of Culture, Youth and Sport in Cuamba.

The District Directorate of Culture, Youth and Sport (DDCJD) is very involved in the electoral process. During the voter registration mobilization campaign, and the campaign to make people aware of the importance of voting, its work was very active, because young people are the main activists in these events, and this directorate is responsible for coordinating young people in this work. As for the political campaign

phase, the directorate has also had a lot of work, since FRELIMO in Cuamba relies, to a large extent, on young people participating in these activities.

According to the radio, collaboration with the DDCJD is normal, without any major issues to be raised. However, the volunteers said that, in general collaboration and openness of the district directorates is not so good, because the directors and other officials in these government bodies “never have time” to give information when the radio needs it.

“They don’t look at the radio volunteers as people who always need to be chasing information to give to the community. Sometimes when a director sees us arrive at his office, they ask straightaway: is something wrong? That’s because they think we only go looking for someone when there are problems, and they should answer to the causes or possible solution to these problems ” – Radio volunteer.

But it is important to mention that when the study for this book was being done, the volunteers were motivated by the UNESCO consultant to undertake small scale research in several district directorates, with the purpose of gathering information and data on the real situation concerning some of the areas for which these directorates are responsible²⁵. Most of these directorates supplied the information requested by the radio – however, the volunteers believe that “the information was given because the letters sent by the radio referred to the presence of a UNESCO consultant in Cuamba, who intended to make a study on the role and work of the radio in the electoral process”.

Non-Governmental Organizations

The radio collaborates well with most of the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) present in Cuamba, and has a relationship of great openness in terms of working partnerships. The radio volunteers confirm the willingness of many NGOs to support the radio in terms of transport, photocopying, and the production of joint programmes.

An important partnership is that between the community radio and IBIS, a Danish development organisation, which seeks out the radio’s services, whenever necessary, both to publicise its activities and to undertake upgrading activities for the activists of its future community radios²⁶. These upgrading activities, apart from allowing the radio trainers greater practice in the training area, also constitute a good source of fund-raising to the radio’s benefit.

OXFAM-Great Britain collaborates with the radio through its advocacy and lobbying area, with radio programmes aimed at peasants and farmers. It should be noted that, in terms of the partnership between OXFAM-GB and the radio, during the campaign to gather petitions for the World Trade Summit, OXFAM-GB took to this summit about 55,000 signatures and 5,000 voices recorded by the Cuamba Community Radio.

As for the programmes on the elections produced and broadcast by the radio, all the NGOs interviewed praised, very positively, the work of the radio. However, in the

²⁵ To write the introduction on Cuamba district, included in this case study, the volunteers were divided into thematic groups to gather information from various government bodies, such as: Directorates of Health, Education, Agriculture, among others, through interviews with representatives of these bodies.

²⁶ The Cuamba Community Radio has two trainers who have undertaken upgrading activities for the volunteers of the future IBIS community radios.

opinion of IBIS, the radio should have a role more of pressure, and of advocacy, in terms of putting pressure on the bodies responsible for certain matters that greatly concern the Cuamba community, including matters related to the elections. Also in the opinion of this organization, the radio should have a more journalistic and critical role, and not just an informative and educational one. It adds that this role is still further circumscribed with the existence of the Ten General Rules of Conduct, which bar the radio from making a more complete coverage of the electoral process. IBIS adds that the Ten Rules call into question the true role of a community radio, because if the radio belongs to the community, then the Community Radio Coordinating Nucleus cannot define rules without consulting the opinion of the communities to whom the radios belong.

The radio has provided services producing programmes, and recording advertising spots and music for some organisations of an economic character. The Cuamba Association of Economic Agents (AGECA) has also, within its means, supported the radio financially.

AGECA also thinks that the community radios should cover the entire electoral process, including the campaigns of the political parties, and in particular that they should grant adequate space so that the parties and their candidates can present their agendas and programmes. This economic association regretted the fact that the radio is not more “aggressive” in seeking out information, or more active in involving people from the community in its programmes.

The Support Office for Small Scale Initiatives (GAPI) has high praise for the work of the community radio, but points to the need for more research and a more creative approach.

“When we began our activities in Cuamba, there was not yet any community radio. When it appeared, it greatly facilitated our work, because it was now possible for us to advertise our services. Since we also work with peasants, who have no telephones or other easy means of communication, when we want to request the presence of some of them, we use the radio to call them.” – GAPI manager.

GAPI believes that the radio should introduce a programme on business behaviour and conduct because, according to the words of the GAPI manager, people in Cuamba do not have an open and creative spirit in terms of economic initiatives. Since Cuamba is an agricultural district, GAPI grants funds to support associations and small groups of peasants. GAPI says its doors are open to the radio to gather information on the services GAPI offers to the community. It also believes that the radio’s work in the electoral process should be based on transparency and impartiality, and should be more directed towards the civic education of voters.

“In the elections, the radio should be like the sun, which, when the time comes to rise, has nothing to do with who wants to get up and who does not want to ! The time has come, and the sun will shine with full transparency and impartiality for those who like it and those who don’t, with no desire to please either” – GAPI manager.

Despite the comments on a better role for the radio, in general, and on the electoral process in particular, the various NGOs draw up a positive balance sheet on the

electoral civic education programmes produced by the radio. They also regard as positive their own relations and collaboration with the community radio.

Men and Women from Mitúcuè Village, and Vendors from the Cuamba Markets

The radio has a very interesting relationship with this part of the population of Cuamba district. In the first place, the Cuamba Community Radio works for these people (and not only for them) as the community “telephone” or “postman”. For all purposes of communication between the people in the community, particularly in contact with people living in areas most distant from the city, the radio is a great “singing postman” bringing messages, statements, alerts and calls from some people to others.

“If I want to send a message to a relative who’s working in the field, I use the radio and at once the person receives my message” – A man from Mitúcuè village.

“Sometimes we want to announce the death of a person to all relatives and friends who are in different and distant places... We use the radio, and the message arrives at once” – woman from Mitúcuè.

“Messages, greetings wishing people good health, information on deaths, notice of the arrival of a relative coming from another district or province, we do all that through the community radio” – Vendor in the Central market.

The use of the radio for this purpose is so important that, in Mitúcuè, for instance, people have given a woman the job of collecting messages and information to be passed on to the radio. This woman collects the messages and the money to pay for the advertising space for the messages on the radio (a very symbolic fee that the radio charges for these services), and then goes into Cuamba city to deliver the information to the radio. This kind of message, which reaches the radio from all corners of the district, is broadcast on the radio every day, showing that people in the community have already integrated this communication vehicle into their daily routines.

But although this part of the relationship between the radio and the community is very positive, the difficulty in obtaining information from the public, particularly in relation to the elections, is still a major challenge for the “makers” of the radio.

The people are very timid when it comes to dealing with matters linked to the elections. This was shown during the interviews for this book, in Mitúcuè and in the Cuamba markets. People, particularly women, are reluctant to speak. A long conversation is always necessary for some people to grant an interview or even make a simple comment. These people immediately imagine that the purpose of the interview is to discover who they are going to vote for. Some are even willing to give an interview, but after it begins to enter upon electoral matters, they end up by “having nothing more to say”.

However, some interviews are always obtained, and based on them it is possible to gather the opinion of these people on the role and work of the radio in general, and particularly on the electoral coverage programme, and on how the electoral process is going in Cuamba.

“I always listen to the radio’s programmes, and I like a lot the programme on the municipal elections for the choice of our mayor... That’s all...” – Market seller.

“I like the community radio’s programme, but what is missing is for it to enter the national broadcast to complete the news, since it is important that we have information from other parts of the country. The programmes on municipal elections, health in the community, HIV/AIDS, traditional music, and words from the public are the programmes I normally listen to on the radio” – Market seller.

“I like listening to the community radio a lot. I like the programme on development, sport, culture and elections for the better future” – Market seller.

“I listen to and like the community radio. I listen to all the news programmes, useful information, health in the community, and elections for secret votes!” – Market seller.

“I listen to the radio, to its cultural programmes, health in the community, and electoral civic education to elect the best government... But I would like the radio to join in the national broadcast, so that we could hear RM Jornal “ – Mitúcuè Bicycle repairer.

Most of the people interviewed said they listen to and enjoy the programme on elections produced by the radio. When asked about the content of these programmes, they mention as the information they have heard from the radio the question of the vote being secret, the need for registration, the dates of the elections, and that the elections are to choose the best candidate. However, most are afraid to make any comment on how the electoral process is unfolding. They allege that “the chiefs” might not like what they are going to say. Or on the other hand, they state they have nothing to say on the subject.

“We’re going to vote. That’s all!” – A client at the market.

“I only know that I’m going to vote for the candidate I want... I have nothing more to say” – Market seller.

“About the elections in Cuamba? I’m following the campaigns of the political parties, and afterwards I’ll vote... That’s all” – Market seller.

Community Leaders

The community leaders give great importance to the radio, particularly as regards the role it plays in community development. All of the leaders interviewed showed great knowledge about the programmes broadcast by the radio, and confirmed their motivation in supporting the radio.

An example of the interest and value that the community leaders show towards the radio is the initiative of buying equipment so that the radio can pick up the national channel of Radio Mozambique (RM). Since the community has ceaselessly asked for the RM national channel, the Community Radio Management Committee held a meeting with community leaders to discuss the possibility of raising funds to buy the equipment. The community leaders made this purchase possible, through major awareness work among the community to win public support for buying the equipment. In the end, it raised

seven million meticaïs donated by the community. The equipment has not yet been purchased, since the money is still not enough, but the leaders believe that this was good collaboration from the community for the radio, and that they will be willing to contribute as much as possible in future for other initiatives that seek to benefit the community.

This experience is perhaps the only one in Mozambique so far in which the community has made such a large contribution towards its community radio.

As for the radio's electoral civic education programmes, the leaders think that they are very positive, educational and of great interest for the entire community.

"I like the civic education programmes because they teach people about how to choose their leaders. Were we to rely only on the civic activists for this, the information would not reach everybody" – community leader in Mitúcuè.

"Although Mitúcuè is an area that lies outside the Cuamba municipality, people here are used to listening to civic education programmes, and know what is happening in the municipality" – Elected judge in Mitúcuè.

"Here we are not going to vote, but we're following the information on the elections. As the queen here, I have the duty to follow what is going on and transmit it later to the other women." – Community leader in Mitúcuè, known as the Queen.

The radio's work in the electoral civic education area is, in the opinion of all the community leaders, very positive. However, they raised the problem of the lack of radio sets, mainly for people living outside the city. In Mitúcuè, for example, only three community leaders, and some other people on the outskirts have radio sets. The Queen of Mitúcuè does not own a radio set, although she is responsible for transmitting information to other women. She listens to other people's radio sets, whenever she has time available.

The community leaders also praised the work of the volunteers and expressed great concern at the question that they are working on a voluntary basis, without wages, while some of them have families to feed.

"The radio volunteers are our children, and they are doing a grand job, of great responsibility, and for the good of the community. We feel strongly about the fact that they receive nothing for this work. We have to find a solution for them..." – community leader, the head of one of the neighbourhoods in Cuamba city.

"Without the volunteers the radio is nothing! If one day they tire of working for nothing and arrange jobs, what will happen to our radio?" – Community leader, the head of one of the neighbourhoods in Cuamba city.

During a meeting with the Community Radio Management Committee²⁷, the community leaders approved the initiative of making efforts to win the collaboration of the community in raising funds to make it possible to provide the volunteers with a

²⁷ This meeting took place during the research for this book in Cuamba. It was requested by the UNESCO consultant, and some community leaders and members of the Radio Management Committee took part.

subsidy. It was decided that, as soon as possible, the community leaders and the Management Committee, would hold a meeting for further study of this proposal.

3.2. Rumours...

There follow some extracts of opinions that were labelled as “rumours” since they are statements and suppositions made by people and groups in Cuamba about the elections in general, and about the radio’s work in particular. For ethical reasons, no names or other information that might reveal the identity of those originating or spreading the rumours will be given.

The rumours that circulated in Cuamba...

After an incident of outright aggression between members and sympathisers of FRELIMO and Renamo in which posters were ripped up, the case went to the police and later to court. Who attacked who? Who ripped up whose posters? These questions rippled through the city in the form of rumours, but the fact is that RENAMO has its version: “FRELIMO members tore up our posters, and I went myself to present a complaint to the police. So imagine my surprise when the following day I was called upon to answer for RENAMO as the author of the crime! There was another complaint at the police from a FRELIMO member saying that we ripped up their posters and that we started the violence!” But the FRELIMO version is: “The RENAMO members ripped up our posters and attacked us. Then they went running to the police to present a complaint as if they were the innocent ones”.

The case went to court, and it is not known who is telling the truth. But the rumours circulating said that FRELIMO had torn up the RENAMO posters and started the aggression, but since the police belong to FRELIMO it changed the facts and the evidence in order to incriminate RENAMO.

We want to see how Mama Maria will handle her election campaign. A woman candidate! I’ve never seen this, I’m curious, very curious... – the words of various people, mostly women, in Cuamba city, concerning the RENAMO candidate for mayor, Maria Moreno.

Many rumours circulated in the streets, bars and markets, connecting the problem of Cuamba city’s water shortage to the elections. Here are some of those comments:

- There were people who put holes in the water pipes... The Municipal Council repaired them, so they put holes again! This is to damage the image of the ruling party and make people very angry, so that they vote when they’re angry and choose another candidate...
- If the radio were covering the problems of the political parties’ campaigns properly, it could investigate and publicise the situation, but since it can’t, we’re just waiting to see what will happen, and suffering from the shortage of water...
- The radio should deal properly with this problem of the water and the elections, because if the radio doesn’t transmit the information that the candidates go around telling people in their campaigns, people are not going to vote consciously, they’re going to vote motivated by discontent at the water shortage...

- I only wanted to hear the speeches of the candidates on the radio, I even bought a radio for this, but now I'm very unhappy... – Phrase overheard in a Cuamba city restaurant.

4. Assessment of the experience of the Cuamba Community Radio in the 2003 Local Elections

Cuamba district is rather “isolated” from the rest of the country. For reasons of distance and the conditions of the roads, it is less difficult for the people of Cuamba to reach Nampula city than the Niassa provincial capital, Lichinga.

In recent years, Cuamba district has faced a serious problem of water and electricity shortages, always in the months of November to December²⁸. This situation completely changes people's daily routines. At this time of year, every day, between 04.00 and 06.00 in the morning they leave their houses looking for water, so that they can at least drink something and wash. These are the same people who later present themselves at their workplaces, in offices, at schools, hospitals, farms and... also at the community radio.

Public transport to various parts of the district scarcely exists, and so it is always very difficult to travel between the city and the localities.

As for progress in communications, Cuamba still lacks some basic advances such as the ability to tune into the national channel of Radio Mozambique and Mozambican Television. The Cuamba Community Radio is the only radio station truly present in this district, and with the absence of television and of the written press, this fact makes the community radio a major centre of attention, on the part of people at various levels within the community.

In Cuamba the community radio is very new. Its almost experimental nature plus the enormous expectations of the community, make the work of this small radio station a major challenge. And the challenge is still greater, when one speaks of the radio's work in the electoral process, since Cuamba is also the stage for strong political tension, mainly between FRELIMO and RENAMO.

Thus, before embarking on an analysis of the experience of this community radio during the local elections, it is only just to look at some factors which, directly or indirectly, have a major impact on its work.

The conditions under which the radio operates:

²⁸ At this time of year, the main sources supplying water to Cuamba dry up. The dam that provides electricity depends on the same sources. This causes a period of serious shortage of water and electricity for Cuamba, and particularly for the municipal part of the district.

Like all the community radios, the work of this radio is based on volunteers. Since they are responsible for the entire production of radio programmes, the volunteers are a main focus in the approach to the radio's electoral civic education programmes.

The radio does not pay wages to the volunteers, since it is in the nature of volunteers that they "offer" to provide services to the benefit of the community. And in this radio the volunteers do not feel very comfortable with this role as "genuine volunteers". Their opinion is that the radio should at least guarantee a certain payment for the work of the volunteers, who are mostly fathers, mothers and heads of household. This feeling on the part of the volunteers is greatly strengthened by the community itself which always praises these volunteers for doing a great and important job, but without any payment at all. Since the community is always raising this question of payment, the radio volunteers are now making demands, saying that the radio ought to reward the effort and commitment of its volunteers, both morally and financially. All this is causing a certain lack of motivation among the volunteers. They continue with their work but with the feeling that the radio is showing "profound ingratitude" towards them.

But although there is this apparent lack of motivation among the volunteers, the radio's work has continued in the best way possible. The volunteers are very dedicated to their work and try, as far as they can, to comply with their tasks and produce programmes that meet the community's expectations.

When the electoral process was under way, the water crisis had already begun, and this also had an impact on the radio, because the volunteers often had to abandon their work to take a lift offered by someone to go and fetch water from the Mitúcuè area, which is about 30 minutes by car from Cuamba city.

The water crisis leads to a shortage of electricity and, in this period, there are lengthy intervals in the radio broadcasts, because the radio generator is not yet working to the full. When there is no power, one cannot record, or use the computer, or do any other work on the radio premises, since without electricity, the building is very dark even by day. And with no power, the air conditioner, installed so that the studio equipment does not suffer damage, also comes to a halt. Since Cuamba is an area characterised by very high temperatures in the final months of the year, the radio equipment is always subject to short stoppages to cool down.

Thus this whole situation influences the work of the radio and the performance of its volunteers. But despite this, the radio is operating, and the people who work on the radio every day always find alternatives to overcome these day-to-day obstacles.

Out of all the editorial groups, the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group is the one with the largest number of members (15). It plans its activities jointly and with great support from the mobiliser. Although only 2 members of this group participated in the UNESCO Media Project's training courses on electoral coverage, the other members are accompanying and doing their work in a balanced way.

As for material resources, tape recorders are the radio's major dilemma. The tape recorders which are currently being used by the radios are the same ones that were provided by UNESCO before the radio was set up, and which also served for training purposes and for the volunteers' practice in using such equipment. The tape recorders

were used when the volunteers were learning how to use them, and later they were also used for the actual work of the radio. So these machines are already “tired” and have many problems. There are times when the volunteers use them for an interview, and when they try and broadcast it on the radio, find that nothing has been recorded.

As for the organisation and management of the other material, such as cassettes, paper and batteries, the radio has a very well organised archive, and proper management of stocks.

But the lack of informative material with contents on the themes of the programmes is also a great shortcoming in this radio. The electoral coverage programme is the only one that has a support manual aimed at the work of community radios. The other programmes produced by the radio need at least small guiding materials, and material containing information that can inspire the production of better quality programmes, that are more creative, and aimed more at matters that are a great priority for the community.

Community collaboration:

The community’s participation in the radio’s work on the elections is not what would be desired. The makers of the radio still have many difficulties in obtaining interviews, both with the public and with the local structures. And during the interviews for the research for this book, it was possible to prove the existence of this problem. It is only with the greatest of difficulty that, people, particularly women, are persuaded to give interviews to the radio. People like to send messages over the radio to friends and relatives, they like the radio coming to their towns and villages to record traditional music, and talk with the musicians, and the people even talk with the radio about various problems to do with their precarious living conditions, but things change completely when it comes to talking about anything connected with the elections.

Most people show a certain fear in talking about matters to do with the elections, and the volunteers always have to make a great effort to explain and to convince them to answer questions. One interesting fact is that even the people who give interviews or even simple information to the radio mostly don’t like to give their names. This may be explained by the fact that Cuamba is a district where “everybody knows about the life of everybody else”. So people fear that they will immediately be identified on the radio, and perhaps censured for what they say, or that their words may generate some conflict with the members of another political party. So it is a great challenge for the radio to ensure that its work during electoral processes is based on community participation.

The programmes produced by the radio:

Taking into account all the difficulties that the radio is going through, particularly during the electoral process, caused on the one hand by the political divergences that point to the radio as having a certain leaning towards the ruling party, and, on the other, by the water and electricity crisis, as well as the motivation and demotivation of the volunteers, it may be said that the programmes produced by this radio are greatly to be praised. The community radio is not only very new in Cuamba; it is also the only one of the media genuinely present in the district. Thus the pressure and expectations that fall on the radio surpass its real capacity to respond.

From what could be ascertained during the research, the radio coordinator does not participate actively in planning and producing the electoral coverage programme. But whenever a small mistake is detected in the programmes broadcast, the coordinator meets with the mobiliser and the volunteers to draw their attention to the shortcomings. But the volunteers believe that he never gives them ideas as to how to overcome these failings and merely makes criticisms which are not constructive.

In terms of broadcasting, the civic education and electoral coverage programme is not on the list of radio programmes, but it is broadcast in both transmissions, in Portuguese and Macua. This programme was also repeated during the week, but a week before voting day, the radio decided to repeat the programme more frequently and to give daily news casts on the elections, including the granting of daily broadcasting time for the political parties and/or their candidates to present their agenda and programmes.

The decision on granting the broadcasting time, and how granting this space would respect the Ten General Rules of Conduct were discussed between the Management Committee, the volunteers and some community leaders, during a meeting held by the UNESCO consultant charged with carrying out this research. This meeting also discussed the need to step up information about the act of voting, and more intensive efforts to make people aware about voting. As a result of discussing this second item, the radio decided to transmit an exhortation three times a day, with the objective of encouraging people to go to the polling stations. This exhortation was written by the management committee.

In accordance with the planning table, the programmes were planned and produced, taking into account the electoral process timetable, that is, starting with themes related to the registration, and ending with ones concerned with the voting.

Thus the programmes produced by the RCC on civic education and electoral coverage are very positive in terms of their real objectives, even with the whole internal and external conflictual situation of the environment surrounding the radio.

Compliance with the Ten General Rules of Conduct:

- The programmes of awareness and mobilisation for voter registration were produced in the period when the registration campaigns were under way.
- In the content of some programmes, the gender perspective is very clear.
- No tender has been held so far and there has been no assessment of perceptions on civic education. No specific fund for this area has been raised by the radio.
- The political parties were all informed about the RCC policy on electoral coverage, and were also informed about the Ten Rules of Conduct for Community Radios, as well as conditions under which programmes concerned with electoral coverage would be broadcast.
- The civic education and electoral coverage programmes were broadcast in the Portuguese and Macua transmissions.
- No political party propaganda material was posted on the RCC premises, but very frequently people wearing propaganda T-shirts or caps, or carrying posters, approached the radio to talk or simply to stay in the shade of the trees in front of the radio premises.

However, the radio volunteers were always attentive to these situations, and explained to these people that they could not come inside the radio under those conditions.

- So far, there have been no signs of exchanges of favours between the RCC staff, that is, the radio volunteers, technician, mobiliser and coordinator, with the political parties and/or their candidates. But during the campaign of the political parties, some members of the Radio Management Committee openly took part in campaign activities on behalf of one political party.

- So far there have been no reasons for the RCC to denounce any attempts at intimidation, conspiracy, corruption or other kinds of enticement that endanger the regulations and proper operations of the radio. However, a community radio volunteer has publicly denounced the radio and one of the political parties, alleging that there is conspiracy and politically-based intimidation over the radio's work and against some of its volunteers.

Final Note:

Bearing the above in mind, it may be said that the Cuamba Community Radio (RCC) has done a great job in its civic education and electoral coverage activity.

The programmes produced by the radio on electoral coverage are interesting and, as far as possible, they are creative, and are tending to improve. According to the community to whom these programmes are directed, the radio's work is very positive, although there remain some small problems concerned with stoppages in the transmission, something which is outside the radio's control. And, although they are not as participatory as would be desirable, the programmes in the form of drama bring another dynamic in the clarity and objectivity of the messages, since people have also shown that they greatly enjoy this kind of programme format. Also praiseworthy is the care taken by this radio in complying with the Ten General Rules of Conduct, both in programme production, and in the internal performance of the radio and its relations with other political and civil bodies in the district. However, one negative factor is the poor involvement of the coordinator in planning and producing these programmes, since one expects that community radio coordinators should act as a kind of assessor of the volunteers, particularly in periods such as elections, when a great deal of care and attention should be lavished on the radio's work as a whole.

The support manual drawn up by the UNESCO Media Project – “Production of Electoral Civic Education Programmes” – is an instrument designed especially for the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group. But, according to the volunteers, this, and other materials offered to the radio during courses and on other occasions, is not very accessible to the volunteers. There is a certain bureaucracy in this radio which includes access to informational material, and the willingness to obtain basic documents on the radio, such as the policies, regulations and other internal provisions for the operation and organisation of the radio. An example of this is that, when one wishes to consult certain radio documents, these are never accessible, because they are in the coordinator's office. Some of the volunteers have never used the support manual on producing electoral civic education programmes, because it is not normally available.

As for the radio's internal relations, these need greater openness and transparent dialogue, since relations between the volunteers, the coordination and the Radio Association, represented by the Management Committee are rather troubled for various

reasons to do with the lack of motivation among the volunteers because the Association is not paying them, with rumours about the political party affiliations of most members of the Radio Management Committee, and also with divergences between the volunteers and the radio coordination, because of the allegation that the coordinator is “rather absent” in relation to the problems faced by the volunteers.

When it comes to links with political parties, there are many connotations, and even accusations and criticisms of a visible political leaning of the radio. Although there is little concrete evidence of this, some events and information made clear that, in certain cases, the radio is controlled by the ruling party. There are also “rumours” circulating in the community about intimidation and threats made against the radio or its volunteers in political terms. And even if such rumours cannot be proved, this situation raises doubts as to the impartiality of the radio, although it does not have a negative influence on the credibility that most of the community still invests in the radio.

The fact that some members of the Radio Management Committee participate in political party campaigns during the election period should be studied further by the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus, since this situation impacts negatively on the radio.

In Cuamba, the divergences between the two main parties, FRELIMO and RENAMO, affect the radio. Perhaps because this is the only one of the media present in this district, the radio becomes involved in party conflicts, and even in the personal conflicts of members or sympathisers of these parties, who are also part of the radio.

The political parties in Cuamba are always attentive to every step taken by the radio, and the information that it broadcasts, always with the purpose of assessing its failings in relation to one or other party. For the politicians and others interested in politics, the community radio is regarded as a powerful instrument for supporting political parties, mainly before and during an election process. This is because, in the first place, the Cuamba community thinks the radio is very important and pays a lot of attention to the information it transmits, and secondly to the importance that both the political parties, and their sympathisers, give to the radio’s role in mobilising people in the community.

The radio’s initiative in granting equal broadcasting time for the candidates to present their agenda and programmes, to some extent responded to the concerns of some bodies and individuals about the Ten General Rules of Conduct, fearing that they were, above all, a means to achieve other ends such as “damaging the campaigns of the political parties”.

To sum up, the role and work of the Cuamba Community Radio, during the 2003 local elections, was very disturbed, due to the political climate and its impact on the radio. However, despite all this tense political climate, allied to other factors such as the internal relations between radio staff, living conditions in Cuamba district and municipality at the time of the elections, and the various levels of relations and collaboration between the radio and the community, the RCC managed to produce civic education and electoral coverage programmes of quality and interest for the community, without deviating from the purposes and goals of its civic activity, impartiality in approaching themes, and maintaining what is regarded as most vital – its credibility in the community.

Sustainability:

In terms of activities for its own sustainability, the RCC has none. Some proposals have been discussed between the volunteers, the Executive Directorate, and the radio Management Committee. Opening a radio social centre is one of the main initiatives right now, but the possibility of implementing this still requires a profound analysis in terms of resources, sustainability and short and long term benefits for the radio itself.

However, there are many international organisations operating in Cuamba district and these, as far as possible, have developed some partnerships with the radio, particularly in advertising, producing programmes on the areas in which these organisations work, training (given by the radio trainers to the activists of other community radios, especially the new radios of IBIS – a Danish development organisation), and broadcasting announcements and messages. This form of partnership has been becoming ever more dynamic, since the RCC is currently the only medium truly present in Cuamba.

The radio should develop efforts and strategies so as to make the best use of these locally existing opportunities for partnerships.

II. Comparative analysis of the three cases

- The Dondo Community Radio, in Dondo district
- The Geson Community Radio, in Chimoio city
- The Cuamba Community Radio, in Cuamba district

1. Instrument for comparative analysis

In order to undertake a comparative analysis of the three cases, a specific instrument for analysis for this end was designed. This analytical instrument is based on 4 analytical tables which allow a parallel comparison between the three cases, that is, a comparison between the Dondo, Geson and Cuamba Community Radios.

The elements of comparison for the different cases were inserted based on: i) the findings made during the research and ii) the research results.

Thus the 4 analytical tables focus on the following:

Analytical Table 1 – The Community Radio

Analytical Table 2 - The civic education and electoral coverage programme

Analytical Table 3 – The political situation and its impact on the radio

Analytical Table 4 – General conclusions

2. Comparative analysis

The comparative tables are as follows:

2.1. The Community Radio - Table 1

	Dondo Community Radio	Geson Community Radio	Cuamba Community Radio
Status of the place where the radio is located	Dondo – District capital	Chimoio – Provincial Capital City	Cuamba - District capital
Geographical location	In Sofala province, in the centre of the country, 30 km from the provincial capital, Beira city	In Manica province, in the centre of the country	In Niassa province, in the north of the country, 300 km from the provincial capital, Lichinga city
Population	118.000	172.506	172.212
How the radio was born	On the initiative of a local association	On the initiative of a local association	Encouraged by UNESCO
Radius of coverage, times and languages of broadcasting	50 Km 6 hours of broadcasting Sena, Ndau and Portuguese	75 Km 19 hours of broadcasting Chimanika, Chiuté and Portuguese	100 Km 18 hours of broadcasting Macua and Portuguese
When the radio began broadcasts	2000	2001	2000
Structure and organisation of the radio	The radio is managed by an association, through a management committee and operates with an executive coordination and a group of volunteers	The radio is managed by an association, through a management committee and operates with an executive coordination and a group of volunteers	The radio is managed by an association, through a management committee, and operates with an executive coordination and a group of volunteers
Total number of volunteers on the radio	70	48	65

2.2. The civic education and electoral coverage programme - Table 2

		Dondo Community Radio	Geson Community Radio	Cuamba Community Radio
Programme planning and production	Who does it?	The volunteers (Electoral Coverage Editorial Group) with the participation and supervision of the mobiliser and the coordinator	The volunteers (Electoral Coverage Editorial Group) with the participation of the mobiliser and supervised by the coordinator	The volunteers (Electoral Coverage Editorial Group) supervised by the mobiliser
	How is it done?	Monthly and weekly planning, with a system of rotating tasks and the active participation of the mobiliser and coordinator in production and broadcasting	Weekly planning with a system of rotating tasks and the active participation of the mobiliser in production and broadcasting	Weekly planning, with a system of rotating tasks, and the participation and supervision of the mobiliser in production and broadcasting
Programmes produced	Quantity	8	4	4
	Themes	1 – Replacement of slips by cards, publicising Law 19/2002, 2 – balance sheet on replacement of slips, 3 - ABC of voting	1 – How to elect the Mayor of your Municipality, 2 – Events in the phase of updating the cards, 3 – The voting	1 – Civic education for registration, 2 – Electoral terms, 3 – The Ten General Rules of Conduct, 4 - The candidates and their agendas
	Programme format	Drama – 2 Informative and educational – 6	Drama - 3 Informative and educational - 1	Drama – 2 Informative and educational - 1
	Languages	Portuguese and Sena	Portuguese	Portuguese and Macua
	Objectives, messages and language	Clear objectives Interesting and up-to-date messages, nut with heavy use of a language which sounds written and with complicated terms	Clear objectives Interesting messages, but with heavy use of a more juvenile languages	Clear objectives Interesting and understandable messages, with the use of adequate language
Opinion of some organisations, and of the public at large, about the radio's programmes	Election Commission/STAE	Positive	Positive	Negative
	Local government	Impossible to obtain	Positive	Impossible to obtain
	Political parties	Positive	Positive	Positive
	Civil society associations	Positive	Positive	Positive
	Community leaders	Did not listen to the programme	Impossible to obtain	Positive

	Public at large	Positive	Positive	Positive
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2.3. The political situation and its impact on the radio - Table 3

	Dondo			Chimoio		Cuamba	
Political parties standing candidates in the local elections	RENAMO	FRELIMO	IPADE	RENAMO	FRELIMO	RENAMO	FRELIMO
Relations between the political parties and the community radio	<i>In the opinion of the Party:</i> normal <i>In the opinion of the radio:</i> not very active	<i>In the opinion of the Party:</i> Impossible to obtain information. <i>In the opinion of the radio:</i> normal	<i>In the opinion of the Party:</i> Not active. <i>In the opinion of the radio:</i> only in using services provided by the radio to the community (photocopies, etc)	<i>In the opinion of the Party :</i> The radio mostly serves the interests of the ruling party <i>In the opinion of the radio:</i> Normal	<i>In the opinion of the Party:</i> Good relation (although largely because the Geson Association includes members and sympathisers of this party) <i>In the opinion of the radio:</i> Normal	<i>In the opinion of the Party:</i> Relation not very healthy because they believe the radio has been completely politicised by the ruling party. <i>In the opinion of the radio:</i> Not very active	<i>In the opinion of the Party:</i> Normal (apparently because the Cuamba Radio Association contains many members and sympathisers of this party) <i>In the opinion of the radio:</i> Normal
Political connotation of the radio, in the community's opinion	There is no visible connotation			Connoted with the FRELIMO Party		Strong connotation with the FRELIMO Party	
Main rumours circulating in the community concerning political pressure on the Community Radio	The radio has been impartial, although its impartiality is doubted a little at the time of the campaigns by the political parties and their candidates			The radio is under great pressure from the ruling party, and approves the censorship of this party against information to be broadcast about the opposition party		The radio is heavily dominated by the ruling party. The opposition party does not recognise it as a community radio, but as a partisan one	
Position of the radio towards political pressure	Use of the Ten General Rules of Conduct to avoid this pressure			Use of the Ten General Rules of Conduct to avoid this pressure		Use of the Ten General Rules of Conduct to avoid this pressure	
	Strive for impartiality, even with the existence of political pressure			Strive for impartiality, even with the existence of political pressure		Strive for impartiality, even with the existence of political pressure	

2.4. – General conclusions - Table 4

		Dondo Community Radio	Geson Community Radio	Cuamba Community Radio
Environment	Internal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good relations and collaboration between the executive coordination and the volunteers - The Management Committee does not participate much in the radio's work on civic education and electoral coverage - Volunteers greatly motivated to work on the radio, despite the difficulties encountered - Lack of operational tape recorders and enough cassettes for the work of the volunteers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The relation between the executive coordination and the volunteers is not so good - The Management Committee does not participate actively in the radio's work on civic education and electoral coverage - There is a certain demotivation on the part of the volunteers, because they work without pay - Lack of operational tape recorders and cassettes for the volunteers' work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Problems in the relationship and collaboration between the executive coordination and the volunteers - The volunteers feel a lack of moral support and compensation from the Management Committee for their effort and work - More active participation of the Management Committee in the radio's civic education and electoral coverage work - Lack of operation tape recorders for the volunteers' work
	External	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tense political climate, but without a major negative impact on he radio - Not much pressure from political parties on the radio - The radio has no party connotation - It is difficult to obtain interviews about the elections from members of the community, particularly women - Many people, particularly in the villages, do not possess radio sets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tense political climate with a certain negative impact on the radio - Existence of a certain pressure from the political parties on the radio - Party connotation of the radio - The people in the community are more open to granting interviews, but the radio takes very little advantage of this opportunity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Very tense political climate with a negative impact on the radio - Great pressure from the political parties on the radio - Strong party connotation of the radio - It is difficult to obtain interviews about the elections from people in the community, particularly women - Many people, mainly in the villages, do not possess radio sets

The civic education and electoral coverage programmes	Positive aspects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clear objectives and interesting and up-to-date messages - Inclusion of the opinion of some citizens, both men and women - Both men and women in the reading - Use of the drama format - Translation of the programmes from Portuguese into Sena - Interview with the chairperson of the District Elections Commission 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clear objectives and interesting messages, though not so up-to-date - Use of the drama format - Clear language - Explanation of the more complicated terms - Interview with the Director of STAE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clear objectives and interesting and up-to-date messages - Use of the drama format - Clear language - Granting of broadcasting time for the candidates and their agendas - Men and women in the reading and the dramas - Programmes in Portuguese and translated into Macua. Integration of the gender perspective into the drama
	Negative aspects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Heavy use of a language that sounds written and with use of complicated terms - Repetition of themes, although with contents that are a little different - The reader has difficulty in reading some information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Only programmes in Portuguese - Heavy use of a more juvenile language, with the inclusion of youth slang - Use of similar dramas with the same content, just changing the figures - More men than women in reading and in the dramas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Verbatim reading of a document - Failure to include the opinion of citizens and of bodies linked to the elections in the district

Impact of the radio's work in the community	Strong points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People liked the radio programmes on electoral civic education - In the opinion of the majority, the radio's work was very positive - People thought that the radio's information on the elections was educational - CDE/STAE attributed much of the mass turnout at the voter registration posts to the work of the radio - Most people approved of the Ten General Rules of Conduct and thought them very useful 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People liked the radio's work in the elections - People are able to pick up a variety of radio stations, but the majority listen to the Community Radio - CPE/STAE attributed much of the mass turnout at the voter registration posts to the work of the radio - The political parties give much importance and value to the community radio and paid attention to the information broadcast about the elections, though more to confirm whether or not the radio had any political party leaning - Most people approved of the Ten General Rules of Conduct and thought them very useful 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Community Radio is the only one of the media genuinely present in the district - People think the radio's work is very valuable and important, including its work on the elections - People liked the radio's programmes on electoral civic education, although in terms of political parties, some felt they had been "excluded" - The civil society associations approved of the radio's work, although they thought it should provide full electoral coverage
	Weak points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The local government and the political parties pay more attention to the programmes and information on the elections on the RM national channel than to the Community Radio - People regretted that the radio does not travel to the villages to talk with people, and particularly with women, about the elections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Many people think the radio is "very juvenile", and hence many programmes on elections were more aimed at a young public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CDE/STAE thinks the radio should have a different role in the elections, and so it did not collaborate much with the radio - Many people do not agree with the Ten General Rules of Conduct, and do not think that they are useful

Chapter Three

I. Lessons learnt

For the first time in Mozambique, all the community radios were involved in civic education and electoral coverage.

Also for the first time, a series of rules for the community radios working in electoral processes was drawn up by the Community Radio Coordinating Nucleus – the body which covers all the community radios in the country.

And this book results from research that is a first approach to the experience of the Community Radios in Mozambican elections.

Thus the entire experience in itself of the role and performance of the Dondo, Geson and Cuamba Community Radios as well as the impact of this experience on the communities in which these radios are inserted constitutes a major lesson learnt.

However, as in all learning processes, it is important to indicate the main mistakes made and the major successes achieved, so as to identify potential areas and elements for intervention in the short, medium and long terms.

Below the main findings are summarised on the positive and negative aspects arising from the experience of the Community Radios that were the subject of the study:

Internal to the radios

- The failure of the Radio Association and Management Committee to participate actively in following the planning, production and transmission of programmes makes a difference in the result of the programmes produced and broadcast.
- The relationship and collaboration between the executive coordination and the radio volunteers, apart from providing a healthy environment of togetherness, is a basic element for more organised work with better results.
- Good planning of the programmes to be produced, particularly on the themes, format, sources to be contacted and language to be used, results in a more positive programme in terms of quality and impact on the community.
- The discontent of the volunteers because they are working without payment or subsidies is a reality which is becoming a very serious matter for the Community Radios, since it is contributing, on the one hand, to some volunteers leaving, and on the other, to a certain lack of motivation among the volunteers in carrying out their work for the radio.
- It was shown that the training courses held by the UNESCO Media Project provided great support and motivation to the Community Radios, both in terms of giving the radios more trained human resources, and in contributing towards the individual growth of the volunteers.
- The support manual drawn up by the UNESCO Media Project on Producing Electoral Civic Education Programmes is so far the only didactic material, containing more explanatory information, which the radios possess to carry out their job in electoral processes.

- The volunteers' lack of creativity in producing more interesting programmes on the elections is to a large extent blamed on the fact that this theme is new, and also because of the volunteers' fear that they may go outside of the rules of conduct and the recommendations on the role of community radios in electoral processes.
- The lack of sufficient material resources in good working order prevents more dynamic and flexible work by the "makers" of the (mainly tape recorders, cassettes, computers, notebooks and pens).

External to the radios

- Living conditions in the communities where the radios are installed have a great influence on the work of the radios and on the commitment and availability of the volunteers.
- The disturbed political situation experienced in the communities where the radios are located always influences aspects linked to radio, such as the idea about the radio's impartiality, whether or not it leans towards a political party, the sense of the community as a whole that the radio "belongs" to it, and which also contributes towards rumours about political pressures or the politicisation of the radio
- When people linked to the community radios belong to, sympathise with, or take part in activities of political parties, this strengthens the ideas about "partisan leanings" of the radio, and hence help call into question the radio's impartiality and transparency.
- Personal divergences between people linked to the community radios and members of political parties end up influencing the radio's work and its credibility among the community.
- The fact that many people in the communities where the radios are located still display a certain timidity, reluctance or fear to speak to the radio about matters linked to the elections, constitutes a major obstacle in the path of the radio undertaking more participatory work.
- The inability of many people in the communities where the radios are operating to purchase radio sets is a negative and determinant factor for the impact of the radio's work
- The lack of collaboration or an unhealthy relation between the radio and some of the bodies that are most important in electoral processes has a negative impact on the radio's work.

II. Final considerations:

- ❑ Despite all the difficulties encountered, internally and externally, the community radios were able to undertake praiseworthy work during the electoral process, in terms of programmes produced and the performance of the volunteers. However, there were some opportunities that the radios were unable to make use of, so as to improve still further their programmes, and make them more interesting and participatory. The radios did not organise themselves or plan properly so as to deal with their work in the electoral process in a better way.
- ❑ In the communities where the community radios were working on electoral civic education, the electoral bodies and other entities attributed the mass turnout of citizens at the registration posts to the work undertaken by these radios in the education, mobilisation and awareness of the electorate. However, these same bodies, although they recognise the role played by the radios in these processes, did not offer the support and collaboration that would have been truly desirable to the radios, so that the results might have been still more satisfactory.
- ❑ The communities where the community radios are installed gave a positive welcome to the involvement of their radios in the electoral process. Mostly, they praised the work done by these radios. However, the communities themselves did not make a desirable contribution to the work of the radios during the election period.
- ❑ The entire process that included the regional seminars on the role of the Community Radios and how they could participate in electoral procedures, and which culminated in the drafting of the Ten General Rules of Conduct, was lengthy, but necessary, since the Ten General Rules of Conduct for Community Radios during Electoral Processes has proved to be a useful and necessary document, of great value to the Community Radios in strengthening and guiding their work at election times.
- ❑ The training courses on Electoral Coverage in Community Radios, held by the UNESCO Media Project were fruitful. However, the Community Radios still need more upgrading, taking into account the experience of the 2003 local elections.
- ❑ The UNESCO Media Project support manual is a very useful and practical instrument for the Community Radios. However, the radios did not know how to make deeper use of this document of practical learning in producing civic education and electoral coverage programmes.

III. Recommendations

Taking into account the experiences of the Dondo, Cuamba and Geson Community Radios, in particular, and thinking about the involvement of the Community Radios in general, in forthcoming electoral processes, we are making the following recommendations:

For the Community Radios:

- 1) Planning and production of the civic education and electoral coverage programmes should be undertaken with greater collaboration and active accompaniment by the Management Committee, the coordinator and the mobiliser.
- 2) The civic education and electoral coverage programmes should always obey monthly and weekly planning, a good choice of themes, and the format most appropriate to the programme bearing in mind the type of information that it is desired to transmit. They should use very simple language, without complicated terminology, with an appropriate choice of sources, and should always strive for up-to-date information.
- 3) Volunteers or members of staff who have the chance to participate in training courses should always plan together with the executive coordination how to improve the skills of other volunteers.
- 4) The information materials offered to the radio should always be available to the volunteers, and the basic documents on the radio's operations and the rules it adopts should be known and available to all those involved in the radio.
- 5) Whenever necessary, the support manual on Producing Electoral Civic Education Programmes should be consulted, or should even be used as a basis in the planning, production and broadcasting of programmes.
- 6) Bearing in mind that some institutions, organisations and political parties criticise or try to exert pressure on the radio, the Ten General Rules of Conduct serve as a strong defence, for the radios to impose their position.
- 7) The radio managers should discuss, together with the volunteers, and with community participation and contribution, the problem raised about paying subsidies or other incentives to the radio volunteers particularly now that the Community Radios are involved in electoral processes, and there is always a risk of politicians corrupting volunteers.
- 8) The Community Radios should discuss and define strategies for greater community involvement and participation in the civic education and electoral coverage programmes.

- 9) The Community Radios should take a broader and more strategic view of the involvement and participation of women, both in the work of the radio, and in how it directs its programmes and information on the elections.
- 10) The volunteers who form part of the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group should know the electoral legislation better and the existing informational materials on the various phases of the electoral process under way.
- 11) The Community Radios should at all costs keep an archive of all the programmes and all the information broadcast about the elections, for at least two or three months after the end of the electoral process.
- 12) In the course of an electoral process, the Community Radios should seek a form to identify the volunteers charged with producing the civic education and electoral coverage programmes (e.g. temporary badges or credentials that identify the volunteers as responsible for these radio programmes).
- 13) During election periods, members of the Radio Association and of the Radio Management Committee should refrain from participating in the electoral campaigns of political parties, even outside of their radio duties.
- 14) The Community Radios should denounce, whenever necessary, acts of intimidation or other threats made against their staff or their volunteers, even if only to the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus, in the event of any fear for the consequences that might occur if the denunciations are made to the local structures.
- 15) When there is any major doubt about a more creative and different way of presenting the Civic Education and Electoral Coverage programmes, the Community Radios should seek opinion and advice from the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus.

For the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus:

- 1) There is a great need to extend the discussion on a clearer and more practical way of explaining the benefit and usefulness to the Community Radios of the Ten General Rules of Conduct to the main bodies present in the communities where the radios are established.
- 2) Experience has shown that the discussion on the norms and rules of conduct for Community Radios in electoral processes should be expanded to the role and performance of the Associations and of the members of the Community Radio Management Committees (Possibly, the definition of explicit rules of conduct for members of the Association and of the Management Committee).
- 3) Prior to the start of a phase in the electoral process, the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus should inevitably contact the electoral bodies and the political parties present in the communities where the radios are operating in relation to the radio's work during this period. (In this case, it becomes very

important to establish a more active liaison and collaboration between the radios and the Coordination Nucleus in terms of knowledge about planning the work the radio will undertake, and about the main problems the radio is facing in terms of collaboration with the community).

- 4) At crucial moments in the electoral process, the Electoral Coverage Editorial Group deserves more permanent support from the Coordination Nucleus in terms of overcoming the difficulties encountered, internally and externally, during its work on the elections (e.g. send small monthly reports from this group to the Coordination Nucleus).
- 5) The Coordination Nucleus should seek ways and means of supporting the Community Radios in terms of material resources for their work in general, and in particular so that the radio is duly prepared to work during an electoral process.

For the Electoral Bodies (Elections Commission and STAE):

- 1) Although the civic education materials and other material relevant for an electoral process are often not available in sufficient quantities to meet the real needs of the work of civic educators and others, the Community Radios should merit priority in obtaining these materials, as happens normally with the other mass media to whom the electoral bodies give priority.
- 2) At local level (district, provincial capital, among others), the electoral bodies should be concerned with obtaining detailed and correct information on the role and work of the Community Radios in electoral processes so that they can collaborate and make a better contribution to the radios.
- 3) Information on how relevant events in the electoral process are unfolding should be shared by the electoral bodies with the Community Radios, even if the latter do not later broadcast this information, for various reasons.
- 4) The electoral bodies should be aware that the Community Radios are important media, sometimes more important than the other public sector media of national or provincial scope, when it comes to reaching the communities where these radios are located.

For the political parties standing candidates in the elections:

- 1) It is very necessary that the political parties present in the communities where the Community Radios operate should be better informed about the role and work of the radio during an electoral process, including paying greater attention to the information broadcast by the radio, so as not to make unfounded allegations and criticisms against the radio.

- 2) The political parties should try to understand better whether the fact that some of the radio's members may belong to or sympathise with a political party politicises the radio, or whether the radio's work is really impartial, despite this fact.
- 3) The political parties should help the community Radios be more dedicated to their role in electoral processes, rather than trying to exert pressure and divert the radio to a less ethical and less transparent role.
- 4) If they have any comments on the Ten General Rules of Conduct for Community Radios, the political parties should send them to the Community Radio Coordination Nucleus, rather than leaving them as criticisms or suspicions raised locally against the radios.
- 5) The political parties and their candidates should inform themselves better, from the radios, about the forms and rules adopted for covering election campaigns and making broadcasting time available.

For the UNESCO Media Project

- 1) In the next training activities for Community Radio staff in matters of civic education and electoral coverage, a specific model should be included on strategies and means to ensure community involvement and participation.
- 2) If possible, try to find a way for the UNESCO Media Project to have access to the first programmes produced by the radios on the elections, so that it may give support in a practical way, more centred on the real difficulties of each radio, in order to improve the succeeding programmes.
- 3) The UNESCO Media Project should develop a simple and practical analytical instrument so that the radios may be capable of following, for themselves, how their work in electoral processes is unfolding. This instrument could be a complement to the support manual for the production of civic education and electoral coverage programmes, and should include elements of analysis based on the contents of the training courses held by UNESCO.
- 4) Bearing in mind that the Community Radios have a great sense of credibility and collaboration in relation to the UNESCO Media Project, the latter should seek ways and means of maintaining a more regular and direct liaison with the radios during electoral processes, so as to serve as a kind of spokesman to the coordination nucleus or other bodies, at moments when the radios are experiencing problems difficult to solve locally, or when they find themselves in the midst of major political conflicts.

III. Appendices