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# Community radio and governance: Leadership, relationship and organizational identity

## ABSTRACT

*This study examines the challenges of good governance for community radio stations. It does this by exploring how volunteers, managers and members of the Boards of Directors at four community radio stations in Ireland view governance issues. The article finds that there are three key requirements for effective governance in the context of non-profit community radio stations. First, participants described the importance of the Board's leadership role in acquiring expertise in specific, necessary areas, such as finance, human resources and compliance. The Board was also seen to require a capacity to generate positive relationships between the station and its constituent communities. Second, participants outlined a number of practices that proved useful in achieving positive internal relationships between the Board, the volunteers and management. Third, participants described how a collectively shared ethos of community radio was useful in overcoming potential divisions by generating a shared sense of the organization for its members. The findings highlight the need for further research and analysis of the organizational uniqueness and consequent governance requirements of community media.*

## KEYWORDS

community radio  
Ireland  
governance  
leadership  
ethos  
organizational identity

## INTRODUCTION

Community radio research has focused on a number of themes that reflect the unique characteristics of the sector (Jankowski and Prehn 2003). For instance, scholars have examined the contribution made by community radio to the maintenance of a healthy public sphere (Forde et al. 2002; Stiegler 2009). Various studies have explored the social capital and benefits that derive from the operation of community radio (Barlow 1988; Day 2009; Sussman and Estes 2005). Similarly, international studies on media access and participation highlight the importance of community radio in various territories (Gaynor and O' Brien 2011; Meadows et al. 2005; Saeed 2009). However, relatively few studies have examined the operation of community radio at an organizational practice level. More specifically still, very little attention has been paid to the governance of community radio as a non-profit organization. It is to that lacunae in understanding that this study is addressed, with the concurrent objective of unpacking best practice in governance for community radio stations, in accordance with the ethos as expressed by the AMARC 'Community radio charter for Europe' (1994).

With regard to the character and ethos of community radio, as Browne notes

There is no universally accepted definition of the word 'community' as applied to community radio, although *place* usually appears on the list as a significant factor. But so are communities of *language, ethnicity, gender, generation, sexual orientation* and *topic of interest*.

(2012: 153, original emphasis)

Community radio is broadly understood to serve listeners in terms of programming and view-points that are 'alternative' (Browne 2012: 154). The Council of Europe's Declaration of the Committee of Ministers recognizes the 'social value of community media' and that it plays 'an important role [...] by fostering community engagement and democratic participation [...]' (Council of Europe 2009: 3).

Despite the existence of clearly articulated conceptualizations of community radio (Gordon 2012), very little literature exists in media publications on the organizational exigencies of governing community radio stations and similarly the literature on non-profit and voluntary organizations has equally neglected the specific characteristics and requirements of community radio as a particular type of non-profit organization. To that end this study aims to examine the challenges of governance for community radio stations. It does this by exploring how a number of community radio stations in Ireland viewed governance issues that had arisen for their stations. The observations and experiences of the participants on the governance challenges of community radio are presented hereunder as an 'ideal type' of best practice for a community radio station, which engages with professional and paid managers in the running of the community station.

## THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

Community radio in Ireland emerged from a pilot-project established in 1994 by the national broadcasting regulator, the Irish Radio and Television Commission. As part of the support structures put in place, the Commission adopted the AMARC 'Community radio charter for Europe' (1994), as a statement of the unique ethos of community radio.

A community radio station is characterised by its ownership and programming and the community it is authorised to serve. It is owned and controlled by a not-for-profit organisation whose structure provides for membership, management, operation and programming primarily by members of the community at large. Its programming should be based on community access and should reflect the special interests and needs of the listenership it is licensed to serve.

(Broadcasting Commission of Ireland n.d.: 3)

Foxwell further captures the ethos of community radio when she notes it 'is arguably the "great communicative equalizer" bringing the power and potential of media production and participation to more people and their communities, regardless of social stature' (2012: 134).

The research design entailed an in-depth, qualitative study of four community stations. The stations chosen were selected because they offered a mix of rural and urban stations and a variety of models of volunteer and employee mixes. They were ultimately selected as being stations that are typical of community radio organizations in Ireland. The stations were intentionally anonymized so that all interviewees were free to speak openly on potentially sensitive issues such as the nature of relationships at the stations. In examining how stations can optimize their governance to promote the ethos of community radio the research was guided by the following three sub questions:

- How is the governance of community radio seen by members of the Board, by employees and by volunteers?
- How are volunteers affected by the introduction of paid employees?
- How does the organization of community radio and its ethos adapt to the context of paid employees' participation?

Following semi-structured, one-on-one interviews with a station manager, Board member and volunteer from each of the four stations, that is twelve interviews in total, the resultant small scale in-depth qualitative data were analysed and the findings were collated to offer an analysis of best practice in community radio governance in an Irish context. The findings are structured thematically, according to the three key requirements for effective governance, those being first, the Board's leadership role in acquiring expertise and managing relationships; second, practices that proved useful in achieving positive internal relationships and third, how a shared ethos was useful in overcoming potential divisions.

## **LEADERSHIP – THE BOARD**

Governance of non-profit and community sector organizations has been defined as the

Set of processes, customs, policies, and laws affecting the way in which a nonprofit organization is directed, administered, or controlled. It also includes the relationships among the many stakeholders involved, entailing the functions of setting direction, making policy and strategic decisions, overseeing and monitoring organizational performance, and ensuring overall accountability.

(Renz 2004 quoted in Kreutzer 2009: 120)

Boards of Directors are very central to the execution of these tasks and play a central role in community groups achieving their potential (Herman and Renz 1999; Nobbie and Brudney 2002). A number of approaches to governance were in evidence in the stations researched. Some Boards of Directors adopted a stewardship approach, which proposes that the main function of the Board is to improve organizational performance acting in partnership with management staff (Donaldson 1990). Another approach evident emphasizes a democratic perspective (Cornforth 2003) suggesting that the task of the Board was to represent the interests of the station members. Other stations adopted a stakeholder approach (Freeman 1984) whereby the station was seen as answering to many groups in the community rather than exclusively to the organization's members. In practice, the work of stations' Board of Directors cannot be neatly defined in terms of a single definition and Boards often moved in and out of stewardship, democratic and stakeholder modes of governance at different times, as required by circumstance. However, a key challenge to all of the stations researched was the 'first hurdle' of convening a board that was adequate to the task of governing a station.

The challenges of managing volunteers, of meeting the requirements of regulatory bodies, the need to generate funding on an ongoing basis and the multiple challenges of recruiting, employing and engaging with management and staff meant that being an enthusiastic and dedicated member of the station was not valid as the only selection criterion for Board members. Instead often what the station representatives stated they needed was Board members with specific qualifications or expertise. One Board member commented

That is the hardest part, sourcing people with the appropriate skills [...] You would obviously need some financial skills, legal and management skills and people to analyse financial reports and compile them and present them [...] and marketing skills are important.

(personal communication 2015)

However, because of the voluntary nature of the community radio sector many stations faced recruitment challenges in finding Board members to participate at any level and in general the selection criteria for Board members was very low or non-existent (Pearce 1993). As one member of a Board verified, 'Some people join the Board and they just go home and sit and come back for the next meeting and they're not aware of the organisation and they don't become actively involved' (personal communication 2015). As another respondent put it 'Some people were there because they wanted being on a Board on their CV and that didn't work. So, we are trying now to rebuild the Board with people who have a passion for the project and for community' (personal communication 2015).

However, as Kreutzer notes 'Recruiting external people with expertise that has not been present in the organization before may provoke serious internal conflicts with (incumbent) core members as they regard themselves as the owners of the organization' (2009: 125). As one Director confirmed

If I said everyone was on the same page all the time it would be a blatant lie. Opinions are being expressed all the time as to where the station could go and some good suggestions and some silly ones, but you treat people with respect, you can't dismiss people.

(personal communication 2015)

For community radio convening an appropriate Board was in effect a 'double burden', on the one hand there was the usual difficulty faced by any voluntary organization in recruiting for a Board, but on the other hand there was the additional challenge that Board members should have some interest or expertise specific to the ethos and operation of community radio as well. The key to negotiating the creation of a viable Board is seen to lie with treating people with respect but also in communicating the core needs of the station.

Additionally, in its stakeholder mode the Board needs to consider how the station can also generate links between and represent the interests of its geographic community or its community of interest, its listener-ship. This is a particular challenge for community radio stations in Ireland (Gaynor and O'Brien 2012: 436). As one respondent verified 'We've tried to get community groups to go on the Board and it's impossible because of time and because of the responsibility [...]' (personal communication 2015).

In addressing the challenge of engaging with community groups, one station used the work of radio production itself to engage efficiently with local community groups. As one manager commented, acknowledging the problem of gaining access to local organizations, but also his own effective approach

Sometimes you're fighting a battle to be involved but resources are a problem, we need to have the people to be able to get out to meetings with local groups, which we try to do as much as possible. It's good to have an outreach person that doesn't get distracted with the other stuff but money is always tight [...] There's a feeling that we need to gate-crash organisations, that we're not always the first port of call for them that we're not on their mailing list [...] But our relationships are positive because we have a community notice board on air and that leads on to interviews with groups on programmes.

(personal communication 2015)

The specific governance challenges for community radio stations are twofold. First, there is a requirement to convene a Board of Directors with necessary expertise to offer leadership in specific necessary areas, such as finance, human resources and compliance, but in accordance with the ethos of a non-profit volunteer-lead organization. Second, the Board needs to have a capacity to generate positive relationships between the station and its constituent communities. The main advice from respondents in addressing these challenges centred on concepts of information, transparency and respect as the key variables that determine the station's chance of naming its needs clearly and objectively and the likelihood of having those needs met.

In addition, a second key challenge for the Board of Directors and the members of community radio stations is managing its complex relationships.

## **RELATIONSHIPS: BOARD, VOLUNTEERS AND MANAGERS**

In community radio, relationships are multiple and complex. For instance, staff work independently and directly with members on radio production, which is directed at generating and maintaining a relationship with an external community, that of the listeners. Moreover, members of the Board liaise with managers but are also often station members and so encounter staff in a variety of capacities. The uniqueness of this formation was commented upon by one respondent, who described the potential for confusion in this

triangulated Board, manager, and volunteer relationship. 'Sometimes the manager is telling the Board (as station members) what to do, as well as the staff and the volunteers, it's an unusual situation that arises with community radio' (personal communication 2015).

This triangulated relationship requires careful consideration by the Board in its task of translating members' interests into organizational aims.

Keeping volunteers on side and involved is a big thing. If something isn't being addressed by the Board it can be poisonous. So, giving the volunteers a voice is important, someone who can represent them on the Board, giving them some input at that level [...].

(personal communication 2015)

Again, communication, meetings and the formation of subcommittees were central to maintaining a positive relationship between the Board and the volunteers. As another Board member described efforts to integrate volunteers' views in the work of the Board

We would have volunteer meetings every 3-4 months and the Chair of the Board would address the volunteers. We also have a Volunteer Committee of three and one of them has a vote on the Board and the other 2 are assisting a Board member.

(personal communication 2015)

As well as managing relationships between the Board and the volunteers, there is also a need to focus on the relationship between the Board and the manager. Drucker notes that the potential for friction between the Board and the managing director 'has forced an increasing number of nonprofits to realize that neither board nor CEO is "the boss"' (1990: 91). According to Anheier (2005), in smaller organizations, such as the associations studied in this article, the functions of Board and CEO overlap. In the context of community radio there is substantial overlap between the functions of the Board and the work of the station manager. One manager noted the overlap 'The people who are in charge of the station are the Board of Directors, but the manager needs to be seen to be in charge day to day [...]' (personal communication 2015).

One respondent described a fairly typical structure for Boards' interactions with station managers.

We communicate through regular monthly meetings and the manager has a monthly report, she talks through aspects of the report. If there's something specific the chairman will talk through it with her [...] That seems to work quite well. I'm not sure that the Board attends to everything the manager wants but it works quite well [...].

(personal communication 2015)

In mapping the nature of relationships between Boards and managers in NGOs, Murray et al. (1992) have identified five distinctive patterns of governance:

- (1) the CEO-dominated nonprofit, where the board has no more than a rubber-stamp function;
- (2) the chair-dominated nonprofit, which is controlled by its elected leader;
- (3) the fragmented power model, where

conflicts and different ideologies within the board predominate; (4) the power-sharing model, which is based on strong ideological commitment to the values of equality and democracy on both sides; and (5) the powerless board, which is locked between aimlessness and uncertainty.  
(Kreutzer 2009: 126)

The power-sharing model is the one that most closely maps onto the espoused ethos of community broadcasting, which is supposed to be broadcasting by and for the people in a power-sharing spirit of approach. In that mode, as Drucker notes, board and executive should work as colleagues towards the same goal but with different tasks and the station manager and Board should adapt to each-others' working styles. The community stations researched adopted that model to varying degrees, as described further below.

One director described the benefits of a power-sharing relationship between the Board and management

We're lucky that we have a Chairman of the Board at the moment with senior management experience with a big local company. He has retired and he put a 3-year strategic plan together for us but he would have worked and consulted with the manager on the plan. And he was community radio driven, which is appropriate, and he did it with the manager and in consultation with one or two others working in key areas. For instance, I was consulted on things and gave feedback and then the strategy was written and a draft brought to the board for approval.

(personal communication 2015)

Another manager described the difficulty of balancing Board input with dependence

I worked very closely with the Board but [...] it nearly got to the stage where I was directing the Board [...] and that's not good it's too much dependence on one person [...] it's important to give direction and have good relationship with the Board, because it can't all be left to the manager.

(personal communication 2015)

The third dimension of relationship that exists in community radio is that which exists between the manager and volunteers. While volunteering is defined as time given freely, with no contractual obligation, with the aim of benefiting people or a cause (Gaskin and Smith 1997), Howlett and Rochester (2007) further suggest that volunteering can be seen as an organizational way of doing things that is characterized by basic democratic structures and non-managerial logics in which integration is more important than efficiency, a characteristic on which community radio differs from other community development organizations. One director illustrated this understanding of volunteering in the context of community radio and the fundamental need to value volunteers.

There is a knack to managing volunteers [...] it's important to understand the level of commitment that you're getting from the volunteers that you have [...] They need to be invited to things and thanked [...]

you have to let them know that you know who they are; you know what they're doing; and that you really appreciate it and that the organisation appreciates it.

(personal communication 2015)

Likewise, Kreutzer and Jäger note the importance to volunteers of a sense of belonging, of appreciation of their contribution, of facilitating them in doing the work, of ensuring that they are happy in the organization, of limiting spending and waste, and of incorporating their ideas (2011: 646). One Board member confirmed this view 'The station is people not things. Everything needs to be volunteer friendly. They can go to the manager or the Board but that they feel they are part of the station' (personal communication 2015). Another volunteer corroborated this analysis. For her the most important thing in volunteering was 'Being treated equally. We are invited to everything encouraged to participate in everything and included in the fundraising efforts [...]'. (personal communication 2015).

Another volunteer noted

I like the freedom that you're trusted enough to do your own thing. You're given the guidelines to do things but the implementation of it, that's up to me and I think that's really important [...].

(personal communication 2015)

The general thrust of these comments corroborates Kreutzer and Jäger's point that non-structured work processes, no clear job descriptions and informal procedures were elements of the daily routine many volunteers described and indeed valued (2011: 646).

The challenge for the manager–volunteer relationship is that this volunteer ethos conflicts directly with trends towards professionalization, which are inevitably brought about by formally employing people in nonprofit organizations. Moreover, community radio's ethos is specifically about ordinary people engaging with media production in their capacity as citizens, rather than as professional radio producers. This places a double burden on staff and volunteers, to manage the separation of professional work from volunteer engagement and to hold the two paradigms separate. As one respondent commented on the impact of the shift towards professionalization 'When you get staff, radio becomes a business, so you've to do much more administration, audits, evaluations, boards all that sort of thing, an amateur group couldn't really do it so you need a manager' (personal communication 2015).

For managers, 'Formalization, structuring of work processes, division of labour, and further specialization were the tasks [...] believed to be crucial for the success of the association' (Kreutzer and Jäger 2011: 650).

One manager concurred, describing this problem in terms specific to the 'business' of community radio.

Things can be laissez faire and not organised very well. A radio station does its own thing and makes programmes but you need a manager to keep the thing ticking over [...] you have to be pulled in and straightened up and made into a running machine [...] So, a manager needs to deal with all aspects of the business of running a radio station.

(personal communication 2015)

One manager spoke about the conflict that arose around this tension between the volunteer and professional dynamic in a previous job and how best to address it.

At another station, I saw a huge divide between paid staff and volunteers and that caused huge division. Really what we say here is that everybody's equal, whether they're here for a week or a half-hour a week, everybody's equal, because they give what they can give. It was the message that went in at the beginning [...].

(personal communication 2015)

Kreutzer and Jäger name the opposing positions of volunteers and managers very succinctly when they note

The main focus of the volunteer identity lies in the services, where elements such as creativity, emotional proximity to the target group, and a readiness to help others were emphasized. By contrast, a managerial identity is characterized by ideas of professional fundraising, predictability and investment concerning resources, and by structure and distance concerning the organization's services.

(2011: 651)

Conflicting beliefs about the organization's identity can have a significant negative impact (Kreutzer and Jäger 2011: 636) both on staff-volunteer relations and on the organization more generally. As one manager put it

If there's a disconnect between staff and volunteers it can be a real issue and it's so important that these things get brought to the manager, so it can be dealt with, things that could be addressed become problems if it's not addressed.

(personal communication 2015)

One volunteer described a very positive experience of how this clash could be addressed, through communication, respect and inclusion amongst managers and volunteers. 'I could be in the main office and people will talk to you and we would have meetings which could be paid staff and volunteers and there doesn't seem to be a differentiation between them' (personal communication 2015).

Another volunteer concurred

I do a magazine programme one hour a week and there could be a meeting once every couple of weeks about improving the professionalism of the programme [...]. And the Manager would run those meetings but everybody's opinion is taken into account I can't see any differentiation between paid and unpaid staff [...].

(personal communication 2015)

Volunteers were cognizant of differences in ethos between paid staff and volunteers but they did not necessarily see this as problematic

I'm sure what you say to volunteers is couched in certain terms because they can choose to do it or not do it, whereas for paid staff it's laid

down in guidelines for the job, which presumably means following the instructions of the station manager, but I haven't detected any difference in how I am addressed certainly.

(personal communication 2015)

Smith has argued that heavy emphasis on formal management processes, imported from the paid workplace, could even deter volunteers from coming forward (1996) and can lead to a decline in volunteer motivation. Because of the fundamental contradiction at the heart of voluntary and managerial organizational approaches, it is important that all parties are aware that this conflict might arise, not because of ill will, but rather as a result of differences in volunteer and managerial identity (Kreutzer and Jäger 2011: 636) and that it requires specific attention and support. One manager put it succinctly

There is some conflict between people being paid and not paid, there is a divide, but if managed correctly – by saying it's the staff's function to support the volunteers to give a service to the volunteers, that is something that has been helpful. I don't think there's resentment there. If morale is good and the station and service are visibly improving, then that's helpful [...].

(personal communication 2015)

Evidence from the stations concurred with Kreutzer and Jäger's point that conflict can arise because of conflicting perceptions of the identity or 'soul' of the organization. Addressing that source of conflict requires support in the form of emphasizing the importance of communication, training, clear objectives and trust (Macduff 1995). Knoke and Wood (1981) note that

[...] the more widespread a person's participation in collective decision making and the greater his or her integration into the communication structure, the higher the members commitment to the association (positive affect, loyalty and efforts to realize group goals) and the lower the detachment (personal remoteness and feelings of inability to influence collective actions and policies).

(Kreutzer and Jäger 2011: 655)

One of the managers exemplified this in the approach taken to differences of opinion within the station

There's always differences in opinion on what we should be doing but we look into it and see does it fit with the ethos of community radio. We've never had a full-blown row, we ask for new ideas for programmes and people come up with those.

(personal communication 2015)

Smith (1996) concludes that organizations need not abandon management altogether but should choose the style best suited to the culture and ethos of the association (Kreutzer and Jäger 2011: 655).

In summary, with regard to the triangulated relationship between the Board, the manager and the volunteers, careful consideration of the inclusion of volunteers on the Board, and the creation of committee structures to articulate all viewpoints was key to effective governance. The Board is also required

to manage links to its community of interest or local community groups and while scarcity of resources was an issue in securing these ties, use of the station's programming in the form of a community notice board and interviews with local groups was useful in connecting to constituency groups. In mediating the relationship between the Board and the manager, again, two-way communication, respect and clarity were paramount. In short, understanding and stating that management and volunteering are embedded in very different presumptions about the organization could function to diffuse potential conflict that arose, not from personal differences, but from naturally distinctive positions with regard to the station. It is to this latter question of organizational identity that the article now turns.

## **ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY – GENERATING SHARED BELIEFS**

### Organizational identity

comes into play when organizations face hard decisions, when the discussion of goals and values becomes heated, when there is deep disagreement or confusion and when questions such as 'Who are we?' and 'Who do we want to be?' arise.

(Kreutzer and Jäger 2011: 639)

Organizational identity is created through collectively shared beliefs and understandings about features of the organizations, arrived at through sense making by organizational members (Kreutzer and Jäger 2011: 639). Organizations with dual identities, volunteer on the one hand and managerial on the other, as described above will inevitably struggle. As Glynn (2000) notes, tension and conflict emerge when one identity element is emphasized over the other. Kreutzer and Jäger are clear in locating the origin of conflict within the organization as lying, not in disagreements about the organization's goals as such, but in parties' positions on how best to reach those goals (2011: 652).

Kreutzer and Jäger (2011) note that this tension played out organizationally at three levels. At the level of authority, each party claims authority to lead the organization and to make decisions. This was in evidence in the stations as one Board member noted 'The authority for the station has to be with the Board of Management, if something goes wrong they're responsible' (personal communication 2015). While a manager noted 'The manager needs to be free to run the station on a day to day basis without Board interference' (personal communication 2015). As well as organizational clashes over authority, tension can occur also at the level of expectations. Kreutzer and Jäger note that volunteers often held unrealistic expectations about paid staff output, particularly centred on the cost of their salary (2011: 653). As noted previously, volunteers and paid staff operated within the context of that tension 'There is some conflict between people being paid and not paid, there is a divide [...]' (personal communication 2015).

Finally, Kreutzer and Jäger propose that intra-organizational conflict arises as a result of the tradeoff between managerial and volunteer motivation, whereby the former failed to realize that too much managerialism led to a loss of volunteer commitment (2011: 654). One manager clearly saw this potential for conflict and addressed it with volunteers from the start, by emphasizing the ethos of community radio.

In the role of manager of volunteers [...] the main challenge is that when people come on board they know the ethos of the company they know what the organisation is about that they know they're a volunteer not getting paid for it [...].

(personal communication 2015)

The manager was clear on the need for volunteers to understand the boundaries between staff and members and again the manager noted that open communication was important. 'Volunteers need to realise that the money they fundraise for is not for staff wages, tell that at the AGM and see the accounts and see all of these things' (personal communication 2015).

In short, effective managers of dual identity organizations should personify and support both identities (Albert and Whetten 1985: 288). In response to the question of how management can best approach the uniqueness of volunteers in distinction to paid staff, one manager summed up the need for structures and procedures to deal with potential conflicts.

There needs to be correct policy and procedures in place. If someone has a grievance with the manager then it's dealt with through the correct procedures, which is something that we developed over the years, that wasn't there at the start. Then with procedures and structures the manager can deal with staff and day-to-day issues.

(personal communication 2015)

For all the reasons outlined above management needs to respond specifically to the unique identity of volunteers and vice versa. The literature has in the past recommended that classical practices of human resource management (HRM) such as 'planning, recruitment, orientation, training, supervision, mentoring, recognition and separation' (Studer 2015: 3) be applied to functional volunteer management (Sturder and von Schnerbein 2013). However, outside of this 'workplace model' very few writers emphasize the distinctiveness of volunteers and their unique needs vis-à-vis management. Rehnborg et al. (2007) cited in Studer (2015), proposes concepts such as Board and advisory leadership, organizational culture and marketing and communication as additional to classical HRM needs. Studer suggests that 'principles such as balance of interest, strategic commitment to towards volunteers, role clarity, team spirit and respect, complement classical HRM, effectively by focusing on volunteers as a unique stakeholder group' (2015: 1). For community radio with its triangulated and overlapping relationships between the Board, the manager and volunteers it is important that all parties acknowledge and manage community radio's dual organizational identity and accept and share the challenges and benefits that derive from being both a volunteer and a managed organization.

## CONCLUSION

The key findings derived from those stations observations are first, that the Board of Directors needs to adopt a leadership role in acquiring expertise to manage the transition. This expertise includes the need to gain more specialist skills in running the station. These skills need to fall into the key areas of finance and compliance and HRM. As a knock-on effect the acquisition of new skills often means sourcing new recruits for the Board. But

this has the potential to alienate some incumbent members of the Board. So, there is a need for a sub-process of change and transition that in itself needs to be managed. This needs to be done with due care to the respect for all participants and openness and transparency in communicating all change in terms of the objective needs of the station, rather than any personal shortcomings. The need for more skills also raises the question of more participants on the Board and potentially the problem of Boards becoming unwieldy.

Second, the triangulated relationship of the Board, the manager and the volunteers requires careful consideration by all parties. Here the inclusion of volunteers on the Board, and the creation of committees to articulate their views were key to maintaining the participation and engagement of volunteers in the station. Additionally, in its stakeholder mode, the Board needs to consider how the station can generate links to represent the interests of its geographic community or its community of interest, its listener-ship. Here scarcity of resources was a problem but was addressed by stations through an efficient use of the station's programming in the form of a community notice board and interviews with local groups to address this need for connection to constituency groups. In mediating relationships, a further dimension of this task for the Board was a need for them to focus on the relationship between the Board and the manager. Respondents observed that ideally, the Board and executive should work as power-sharing colleagues towards the same clearly stated goal, but with different tasks allocated to each as appropriate and the station manager and Board should adapt to each other's working styles. Again, open and transparent communication was accepted as central to generating a positive outcome, particularly with regard to ensuring that the fundraising efforts of the Board remain connected to the constituent members of the station.

Third, it is clear that organizations with dual identities, volunteer on the one hand and managerial on the other, as described above, will inevitably struggle. In short, the key challenges to community radio stations are to ensure that they have the necessary capacity to engage with and manage relationships between contradictory positions, identities and work practices. Stations would do well to be mindful of the fact that they require people with opposing ethos, of managerialism and volunteerism, to work together in a power-sharing manner. At its core, the identity of the organization will need to be explicitly, openly and creatively negotiated. Finally, in light of the challenges articulated by respondents in this study, there is clearly a need for further research and reflection on the organizational uniqueness and requirements of community media so that its contributions to democratic communication and to social gain can be underpinned and enhanced through good organizational governance. Some obvious directions for this research are to further consider the involvement of disparate communities in governance, the role of language in governance and the perceptions of governance issues as they arise amongst the community within stations.

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